

# RIGGED: How the Texas Oil and Gas Industry Bankrolls its Own Regulators

*by Texans for Public Justice Sierra Club Lone Star Chapter Public Citizen's Texas Office* 

November 2016

## **RIGGED!**

The three sitting members of the misnamed Texas Railroad Commission conservatively took 60 percent of the more than \$11 million that they raised in recent years from the oil and gas industry that they regulate. The No. 2 source of political funding for these commissioners was the Lawyers & Lobbyists sector, which accounts for another 7 percent of the commissioners' cash. With many of these attorneys representing clients before the agency, the two industries pressing the most business before the commissioners supply 67 percent of their funding. Oil and gas interests also supplied 65 percent of the money reported by Railroad Commission-elect Wayne Christian, whom voters just selected to replace retiring Commissioner David Porter.

IVI	woney haised by current commissioners					
(Since January 2010)						
Commissioner (Party)	Year Elected	Itemized Contributions	Oil & Gas Amount	Oil & Gas Percent	Fundraising Period	
Christi Craddick (R)	2012	\$4,874,193	\$2,718,624	56%	7/2011 thru 6/2016	
Ryan Sitton (R)	2014	\$3,688,668	\$2,179,302	59%	9/2013 thru 6/2016	
David Porter (R)	2010	\$2,558,551	\$1,752,526	68%	1/2010 thru 6/2016	

\$6,650,452

60%

\$11,121,412

TOTALS

## Money Raised by Current Commissioners

This report analyzes the itemized campaign contributions of the three sitting commissioners and of the four finalists who vied for Commissioner Porter's open seat in November 2016. Where appropriate, this study tracks money raised as far back as 2010, when Porter first ran for the commission. Long a major player in Texas politics, the energy industry has an especially outsized role in bankrolling its own regulators. During the 2014 cycle, the energy industry accounted for 17 cents of every dollar raised by Texas' non-judicial state candidates. During that gubernatorial election cycle, Governor Greg Abbott raised more than \$45 million-taking 22 percent of it from oil and gas interests. That industry clearly secured a major voice in the Governor's Mansion. Yet Commissioner-elect Christian is three times more dependent on the oil and gas industry than Abbott (this study also includes the money that Christian raised for the race that he lost to Commissioner Ryan Sitton in 2014).

When an industry pays from 56 percent to 65 percent of its regulators' prodigious political bills, who's regulating whom?

#### Money Raised by Four Party Nominees Seeking David Porter's Open Seat in 2016

Candidate (Party)	Itemized Contributions	Oil & Gas Amount	Oil & Gas Percent	Fundraising Period
'Wayne' Christian (R)	\$1,110,887	\$722,728	65%	9/2013 thru 10/2016
Mark Miller (L)	\$126,007	\$1,050	1%	6/2014 thru 10/2016
Martina Salinas (G)	\$4,862	\$0	0%	6/2014 thru 10/2016
Grady Yarbrough (D)	\$0	\$0	NA	7/2015 thru 10/2016
TOTALS	\$1,241,756	\$723,778	58%	

### **Top Contributors**

The "Top Contributors" table on page four further illustrates the industry's grip on the agency. It lists the 44 top contributors to the seven Railroad Commission candidates analyzed here. Note that just nine of these donors (20 percent) are not ostensibly regulated by the commission.

Yet several big donors classified in other industries also have oil running in their veins. The campaign of state Rep. Tom Craddick, R-Midland, became this study's No. 1 contributor by spending \$625,937 to help daughter Christi Craddick win a 2012 Railroad Commission race. Although not classified in the energy industry, Tom Craddick worked for an <u>oil-supply</u> company, represents an energy district and tapped that industry for <u>35</u> <u>percent</u> of his political funding. The law firm <u>Parsley Coffin Renner</u> also invested \$107,000 in Railroad Commission candidates. That firm specializes in representing energy clients before the Public Utility Commission and the Railroad Commission.<sup>1</sup>



Identifying the true source of Railroad Commission funds can be like prospecting for oil deep beneath the earth's surface. Commissioner Ryan Sitton's No. 1 contributor, for example, is the Conservative Republicans of Texas PAC (CROT), which gave Sitton almost \$400,000 for his 2014 primary runoff against Wayne Christian. CROT is tied to Houston physician and conservative activist Dr. Steven Hotze, who is better known for his concerns about <u>gay marriage</u> and <u>transgender toilets</u> than for oil and gas rules. So why did ideological CROT go all in for Sitton against the arguably more socially conservative Wayne Christian in a race for an office that has little to do with CROT's social issues? And where did CROT get the money? The bizarre answer is that the money that CROT gave to Sitton's campaign came from... Sitton's campaign!

CROT PAC raised \$1.4 million during the extended 2014 primary season. Its No. 1 donor was the Sitton campaign. Another top CROT donor was the campaign of then-retiring Railroad Commissioner Barry Smitherman (whom Sitton replaced). These Railroad Commission campaigns, which were overwhelmingly bankrolled by the oil and gas industry, supplied 38 percent of CROT's money in that period.

During the 2014 GOP primary runoff, Sitton's campaign moved a total of \$430,000 to CROT PAC, which spent \$396,687 promoting Sitton to voters (and that Sitton reported as in-kind contributions to his campaign). The money flowing between Sitton and CROT PAC was essentially a wash, with CROT taking an extra \$33,000 or so, perhaps for overhead expenses. Those expenses included payments to the political consulting firms Blakemore & Associates and Baselice & Associates, firms that advised both CROT and Sitton. These lawful transactions effectively laundered the source of a pile of the Sitton campaign's petro dollars. They created the appearance that Sitton's top campaign contributor was the ideological Conservative Republicans of Texas PAC.<sup>2</sup>

As such major contributors as CROT PAC, the Parsley Coffin Renner firm and the Tom Craddick campaign demonstrate, this report dramatically undercounts the true extent to which Railroad Commissioners are financially dependent on the oil and gas industry that they regulate.



Sitton to		CROT PAC
CROT PAC	Date	to Sitton
\$20,000	3/26/14	
\$40,000	4/30/14	
	5/1/14	\$36,994
\$140,000	5/9/14	\$142,137
	5/12/14	\$16,801
\$230,000	5/15/14	\$200,755
\$430,000	TOTALS	\$396,687

#### Exchanges Between Sitton's Campaign and Conservative Republicans of Texas (CROT) PAC

#### Top Contributors to the Three Commissioners and Four Candidates

Top Contributors to the Three Commissioners and Four Candidates						
Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry			
\$625,937	Tom Craddick Campaign	Midland	Other			
\$396,687	Conservative Republicans of TX	Houston	Ideological/Single Issue			
\$297,890	Syed Javaid & Vicky Anwar (Midland Energy)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$271,000	James L Davis (West TX Gas /JL Davis Gas)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$256,133	Mickey L & R Renee Long (Westex Well Services)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$215,000	Terry G & Pam Bailey (High Roller Wells)	Center	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$190,115	Kelcy L & Amy Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$140,000	Trammell S & Margaret Crow (Crow Holdings)	Dallas	Real Estate			
\$134,500	Good Government Fund	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$125,000	Trevor & Janice Rees-Jones (Chief Oil & Gas)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$120,646	Texas Oil & Gas Assn	Austin	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$112,000	James C & Paula Henry (Henry Petroleum)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$110,148	Julia Jones Matthews (Dodge Jones Foundation)	Abilene	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$109,500	Dian Owen Graves Stai (Owen Healthcare)	Abilene	Health			
\$107,184	Chris Faulkner (Breitling Energy)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$107,000	Parsley Coffin Renner LLP	Austin	Lawyers & Lobbyists			
\$105,500	Robert R Beecherl (Piedra Resources/Verdad Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$101,000	Atmos Energy Corp.	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$97,380	Donald E & Lynne Wood (Permian Enterprises)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$91,937	James D & Charlotte Finley (Finley Resources)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$85,000	Jeffery D & Mindy Hildebrand (Hilcorp Energy Co)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$80,500	Frosty & Rhonda Gilliam (Aghorn Energy)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$80,000	Jack Wood (Western National Bank)	Odessa	Finance			
\$77,500	Cody & Tara Campbell (Double Eagle Dev)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$75,000	Stephen & Patricia Chazen (Occidental Petroleum)	Pac. Pal.	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$75,000	Grass Roots Institute of Texas	Arlington	Ideological/Single Issue			
\$70,000	Timothy & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$68,445	Loyd W Powell (Cholla Petroleum)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$65,000	Anne W & John L Marion (Burnett Oil Co.)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$63,000	Rosalind R & Arden Grover (Grover McKinney Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$62,500	Charles 'Dick' Saulsbury (Saulsbury Industries)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$61,145	T Chris Cooper (Oilfield Water Logistics)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$60,500	Andrew Leslie Ballard (Ballard Exploration Co)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$60,000	Chesapeake Energy Corp.	OK City	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$55,000	Ray & Nancy Ann Hunt (Hunt Consolidated)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$55,000	Mackie McCrea (Energy Transfer Partners)	San Antonio	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$53,000	Blackridge Consulting	Austin	Lawyers & Lobbyists			
\$52,800	Energy Transfer Partners	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$51,500	Fasken Oil & Ranch	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$50,000	Dustin Bailey (CenTex Frac-Tanks)	Center	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$50,000	Courtney & Margaret Cowden (KC Operating)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$50,000	Patrick J Moran (Moran Exploration)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$50,000	Scott Douglas & Kim Sheffield (Pioneer Nat'l Res.)	Irving	Energy/Nat'l Resources			
\$50,000	Harold C Simmons (Contran Corp)	Dallas	Finance			
Note: Aboy	<b>Note:</b> Above contributors gave \$5,215,447, or 42 percent of what the seven politicians raised.					

Note: Above contributors gave \$5,215,447, or 42 percent of what the seven politicians raised.



nother notable contributor is Kelcy Warren. When not running Energy Transfer Partners, which is building pipelines near Big Bend National Park and across sacred indigenous burial grounds in the Dakotas, Warren serves as an Abbott-appointed Texas Parks and Wildlife commissioner.

By contrast, petroleum engineer and Libertarian candidate Mark Miller, whom several newspapers are <u>endorsing</u> as the most qualified current candidate, took just 1 percent of his \$126,007 war chest from oil and gas interests. Miller's top support comes from Libertarian-leaning tech contributors.

Industry domination is not the Railroad Commission's only chronic, serious problem. Another is that voters select the leaders of this low profile yet powerful and misnamed agency. The Railroad Commission's 1891 founder, populist Governor Jim Hogg, specifically put it under the direction of gubernatorial appointees for fear that wealthy railroad barons would buy too much influence with elected commissioners. Three years later, lawmakers turned the commission into the elected office that Hogg rejected. As the agency's role morphed from overseeing railroads to regulating the energy industry, the industry bankrolling the commissioners changed—but the agency's name didn't. As a result, commissioners are picked by voters who think the agency does something with trains. These confused voters base their selections on little more than party labels and candidate names.

Voter reliance on candidate names can be disconcerting. By besting two better-funded candidates in the 2016 Democratic primary, Grady Yarbrough fed <u>rumors</u> that voters simply associated his surname with that of the late populist Democratic Congressman Ralph Yarbrough. Similarly, some insiders wondered if Railroad Commission staff scientist <u>Lance Christian</u> was recruited to run in the 2016 GOP primary to confuse voters at the expense of Wayne Christian (Gary Gates beat Wayne Christian by 9 percentage points in the seven-person primary but Wayne Christian narrowly beat Gates in a two-man runoff). Many observers also believe that ethnic bias alone led GOP primary voters to replace incumbent Commissioner <u>Victor Carrillo</u> in 2010 with now-retiring Commissioner David Porter. Is this any way to run a railroad?

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### Will the Sun Set on Commission Conflicts?

rdinary voters who elect the commissioners have a negligible role in bankrolling their campaigns. More than 90 percent of the money raised by the three sitting commissioners and by Commissioner-elect Wayne Christian came in checks of \$1,000 or more. Horse-choking checks of \$10,000 or more accounted for anywhere from one-third to two-thirds of the money that these four politicians raised.

Contributions by Check Size							
Candidate	Checks		Checks		Checks		All Itemized
(Party)	<\$1,000	%	\$1,000-\$9,999	%	<u>&gt;</u> \$10,000	%	Contributions
Craddick (R)	\$416,071	9%	\$2,321,402	48%	\$2,136,720	44%	\$4,874,193
Sitton (R)	\$99,003	3%	\$1,169,477	32%	\$2,420,188	66%	\$3,688,668
Porter (R)	\$209,320	8%	\$1,504,731	59%	\$844,500	33%	\$2,558,551
Christian (R)	\$87,397	8%	\$450,990	41%	\$572,500	52%	\$1,110,887
Miller (L)	\$25,807	20%	\$20,200	16%	\$80,000	63%	\$126,007
Salinas (G)	\$4,862	100%	\$0	0%	\$0	0%	\$4,862
Yarbrough (D)	\$0	NA	\$0	NA	\$0	NA	\$0
TOTALS	\$842,460	7%	\$5,466,800	44%	\$6,053,908	49%	\$12,363,168

#### ntributions by Chook Size

Note: Some percentages don't total 100% due to rounding.

These and other structural problems have given the Railroad Commission bad marks with the Texas Sunset Advisory Commission. It typically reviews state agencies every 12 years to determine if they return good taxpayer value, need reform or should be abolished altogether. The Railroad Commission has received such poor reviews that it is currently undergoing its third Sunset review since 2010.

The latest Sunset staff report again slams the agency's deceptive name, calling for its rechristening as the "Texas Energy Resources Commission." It also suggests that the agency's case hearings and gas-utility rate cases could be done more professionally and transparently by the State Office of Administrative Hearings and the Public Utility Commission, respectively. Sunset staff argue that spinning off these functions would allow the commission to focus scarce resources on core functions such as enforcement, plugging abandoned wells and ensuring pipeline safety. Sunset staff argue that major agency changes are needed to improve pipeline safety, increase bonding requirements for new oil and gas drilling, and most importantly, to devise a plan to beef up inspection and enforcement efforts.

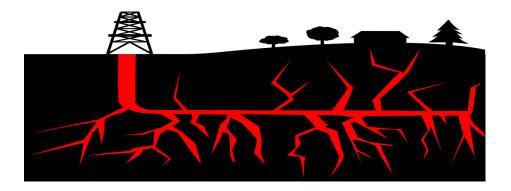
The 2013 Sunset staff <u>report</u> was even harder hitting. It recommended that commissioners be banned from taking money from parties involved in the agency's contested cases. It said that commissioners should just raise money during an 18-month period surrounding an election (instead of throughout most of their six-year terms). That report also recommended that commissioners be forced to resign to run for another office and that the agency should develop rules to prevent informal, *ex parte* discussions of contested cases. The staff's more modest

proposals this round may reflect an implicit recognition that the lawmakers charged with reforming the agency are themselves subject to <u>considerable industry pressure</u>. Indeed, some of the 10 lawmakers reviewing the latest Sunset staff report at a hearing in August 2016 <u>took the Sunset staff to</u> <u>task</u> for criticizing the agency. The "oil and gas industry is the heart and soul of the state of Texas," said Republican Rep. Dan Flynn. "And for us to go and attack an agency that's done a pretty good job, it just doesn't make sense to me."

Consumer advocates and Sunset Commission staff have urged reforms to ban commissioners and commission candidates from taking money from those who have cases before the commission.

In his classic 1981 study,<sup>3</sup> University of Texas professor David Prindle analyzed contributions to the six men

who won 12 Railroad Commission elections from 1962 through 1978. Just looking at checks of \$500 or more, Prindle found that the commissioners raised a *total* of \$976,813 to win those 12 races (a now-quaint average of \$81,400 per victory). The oil and gas industry supplied 69 percent of that total. Prindle concluded that the industry selected its regulators by ensuring that their candidates typically had 20 times more money than the combined totals of their opponents. Financial supremacy, he concluded, let industry candidates buy decisive name recognition in a low-profile, statewide race. Two major changes have occurred since Prindle published. First, the amounts of money involved have skyrocketed. Second, in Prindle's day the Democratic nominee always won, whereas in recent decades Republican nominees always prevail.<sup>4</sup> Texas can do much better that this ludicrous approach to regulating its energy industry.



# **Data Appendix**

#### Contributions to Three Sitting Railroad Commissioners By Industry

Amount	Percent	Industry
*\$6,999,303	*63%	*Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$797,069	7%	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$712,781	6%	Other
\$555,216	5%	Finance
\$540,672	5%	Ideological/Single Issue
\$347,367	3%	Real Estate
\$258,175	2%	Construction
\$221,335	2%	Miscellaneous Business
\$206,239	2%	Unknown
\$166,334	1%	Health
\$133,827	1%	Agriculture
\$90,850	1%	Transportation
\$41,793	<1%	Communications
\$37,850	<1%	Insurance
\$12,600	<1%	Computers & Electronics
\$11,121,412	100%	TOTAL

\*Includes electricity and solid waste interests not included in regulated-industry totals.

#### Top Contributors to Commissioner Christi Craddick (July 2011 through June 2016)

		/		
Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry	
\$625,937	Tom Craddick Campaign	Midland	Other	
\$205,390	Syed Javaid & Vicky Anwar (Midland Energy)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$90,000	James L Davis (West TX Gas/JL Davis Gas)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$80,718	Mickey & Renee Long (Westex Well Services)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$75,000	Trevor D & Janice Rees-Jones (Chief Oil & Gas)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$67,380	Donald & Lynne Wood (Permian Enterprises)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$51,000	Blackridge Consulting	Austin	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
\$50,000	Terry & Pam Bailey (High Roller Wells)	Center	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$50,000	Kelcy & Amy Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$50,000	Jack Wood (Western National Bank)	Odessa	Finance	
\$45,420	Gary H & Bev Martin (RJ Mach./Falcon Bay Energy)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$40,000	Rosalind & Arden Grover (Grover McKinney Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$40,000	S Kirk Rogers (S K Rogers Oil)	Levelland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$39,500	Good Government Fund	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$37,000	Carlton 'Carty' Beal (BTA Oil Producers)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$36,000	Atmos Energy Corp	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$36,000	Parsley Coffin Renner LLP	Austin	Lawyers & Lobbyists	
\$35,000	Jeffery & Mindy Hildebrand (Hilcorp Energy)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources	
\$35,000	Al G Hill (A G Hill Partners)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources	

Note: Above contributors gave \$1,689,346, or 35 percent of what Christi Craddick raised.

#### Top Contributors to Commissioner Ryan Sitton (Sept. 2013 through June 2016)

Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry
\$396,687	Conservative Republicans of TX	Houston	Ideological/Single Issue
\$160,415	Mickey & Renee Long (Westex Well Services)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$105,000	Trammell & Margaret Crow Holdings)	Dallas	Real Estate
\$100,000	Chris Faulkner (Breitling Energy)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$80,115	Kelcy L & Amy Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$75,000	Robert Beecherl (Piedra Resources/Verdad Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$75,000	Frosty & Rhonda Gilliam (Aghorn Energy)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$55,000	Syed Javaid & Vicky Anwar (Midland Energy)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$53,648	Julia Jones Matthews (Dodge Jones Foundation)	Abilene	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$53,000	Dian Owen Graves Stai (Owen Healthcare)	Abilene	Health
\$50,000	Cody & Tara Campbell (Double Eagle Dev)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	James L Davis (West TX Gas/JL Davis Gas)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	Trevor & Janice Rees-Jones (Chief Oil & Gas)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$40,000	James & Paula Henry (Henry Petroleum)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$35,000	Lewis Burleson Properties	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$32,500	Tim & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$32,500	Charles 'Dick' Saulsbury (Saulsbury Industries)	Odessa	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$31,000	T Boone Pickens (BP Capital)	Dallas	Finance

Note: Above contributors gave \$1,474,865, or 40 percent of what Sitton raised.

#### Top Contributors to Commissioner David Porter (Jan. 2010 through June 2016)

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Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry
\$116,000	James L Davis (West TX Gas/JL Davis Gas)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$75,000	Grass Roots Institute of Texas	Arlington	Ideological/Single Issue
\$60,000	Kelcy & Amy Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$57,500	Good Government Fund	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$56,000	Parsley Coffin Renner	Austin	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$49,500	Courtney & Margaret Cowden (KC Operating)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$44,437	James & Charlotte Finley (Finley Resources)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$42,445	Loyd W Powell (Cholla Petroleum)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$37,975	Linda Cowden (rancher)	Midland	Agriculture
\$37,500	James & Paula Henry (Henry Petroleum)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$35,000	Atmos Energy Corp.	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$35,000	Trammell & Margaret Crow (Crow Holdings)	Dallas	Real Estate
\$35,000	Harold C Simmons (Contran Corp.)	Dallas	Finance
\$30,000	Oscar Leo Quintanilla (Quintanilla Mgmt)	San Antonio	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$27,500	Syed Javaid & Vicky Anwar (Midland Energy)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$27,500	Tim & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oil)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$25,000	Energy Transfer Partners	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$25,000	Jeffery & Mindy Hildebrand (Hilcorp Energy)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$25,000	Anne & John Marion (Burnett Oil Co.)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$25,000	Patrick J Moran (Moran Exploration)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$25,000	Oilfield Water Logistics (OWL)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources

Note: Above contributors gave \$891,357, or 35 percent of what Porter raised.

#### **Contributions to Four Railroad Commission Candidates By Industry**

Amount	Percent	Industry
*\$814,278	*66%	*Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$99,156	8%	Ideological/Single Issue
\$55,515	4%	Lawyers & Lobbyists
\$55,001	4%	Unknown
\$51,700	4%	Computers & Electronics
\$39,450	3%	Agriculture
\$30,771	2%	Communications
\$24,032	2%	Health
\$19,450	2%	Finance
\$19,253	2%	Other
\$17,000	1%	Construction
\$6,750	1%	Miscellaneous Business
\$3,700	<1%	Real Estate
\$3,350	<1%	Insurance
\$2,350	<1%	Transportation
\$1,241,756	100%	TOTAL

\*Includes electricity and solid waste interests not included in regulated-industry totals.

#### **Top Contributors to Candidate Wayne Christian** (Sept. 2013 through Oct. 2016)

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Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry
\$155,000	Terry G & Pam Bailey (High Roller Wells)	Center	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$51,145	T Chris Cooper (Oilfield Water Logistics)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,646	Texas Oil & Gas Assn.	Austin	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$50,000	Dustin Bailey (CenTex Frac-Tanks)	Center	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$32,400	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	Austin	Ideological/Single Issue
\$25,000	Stephen & Patricia Chazen (Occidental Petro.)	Pac. Pal. CA	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$20,000	James C & Paula Henry (Henry Petroleum)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$20,000	NGL Energy Operating	Tulsa OK	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	AT&T, Inc.	Austin	Communications
\$15,000	Chesapeake Energy Corp.	OK City	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	James L Davis (West TX Gas/JL Davis Gas)	Midland	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	Laszlo & Adel Karalyos (GAIA Clearwater Corp)	Dallas	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	Marathon Oil Corp.	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$15,000	Anne W & John L Marion (Burnett Oil Co.)	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$12,500	Exxon Mobil Corp.	Irving	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$12,500	Good Government Fund	Fort Worth	Energy/Nat'l Resources
\$11,333	Young Conservatives of TX	Austin	Ideological/Single Issue
\$10,300	Energy Transfer Partners	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources
Note: Above contributors gove \$540,924, or 40 percent of what Christian related			

Note: Above contributors gave \$540,824, or 49 percent of what Christian raised.

(June 2014 through Oct. 2016)							
Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry				
\$42,000	Michael Chastain (retired software eng.)	Austin	Computers & Electronics				
\$20,000	Libertarian National Committee	Washington	Ideological/Single Issue				
\$20,000	Chris Rufer (Morning Star Co.)	Woodland CA	Agriculture				
\$6,700	Joel T Trammell (Khorus)	Austin	Computers & Electronics				
\$2,832	Gil Robinson (retired doctor)	San Antonio	Health				
\$2,500	David M Capshaw (AT&T)	Austin	Communications				
\$2,500	James M Keller (photographer)	San Antonio	Communications				
\$1,000	Roxanne Elder (asset manager)	Austin	Finance				
\$1,000	David Hutzelman (Houston Media Source)	Houston	Communications				
\$1,000	Libertarian Party of Bexar County	Sn. Antonio	Ideological/Single Issue				
\$1,000	Geoffrey Neale (Genama)	Bee Cave	Computers & Electronics				
\$1,000	Dixon Patrick (Dixon Process Automation)	Lago Vista	Misc. Business				
\$1,000	Paul Petersen (IT consultant)	Dallas	Computers & Electronics				
\$1,000	Kwaku Temeng (Aramco Services Co.)	Houston	Energy/Nat'l Resources				
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#### Top Contributors to Candidate Mark Miller (June 2014 through Oct. 2016)

Note: Above contributors gave \$103,532, or 82 percent of what Miller raised.

#### Top Contributors to Candidate Martina Salinas (June 2014 through Oct. 2016)

			<i>.</i>
Amount	Contributor (Affiliation)	City	Industry
\$2,332	Harris Co. Green Party	Houston	Ideological/Single Issue
\$500	Wesson Gaige (retired)	Denton	Unknown
\$500	Cristobal Rodriquez (Vaqueros night club)	Laredo	Misc. Business
			-

Note: Above contributors gave \$3,332, or 69 percent of what Salinas raised.

Intern Micah Wheat contributed to this report.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Another top donor is Jack Wood of Midland's Western National Bank, a major <u>lender to the energy</u> <u>industry</u> before and after Frost Bank bought it out.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sitton and his consultants may have decided that having the Conservative Republicans of Texas promote Sitton would be more effective than Sitton promoting himself. Regardless of intent, the *effect* of these transactions was to make a wad of Sitton's petro contributions look like ideological contributions on his campaign finance reports.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Petroleum Politics and the Texas Railroad Commission," David Prindle, University of Texas Press, Austin 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Republican Barry Williamson beat resume-inflating Democratic Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero in 1992.