

Running on Hydrocarbons: Oil and Gas Funding to Every Texas Lawmaker



**Texans for Public Justice
Public Citizen's Texas Office
Sierra Club**

May 2017



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The Texas Sunset Advisory Commission typically reviews state agencies every 12 years to determine if the agencies are efficient, need reform, or should be abolished. The Texas Railroad Commission just underwent its third Sunset review since 2010. A hard-hitting 2013 Sunset staff report recommended the agency's three elected commissioners should only be allowed to raise money during an 18-month period surrounding an election (instead of throughout most of their six-year terms). It also recommended that the agency develop rules to prevent informal, *ex parte* discussions of contested cases, and to ban commissioners from taking money from parties to contested cases. Our recent [Conflicted](#) report found that commissioners continue to take contributions from parties with pending contested cases, despite their claims that they "self-police" such conflicts.

The 2016 Sunset staff [report](#) slammed the agency's deceptive name, calling for its rechristening as the "Texas Energy Resources Commission." It suggested 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. In their report, Sunset staff argued that major agency changes are needed to improve pipeline safety, increase bonding requirements for new oil and gas drilling and to intensify inspection and enforcement efforts. Yet the latest report did not address commissioner fundraising conflicts.

The more modest staff proposals this round seemed to recognize that the lawmakers overseeing the agency are unwilling to fundamentally reform it, perhaps because legislators also come under heavy industry pressure. The "oil and gas industry is the heart and soul of the state of Texas," Rep. Dan Flynn [said](#) at an August 2016 Sunset hearing. "And for us to go and attack an agency that's done a pretty good job, it just doesn't make sense to me."

The three scathing Sunset reviews over the past seven years culminated in a 2017 bill ([HB 1818](#)) that extends the agency until 2029 with modest changes. None of those tweaks address commissioner-contribution conflicts or rename the agency to tell Texans what the commissioners actually do. The bill would require the agency to publish an annual strategic plan to safeguard the environment and public safety, including data on violations and enforcement actions (even the industry [criticizes](#) the commission's lack of enforcement transparency). The bill directs the agency to adopt pipeline safety standards, along with pipeline fees to enforce them. It also urges the agency to encourage alternative dispute resolution.

When HB 1818 came to the House floor on March 28, 2017, members devoted considerable time to alternative disputes—namely those involving immigrants and transgender discrimination. They also [shot down](#) an amendment to penalize Railroad Commission contractors who hire undocumented workers. They did, however, pass an amendment to require Commission contractors to use federal software to verify a worker's eligibility to work on this side of the Wall.



Meanwhile, the legislature has yet to pass two more substantive reform bills. Rep. Rafael Anchia’s [HB 464](#) would limit Railroad Commissioners to raising money during a 17 month period tied to an election and prohibit certain contributions¹ from parties with cases pending before the agency. Sen. Jose Rodriguez’s [SB 568](#) would direct the agency to publish detailed complaint, violation, and enforcement data on its website in a searchable database, vastly improving the transparency of an opaque regulator. The actual Sunset bill, HB 1818, does not mandate disclosure of this information in a searchable database. The legislature’s tepid response to the serious problems identified in recent Sunset reviews raises questions about how much the oil and gas industry calls the shots in the Texas Legislature—as well as at the Railroad Commission. This report analyzes oil and gas contributions to all 181 sitting lawmakers.

Our recent [Rigged](#) report analyzed more than \$11 million that three Railroad Commissioners raised from 2010 through June 2016. It found that 60 percent of that money came from the oil and gas industry that the commissioners regulate. This is an astronomical dependency rate—even by Texas standards. By comparison, the state’s three top political officials obtained from 14 percent to 21 percent of their campaign funds from the oil and gas industry from 2013 through 2016.

Oil and Gas Money to Texas’ Top Political Leaders (2013 through 2016)

Oil/Gas % of Total	Oil & Gas Donations	Politician	Top Oil/Gas Donor
21%	\$16,438,545	Gov. Greg Abbott	Javaid Anwar (Midland Energy)
16%	\$4,787,126	Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick	Kelcy Warren (Energy Transfer Partners)
14%	\$2,314,462	Speaker Joe Straus	Curtis Mewbourne (Mewbourne Oil)
19%	\$23,540,133	TOTALS	

Lawyers & Lobbyists nosed out the **Energy & Natural Resources** sector as the No. 1 funding source of Texas’ 181 lawmakers (more [Texas lobbyists](#) work for Energy & Natural Resources clients, however, than any industry). The Energy & Natural Resources sector supplied 11 cents of every dollar that sitting lawmakers raised. This sector also includes the electricity, chemical, and waste-disposal industries. Oil and gas interests alone provided 6 percent of the campaign funds raised by sitting lawmakers.

Money to Current Lawmakers By Interest Group

Interest	Amount	%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$18,328,381	12%
Energy/Nat’l Resources	\$17,265,702	11%
Health	\$17,041,026	11%
Ideological/Single Issue	\$16,809,666	11%
Unknown	\$13,556,975	9%
Real Estate	\$12,996,235	8%
Miscellaneous Business	\$12,741,038	8%
Finance	\$10,035,095	6%
Construction	\$9,908,592	6%
Transportation	\$5,871,768	4%
Other	\$5,397,412	3%
Insurance	\$4,616,543	3%
Labor	\$4,317,842	3%
Communications	\$4,136,508	3%
Agriculture	\$4,126,150	3%
Computers & Electronics	\$1,169,825	1%
TOTAL	\$158,318,756	100%

The five most petro-dependent senators relied on oil and gas for 10 to 15 percent of their campaign cash. The top four senators serve on the Senate Natural Resources Committee, which oversees oil and gas legislation.

Senators Most Dependent on Oil & Gas (2013 through 2016)

Oil/Gas % of Total	Oil & Gas Donations	Senator
15%	\$232,911	Van Taylor
14%	\$246,449	Kel Seliger
12%	\$139,195	Craig Estes
10%	\$311,817	Konni Burton
10%	\$80,800	Bob Hall

Senate Financial Dependency on Oil & Gas Money (2013 through 2016)

Oil & Gas Donations	Oil/Gas % of Total	Senator	Dist. (Party)	Top Oil & Gas Contributor(s)
\$232,911	15.20%	Van Taylor,	8 (R)	Catherine 'Trinka' Taylor (Taylor Enterprises)
\$311,817	10.30%	Konni Burton	10 (R)	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest)
\$246,449	13.90%	Kel Seliger	31 (R)	Donald Wood (Permian Enterprises)
\$243,552	8.60%	Brandon Creighton	4 (R)	Scott Blair (oil and gas producer)
\$218,400	7.50%	Don Huffines	16 (R)	Al Hill (AG Hill Partners)
\$174,451	9.00%	Jane Nelson	12 (R)	Edward Bass (Bass Brothers Enterprises)
\$168,516	8.00%	Juan 'Chuy' Hinojosa	20 (D)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings/Stripes)
\$161,917	8.70%	Kelly Hancock	9 (R)	Good Government Fund (Bass Brothers)
\$152,693	8.20%	Bryan Hughes	1 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$139,195	11.50%	Craig Estes	30 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$130,984	5.90%	Jose Menendez	26 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$130,600	6.60%	Lois Kolkhorst	18 (R)	Stuart Stedman (Stedman West Interests)
\$113,351	7.20%	Charles Perry	28 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$109,106	6.40%	SENATE AVERAGE		
\$104,713	6.20%	Carlos Uresti	19 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$93,351	4.50%	Robert Nichols	3 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$90,700	6.30%	Judith Zaffirini	21 (D)	Norbert Dickman (Fasken Oil)
\$86,377	5.60%	Larry Taylor	11 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$80,800	9.70%	Bob Hall	2 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$74,752	3.20%	John Whitmire	15 (D)	John W. Johnson (Permian Mud)
\$73,603	6.00%	Joan Huffman	17 (R)	Ray Davis (Energy Transfer Partners)
\$73,200	3.30%	Charles Schwertner	5 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$43,451	3.40%	Paul Bettencourt	7 (R)	David/Wendi Grimes; Occidental Petro.
\$41,200	5.00%	Brian Birdwell	22 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$40,502	2.60%	Dawn Buckingham	24 (R)	Gary Martin (Falcon Bay Energy)
\$37,500	2.10%	Donna Campbell	25 (R)	Valero Energy
\$33,000	3.20%	Eddie Lucio, Jr	27 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$23,600	1.60%	Royce West	23 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$23,000	2.90%	José Rodriguez	29 (D)	Paul Foster (Western Refining)
\$17,000	1.10%	Kirk Watson	14 (D)	Good Government Fund (Bass Brothers)
\$16,700	0.80%	Sylvia Garcia	6 (D)	TX Energy Associations
\$4,000	1.00%	Borris Miles	13 (D)	Stuart Stedman (Stedman West Interests)
\$3,382,285	6.40%	TOTALS		

Note: Senate Natural Resources Committee members in **bold**.

The top oil and gas contributors to Texas lawmakers include such major Tea Party sugar daddies as Empower Texans founder Tim Dunn and brothers Farris and Dan Wilks, who sold their Frac Tech Services for [\\$3.5 billion](#) in 2011 (see top contributors on next page). Four of the Senate’s 31 members counted Farris Wilks or Tim Dunn as their top oil and gas donor.



Sen. Van Taylor (R-Plano)

Illustrating the importance of hydrocarbons to Texas’ anti-regulatory Tea Party, the accompanying table lists top contributors to one of the state’s largest PACs: Empower Texans.² The six donors listed below supplied 98 percent of the \$5.4 million that this PAC raised over the past four years (and all six of these contributors rank among the top energy industry donors to Texas lawmakers). Nonetheless, this report classifies Empower Texans as an “Ideological” contributor. This means that when Empower founder Tim Dunn contributes directly to a lawmaker, it is treated as an oil contribution. Yet the \$4 million that Dunn moved through his Empower Texans PAC is treated as an ideological contribution.³ As such, this report understates oil and gas influence on Texas lawmakers.

Atmos Energy PAC is the No. 2 oil and gas donor to current lawmakers (\$553,942). Our [Conflicted](#) study reported how Atmos contributed to Texas Railroad Commissioners while it had rate cases pending before that agency. A recent *Houston Chronicle* [article](#) reported that the Railroad Commissioners assisted another big contributor, HilCorp Energy head Jeffrey Hildebrand, at the expense of the Texana Groundwater Conservation District. Hildebrand also ranks among the industry’s top contributors to current lawmakers.

Petro Dollars Fuel Empower Texans PAC (2013 through 2016)

Amount	% of Total	Top Contributors to Empower Texans	City
\$4,038,500	75%	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest Oil)	Midland
\$822,000	15%	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)	Cisco
\$182,500	3%	Charles ‘Dick’ Saulsbury (Saulsbury Industries)	Odessa
\$95,000	2%	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)	Houston
\$70,000	1%	Kyle Stallings (Desert Royalty Co.)	Midland
\$22,490	<1%	David/Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)	Houston

Top Oil-Gas Contributors to Current Lawmakers (2013 through 2016)

Amount	Contributor	City	Favorite Lawmaker(s) ⁴
\$770,984	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)	Cisco	Mike Lang
\$553,942	Atmos Energy Corp.	Dallas	Straus/Chuy Hinojosa
\$376,500	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)	Fort Worth	Straus/Jane Nelson
\$310,100	Koch Industries	Washington	Straus/Todd Hunter
\$306,447	TX Oil & Gas Association.	Austin	Straus/Craig Estes
\$298,507	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)	Dallas	M. Meyer/J. Villalba
\$288,574	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest/EnerQuest)	Midland	Jonathan Stickland
\$282,562	Valero Energy Corp.	San Antonio	Straus/Jose Menendez
\$267,734	NuStar Energy	San Antonio	Straus/Jose Menendez
\$267,500	Chesapeake Energy Corp.	OK City	Straus/Drew Darby
\$213,850	Marathon Oil Corp.	Houston	Straus/Larry Taylor
\$200,500	PSEL PAC (Bass Bros.)	Fort Worth	Straus/Charlie Geren
\$192,000	Edward Bass (Bass Bros.)	Fort Worth	Straus/Jane Nelson
\$177,570	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings/Stripes)	Corpus	Straus/Chuy Hinojosa
\$172,500	AI Hill (AG Hill Partners)	Dallas	Don Huffines
\$157,000	Chevron USA	Austin	Straus/Sarah Davis
\$141,500	Occidental Petroleum Corp.	Los Angeles	Straus/Hancock/Seliger
\$139,362	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)	Houston	Jonathan Stickland
\$135,500	Tenaska, Inc.	Omaha	Straus/Rene Oliveira
\$133,335	Curtis Mewbourne (Mewbourne Oil)	Tyler	Straus/Byron Cook
\$132,000	Ray Hunt (Hunt Consolidated)	Dallas	Straus/Morgan Meyer
\$124,750	Kyle Stallings (Desert Royalty)	Midland	Jonathan Stickland
\$122,750	Devon Energy Corp.	OK City	Straus/Craig Estes
\$116,250	Chas. 'Dick' Saulsbury (Saulsbury Ind.)	Odessa	Jonathan Stickland
\$113,000	BP Corp.	Houston	Straus/Lois Kolkhorst
\$102,000	J Ralph Ellis (Belmont Oil)	Irving	Straus/S.Davis/Sheffield
\$100,000	Scott Blair (oil & gas production)	Austin	Brandon Creighton
\$98,500	Anadarko Petroleum Corp.	Woodlands	Straus/B. Creighton
\$98,000	Energy Transfer Partners	Houston	Straus/Dade Phelan
\$97,500	William Greehey (NuStar Energy)	San Antonio	Straus/Jose Menendez
\$97,250	Catherine 'Trinka' Taylor (Taylor Ent.)	Dallas	Van Taylor
\$97,000	Dan Wilks (Frac Tech Services)	Cisco	Matt Schaefer
\$94,427	Mickey Long (Westex Well Services)	Midland	Straus/Drew Darby
\$92,000	Hugh Fitzsimons	Houston	Straus/John Raney
\$91,750	Denbury Resources, Inc.	Plano	Van Taylor
\$89,564	Phillips 66 Co.	Houston	Straus/Joan Huffman
\$89,215	Julia Jones Matthews (Dodge Jones Fdn.)	Abilene	Straus/D. Buckingham
\$81,000	Exxon Mobil Corp.	Irving	Straus/Paul Bettencourt
\$78,875	Stuart Stedman (Stedman West Interests)	Houston	Straus/Lois Kolkhorst
\$75,962	Pioneer Natural Resources	Dallas	Straus/Kel Seliger
\$74,550	David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)	Houston	Matt Rinaldi
\$73,500	Anne Marion (Burnett Oil)	Fort Worth	Straus/Charlie Geren
\$72,000	ConocoPhillips Co.	Houston	Straus/Darby/C.Uresti
\$62,400	Donald Wood (Permian Enterprises)	Odessa	Kel Seliger
\$62,075	Jeffery Hildebrand (Hilcorp Energy)	Houston	Straus/Don Huffines
\$62,000	Ardon Moore (Bass Bros.)	Fort Worth	Straus/Charlie Geren
\$60,250	Dan Hughes (Dan A. Hughes Co.)	Beeville	Straus/Todd Hunter
\$60,000	Syed Javaid Anwar (Midland Energy)	Midland	Straus/Craddick/Seliger

Note: Contributors above supplied 70% of oil and gas money to Texas lawmakers (including Straus).

Nine House members managed to tie or surpass Sen. Van Taylor’s dependence on the energy industry. At the head of the pack is freshman Rep. Mike Lang, who got a stunning 61 percent of his campaign cash from the oil and gas industry. That level of industry dependence is rarely seen outside of the Railroad Commission itself. Yet Lang belongs less to the energy industry as a whole than he does to Farris Wilks. The \$258,984 that Wilks gave to Lang accounted for 96 percent of Lang’s oil and gas money and 59 cents of every dollar in Lang’s political war chest.

Empower Texans PAC and its energy underwriters rank among the top energy contributors to three other energy-dependent House members. More than half of No. 3 ranked Rep. Jonathan Stickland’s \$1.4 million came from Empower and the six energy executives who supplied 98 percent of Empower’s money. No. 8-ranked Rep. Matt Schaefer also took more than half of his money from Empower, Empower’s oil contributors (led by Farris Wilks), or from brother Dan Wilks. Nineteen percent of the money raised by No. 7-ranked Rep. Matt Krause came from Empower or Empower heavyweights Tim Dunn and Farris Wilks.

Former House Speaker Tom Craddick was No. 2 in House petro-dependency, taking 42 percent of his money from the energy industry. Tom Craddick’s campaign was the No. 1 contributor to Railroad Commissioners in our [Rigged](#) report. His campaign spent \$625,937 to help his daughter, Christi Craddick, win her 2012 Railroad Commission race. That study found that the energy industry supplied 56 percent of Christi Craddick’s funds—an understated figure given that none of her father’s campaign funds were treated as energy industry funds.

House Members Most Dependent on Oil & Gas (2013 through 2016)

Oil/Gas % of Total	Oil & Gas Donations	Member
62%	\$269,084	Mike Lang
42%	\$180,250	Tom Craddick
36%	\$504,725	Jonathan Stickland
32%	\$122,250	James Frank
23%	\$139,475	Chris Paddie
20%	\$124,351	Brooks Landgraf
19%	\$74,924	Matt Krause
18%	\$83,833	Matt Schaefer
15%	\$93,251	Phil King



Rep. Mike Lang (R-Granbury) owes 59 percent of the money he raised to fracker Farris Wilks.

Six Members Received No Petro Dollars (2013 through 2016)

Total Raised	Amend. 10	House Member	District (Party)
\$375,181	N	Hugh Shine	55 (R)
\$216,393	N*	Gina Hinojosa	49 (D)
\$164,974	Y	Evelina Ortega	77 (D)
\$68,842	Y	Shawn Thierry	146 (D)
\$61,295	Y	Ronald Reynolds	27 (D)
\$55,125	N	Jarvis Johnson	139 (D)
\$941,810		TOTAL	

*Hinojosa said she intended opposite vote.

stiffen agency penalties. That amendment directed the Railroad Commission to take into account “any economic benefit gained through the violation, a violator’s recidivism and the need to “deter future violations.” The 102-39 vote to kill Howard’s [Amendment 10](#) was that day’s best recorded indicator of which members support tougher regulation of the industry. Votes on the amendment fell largely along partisan lines, with every participating Republican voting to kill the Howard amendment. Meanwhile, 39 Democrats voted to preserve Howard’s amendment and 11 Democrats joined Republicans in ensuring its demise.⁵ Two of those Democrats later said that they had intended to support Howard’s amendment (Reps. Diane Arevalo and Gina Hinojosa).⁶



Texas representatives picked up an average of more than \$37,000 from oil and gas contributors. Yet researchers did not find any petro dollars flowing to six House members. With the exception of Temple Republican Rep. Hugh Shine, all of them were Democrats from major metropolitan areas. Three of the petro-free members represent the Houston area, which is an international capital of the energy industry.

During the House floor vote on the Railroad Commission Sunset bill on March 28th, Rep. Donna Howard proposed an amendment to

Democrats Voting Against Tougher Industry Penalties

House Member	Dist.
Roberto Alonzo	104
*Diana Arevalo	116
Yvonne Davis	111
*Gina Hinojosa	49
Jarvis Johnson	139
Tracy King	80
Oscar Longoria	35
Mary Ann Perez	144
Richard Raymond	42
Ramon Romero	90
Senfronia Thompson	141

*Said she intended opposite vote.

House Financial Dependency on Oil & Gas Money (2013 through 2016)

Oil/Gas Donations	Oil/Gas % of Total	Amend. 10	Representative	Dist. (Party)	Top Oil & Gas Contributor(s)
\$504,725	35.90%	N	Jonathan Stickland	92 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$269,100	12.00%	N	Charlie Geren	99 (R)	Edward Bass (Bass Brothers Enterprises)
\$269,084	61.50%	N	Mike Lang	60 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$245,550	13.90%	N	Morgan Meyer	108 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$195,901	6.50%	N	Todd Hunter	32 (R)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings/Stripes)
\$180,250	42.40%	N	Tom Craddick	82 (R)	Donald Wood (Permian Enterprises)
\$174,251	11.50%	N	Drew Darby	72 (R)	Mickey Long (Westex Well Services)
\$139,475	22.50%	N	Chris Paddie	9 (R)	Jim Davis (Davis Chemical Services)
\$124,351	19.90%	N	Brooks Landgraf	81 (R)	Donald Wood (Permian Enterprises)
\$122,250	32.30%	N	James B Frank	69 (R)	James McCoy (Echometer Co.)
\$116,151	8.70%	N	Jason Villalba	114 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$93,251	14.70%	N	Phil King	61 (R)	G. Malcolm Loudon (Walsh Holdings)
\$92,901	6.80%	N	Four Price	87 (R)	Ralph Ellis (Bevo Production Co.)
\$91,501	6.00%	N	Byron Cook	8 (R)	Koch Industries
\$87,123	5.50%	N	Cindy Burkett	113 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$85,417	4.70%	N	Sarah Davis	134 (R)	Patrick Rutherford (Rutherford Oil)
\$83,833	18.40%	N	Matt Schaefer	6 (R)	Dan Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$79,352	12.30%	N	Tony Dale	136 (R)	Joe Green (Greens Blue Flame)
\$74,924	19.20%	N	Matt Krause	93 (R)	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest)
\$68,000	10.40%	N	Matt Rinaldi	115 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$66,575	8.20%	N	Lyle Larson	122 (R)	NuStar Energy
\$64,250	4.70%	N	Richard Raymond	42 (D)	Rodney Lewis (Lewis Energy Group)
\$62,400	5.80%	N	Linda Koop	102 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones/AI Hill
\$62,252	8.70%	N	Jim Murphy	133 (R)	Koch Industries
\$61,600	5.30%	N	Rodney Anderson	105 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$61,301	6.30%	N	Trent Ashby	57 (R)	Clifton Thomas (Speedy Stop)
\$60,725	12.10%	N	Tony Tinderholt	94 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$57,500	6.90%	N	Tan Parker	63 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$57,002	7.30%	N	Dennis Bonnen	25 (R)	Koch Industries
\$53,848	11.80%	N	Ken King	88 (R)	Perry Sooter (Western Hot Oil)
\$52,951	3.40%	Y	Carol Alvarado	145 (D)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$52,502	5.60%	N	Angie Chen Button	112 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$49,900	12.20%	N	Jay Dean	7 (R)	Ruben Martin (Martin Resource Mgmt)
\$48,900	10.60%	Y	Abel Herrero	34 (D)	Sam Susser (Susser Holdings/Stripes)
\$47,463	13.70%	N	Valoree Swanson	150 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$46,750	4.90%	N	JM Lozano	43 (R)	Koch Industries
\$45,500	5.40%	N	John Frullo	84 (R)	S Kirk Rogers (SK Rogers Oil)
\$45,087	13.60%	N	Briscoe Cain	128 (R)	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)
\$45,000	5.70%	N	Travis Clardy	11 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$42,751	4.70%	N	Jason Isaac	45 (R)	Koch Industries
\$42,500	5.30%	N	Lance Gooden	4 (R)	Trevor Rees-Jones (Chief Oil)
\$42,226	9.90%	Y	Gene Wu	137 (D)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$39,500	10.60%	N	Matt Shaheen	66 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$37,816	6.50%		HOUSE AVERAGE		
\$35,250	5.90%	NA	Rafael Anchia	103 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$34,250	5.90%	N	Jeff Leach	67 (R)	Tim Dunn (CrownQuest)
\$33,752	3.90%	N	Kyle Kacal	12 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$33,000	4.50%	N	John Kuempel	44 (R)	Dan Allen Hughes (Dan A. Hughes Co.)
\$32,751	11.00%	N	Geanie Morrison	30 (R)	Koch Industries
\$32,350	7.80%	N	Tracy King	80 (D)	Chesapeake Energy
\$32,250	10.00%	N	Drew Springer	68 (R)	Koch Industries
\$31,718	1.80%	N	Wayne Faircloth	23 (R)	Marathon Oil

\$29,751	5.10%	N	Larry Gonzales	52 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$28,751	8.80%	Y	Joe Deshotel	22 (D)	Douglas Foshee (El Paso Corp.)
\$26,250	4.60%	NA	Ryan Guillen	31 (D)	Chesapeake Energy/Good Gov. Fund
\$26,050	11.90%	Y	Terry Canales	40 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$25,600	6.30%	N	Dade Phelan	21 (R)	Koch Industries
\$25,251	2.30%	N	Senfronia Thompson	141 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$25,200	5.20%	N	Craig Goldman	97 (R)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$25,028	3.60%	NA	Rene Oliveira	37 (D)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$23,300	3.50%	N	John Raney	14 (R)	Atmos Energy/TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$23,250	12.00%	N	Terry Wilson	20 (R)	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)
\$22,020	5.80%	N	Giovanni Capriglione	98 (R)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$21,000	3.10%	Y	Chris Turner	101 (D)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$20,501	3.50%	N	Greg Bonnen	24 (R)	Marathon Oil
\$20,001	4.20%	N	Ron Simmons	65 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$20,001	1.90%	N	John Zerwas	28 (R)	James Winne (Legend Nat. Gas)/Good Gov.
\$20,000	5.40%	N	Pat Fallon	106 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$19,502	4.50%	N	Ed Thompson	29 (R)	Denbury Resources
\$19,161	2.50%	N	Dan Flynn	2 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$18,861	2.00%	N	Paul Workman	47 (R)	Koch Industries
\$18,251	3.00%	Y	Eddie Lucio III	38 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$18,000	3.20%	N	Yvonne Davis	111 (D)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$17,100	5.50%	N	Cole Hefner	5 (R)	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)
\$16,550	2.00%	Y	Garnet Coleman	147 (D)	William Hill (Houston Oil Producing)
\$16,101	3.40%	N	John Wray	10 (R)	Ali Sharaf (Victron Energy)
\$15,450	3.70%	N	Mike Schofield	132 (R)	Koch Industries
\$15,100	3.64%	N	Kevin Roberts	126 (R)	Ann Fowler (Enterprise Products Partners)
\$14,850	2.70%	N	Ramon Romero	90 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$14,611	2.10%	N	DeWayne Burns	58 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$14,501	2.00%	N	JD Sheffield	59 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$14,250	3.20%	N	Dwayne Bohac	138 (R)	Marathon Oil
\$14,000	3.10%	Y	Justin Rodriguez	125 (D)	Valero Energy
\$13,500	5.90%	N	Scott Sanford	70 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$13,350	2.00%	N	Justin Holland	33 (R)	Lary Knowlton (Basa Resources)
\$13,108	6.70%	N	James White	19 (R)	Koch Industries
\$12,750	1.80%	Y	Sergio Munoz	36 (D)	Chevron
\$12,501	3.00%	N	Larry Phillips	62 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$12,250	1.50%	N	John Cyrier	17 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$12,000	2.10%	Y	Bobby Guerra	41 (D)	Atmos Energy/Koch Industries
\$11,950	6.20%	N	Dustin Burrows	83 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$11,950	2.30%	N	Ernest Bailes	18 (R)	Joey Rollins (J & J Pipeline Maintenance)
\$11,926	2.60%	N	Will Metcalf	16 (R)	Denbury Resources
\$11,500	1.90%	Y	Joseph Pickett	79 (D)	Chesapeake Energy/Chevron
\$11,250	1.70%	NA	Dan Huberty	127 (R)	Chesapeake Energy/Marathon Oil
\$10,250	4.70%	N	Bill Zedler	96 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$9,750	4.10%	Y	Poncho Nevárez	74 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$9,700	3.40%	N	Leighton Schubert	13 (R)	Christopher Evers (Evers & Sons)
\$9,250	3.00%	N	Kyle Biedermann	73 (R)	Allan Bloxson (Fort Apache Energy)
\$9,225	6.00%	NA	Mark Keough	15 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$9,000	1.10%	Y	Philip Cortez	117 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$8,750	5.00%	N	'Doc' Anderson	56 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$8,600	2.90%	N	Cecil Bell	3 (R)	Denbury Resources
\$8,500	7.20%	NA	Stephanie Klick	91 (R)	Farris Wilks (Frac Tech Services)
\$8,500	3.00%	N	Oscar Longoria	35 (D)	Occidental Petroleum
\$8,250	2.20%	NA	Eddie Rodriguez	51 (D)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$8,000	3.10%	N	Phil Stephenson	85 (R)	Ramiro Rodriguez (VI-Wolf, LLC)
\$7,850	2.00%	Y	Jessica Farrar	148 (D)	Good Government Fund (Bass Bros.)
\$7,500	2.50%	N	Gary Elkins	135 (R)	Koch Industries

\$7,450	3.30%	N	Stan Lambert	71 (R)	Julia Jones Matthews (Dodge Jones Fdn.)
\$7,250	1.40%	N	Andrew Murr	53 (R)	Stephen King (King Energy Resources)
\$7,000	1.90%	Y	Helen Giddings	109 (D)	Chevron
\$6,750	1.30%	N	Jodie Laubenberg	89 (R)	Chevron/Koch Industries
\$6,600	2.20%	Y	Toni Rose	110 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$6,250	2.40%	Y	Harold Dutton	142 (D)	Atmos Energy/Chesapeake Energy
\$5,750	0.90%	Y	Eric Johnson	100 (D)	Richard Gonzalez (Petro-Victory)
\$5,500	2.20%	Y	Nicole Collier	95 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$5,500	1.60%	Y	Armando Martinez	39 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$5,500	1.50%	N	Lynn Stucky	64 (R)	Link Evans (Anadarko Petro.)
\$5,250	1.90%	Y	Donna Howard	48 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$4,750	1.90%	N	DF 'Rick' Miller	26 (R)	Jim Wise (Haddington Ventures)
\$4,750	0.80%	Y	César Blanco	76 (D)	Paul Foster (Western Refining)
\$4,150	1.60%	Y	Ina Minjarez	124 (D)	NuStar Energy/Valero Energy
\$3,500	1.80%	N	John Smithie	86 (R)	Atmos Energy
\$3,500	1.20%	Y	Diego Bernal	123 (D)	Valero Energy
\$3,500	1.10%	N	Tom Oliverson	130 (R)	David Middleton (Middleton Oil)
\$3,500	0.70%	N	Gary VanDeaver	1 (R)	Chevron/Exxon
\$3,000	3.30%	NA	Dawna Dukes	46 (D)	Koch Industries
\$3,000	0.50%	Y	Mary González	75 (D)	Atmos/Lee & Amy Fikes (Bonanza Oil)
\$3,000	0.50%	N	Mary Ann Perez	144 (D)	Valero Energy
\$2,250	1.40%	Y	Barbara Gervin	120 (D)	NuStar Energy/Valero Energy
\$2,000	2.20%	N*	Diana Arévalo	116 (D)	NuStar Energy/Valero Energy
\$2,000	1.10%	Y	Tomas Uresti	118 (D)	Robert Wilson (Valero Energy)
\$2,000	1.00%	Y	Armando Walle	140 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$2,000	1.00%	Y	Alma Allen	131 (D)	Chevron/Exxon
\$2,000	0.70%	N	Roberto Alonzo	104 (D)	Atmos Energy
\$1,500	0.50%	N	Dennis Paul	129 (R)	Valero Energy
\$1,500	0.40%	N	Scott Cospier	54 (R)	TX Oil & Gas Assn.
\$1,500	0.20%	Y	Victoria Neave	107 (D)	Lee & Amy Fikes (Bonanza Oil)
\$1,300	0.30%	Y	Hubert Vo	149 (D)	Chevron/Cecil Fong (Shell Oil)
\$1,000	0.40%	Y	Joe Moody	78 (D)	One Gas, Inc.
\$1,000	0.10%	Y	Celia Israel	50 (D)	One Gas, Inc./NuStar Energy
\$500	0.30%	Y	Ana Hernandez	143 (D)	Targa Resources
\$500	0.20%	Y	Roland Gutierrez	119 (D)	NuStar Energy
\$5,581,996	-6.42%		No-Straus Totals		

Note: House Energy Resources Committee members in **bold**.

*Later said she intended to cast opposite vote on Amendment 10.

Texas lawmakers take more money from the Energy and Natural Resources sector than any other industry besides Lawyers and Lobbyists (and the Energy and Natural Resources sector is the leading employer of those lobbyists). From 2013 through 2016 Texas' 181 current lawmakers collected \$11.3 million from the oil and gas industry, which accounted for six cents of every dollar that they raised. The industry's powerful influence helps to explain the Texas Legislature's apparent unwillingness to fundamentally reform the Texas Railroad Commission, despite multiple, scathing reviews that it has received from the Sunset Commission as a result of the agency's weak and conflicted regulation of the oil and gas industry.



NOTES

¹ The bill would prohibit contributions to the commissioners from parties that have pending cases, as well as from any affiliated PACs. If the party with a pending case is HilCorp Energy, however, HilCorp chief Jeffrey Hildebrand could continue to contribute unlimited amounts of money to the commissioners while his company's case was pending.

² Just six general-purpose PACs raised more money than Empower Texans from 2013 through 2016. Led by Texans for Lawsuit Reform (\$15 million), they included two appendages of Wendy Davis' gubernatorial campaign, two Texas Association of Realtors PACs and the Republican State Leadership Committee.

³ Oil and gas donors also supplied 18 cents of every dollar raised by Texas' largest PAC: Texans for Lawsuit Reform.

⁴ This table generally lists the top legislative recipient of each energy contributor. Because of Speaker Joe Straus' financial dominance, however, additional lawmakers are listed when he is the top recipient. Additional legislators also are listed when two or more lawmakers tied for the title of "top recipient."

⁵ The recorded vote was on a motion to table (kill) Amendment 10. Hence a "Yea" vote was to kill the amendment and a "Nay" vote was to preserve it. The text and tables in this report attempt to avoid the confusion that occurs when "yes" means "no" by framing the issue in terms of who supported or opposed Howard's amendment.

⁶ In this great nation, "Oops!" is a proven path to becoming U.S. Energy Secretary.