



# **Mortgaged House**

**Campaign Contributions to Texas Representatives,  
1995-1996**

By Lynn Tran and Andrew Wheat

Public Citizen's Texas Office  
Texans for Public Justice  
U.S. PIRG Education Fund

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# Mortgaged House

## Campaign Contributions to Texas Representatives, 1995-1996

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# I. Summary

- Members of the Texas House filled their campaign war chests with \$14,627,357 from July 1, 1995 through year-end 1996.
- House members raised a staggering 80 percent (\$10,047,340) of their \$100-or-larger contributions from sources outside the home district. \* Rep. **Senfronia Thompson** raised 100 percent of her contributions outside her district. Four other members went out of district for 99 percent of the value of their contributions of \$100 or more. Just 11 members raised more than half of such money in their home districts.
- Contributions of \$100 or more accounted for 95 percent of House money; 37 percent (\$5.4 million) came in contributions of \$1,000 or more.
- Businesses and PACs directly contributed 62 percent (\$9 million) of all the itemized contributions that House members received; individual contributors accounted for the remaining 38 percent (\$5.4 million). \* Just 27 members raised more than half of their money from individual contributors; PACs and businesses accounted for at least half the money raised by every other House member. In fact, 21 House members raised more than 80 percent of their money from PACs and businesses.
- 9 zip codes in Austin, Houston and the Dallas Metroplex accounted for 48 percent (\$6.1 million) of the value of all House contributions of \$100 or more (three Austin zip codes generated \$4.4 million, or 35 percent of all contributions of \$100 or more). \*
- **The Speaker** and five powerful Democratic chairs (Reps. **Hugo Berlanga**, **Mark Stiles**, **Rob Junell**, **Clyde Alexander** and **David Counts**) raised well over \$200,000 each. The only other members of the House \$200,000-Plus Club are Reps. **Ron Clark**, **Bill Siebert**, **Gene Seaman**, and **Harryette Ehrhardt**. These 10 members raised 23 percent of all the money raised in the entire House.
- Many members raise much more money than they need. Forty percent of the House's members faced no opponent in their primary or general election. Nonetheless, these 61 members raised almost \$3.6 million. Three uncontested members (Reps. **Rob Junell**, **Kim Brimer** and **Kyle Janek**) raised more than \$150,000 each.
- The candidate with the most money almost always wins. Out of 66 contested general elections, the least-funded candidate prevailed in just seven races. Of these seven upset races, only two resulted in an incumbent's defeat and only two were won by candidates whose opponent raised more than twice as much money as the victor.

\* The "Method" section explains why all contributions are analyzed in some cases and just contributions of \$100 or more in other cases. It also explains which contributions are "itemized."

## II. Introduction & Method

Many Americans are alarmed by perceptions that elected offices are being sold to the highest bidder through exorbitant campaigns that twist our political system into a caricature of its original democratic ideals. In Texas, it is difficult to determine whether these perceptions are rooted in reality. The Texas Legislature—on the cusp of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century—does not require its members to file electronic contribution and expenditure reports. Through the most comprehensive analysis of Texas House contributions undertaken to date, this report confirms popular perceptions of a political system in which, with few exceptions, the candidate with the most money wins.

Since most Texas Legislature members just submit paper contribution reports, it is onerous to analyze contributions to a single member—much less the entire House. Beginning in 1995, a commercial vendor, Texas Legislative Service (TLS), began compiling contribution data in an electronic system. While TLS data are convenient for some purposes, its data are not readily analyzed by electronic databases and just track contributions of \$100 or more. This report uses TLS numbers for some big-trend numbers, but most of the numbers presented here come from more comprehensive data gathered directly from Texas Ethics Commission reports.

To conduct this study, staff members and volunteers armed with calculators crunched the contribution reports of 149 current House members for the period July 1, 1995 through year end 1996.<sup>1</sup> Researchers first classified contributions by check size (less than \$100, \$100 to \$999 and \$1,000 or more). Next, they separated contributions made by individuals from those made by a business or a political action committee (PAC).<sup>2</sup> Finally, they distinguished in-district contributions from out-of-district money.<sup>3</sup>

A confusing aspect of this report is that it reflects three separate “universes” of House contributions. The classifications by check size, for example, are based on the overall amount of money that House members reported for the period: \$14,627,357. While members must itemize the source of all large contributions, they can either itemize contributions of \$50 or less or report them as a lump sum. All of this lump-sum money clearly falls into the \$100-or-less category. But there is no way to assess, for example, how much of it came from individuals versus PACs or businesses. For this reason, the data

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<sup>1</sup> These data exclude Dist. 118, whose representative, Ciro Rodriguez, D-San Antonio, replaced Frank Tejeda in the U.S. House of Representatives. This time period was extended through January 1997 for Rep. Bill Roman, who won a special election at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Corporations are prohibited from making direct contributions but can channel money through PACs or individual executives. Other businesses entities, such as limited liability partnerships or sole proprietorships, can contribute to candidates directly. A contribution from “Davy Crockett Honda” would be classified as “PAC/Business” money. But a contribution from “Davy Crockett” would be classified as an individual contribution, even if Davy Crockett owns the car dealership.

<sup>3</sup> Contributions were compared with legislative zip code lists from the Legislative Council. A September 1995 redistricting affected several dozen districts. Researchers counted as “in district” any contribution that lacked a zip code or that was “in district” under either of the two districting schemes.

distinguishing individual contributions from those made by PACs and businesses are based on a smaller universe of itemized contributions: \$14,356,865.

Finally, classifying each contribution as being in or out of district was the most onerous job because legislative districts encompass dozens of different zip codes that fall into no particular numeric order. To simplify this task, TLS data—which just cover contributions of \$100 or more—were used for this section. To ensure accuracy, TLS numbers on the 20 members who derive the greatest share of their campaign money from out-of-district contributions were double-checked against Ethics Commission reports. The TLS universe covering House contributions of \$100 or more amounts to \$12,559,176.

### III. Findings

The current members of the Texas House raised \$14,627,357 in campaign contributions in the last election cycle, from July 1, 1995 through year-end 1996. Political fundraising is a bipartisan sport, with Republicans and Democrats raking in amounts of money that are roughly proportional to each party's representation in the House. The 81 Democrats studied account for 54 percent of House seats and raked in 60 percent of all House contributions. Setting aside the more than \$1 million contributed to Democratic House Speaker Pete Laney, the other 80 Democrats account for 56 percent of the remaining \$13.6 million given to House members. The average House Republican received \$86,903, while the average House Democrat (excluding the Speaker) received \$95,614.

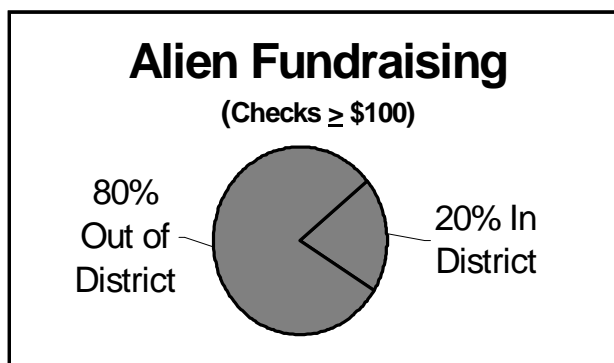
House Democrats and Republicans have similarly voracious appetites for business money and out-of-district money. Republicans ventured out of their districts for 78 percent of the money that they received in contributions of \$100 or more. Out-of-district sources contributed 81 percent of the money that Democrats received in such major contributions (this share dips to 79 percent when the Speaker's contributions are excluded). With or without Speaker Laney, House Democrats took 64 percent of their major contribution money from businesses and PACs. The comparable GOP figure is 61 percent.

While members of both parties clearly depend heavily on PAC, business and out-of-district money, individual House members vary enormously in how much money they raise and from whom.

## A. Alien Contributors

### Most Money Comes From Outside the District

House members raised a staggering 80 percent (more than \$10 million) of their \$100-or-larger contributions outside their districts. Eighteen House members took more than 95 percent of these contributions from such alien sources. Rep. **Senfronia Thompson**, raised an astonishing 100 percent of her money outside of her district.<sup>4</sup> Four other members who raised 99 percent of their major contributions from alien sources are Democratic Reps. **Pete Patterson** and **Speaker Laney**, and Republican Reps. **John Culberson** and **Talmadge Heflin**. While Rep. Patterson's relative dependence on such money is extreme, he only raised \$12,825.



### Dependency On Out-of-District Money

(Contributions of \$100 or more)

#### Most-Dependent Members

Dist.	Member	Party	%
141	Senfronia Thompson	D	100%
3	Pete Patterson	D	99%
130	John Culberson	R	99%
149	Talmadge Heflin	R	99%
85	Pete Laney	D	99%
88	Warren Chisum	R	98%
139	Sylvester Turner	D	98%
105	Dale Tillery	D	98%
145	Diana Davila	D	97%
95	Glenn Lewis	D	97%
128	Fred Bosse	D	97%
131	Ron Wilson	D	97%
124	Christine Hernandez	D	97%
116	Leo Alvarado	D	96%
93	Toby Goodman	R	96%
29	Tom Uher	D	96%
96	Kim Brimer	R	96%
150	Paul J. Hilbert	R	96%

#### Least-Dependent Members

Dist.	Member	Party	%
14	Bill Roman	R	7%
69	John Hirschi	D	9%
6	Ted Kamel	R	33%
49	Elliott Naishtat	D	36%
27	Dora Olivo	D	38%
57	Jim Dunnam	D	41%
40	Juan Hinojosa	D	42%
108	Carolyn Galloway	R	44%
71	Bob Hunter	R	49%
26	Charlie Howard	R	49%
51	Glen Maxey	D	49%
7	Tommy Merritt	R	50%
140	Kevin Bailey	R	53%
15	Thomas Williams	R	54%
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	55%
92	Todd Smith	R	59%
90	Lon Burnam	D	60%
28	Robert Cook	D	60%

<sup>4</sup> None of Rep. Thompson's itemized contributions were in district, not even those of less than \$100.



Only 11 House members raised more than half of their major campaign contributions in their districts. Reps. **Bill Roman** and **John Hirschi** depended least on alien sources, taking less than 10 percent of their money from outside of their districts.

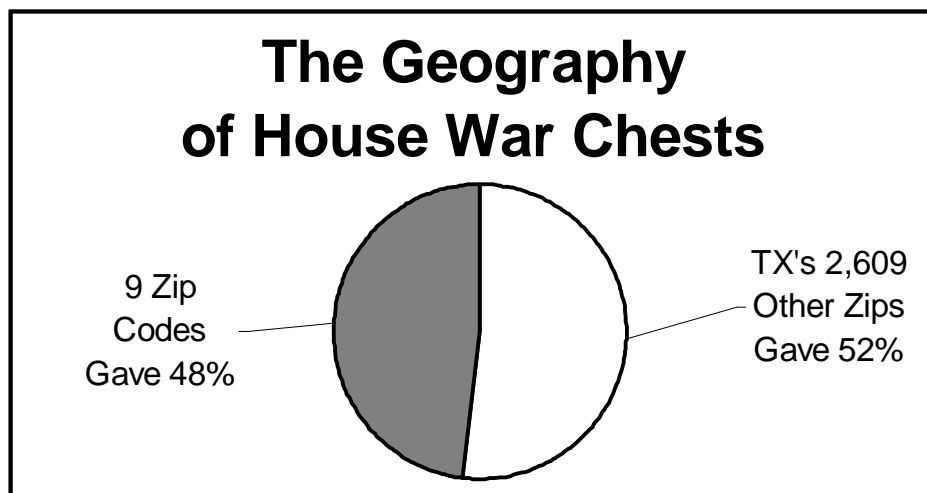
These alien contributions raise questions about where such money originates. A 1996 study found that 13 Texas Senate Committee Chairs got half of their money from just 25 zip codes.<sup>5</sup> The fact that these zip codes are concentrated in a few central business districts confirms the extent to which PACs and businesses—rather than average Texans—finance Texas’ political process.

House contributions are even more concentrated. House members reaped \$6,076,305 from just nine zip codes; this money accounts for 48 percent of the value of all contributions of \$100 or more.

### Dialing for Dollars Where Money Rolls for Pols

City	Zip	Amount
Austin	78701	\$2,805,815
Austin	78767	\$1,232,353
Houston	77056	\$676,885
Austin	78768	\$330,525
Dallas	75201	\$280,766
Austin	78704	\$232,591
Houston	77002	\$206,586
Ft. Worth	76102	\$157,902
Dallas	75221	\$152,882
<b>Total</b>		<b>\$6,076,305</b>

Although there are 2,618 zip codes in Texas, just three Austin zip codes supplied \$4,368,693 in major contributions, or 35 percent of the value of all major House contributions. Austin’s two leading zip codes service its law and lobby firms around the Capitol and its downtown post office boxes. Central business districts and their corresponding postal boxes also were the hot spots in Houston and Dallas-Fort Worth.

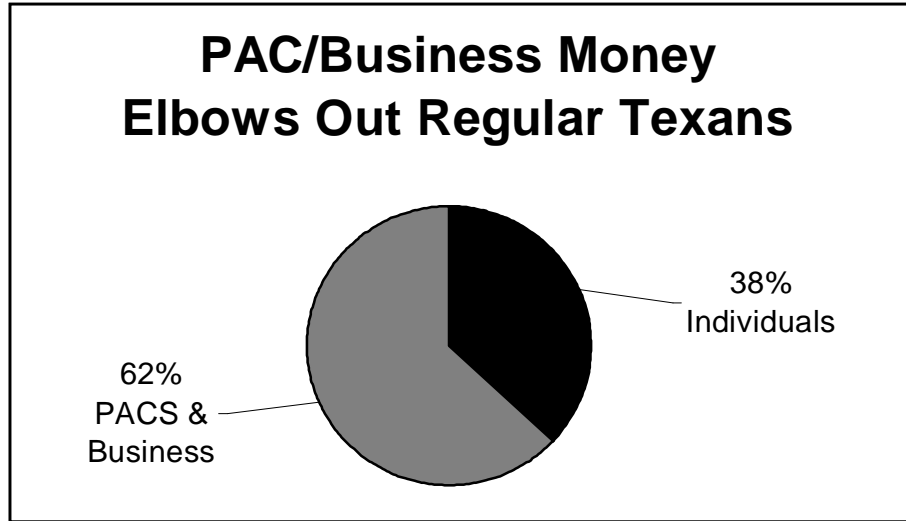


<sup>5</sup> “Money With Interest: Campaign Contributions to the Standing Committee Chairs of the Texas State Senate,” by Lynn Tran, Center for a New Democracy, Austin, June 1996.

## B. Taking Care of Business

### House Dominated by PAC, Business Money

Businesses and political action committees (PACs) directly contributed 62 percent (\$9 million) of the House's money. Eighty percent of House members got at least half of their money from these sources.



### Dependency On PAC and Business Money

#### 20 Most-Dependent Members

Dist.	Member	Party	%
3	Pete Patterson	D	97
145	Diana Davila	D	93
29	Tom Uher	D	89
86	John Smithee	R	89
97	Anna Mowery	R	89
52	Mike Krusee	R	88
73	Bob Turner	D	88
95	Glenn Lewis	D	88
62	Ron Clark	R	87
130	John Culberson	R	87
54	Suzanna Hupp	R	85
64	Jim Horn	R	84
105	Dale Tillery	D	84
16	Bob Rabuck	R	83
61	Ric Williamson	R	83
146	Al Edwards	D	83
99	Kenny Marchant	R	82
142	Harold Dutton Jr.	D	82
88	Warren Chisum	R	81
101	Elvira Reyna	R	81
110	Jesse Jones	D	81

#### 20 Least-Dependent Members

Dist.	Member	Party	%
14	Bill Roman	R	0
69	John Hirschi	D	2
134	Kyle Janek	R	28
90	Lon Burnam	D	32
51	Glen Maxey	D	36
47	Terry Keel	R	37
44	Richard Raymond	D	39
108	Carolyn Galloway	R	39
71	Bob Hunter	R	41
26	Charlie Howard	R	41
89	Sue Palmer	R	41
76	Norma Chavez	D	41
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	41
92	Todd Smith	R	42
48	Sherri Greenberg	D	43
15	Thomas Williams	R	43
122	John Shields	R	44
7	Tommy Merritt	R	44
104	Domingo Garcia	D	45
58	Arlene Wohlgemuth	R	45
114	Will Hartnett	R	46

Rep. **Pete Patterson**, D-Brookston, leads the pack in this category, taking 97 percent of his contributions from PACs and businesses.<sup>6</sup> Rep. **Diana Davila**, D-Houston, followed Patterson, taking 93 percent of her contributions from businesses and PACs. Three runners up (**John Smithe**, R-Amarillo, **Anna Mowery**, R-Fort Worth, and **Tom Uher**, D-Bay City) all took 89 cents of each dollar they raised from PACs and businesses.

Although these five representatives are the most dependent on businesses and PACs, just 27 members got more than half of their money from people contributing as individuals. Rep. **Bill Roman**, R-College Park, is the only House member who took no direct business or PAC money. Rep. **John Hirschi**, who does not take PAC money, took less than two percent of his money from local businesses. Every other House member took more than 28 percent of his or her money directly from PACs and businesses.

The “High-Flying PACs” section of this report reveals that most of the PACs moving large volumes of money are big-business PACs rather than “people PACs,” which bundle together large numbers of small contributions. The “High-Flying Individuals” section reveals that most of the individuals who write the biggest political checks are wealthy business people, too. As such, this section understates the real influence of business interests on House members.

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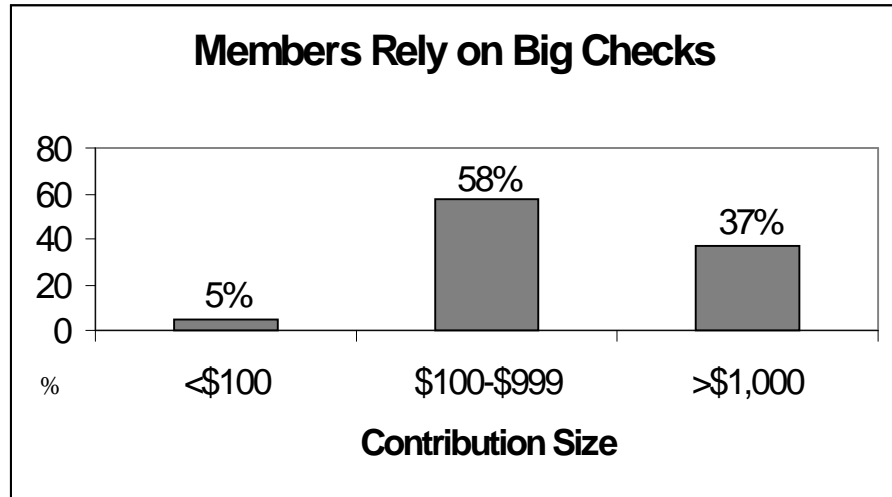
<sup>6</sup> As noted earlier, Rep. Patterson only raised \$12,825.

## C. Heavy Hitters

### Members Depend on Big Checks

Consistent with their dependence on PAC and business money, House members rely heavily on hefty contributions.

Contributions of \$100 or more account for 95 percent (almost \$14 million) of all House money. In fact, the House took 37 percent of its money (\$5.4 million) in contributions of \$1,000 or more.



Thirteen House members raised at least half of their money in checks of \$1,000 or more. Three of these members, Speaker **Laney** and Republican Reps. **Ron Clark** of Sherman and **Suzanna Hupp** of Lampasas, got at least 75 percent of their money in the form of these huge checks.

### Members Who Depend on Huge Checks For at Least Half of Their Money

Dist.	Member	Party	Total \$ Raised	Percent $\geq$ \$1,000
62	Ron Clark	R	\$327,920	81%
85	Pete Laney	D	\$1,068,818	77%
54	Suzanna Hupp	R	\$173,832	75%
84	Carl Isett	R	\$86,091	69%
9	Wayne Christian	R	\$189,736	69%
17	Jim McReynolds	D	\$111,039	66%
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$221,355	64%
60	Jim Keffer	R	\$115,456	63%
20	Zeb Zbranek	D	\$98,725	53%
72	Rob Junell	D	\$242,773	51%
46	Alec Rhodes	D	\$140,534	51%
44	Richard Raymond	D	\$104,673	50%
57	Jim Dunnam	D	\$91,066	50%
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$2,972,018</b>	

## D. Endowed Chairs

### The Chairperson's Funding Advantage

The political power wielded by many House committee chairs helps them get a fund-raising leg up on their colleagues. There are 31 current House members who were committee chairs during the 1995 session, when money for the recently completed election cycle was being raised. These members raised almost \$4 million, for an average war chest of \$127,141. This average reflects a hefty premium over the average overall House war chest of \$98,170.

### Cushioned Chairs

Dist.	'95 Chair	P.	Committee Chaired	War Chest
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	Public Health	\$363,550
21	Mark Stiles	D	Calendars	\$315,978
72	Rob Junell	D	Appropriations	\$242,773
12	Clyde Alexander	D	Transportation	\$228,333
70	David Counts	D	Natural Resources	\$221,098
137	Debra Danburg	D	Elections	\$181,563
45	Edmund Kuempel	R	Recreational Resources	\$180,381
59	Allen Place	D	Criminal Jurisprudence	\$175,782
96	Kim Brimer	R	Business & Industry	\$168,857
53	Harvey Hilderbran	R	Human Services	\$162,168
4	Keith Oakley	D	Public Safety	\$156,487
18	Allen Hightower	D	Corrections	\$153,670
19	Ron Lewis	D	County Affairs	\$130,746
1	Barry Telford	D	Pensions & Investments	\$117,564
30	Steve Holzheuser	R	Energy Resources	\$112,615
82	Tom Craddick	R	Ways & Means	\$111,141
8	Paul Sadler	D	Public Education	\$106,062
35	Irma Rangel	D	Higher Education	\$104,587
37	Rene Oliveira	D	Economic Development	\$97,441
99	Kenny Marchant	R	Financial Institutions	\$81,755
71	Bob Hunter	R	State, Fed'l, Int'l Relations	\$80,839
74	Pete Gallego	D	General Investigating	\$70,097
131	Ron Wilson	D	Licensing	\$67,670
83	Delwin Jones	R	Redistricting	\$62,342
93	Toby Goodman	R	Juvenile Justice & Family	\$55,249
112	Fred Hill	R	Urban Affairs	\$44,350
88	Warren Chisum	R	Environmental Regulation	\$38,100
141	Senfronia Thompson	D	Judicial Affairs	\$36,638
146	Al Edwards	D	Rules & Resolutions	\$31,475
86	John Smithee	R	Insurance	\$29,250
3	Pete Patterson	D	Agriculture	\$12,825
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$3,941,386</b>

Some committees are bigger money magnets than others. Five 1995 chairs who are still in the House raised more than \$200,000 each. Heading this elite Democratic club is Rep. **Hugo Berlanga**, D-Corpus Christi, who raised \$363,550 while chairing the Public Health Committee. Rep. **Mark Stiles**, D-Beaumont, took in \$315,978 while overseeing the Calendars Committee. Rep. **Rob Junell**, D-San Angelo, raised \$242,773 while chairing the Appropriations Committee. Transportation Committee Chair **Clyde Alexander**, D-Athens, moved \$228,333 into his campaign coffers. Finally, Rep. **David Counts**, D-Knox City, collected \$221,098 as Natural Resources Committee chair.

The three members with the least-endowed chairs raised less than one-third of the \$98,170 amassed by the average house member. Rules and Resolutions Committee Chair **Al Edwards**, D-Houston, raised a relatively modest \$31,475. Insurance Committee Chair **John Smithee**, R-Amarillo, took in \$29,250. Finally, Rep. **Pete Patterson**, raised a modest \$12,825 as Agriculture and Ranching Committee chair.

## E. Weighty War Chests

### The House’s Most Aggressive Fundraisers

Speaker **Pete Laney**, D-Hale Center, led the House with \$1,068,818 in contributions. Nine other House members raised more than \$200,000. This group includes the five best-endowed committee chairs mentioned above (Reps. **Berlanga, Stiles, Junell, Alexander** and **Counts**). The other heavy hitters include: Reps. **Ron Clark**, R-Sherman; **Bill Siebert**, R-San Antonio; **Gene Seaman**, R-Corpus Christi; and **Harryette Ehrhardt**, D-Dallas. The 10 members of the House \$200,000-Plus Club raised more than \$3.4 million—or 23 percent of the House total.

A striking characteristic of the 10 members of the House \$200,000-Plus Club is that all but one of them share a common backer in Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR)—the biggest PAC in Texas. Each of the top 10 fund-raisers in the House took at least \$2,000 from TLR, except for **Rep. Hugo Berlanga**, who took no TLR money. Only three \$200,000-Plus Club members (Reps. **Clark, Seaman** and **Counts**) won by a margin of less than 10 percent of the vote.

### House War Chests

#### 10 Fattest Campaigns

D.	Member	P.	Amount	TLR \$
85	Pete Laney	D	\$1,068,818	\$5,000
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	\$363,550	\$0
62	Ron Clark	R	\$327,920	\$122,923
21	Mark Stiles	D	\$315,978	\$4,500
72	Rob Junell	D	\$242,773	\$5,000
12	Clyde Alexander	D	\$228,333	\$9,000
121	Bill Siebert	R	\$225,465	\$4,000
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$221,355	\$61,035
70	David Counts	D	\$221,098	\$17,000
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	\$214,368	\$2,000
<b>Totals</b>			<b>\$3,429,658</b>	<b>\$230,458</b>

#### 10 Leanest Campaigns

D.	Member	P.	Amount
14	Bill Roman	R	\$9,810
3	Pete Patterson	D	\$12,825
130	John Culberson	R	\$14,853
97	Anna Mowery	R	\$17,070
117	John Longoria	D	\$18,600
16	Bob Rabuck	R	\$19,905
69	John Hirschi	D	\$20,750
38	Jim Solis	D	\$21,095
110	Jesse Jones	D	\$23,669
68	Charles Finnell	D	\$24,476
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$183,053</b>

Six House members were elected after having raised less than 10 percent of the money wielded by the \$200,000-Plus Club, with three House members raising less than \$15,000 (Reps. **John Culberson**, R-Houston, **Pete Patterson**, D-Brookston, and **Bill Roman**, R-College Station). Two of these men ran unopposed, however, while the third, Rep. Roman, won a special election after a short campaign season.

## F. Well Funded Minority

### GOP Has Top Non-Leadership Fundraisers

Reflecting the House’s majority, Democrats have chaired a majority of House committees—including those that are most lucrative to chair, as seen in the “Endowed Chairs” section. This partisan fundraising advantage reverses, however, when the House leadership steps out of the picture.

A look at the best-funded rank-and-file House members reveals that most of them are from the minority party. Republicans account for 10 of the top 15 non-leadership war chests, including four of the top five. Moreover, the Republicans on this list tend to receive a much larger share of their money in PAC/business contributions and in huge, lump-sum contributions than their Democratic colleagues on the list. Note that the average Democrat on the list derived one-third of his or her war chest from contributions of \$1,000 or more, while the comparable figure for Republicans on the list was one-half. Chart-busting freshman Rep. **Ron Clark** raised 81 percent of his huge \$327,920 war chest from whopper checks of \$1,000 or more; PACs and businesses accounted for 91 percent of Rep. Clark’s money.

### Among Rank-and-File Members, GOP Has the Big Bucks

Dist.	Member	Party	War Chest	% ≥ \$1,000	% PAC/ Business
62	Ron Clark	R	\$327,920	81%	91%
121	Bill Siebert	R	\$225,465	26%	54%
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$221,355	64%	70%
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	\$214,368	26%	47%
58	Arlene Wohlgemuth	R	\$198,561	44%	65%
138	Ken Yarbrough	D	\$195,443	46%	88%
47	Terry Keel	R	\$192,677	34%	47%
147	Garnet Coleman	D	\$190,066	24%	49%
9	Wayne Christian	R	\$189,736	79%	73%
23	Patricia Gray	D	\$175,004	39%	73%
54	Suzanna Hupp	R	\$173,832	75%	85%
90	Lon Burnam	D	\$162,073	30%	29%
89	Sue Palmer	R	\$158,907	40%	42%
11	Todd Staples	R	\$157,356	39%	68%
134	Kyle Janek	R	\$152,454	17%	36%
<b>Totals</b>			<b>\$2,935,217</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>61%</b>



## G. Costly No-Contest Races

### Campaigning Without Competition

Politicians often rationalize the huge amounts of money that they raise from special interests by arguing that they would be demolished if they unilaterally disarmed in an environment characterized by spiraling campaign costs. The overwhelming advantages that incumbents in the Texas Legislature enjoy, however, mean that—for most incumbents—this is baloney.

Of the 149 House incumbents analyzed in this study, 61 won 100 percent of the vote in their most recent primary and their most recent general elections. Although these 61 members ran unopposed, they went out and raised almost \$3.6 million. Among members without opponents, Rob Junell, D-San Angelo, raised the most money—\$242,773.

### Highest-Grossing Members With Zero Competition (100% of Vote in Primary & General)

D	Member	P	\$ Raised
72	Rob Junell	D	\$242,773
96	Kim Brimer	R	\$168,857
134	Kyle Janek	R	\$152,454
103	Steven Wolens	D	\$114,218
30	Steve Holzheuser	R	\$112,615
82	Tom Craddick	R	\$111,141
44	Richard Raymond	D	\$104,673
113	Joe Driver	R	\$98,510
139	Sylvester Turner	D	\$88,492
99	Kenny Marchant	R	\$81,755
10	Jim Pitts	R	\$81,436
71	Bob Hunter	R	\$80,839
122	John Shields	R	\$76,715
91	Bill Carter	R	\$76,299
55	Dianne White Delisi	R	\$70,923
127	Joe Crabb	R	\$70,839
74	Pete Gallego	D	\$70,097
131	Ron Wilson	D	\$67,670
42	Henry Cuellar	D	\$65,979
66	Brian McCall	R	\$65,392
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$2,001,677</b>

Front-running politicians often define a race as being “competitive” if they lead by no more than 10 percent of the vote (i.e. at least a 55-45 split in a two-way race). By this “competitiveness” yard stick, just 24 House incumbents (16 percent) ran a competitive race in their last primary or general election. The other 125 House members coasted through

uncompetitive races. Nonetheless, these coasting candidates went out and raised almost \$11.3 million, or 77 percent of all the money raised by successful House candidates.

Besides the 61 House members who faced no opponent in either their primary or their general election, 33 members ran snoozer races in which they won both their primary and general election with victory margins of at least 30 percentage points. To put their war chests in perspective, bear in mind that the average House member raised \$98,170.

## Other Major Fundraisers In Sleeper Races

Dist.	Member	P.	% Vote Primary	% Vote General	Money Raised
85	Pete Laney	D	100%	65%	\$1,068,818
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	75%	100%	\$363,550
21	Mark Stiles	D	100%	88%	\$315,978
147	Garnet Coleman	D	91%	100%	\$190,066
137	Debra Danburg	D	100%	65%	\$181,563
45	Edmund Kuempel	R	74%	89%	\$180,381
53	Harvey Hilderbran	R	69%	73%	\$162,168
31	Judy Hawley	D	100%	71%	\$139,144
19	Ron Lewis	D	100%	69%	\$130,746
48	Sherri Greenberg	D	81%	100%	\$119,545
150	Paul J. Hilbert	R	70%	100%	\$109,464
98	Nancy Moffat	R	74%	100%	\$108,900
37	Rene Oliveira	D	100%	69%	\$97,441
123	Frank J. Corte	R	65%	100%	\$95,909
140	Kevin Bailey	D	66%	100%	\$84,707
142	Harold Dutton Jr.	D	79%	100%	\$84,007
26	Charlie Howard	R	100%	86%	\$78,179
126	Peggy Hamric	R	82%	100%	\$75,400
136	Beverly Woolley	R	87%	92%	\$74,068
143	Gerard Torres	D	100%	72%	\$72,918
<b>Total</b>					<b>\$3,732,952</b>

Members stockpile “campaign contributions” for a variety of purposes. Many members contribute their own campaign funds to the campaigns of others. This practice can be used to purchase support that legislators need to pass legislation or win a House leadership position. In the most unsavory practice, outgoing members with leftover campaign funds can launder this money for their own personal gain. The trick is to give away the money to other candidates, exit the House through its revolving lobby door, and then to sell the favors that other members owe you to private clients who are trying to pass special-interest legislation.

Note that the “House Special” table in the “High-Flying PACs” section reveals that existing House members took \$228,813 from the campaigns of other politicians.

## H. Money Matters

### Fattest Campaigns Usually Win

How important is money? Of the 66 current members who faced an opponent in the last general election, seven faced opponents who reported raising nary a dime. Rep. Mark Stiles, D-Beaumont, raised the most money to oppose a penniless candidate—\$315,978. Not surprisingly, these penniless candidates did not put up much of a fight.<sup>7</sup>

When both sides did raise money, the winner typically raised many times more cash. The 24 races below had mind-numbing funding gaps. Rep. **Edmund Kuempel**, R-Seguin, raised 3,608 times more money than opponent Bill Utterback (who raised \$50). Reps. **Glen Maxey**, D-Austin, **Jesse Jones**, D-Dallas, and **Thomas Williams**, R-Woodlands, raised over 100 times what their opponents banked (which was less than \$1,200 each).

### Winners With Colossal Funding Advantages

Dist.	Winner	P.	Winner \$	Loser	Winner's \$ Advantage
45	Edmund Kuempel	R	\$180,381	Bill Utterback	3608 X
51	Glen Maxey	D	\$128,724	David Blakely	644 X
110	Jesse Jones	D	\$23,669	Howard Bridges	237 X
15	Thomas Williams	R	\$132,888	Peter Plotts	111 X
146	Al Edwards	D	\$31,475	David Lee Fuson	79 X
106	Ray Allen	R	\$72,184	J. David Gutierrez	71 X
41	Roberto Gutierrez	D	\$55,212	Javier Perez	70 X
47	Terry Keel	R	\$192,677	John Lindell	39 X
143	Gerard Torres	D	\$72,918	David McCullough	35 X
121	Bill Siebert	R	\$225,465	Bette Graham White	33 X
145	Diana Davila	D	\$35,198	Michael Bunch	30 X
120	Ruth Jones McClendon	D	\$39,050	E. Thompson-Warren	30 X
100	Terri Hodge	D	\$62,399	Joe Granado	27 X
25	Dennis Bonnen	R	\$77,486	David Miller	27 X
19	Ron Lewis	D	\$130,746	Jeff Van Fleet	20 X
49	Elliott Naishtat	D	\$64,857	Emil Blomquist	19 X
37	Rene Oliveira	D	\$97,441	Philip Cowen	18 X
1	Barry Telford	D	\$117,564	George Lavender	18 X
12	Clyde Alexander	D	\$228,333	Jerry S. Moon	17 X
40	Juan Hinojosa	D	\$57,120	Emilio Santos	17 X
104	Domingo Garcia	D	\$109,530	Monty Weddell	12 X
108	Carolyn Galloway	R	\$41,269	Phil Bird	12 X
75	Gilbert Serna	D	\$50,200	James Barnett	11 X
132	Scott Hochberg	D	\$111,004	Ken Zimmern	11 X

<sup>7</sup> The other members who faced penniless opponents are all Republicans: Reps. **Charlie Howard**, **Delwin Jones**, **Will Hartnett**, **Kent Grusendorf**, **Beverly Woolley** and **Talmadge Heflin**.

## Winners With 2 – 10 Times the Funding Advantage

D.	Winner	P.	Winner \$	Loser	Winner's \$ Advantage
85	Pete Laney	D	\$1,068,818	Hollis Cain	10 X
36	Kino Flores	D	\$53,136	Kathleen Holton	9 X
105	Dale Tillery	D	\$77,146	Richard Stokley	9 X
137	Debra Danburg	D	\$181,563	Chris LaRue	8 X
125	Arthur Reyna	D	\$64,288	David Kirk	6 X
116	Leo Alvarado	D	\$48,212	Donald Varella	6 X
144	Robert Talton	R	\$98,837	Brooks Harrison	4 X
11	Todd Staples	R	\$157,356	Doug Lowe	4 X
23	Patricia Gray	D	\$175,004	Dave Norman	3 X
52	Mike Krusee	R	\$51,076	Jerry Graham	2 X

The 10 members in the contested races above raised between two times and 10 times what their opponents raised. In contrast, the 18 candidates below had relatively modest financial advantages, raising less than two times what their opponents did.

## Winners With 1 – 2 Times The Funding Advantage

Dist.	Winner	P.	Winner \$	Loser	Winner's \$ Advantage
18	Allen Hightower	D	\$153,670	Richard Ohendalski	1.9 X
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	\$214,368	Ernest Leonard	1.9 X
54	Suzanna Hupp	R	\$173,832	Dick Miller	1.8 X
31	Judy Hawley	D	\$139,144	Jim Gaines	1.8 X
138	Ken Yarbrough	D	\$195,443	Dwayne Bohac	1.8 X
62	Ron Clark	R	\$327,920	Roger Sanders	1.6 X
4	Keith Oakley	D	\$156,487	Betty Brown	1.6 X
70	David Counts	D	\$221,098	Scott McLaughlin	1.5 X
84	Carl Isett	R	\$86,091	Don Richards	1.5 X
89	Sue Palmer	R	\$158,907	Homer Dear	1.4 X
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$221,355	Pat Eisenhower	1.4 X
29	Tom Uher	D	\$120,582	Donna Coleman	1.3 X
8	Paul Sadler	D	\$106,062	Gene Barron	1.3 X
58	Arlene Wohlgemuth	R	\$198,561	Bernard Erickson	1.2 X
27	Dora Olivo	D	\$97,686	Bobby Mills	1.2 X
9	Wayne Christian	R	\$189,736	Judy McDonald	1.2 X
59	Allen Place	D	\$175,782	Becky Farrar	1.09 X
60	Jim Keffer	R	\$115,456	John Cook	1.08 X

Of the 66 current House members who faced a general-election opponent, only seven members beat better-funded opponents. Candidates in two of these races ran in financial dead heats. Opponent James Hartley raised \$107,992, just squeaking past the amount raised by Rep. **Dan Kubiak**, D-Rockdale. Ken Fleuriet raised \$149,626, or just 1.1 times the money raised by Rep. **Alec Rhodes**, D-Dripping Springs.

Rep. **Bob Glaze**, D-Gilmer, however, pulled off a major upset. His losing opponent, Dan Flynn, raised an astonishing \$295,310—or 3.4 times what Rep. **Glaze** raised. Democratic Reps. **Jim McReynolds**, Lufkin, and **Jim Dunnam**, Moody, also managed to best candidates who raised about twice the money that they did.

## Rare Financial Upsets

### Races in Which the Best-Funded Campaign Lost

D	Winner	P	Winner \$	Loser	Loser's \$ Advantage	Winning % of Vote
5	Bob Glaze	D	\$86,357	Dan Flynn	3.4 X	60
17	Jim McReynolds	D	\$111,039	Billy Clemons	2.2 X	51
57	Jim Dunnam	D	\$91,066	Barbara Rusling	1.9 X	59
20	Zeb Zbranek	D	\$98,725	Kent Batman	1.6 X	53
28	Robert Cook	D	\$113,958	Chip Rayburn	1.4 X	55
46	Alec Rhodes	D	\$140,534	Ken Fleuriet	1.1 X	56
13	Dan Kubiak	D	\$106,444	James Hartley	1.01 X	59

In their well financed attempt to seize a House majority, Republicans aggressively targeted open seats and vulnerable Democratic incumbents. Democrats won all seven races involving financial upsets. All seven of these were competitive races in which the winner took from 51 percent to 60 percent of the vote. The only two incumbents toppled in these financial upsets were Republicans running in heavily Democratic districts. Challenger Jim McReynolds beat incumbent Billy Clemons after the latter switched from the Democratic to the Republican ticket. Similarly, Jim Dunnam beat Barbara Rusling, who was an incumbent Republican running in a heavily Democratic district.<sup>8</sup>

The seven Democrats who pulled off these rare financial upsets clearly were the exceptions to the general rule whereby whoever raises the most money wins.

<sup>8</sup> Rusling earlier prevailed against long-time Democratic incumbent Betty Denton, whose campaign was marred by financial scandals. Denton was sentenced to six months probation and a \$2,000 fine in 1995 for reporting false campaign funds in what was apparently an attempt to discourage challengers.

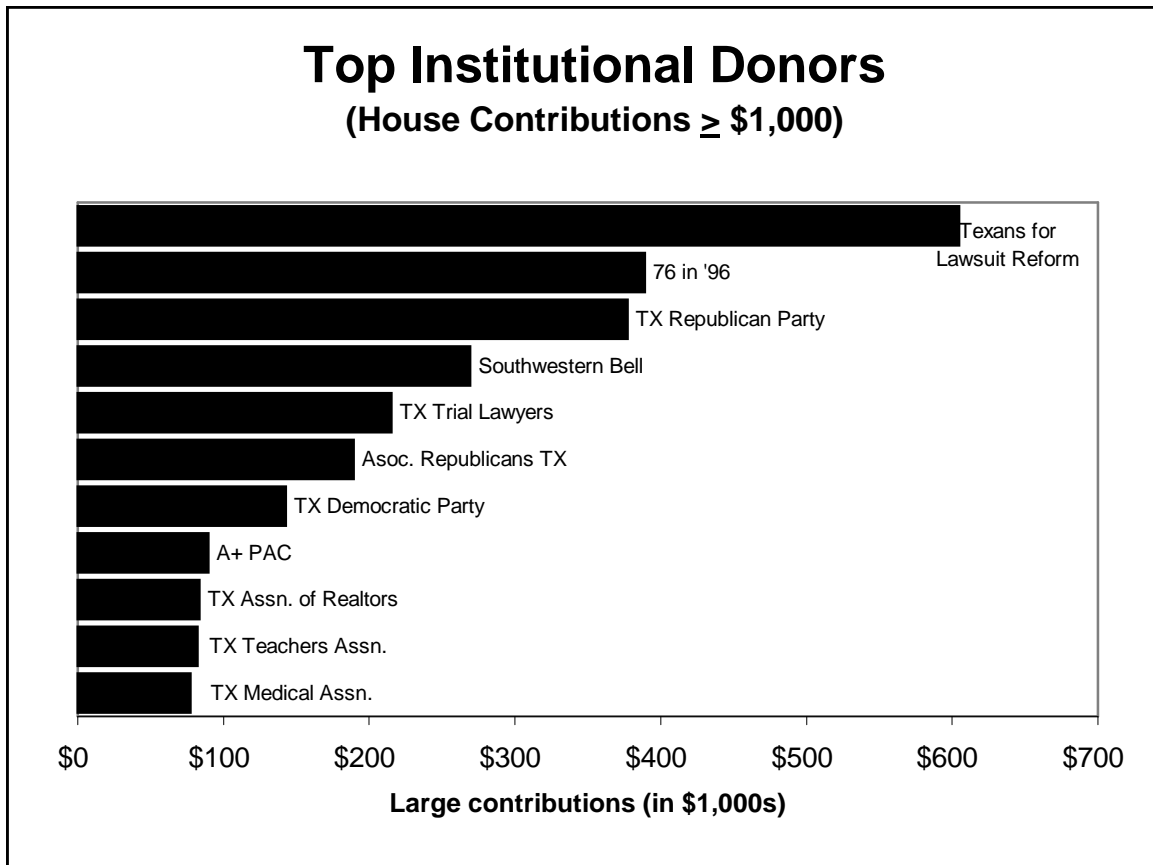
# I. High-Flying PACs

## Texas' Most Powerful Special Interests

The preceding portion of this report focused on the sources and amounts of money that existing House members raised in the last election cycle. This last section fleshes out the report by attaching names and faces to the biggest House contributors. The source of this information is Texas Legislative Service (TLS) data on contributions of \$1,000 or more to all House candidates for the period July 1, 1995 to December 31, 1996.

Between July 1995 and year-end 1996, TLS registers 3,864 contributions of \$1,000 or more to Texas House candidates. These large contributions amounted to more than \$6.8 million. Almost 1,200 PACs and businesses contributed \$4.5 million worth of these big checks, or about two-thirds of this money. The remaining whopper checks came from individuals.

The top 20 PACs and businesses account for almost \$3 million, or two-thirds of this sector's large contributions. When it comes to huge political checks, nobody comes close to Texans for Lawsuit Reform (TLR). In the 18 months ending in December 1996, TLR wrote \$604,795 worth of four- and five-figure checks to House candidates. TLR, in turn, obtained almost half of its money from just 18 of Texas' wealthiest families. Though TLR calls itself



“bipartisan,” 73 percent of the money that it gave to current House members went to Republicans. In the close races where it concentrated its funds, TLR gave Republicans 89 percent of its money.<sup>9</sup>

Viewed as a kind of half-time score board, the preceding graph illustrates who is fighting and who is winning such heady legislative battles as:

- The fight for partisan majority control of the House;
- The struggle over whether or not Texas should weaken state tort laws further; and
- Whether unions are to have any meaningful effect on legislation.

When the Legislature plays the game of checkbook politics, the Democratic Party, the Texas Trial Lawyers and the unions assemble on the field, but they watch the point spread widen each quarter. The only union found among top House contributors—the State Teachers Association—is lost in a thicket of business interests. TLR outspent the Trial Lawyers three to one, even as other business PACs spent heavily to push pet liability-protection bills.<sup>10</sup> Finally, the Democratic Party and the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee were outspent five to one by their opponents, the Republican Party, Associated Republicans of Texas and “76 in ’96.” The real losers in this corrupt game of special-interest checkbook politics, however, are regular Texas voters.

### House Special Biggest Interests in the House

Interest or Industry	Amount
Republican Party	\$1,030,292
Tort Reform PACs	\$617,295
Health Care	\$411,060
Telecommunications	\$293,550
Banks & Insurance	\$261,132
Plaintiff Lawyers	\$260,730
Other Politicians	\$228,813
Democratic Party	\$192,799
Real Estate	\$172,190
Defense Lawyers	\$163,063
Unions	\$152,125
Education	\$132,825
Utilities	\$130,460
Transportation	\$108,450
Construction	\$103,471
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$4,258,255</b>

Similar trends emerge when major PAC and business contributions are broken down by industries and interests.

Altogether, Republican Party PACs spent more than \$1 million, compared with less than \$200,000 from Democratic PACs. The Texas Trial Lawyers and individual plaintiff law firms spent one-third of what House candidates took from tort reform PACs (TLR and the Texas Civil Justice League) and from corporate defense lawyers. Finally, business spending blew political spending by unions out of the water.

Again, the real story is that special interests are seizing House influence at the expense of regular voters.

<sup>9</sup> See “Tort Dodgers: Business Money Tips Scales of Justice,” Texans for Public Justice, April 1997.

<sup>10</sup> Real estate interests have backed legislation limiting premises liability, for example, and the accountant and medical PACs have pushed proposals to shield themselves from malpractice suits.

## J. High-Flying Individuals

### The Biggest Patrons of House Candidates

Texas Legislative Service data on contributions of \$1,000 or more reveal that business interests also are well represented in the ranks of the 20 individuals who made at least \$10,000 worth of large-denomination contributions to House candidates.

Three of these high rollers, for example, come from an industry that derives a significant part of its fortune from government contracts. **James D. Pitcock, Jr.**, is CEO of William Brothers Construction. **Charles Joekel** heads Pacesetters Personnel Service, a firm that provides contract laborers to construction sites. **Jack Albert** is president of the General Contractors of Texas.

### \$10,000 Club The House's Top 20 Patrons

Name	Amount	Recipient	Interests
Randall Riley	\$130,000	Self (R)	Heads Citizens life insurance; lost GOP primary.
Don Henley	\$47,500	Dems	Rock musician; environmentalist.
James Leininger	\$42,863	Repubs	Owns Kinetic Concepts, hi-tech hospital bed co.
R. & G. Johnson	\$34,500	Bipartisan	Lobbyists with up to \$500,000 in '97 contracts.
James Pitcock, Jr.	\$25,500	Dems	Heads William Bros. Construction Co.
Charles Joekel	\$20,000	Bipartisan	Owns Pacesetters Personnel Service.
Bradley Bryan	\$19,500	Bipartisan	Lobbyist with up to \$525,000 in '97 contracts.
Russell Kelley	\$17,500	Bipartisan	Lobbyist with up to \$385,000 in '97 contracts.
Jack Roberts	\$17,000	Bipartisan	Lobbyist with up to \$495,000 in '97 contracts.
Patrick Keel	\$15,500	Keel (R)	Baker & Botts lawyer; brother of Rep. Keel.
Louis Beecherl, Jr.	\$15,000	Repubs	Former U.T. regent chair; oil & gas fortune.
Daniel Gustafson	\$14,000	Self (D)	Ranching fortune; lost primary to Rep. Greenberg.
Ben Harrison	\$11,200	Harrison (D)	Gave to son Brooks, who lost to Rep. Talton.
Jack Albert	\$10,600	Dems	General Contractors of Texas president.
William McMinn	\$10,308	Repubs	Board of Sterling Group, chemical firm raiders.
Robert T. Hayes	\$10,000	Bipartisan	Directs Texans for Fair Play rental car group.
Philip A. Rhodes	\$10,000	Rhodes (D)	Gave to son Alec; owned Martinez Office Supply.
Kenneth Bigham	\$10,000	Bipartisan	Waste Control Specialists president.
Dolph Briscoe, Jr.	\$10,000	Laney (D)	Diversified ranching heir; former governor.
Joe E. Garcia	\$10,000	Dems	Lobbyist with up to \$75,000 in '97 contracts.
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$480,971</b>

Powerful Austin lobbyists also make a strong showing in the \$10,000 Club. These include:

- **Robert and Gordon Johnson** of "Johnson & Johnson," the top clients of which are tobacco giants Philip Morris and RJ Reynolds, Concerned Builders of Texas and the Atlas Bonding company;



- **Bradley Bryan**, whose biggest client is oil company Coastal Corp., followed by the Independent Electrical Contractors, the Texas Towing & Storage Association, the National Council on Compensation Insurance and eight mutual insurance companies.
- Partners **Russell Kelley** and **Jack Roberts**, whose top clients are the Texas Association of Public and Non-profit Hospitals and Owens Corning, which paid Roberts up to \$100,000 to help the company dodge asbestos suits filed by non-Texans in Texas courts;
- Smaller-time lobbyist **Joe Garcia**, whose big client is the City of McAllen, followed by smaller contracts with GTE, TREND Gaming Systems, the Association of Electric Companies and the Texas Conference for Homeowners' Rights.

Though not a registered lobbyist, Waste Control Specialists President **Kenneth Bigham** has a particularly tough bill of goods to sell to Texas politicians. Waste Control, owned by corporate raider **Harold Simmons**, has been seeking a permit to bury nuclear waste in west Texas' Andrews County.

Many other top individual donors acted to advance the political careers of themselves or a close relative. The biggest individual spender, Citizens life insurance CEO **Randall Riley**, spent \$130,000 of his own money in a failed quest for a GOP nomination. Riley was defeated by Rep. **Terry Keel**, who accepted \$15,500 worth of contributions and legal services from his brother, Baker & Botts lawyer **Patrick Keel**. **Philip Rhodes** gave \$10,000 to his son, Rep. **Alec Rhodes**, whose family ran Martinez Office Supply. Ranching fortune heir **Daniel Gustafson** spent \$14,000 of his own money in a failed bid to wrest the Democratic nomination from Rep. **Sherri Greenberg**. Chemical plant operator **Ben Harrison** gave \$11,000 to son **Brooks Harrison** to support his unsuccessful run against Rep. **Robert Talton**.<sup>11</sup>

Finally, the \$47,500 contributed by **Don Henley** appears to have more to do with his environmental interests than with any attempt to persuade rocking House members to buy more Eagles recordings.

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<sup>11</sup> The elder Harrison did not just back his son financially. Police arrested him on misdemeanor assault charges after he got into a brawl with Rep. Talton over where to distribute campaign literature.

# IV. Recommendations

## Campaign Finance Reforms for Texas

Texas' system of disclosing and regulating political contributions is better suited to the "Wild West" days than to a modern state. Texas is the largest of the six remaining U.S. states that allow unlimited contributions to candidates, political parties or political action committees (PACs).<sup>12</sup> While state law requires candidates, parties and PACs to disclose the sources and amounts of their contributions, these requirements fail to fully inform the public.

To serve this public interest, many aspects of the state's current campaign finance laws should be reformed. Any serious reform must include two essential elements. Reforms should:

1. Limit the size and sources of campaign contributions; and
2. Assure that this contribution data is complete, timely and easily accessible by the public.

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<sup>12</sup> The other five states are Iowa, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah and Virginia.

# 1. Limit the Size and Source of Contributions

How can government belong to all of the people if a few wealthy interests fund most of public officials' costly campaigns? Special interests make single contributions to single candidates that exceed the average Texan's annual income.<sup>13</sup> House members raise 95 percent of their money in contributions of \$100 or more and 37 percent of their money in contributions of \$1,000 or more. This system excludes regular Texans from the political system that they themselves are supposed to control.

To return control of government to regular Texans, the Legislature should enact the following reforms:

- **Limit the size of contributions**  
Contributions to candidates for state offices should be limited to a reasonable amount that is generally affordable to most Texans. Citizens in Austin, Texas enacted \$100 limits for Austin City Council races in November 1997. Citizens in Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, California and Maine recently enacted maximum contribution limits of between \$100 and \$250 for legislative races. U.S. law has limited contributions to federal candidates to \$1,000 since 1974.
- **Limit contributions to political action committees**  
To prevent big money from simply entering the system through the back door or through independent political action committees, contributions to PACs also must be strictly limited.
- **Limit the source of contributions**  
Legislative candidates should be required to raise most of their money from sources within the district that they seek to represent. These candidates should only be allowed to raise a small fraction of their funds (between 15 percent and 20 percent) from out-of-district sources that cannot vote for the candidate.

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<sup>13</sup> This figure was \$21,118 in 1995. Rep. Clark received larger contributions from "76 in '96" and Texans for Lawsuit Reform.

## 2. Require Full, Accessible Disclosure

On the cusp of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, members of the Texas Legislature are still manually filing contribution and expenditure reports that are often sloppy, inaccurate and incomplete. Reports of itemized contributions and expenditures often do not match the self-reported totals on the same reports. A loophole that permits unitemized reporting of contributions under \$50 appears to be abused by some members as a way to report money with no questions asked.

Current reporting requirements flout the public's right to full, complete and timely access to campaign finance information. To address this problem, the Legislature should enact the following reforms and apply them to all candidates, PACs and political parties that currently must report to the Texas Ethics Commission:

### **Electronic Filing**

- Require contribution and expenditure reports to be filed in an electronic database format developed and administered by the Texas Ethics Commission.
- This database should automatically generate contribution and expenditure totals from the filer's itemized entries.
- These reports should be made available quickly in a database format that is accessible on the World Wide Web.

### **Full Disclosure**

- All contributions should be itemized and complete, regardless of size; filers should not accept contributions that they are unable or unwilling to fully disclose.
- Disclosure should include mandatory information on the amount and date of the contribution, as well as the contributor's full name, address, occupation and employer.
- Registered PACs and lobbyists should be required to identify themselves as such and to disclose any business they have before the state.
- The loophole in Section 251 of the Texas Election Code that exempts almost all out-of-state PACs from filing the contribution and expenditure reports that Texas PACs must file should be eliminated;
- Filers should be required to report cash on hand at the time of each filing;
- Expenditures by PACs and political parties on behalf of slate candidates should be reported in an apportioned form on the contribution reports of benefiting candidates; and
- The Ethics Commission should be empowered to monitor the accuracy of reports and to assess substantial civil penalties on candidates and committees that fail to comply with reporting requirements.

A 1996 Center for Responsive Politics report contains a useful discussion of model disclosure policies implemented by Colorado, Washington, Illinois and Michigan.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> "Plugging in the Public: A Model for Campaign Finance Disclosure," by Elizabeth Hedlund and Lisa Rosenberg, Center for Responsive Politics, Washington, D.C.

# A Full House

## Contributions Data on Each Member

Dist	Member	P	Contribution Size			Source		Vote Share		
			War Chest	Under \$100	\$100- \$999	\$1,000 & Up	Out of Dist. \$	PAC/ Biz \$	1996 Prmy	1996 Gen'l
1	Barry Telford	D	\$117,564	2%	66%	32%	78%	70%	100%	64%
2	Tom Ramsay	D	\$57,215	5%	70%	25%	79%	68%	100%	100%
3	Pete Patterson	D	\$12,825	1%	83%	16%	99%	97%	100%	100%
4	Keith Oakley	D	\$156,487	1%	57%	42%	87%	73%	100%	53%
5	Bob Glaze	D	\$86,357	1%	63%	36%	87%	80%	100%	60%
6	Ted Kamel	R	\$44,420	3%	95%	2%	33%	64%	100%	100%
7	Tommy Merritt	R	\$87,016	6%	72%	23%	50%	44%	63%	100%
8	Paul Sadler	D	\$106,062	1%	51%	48%	90%	69%	100%	61%
9	Wayne Christian	R	\$189,736	4%	27%	69%	79%	72%	100%	51%
10	Jim Pitts	R	\$81,436	7%	84%	9%	64%	47%	100%	100%
11	Todd Staples	R	\$157,356	16%	46%	39%	73%	68%	100%	56%
12	Clyde Alexander	D	\$228,333	3%	63%	35%	93%	54%	100%	64%
13	Dan Kubiak	D	\$106,444	4%	56%	40%	88%	78%	100%	59%
14	Bill Roman	R	\$9,810	16%	84%	0%	7%	0%	52%	NA
15	Thomas Williams	R	\$132,888	5%	66%	29%	54%	43%	34%*	69%
16	Bob Rabuck	R	\$19,905	9%	81%	10%	84%	83%	100%	100%
17	Jim McReynolds	D	\$111,039	4%	30%	66%	88%	79%	55%	51%
18	Allen Hightower	D	\$153,670	4%	62%	34%	88%	72%	100%	60%
19	Ron Lewis	D	\$130,746	1%	64%	35%	90%	62%	100%	69%
20	Zeb Zbranek	D	\$98,725	3%	44%	53%	88%	64%	100%	53%
21	Mark Stiles	D	\$315,978	2%	50%	48%	79%	66%	100%	88%
22	Albert Price	D	\$32,680	9%	67%	24%	82%	72%	54%	100%
23	Patricia Gray	D	\$175,004	4%	57%	39%	79%	72%	100%	58%
24	Craig Eiland	D	\$58,461	1%	69%	30%	79%	66%	100%	100%
25	Dennis Bonnen	R	\$77,486	12%	76%	12%	62%	58%	25%*	67%
26	Charlie Howard	R	\$78,179	4%	61%	35%	49%	41%	100%	86%
27	Dora Olivo	D	\$97,686	22%	43%	36%	38%	66%	60%	61%
28	Robert Cook	D	\$113,958	13%	65%	22%	60%	49%	65%	55%
29	Tom Uher	D	\$120,582	2%	56%	42%	96%	89%	100%	53%
30	Steve Holzheuser	R	\$112,615	1%	78%	21%	66%	57%	100%	100%
31	Judy Hawley	D	\$139,144	6%	64%	30%	89%	67%	100%	71%
32	Gene Seaman	R	\$221,355	4%	33%	64%	69%	67%	48%*	51%
33	Vilma Luna	D	\$34,720	4%	79%	17%	71%	69%	100%	100%
34	Hugo Berlanga	D	\$363,550	1%	52%	47%	55%	54%	75%	100%
35	Irma Rangel	D	\$104,587	2%	69%	28%	92%	63%	61%	100%
36	Kino Flores	D	\$53,136	3%	75%	22%	68%	68%	53%	61%
37	Rene Oliveira	D	\$97,441	0%	70%	30%	73%	74%	100%	69%
38	Jim Solis	D	\$21,095	4%	82%	14%	79%	71%	100%	100%
39	Miguel Wise	D	\$36,713	2%	69%	29%	90%	71%	60%	100%
40	Juan Hinojosa	D	\$57,120	1%	60%	39%	42%	56%	55%	71%

# A Full House

## Contributions Data on Each Member

Dist	Member	P	Contribution Size			Source	Vote Share			
			War Chest	Under \$100	\$100- \$999	\$1,000 & Up	Out of Dist. \$	PAC/ Biz \$	1996 Prmy	1996 Gen'l
41	Roberto Gutierrez	D	\$55,212	3%	79%	18%	69%	72%	100%	66%
42	Henry Cuellar	D	\$65,979	9%	61%	31%	61%	56%	100%	100%
43	Tracy King	D	\$48,336	10%	76%	14%	79%	63%	100%	100%
44	Richard Raymond	D	\$104,673	2%	48%	50%	67%	39%	100%	100%
45	Edmund Kuempel	R	\$180,381	3%	72%	25%	89%	61%	74%	89%
46	Alec Rhodes	D	\$140,534	5%	45%	51%	84%	59%	100%	56%
47	Terry Keel	R	\$192,677	15%	51%	34%	62%	37%	44%*	69%
48	Sherri Greenberg	D	\$119,545	13%	74%	13%	66%	43%	81%	100%
49	Elliott Naishtat	D	\$64,857	23%	64%	13%	36%	66%	100%	63%
50	Dawna Dukes	D	\$39,963	1%	74%	25%	88%	71%	100%	100%
51	Glen Maxey	D	\$128,724	37%	50%	13%	49%	36%	57%	72%
52	Mike Krusee	R	\$51,076	0%	60%	40%	91%	88%	100%	62%
53	Harvey Hilderbran	R	\$162,168	4%	71%	25%	76%	59%	69%	73%
54	Suzanna Hupp	R	\$173,832	5%	20%	75%	94%	85%	100%	53%
55	Dianne White Delisi	R	\$70,923	9%	72%	18%	62%	51%	100%	100%
56	Kip Averitt	R	\$60,316	3%	71%	27%	74%	70%	100%	100%
57	Jim Dunnam	D	\$91,066	4%	46%	50%	41%	49%	100%	59%
58	Arlene Wohlgemuth	R	\$198,561	12%	44%	44%	73%	45%	100%	54%
59	Allen Place	D	\$175,782	4%	56%	40%	92%	78%	100%	50%
60	Jim Keffer	R	\$115,456	4%	33%	63%	68%	66%	100%	51%
61	Ric Williamson	R	\$26,335	1%	87%	11%	94%	83%	100%	100%
62	Ron Clark	R	\$327,920	2%	17%	81%	92%	87%	100%	54%
63	Mary Denny	R	\$28,431	17%	71%	12%	78%	57%	100%	100%
64	Jim Horn	R	\$47,259	4%	79%	17%	92%	84%	66%	100%
65	Burt Solomons	R	\$60,456	7%	68%	25%	82%	54%	100%	100%
66	Brian McCall	R	\$65,392	8%	73%	18%	76%	72%	100%	100%
67	Jerry Madden	R	\$30,666	11%	72%	16%	81%	59%	100%	100%
68	Charles Finnell	D	\$24,476	13%	82%	4%	82%	68%	100%	100%
69	John Hirschi	D	\$20,750	12%	80%	7%	9%	2%	100%	100%
70	David Counts	D	\$221,098	1%	58%	41%	93%	68%	100%	51%
71	Bob Hunter	R	\$80,839	5%	82%	13%	49%	41%	100%	100%
72	Robert Junell	D	\$242,773	1%	48%	51%	88%	63%	100%	100%
73	Bob Turner	D	\$28,317	3%	79%	18%	92%	88%	100%	100%
74	Pete Gallego	D	\$70,097	11%	74%	15%	89%	71%	100%	100%
75	Gilbert Serna	D	\$50,200	12%	52%	35%	75%	59%	100%	68%
76	Norma Chavez	D	\$117,782	9%	66%	25%	80%	41%	39%*	100%
77	Paul Moreno	D	\$36,105	10%	71%	19%	70%	56%	60%	100%
78	Pat Haggerty	R	\$28,536	1%	82%	18%	93%	75%	100%	100%
79	Joe Pickett	D	\$43,274	7%	84%	9%	82%	56%	100%	100%
80	Gary Walker	R	\$43,435	4%	80%	16%	76%	49%	100%	100%

# A Full House

## Contributions Data on Each Member

Dist	Member	P	Contribution Size			Source		Vote Share		
			War Chest	Under \$100	\$100- \$999	\$1,000 & Up	Out of Dist. \$	PAC/ Biz \$	1996 Prmy	1996 Gen'l
81	G.E. West	R	\$39,514	5%	81%	14%	73%	64%	100%	100%
82	Tom Craddick	R	\$111,141	0%	52%	48%	93%	66%	100%	100%
83	Delwin Jones	R	\$62,342	3%	75%	23%	79%	60%	100%	83%
84	Carl Isett	R	\$86,091	2%	30%	69%	71%	74%	NA	58%
85	Pete Laney	D	\$1,068,818	2%	21%	77%	99%	64%	100%	65%
86	John Smithee	R	\$29,250	1%	58%	41%	93%	89%	100%	100%
87	David Swinford	R	\$64,562	6%	90%	5%	66%	51%	100%	100%
88	Warren Chisum	R	\$38,100	0%	80%	20%	98%	81%	100%	100%
89	Sue Palmer	R	\$158,907	3%	57%	40%	81%	41%	78%	55%
90	Lon Burnam	D	\$162,073	16%	54%	30%	60%	32%	36%*	100%
91	Bill Carter	R	\$76,299	3%	72%	25%	93%	72%	100%	100%
92	Todd Smith	R	\$88,883	9%	61%	30%	59%	42%	35%*	100%
93	Toby Goodman	R	\$55,249	3%	66%	32%	96%	53%	100%	100%
94	Kent Grusendorf	R	\$39,949	6%	69%	25%	61%	46%	100%	89%
95	Glenn Lewis	D	\$48,179	2%	59%	38%	97%	88%	100%	100%
96	Kim Brimer	R	\$168,857	1%	61%	38%	96%	60%	100%	100%
97	Anna Mowery	R	\$17,070	1%	84%	15%	86%	89%	100%	100%
98	Nancy Moffat	R	\$108,900	2%	72%	26%	85%	60%	74%	100%
99	Kenny Marchant	R	\$81,755	1%	56%	43%	88%	82%	100%	100%
100	Terri Hodge	D	\$62,399	7%	72%	22%	76%	61%	55%	69%
101	Elvira Reyna	R	\$31,295	12%	75%	13%	92%	81%	100%	100%
102	Tony Goolsby	R	\$54,097	1%	76%	23%	91%	75%	100%	100%
103	Steven Wolens	D	\$114,218	3%	68%	30%	66%	71%	100%	100%
104	Domingo Garcia	D	\$109,530	7%	49%	45%	91%	45%	48%*	72%
105	Dale Tillery	D	\$77,146	2%	61%	37%	98%	84%	100%	62%
106	Ray Allen	R	\$72,184	17%	71%	12%	93%	69%	100%	59%
107	Harryette Ehrhardt	D	\$214,368	13%	60%	26%	71%	41%	100%	58%
108	Carolyn Galloway	R	\$41,269	10%	67%	23%	44%	39%	NA	74%
109	Helen Giddings	D	\$42,410	8%	75%	17%	92%	55%	100%	100%
110	Jesse Jones	D	\$23,669	12%	67%	21%	94%	81%	100%	93%
111	Yvonne Davis	D	\$50,553	5%	83%	12%	89%	55%	100%	100%
112	Fred Hill	R	\$44,350	7%	88%	5%	88%	66%	100%	100%
113	Joe Driver	R	\$98,510	4%	74%	22%	80%	63%	100%	100%
114	Will Hartnett	R	\$42,495	3%	77%	20%	79%	46%	100%	88%
115	Leticia Van de Putte	D	\$50,768	8%	77%	15%	85%	77%	100%	100%
116	Leo Alvarado	D	\$48,212	2%	64%	34%	96%	77%	100%	70%
117	John Longoria	D	\$18,600	1%	72%	27%	94%	77%	100%	100%
118	<b>Not Studied:</b>		See Method							
119	Robert Puente	D	\$71,697	2%	80%	17%	86%	66%	65%	100%
120	Ruth J. McClendon	D	\$39,050	1%	73%	26%	77%	68%	NA	98%

# A Full House

## Contributions Data on Each Member

Dist	Member	P	Contribution Size			Source		Vote Share		
			War Chest	Under \$100	\$100- \$999	\$1,000 & Up	Out of Dist. \$	PAC/ Biz \$	1996 Prmy	1996 Gen'l
121	Bill Siebert	R	\$225,465	5%	69%	26%	82%	53%	63%	66%
122	John Shields	R	\$76,715	2%	83%	16%	68%	44%	100%	100%
123	Frank J. Corte	R	\$95,909	4%	63%	33%	63%	47%	65%	100%
124	Christine Hernandez	D	\$59,886	3%	77%	20%	97%	72%	100%	100%
125	Arthur Reyna	D	\$64,288	10%	74%	16%	90%	63%	41%*	61%
126	Peggy Hamric	R	\$75,400	5%	78%	17%	92%	77%	82%	100%
127	Joe Crabb	R	\$70,839	6%	84%	10%	87%	62%	100%	100%
128	Fred Bosse	D	\$59,143	2%	67%	31%	97%	73%	100%	100%
129	Mike Jackson	R	\$45,855	1%	91%	8%	94%	79%	100%	100%
130	John Culberson	R	\$14,853	2%	64%	34%	99%	87%	100%	100%
131	Ron Wilson	D	\$67,670	1%	50%	49%	97%	68%	100%	100%
132	Scott Hochberg	D	\$111,004	11%	73%	17%	83%	57%	100%	64%
133	Joe Nixon	R	\$26,380	2%	78%	20%	84%	79%	100%	100%
134	Kyle Janek	R	\$152,454	5%	79%	17%	86%	28%	100%	100%
135	Gary Elkins	R	\$26,000	1%	65%	35%	88%	71%	100%	100%
136	Beverly Woolley	R	\$74,068	3%	79%	18%	76%	63%	87%	92%
137	Debra Danburg	D	\$181,563	8%	67%	25%	61%	58%	100%	65%
138	Ken Yarbrough	D	\$195,443	2%	52%	46%	83%	78%	70%	51%
139	Sylvester Turner	D	\$88,492	4%	65%	32%	98%	69%	100%	100%
140	Kevin Bailey	D	\$84,707	2%	77%	21%	53%	73%	66%	100%
141	Senfronia Thompson	D	\$36,638	1%	78%	20%	100%	74%	100%	100%
142	Harold Dutton Jr.	D	\$84,007	2%	75%	23%	94%	82%	79%	100%
143	Gerard Torres	D	\$72,918	2%	81%	17%	94%	78%	100%	72%
144	Robert Talton	R	\$98,837	4%	74%	22%	79%	53%	100%	61%
145	Diana Davila	D	\$35,198	1%	76%	23%	97%	93%	100%	71%
146	Al Edwards	D	\$31,475	0%	79%	21%	93%	83%	100%	73%
147	Garnet Coleman	D	\$190,066	3%	73%	24%	76%	53%	91%	100%
148	Jessica Farrar	D	\$76,900	4%	82%	14%	84%	62%	57%	100%
149	Talmadge Heflin	R	\$49,235	3%	82%	15%	99%	78%	100%	82%
150	Paul J. Hilbert	R	\$109,464	2%	77%	21%	96%	76%	70%	100%
<b>Total</b>			<b>\$14,627,357</b>							
<b>Average</b>			<b>\$98,170</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>80%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>84%</b>

\* **Run off:** Failing to win a simple majority in the primary, this candidate prevailed in a subsequent run off. The lower voting share from the initial race is presented, reflecting the close primary race.

**NA Not Applicable:** NA means that this candidate did not run in the indicated race. Instead, he or she prevailed in special and general elections after the primary victor dropped out of the race. Figures presented are from the general.<sup>15</sup> Bill Roman prevailed over another Republican in a January 1997 special election. It functioned like a primary, since no Democrat contested the seat.

<sup>15</sup> Former Democratic Rep. Robert Duncan ran for the Senate while finishing his term. Carl Isett was not elected in a special election for that seat. Instead, a local GOP caucus nominated him to run.



## VI. Acknowledgements

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