

House Divided:

March 10, 2015

# Lobby Helped Straus Crush Tea-Party Revolt

Funding Differences Separate House Rebels from Straus Camp

Starting the 2015 legislative session with a suicide mission, 19 of the Texas House's 150 members voted to replace relatively moderate Republican Speaker Joe Straus with tea-party Rep. Scott Turner.

Key differences separate the top funders of the 131 members who retained Speaker Straus (including all 52 House Democrats) from top funders of the 19 anti-Straus rebels (listed on the last page).<sup>1</sup> Note that this analysis of what House members *raised*, overlooks *independent* political expenditures by Empower Texans—the state's biggest spender of <u>dark money</u><sup>2</sup> and the leading sponsor of the revolt against Speaker Straus.

The average anti-Straus candidate raised less money (\$236,540) in the 2014 cycle than the average pro-Straus member (\$399,389). Yet anti-Straus candidates overcame more opposition—especially in the primary (see table). Straus appointed no rebels to be the chair or vice chair of any House committee. The pages below list top donors to the pro-Straus and anti-Straus factions. Many big PACs rank as top donors to both. Even Empower Texans—which would have recruited more rebels if Straus were in real jeopardy—gave something to both sides.

The tables on the pages below flag in bold those *anti-Straus* donors such as Texans for Lawsuit Reform, for example, that gave more money to the average *pro-Straus* member than to the average *anti-Straus* member. This clarifies otherwise fuzzy allegiances.

The top sponsors of the Straus status quo are a who's who of Austin's institutional business lobby. They include just six *individuals*. Trade group seeking to topple Straus likely would act anonymously through dark-money non-profits. Meanwhile, the anti-Straus revolt drew limited support from institutional donors, with 21 individuals ranking among its top funders.

### **Speaker Straus Loyalty and House Fundraising**

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Speaker Loyalty	Member Count	Total Raised 2014 Cycle	Average Raised	Avg. Vote % (Primary/Gen'l)
Anti-Straus (R)	19	\$4,494,253	\$236,540	73%/83%
Pro-Straus	131	\$52,319,897	\$399,389	88%/86%
(Straus Rs)	(79)	(\$37,817,228)	(\$478,699)	86%/83%
(Straus Ds)	(52)	(\$14,502,670)	(\$278,898)	92%/91%
TOTAL	150	\$56,814,151	\$378,761	86%/86%

## **Top Contributors to 19 Anti-Straus House Members**

Total to 13     Arti- Anti-Straus     Arg.     Pro-Straus     Straus       Members     Avg.     Members     Avg.     Contributor     City       \$456.980     \$24,052     \$19,380     \$148     Empower Texans PAC     Austin       \$179,481     \$9,446     \$12,750     \$97     Accountability First PAC     Austin       \$151,647     \$8,292     \$0     \$0     Anthony & Connie Ewing (Adv. Fixtures, Inc.)     Frisco       \$123,400     \$6,495     \$0     \$0     Jeff D. & Laura Sandeter (Sander Capital)     Austin       \$121,610     \$6,658     \$7,000     \$53     Farris & Joann Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$282,000     \$4,442     \$21,500     \$164     Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)     Dallas       \$84,305     \$4,437     \$0     \$0     Rex Nichols (Garwell, LP)     Plano       \$80,000     \$3,184     \$5,250     \$40     Michael & Marika Olcott (retired biochemist)     Ft Worth       \$859,905     \$3,135     \$1,352,701     \$10,326     TX Assn. of Realtors     Austin       \$850,000	Top contributors to 15 Anti-otraus nouse members						
Members     Avg.     Contributor     City       \$456.980     \$24,052     \$19,380     \$148     Empower Texans PAC     Austin       \$179,481     \$9,446     \$12,750     \$97     Accountability First PAC     Austin       \$157,547     \$8,292     \$0     Anthony & Connie Ewing (Adv. Fixtures, Inc.)     Frisco       \$133,156     \$7,271     \$2,392,501     \$18,263     Texans for Lawsuit Reform     Austin       \$123,400     \$6,495     \$0     Jeff D. & Laura Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)     Austin       \$121,611     \$6,401     \$223,788     \$1,708     Republican Party of TX     Austin       \$107,500     \$5,658     \$7,000     \$164     Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)     Dallas       \$84,305     \$4,437     \$0     \$0     James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)     Plano       \$86,000     \$3,184     \$5,250     \$40     Michael & Marika Olcott (retired biochemist)     FI Worth       \$86,900     \$3,135     \$1,352,701     \$10,326     TX Assn. of Realtors     Austin       \$56,900     \$3,164     \$52,700	Total to 19	Anti-	Total to 131	Pro-			
\$466,980     \$24,052     \$19,380     \$148     Empower Texans PAC     Austin       \$179,481     \$9,446     \$12,750     \$97     Accountability First PAC     Austin       \$179,481     \$9,446     \$12,750     \$97     Accountability First PAC     Austin       \$1138,156     \$7,271     \$2,392,501     \$18,263     Texans for Lawsuit Reform     Austin       \$121,611     \$6,495     \$0     \$0     Jeff D. & Laura Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)     Austin       \$121,611     \$6,401     \$223,788     \$1,708     Republican Party of TX     Austin       \$121,611     \$6,401     \$223,788     \$1,708     Republican Party of TX     Austin       \$121,611     \$6,401     \$223,780     \$16     Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)     Dallas       \$84,305     \$4,437     \$0     \$0     Rew Nichols (Garwell, LP)     Plano       \$80,000     \$4,211     \$0     \$0     James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)     Plano       \$859,905     \$3,153     \$1,352,701     \$10,326     TX Assn. of Realtors     Austin <td< th=""><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th><th></th></td<>							
\$179.481   \$9.446   \$12,750   \$97   Accountability First PAC   Austin     \$157,547   \$8,292   \$0   \$0   Anthony & Connie Ewing (Adv. Fixtures, Inc.)   Frisco     \$138,156   \$7,271   \$2,322,501   \$18,263   Texans for Lawswitk Reform   Austin     \$121,611   \$6,495   \$0   \$0   Jeff D. & Laura Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)   Austin     \$107,500   \$5,658   \$7,000   \$537   Farix & Joann Wilks (Frac Tech Services)   Cisco     \$92,000   \$4,842   \$21,500   \$164   Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)   Dallas     \$84,305   \$4,437   \$0   \$0   James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)   Plano     \$80,000   \$4,121   \$0   \$0   James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)   Plano     \$60,501   \$3,183   \$1,352,701   \$10,326   TX Assn. of Realtors   Austin     \$59,000   \$3,105   \$408,500   \$311   Texans for Education Reform   Austin     \$51,952   \$2,734   \$0   \$0   Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)   Midland     \$50,000   \$2,632   \$0   \$0 </td <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>							
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\$138,156   \$7,271   \$2,392,501   \$18,263   Texans for Lawsuit Reform   Austin     \$123,400   \$6,495   \$0   Jeff D. & Laura Sandefer (Sandefer Capital)   Austin     \$121,611   \$6,401   \$223,788   \$1,708   Republican Party of TX   Austin     \$107,500   \$5,658   \$7,000   \$53   Farris & Joann Wilks (Frac Tech Services)   Cisco     \$82,000   \$4,442   \$21,500   \$164   Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)   Dallas     \$84,305   \$4,437   \$0   \$0   Rex Nichois (Garwell, LP)   Plano     \$80,000   \$4,211   \$0   James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)   Plano     \$60,501   \$3,184   \$5,250   \$40   Michael & Marika Olcott (retired biochemist)   Ft Worth     \$59,000   \$3,105   \$408,500   \$3,118   Texans for Education Reform   Austin     \$51,952   \$2,734   \$0   \$0   Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)   Midland     \$50,000   \$2,632   \$2,500   \$19   Kyle L Stallings (Prearian Basin Acquisitions)   Midland     \$44,150   \$2,144   \$365,500   \$2,790 <t< td=""><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></t<>							
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\$121,611     \$6,401     \$223,788     \$1,708     Republican Party of TX     Austin       \$107,500     \$5,658     \$7,000     \$53     Farris & Joan Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$92,000     \$4,842     \$21,500     \$164     Monty Bennett (Remington Hotel)     Dallas       \$84,305     \$4,437     \$0     \$0     Rex Nichols (Garwell, LP)     Plano       \$80,000     \$4,211     \$0     \$0     James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)     Plano       \$80,000     \$4,211     \$0     \$0     James & Marcia Webb (Preferred Imaging)     Plano       \$80,000     \$3,153     \$1,352,701     \$10,326     TX Assn. of Realtors     Austin       \$59,000     \$3,105     \$408,500     \$3118     Texans for Education Reform     Austin       \$51,952     \$2,734     \$0     \$0     Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$0     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$44,100     \$2,632     \$0     \$0     So     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)							
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\$59,905     \$3,153     \$1,352,701     \$10,326     TX Assn. of Realtors     Austin       \$59,000     \$3,105     \$408,500     \$3,118     Texans for Education Reform     Austin       \$51,952     \$2,734     \$0     \$0     Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$2,500     \$19     Kyle L Stallings (Permian Basin Acquisitions)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$2,00     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$49,100     \$2,584     \$8,500     \$65     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$41,500     \$2,184     \$365,500     \$2,790     TX Apartment Assn.     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Winid Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td> <td></td>							
\$59,000     \$3,105     \$408,500     \$3,118     Texans for Education Reform     Austin       \$51,952     \$2,734     \$0     \$0     Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$2,500     \$19     Kyle L Stalling (Permian Basin Acquisitions)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$0     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$441,500     \$2,584     \$8,500     \$6     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$25,7156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,211     \$27,593     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin <tr< td=""><td>\$60,501</td><td>\$3,184</td><td></td><td></td><td>· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·</td><td>Ft Worth</td></tr<>	\$60,501	\$3,184			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Ft Worth	
\$51,952     \$2,734     \$0     \$0     Tim M & Terri Dunn (CrownQuest/Enerquest)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$2,500     \$19     Kyle L Stallings (Permian Basin Acquisitions)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$0     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$49,100     \$2,684     \$8,500     \$65     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,12     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,510     \$1,424     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin <t< td=""><td>\$59,905</td><td>\$3,153</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Austin</td></t<>	\$59,905	\$3,153				Austin	
\$50,000     \$2,632     \$2,500     \$19     Kyle L Stallings (Permian Basin Acquisitions)     Midland       \$50,000     \$2,632     \$0     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$49,100     \$2,584     \$8,500     \$65     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$41,500     \$2,184     \$365,500     \$2,790     TX Apartment Assn.     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,573     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,489     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving	\$59,000	\$3,105	\$408,500	\$3,118	Texans for Education Reform	Austin	
\$50,000     \$2,632     \$0     Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)     Cisco       \$49,100     \$2,584     \$8,500     \$65     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$41,500     \$2,184     \$365,500     \$2,790     TX Apartment Assn.     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,573     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,500     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,500     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,500     \$1,488     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,291     \$25,7156     \$1,963     HillCo (Pa	\$51,952		\$0	\$0		Midland	
\$49,100     \$2,584     \$8,500     \$65     Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)     Austin       \$41,500     \$2,184     \$365,500     \$2,790     TX Apartment Assn.     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$24,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,468	\$50,000	\$2,632	\$2,500	\$19	Kyle L Stallings (Permian Basin Acquisitions)	Midland	
\$41,500     \$2,184     \$365,500     \$2,790     TX Apartment Assn.     Austin       \$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$26,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,171     \$333,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,2	\$50,000	\$2,632	\$0	\$0	Dan & Staci Wilks (Frac Tech Services)	Cisco	
\$36,000     \$1,895     \$709,516     \$5,416     Associated Republicans of TX     Austin       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$25,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,171     \$27,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin <td>\$49,100</td> <td>\$2,584</td> <td>\$8,500</td> <td>\$65</td> <td>Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)</td> <td>Austin</td>	\$49,100	\$2,584	\$8,500	\$65	Rex Gore (Cleanscapes)	Austin	
\$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)     Plano       \$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$25,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$40,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas	\$41,500	\$2,184	\$365,500	\$2,790	TX Apartment Assn.	Austin	
\$30,000     \$1,579     \$0     \$0     Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)     Frisco       \$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$26,417     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$22,200     \$1,171     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin	\$36,000	\$1,895	\$709,516	\$5,416	Associated Republicans of TX	Austin	
\$29,500     \$1,553     \$418,762     \$3,197     Energy Future Holdings     Dallas       \$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$26,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin	\$30,000	\$1,579	\$0	\$0	Phil Pourchot (Starside Custom)	Plano	
\$28,000     \$1,474     \$316,000     \$2,412     Chickasaw Nation     Ada, OK       \$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$25,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple <td>\$30,000</td> <td>\$1,579</td> <td>\$0</td> <td>\$0</td> <td>Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)</td> <td>Frisco</td>	\$30,000	\$1,579	\$0	\$0	Donald Yonce (Mobility Partners)	Frisco	
\$26,417     \$1,390     \$2,500     \$19     David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)     Houston       \$25,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple<	\$29,500	\$1,553	\$418,762	\$3,197	Energy Future Holdings	Dallas	
\$25,500     \$1,342     \$192,300     \$1,468     TX Land Title Assn.     Austin       \$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple </td <td>\$28,000</td> <td>\$1,474</td> <td>\$316,000</td> <td>\$2,412</td> <td>Chickasaw Nation</td> <td>Ada, OK</td>	\$28,000	\$1,474	\$316,000	\$2,412	Chickasaw Nation	Ada, OK	
\$24,526     \$1,291     \$257,156     \$1,963     HillCo (Partners) PAC     Austin       \$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)	\$26,417	\$1,390	\$2,500		David & Windi Grimes (Grimes Energy)	Houston	
\$24,500     \$1,289     \$185,500     \$1,416     Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)     Irving       \$23,000     \$1,211     \$275,930     \$2,106     Indep't Insurance Agents of TX     Austin       \$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Fris	\$25,500	\$1,342	\$192,300	\$1,468	TX Land Title Assn.	Austin	
\$23,000   \$1,211   \$275,930   \$2,106   Indep't Insurance Agents of TX   Austin     \$22,250   \$1,171   \$383,129   \$2,925   Blackridge Consulting   Austin     \$21,215   \$1,117   \$4,000   \$31   Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)   Austin     \$21,000   \$1,105   \$0   \$0   Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)   Austin     \$21,000   \$1,105   \$404,007   \$3,084   TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.   Dallas     \$20,000   \$1,053   \$0   \$0   Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)   Wh.Oak     \$18,500   \$974   \$220,500   \$1,683   Indep't Bankers Assn.   Austin     \$17,250   \$908   \$28,000   \$214   Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)   Temple     \$17,000   \$895   \$370,000   \$2,824   Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)   Houston     \$15,500   \$816   \$0   \$0   Scott Turner Campaign   Frisco	\$24,526	\$1,291	\$257,156	\$1,963	HillCo (Partners) PAC	Austin	
\$22,250     \$1,171     \$383,129     \$2,925     Blackridge Consulting     Austin       \$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$24,500	\$1,289	\$185,500	\$1,416	Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)	Irving	
\$21,215     \$1,117     \$4,000     \$31     Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$23,000	\$1,211	\$275,930	\$2,106	Indep't Insurance Agents of TX	Austin	
\$21,000     \$1,105     \$0     \$0     Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)     Austin       \$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$22,250	\$1,171	\$383,129	\$2,925	Blackridge Consulting	Austin	
\$21,000     \$1,105     \$404,007     \$3,084     TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.     Dallas       \$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$21,215	\$1,117	\$4,000	\$31	Don Dyer (Professional Janitorial Services)	Austin	
\$20,000     \$1,053     \$0     \$0     Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)     Wh.Oak       \$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco		\$1,105	\$0	\$0	Wallace L Hall (West Fork Partners)	Austin	
\$18,500     \$974     \$220,500     \$1,683     Indep't Bankers Assn.     Austin       \$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$21,000	\$1,105	\$404,007	\$3,084	TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.	Dallas	
\$17,250     \$908     \$28,000     \$214     Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)     Temple       \$17,000     \$895     \$370,000 <b>\$2,824</b> Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$20,000	\$1,053	\$0	\$0	Daniel M Mitchell (Danmark Energy)	Wh.Oak	
\$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$18,500	\$974	\$220,500	\$1,683	Indep't Bankers Assn.	Austin	
\$17,000     \$895     \$370,000     \$2,824     Richard W Weekley (Weekley Properties)     Houston       \$15,500     \$816     \$0     \$0     Scott Turner Campaign     Frisco	\$17,250	\$908	\$28,000	\$214	Robert & Elizabeth McLane (McLane Co)	Temple	
\$15,500 \$816 \$0 \$0 Scott Turner Campaign Frisco							
				\$0		Frisco	

Bold: Average pro-Straus amount exceeds average anti-Straus amount.

The donors above supplied 54% of the \$4.5 million that the 19 anti-Straus members raised in the 2014 cycle.

The non-bold donors above showed greater allegiance to anti-Straus members than to pro-Straus members. Just four *institutional* contributors are among them. They include the campaign of failed speaker candidate Scott Turner, as well as the <u>intertwined</u> PACs of Empower Texans and Accountability First, which both attack Straus's lieutenants. The Republican Party of Texas also gave four times more on average to anti-Straus members than pro-Straus members. Yet almost all the party's anti-Straus money helped Rodney Anderson defeat a Democrat in the fall. By contrast, 84 percent of Empower's anti-Straus money moved in the primary.

## **Top Contributors to 131 Pro-Straus House Members**

			10111	0-Otraus riouse members	
Amount to	Pro-	Amount to	Anti-		
131 Pro-Straus	Straus	19 Anti-Straus	Straus		
Members	Avg.	Members	Avg.	Contributor	City
\$2,392,501	\$18,263	\$138,156	\$7,271	Texans for Lawsuit Reform	Austin
\$1,352,701	\$10,326	\$59,905	\$3,153	TX Assn. of Realtors	Austin
\$917,630	\$7,005	\$0	\$0	Joe Straus Campaign	Sn Antonio
\$709,516	\$5,416	\$36,000	\$1,895	Associated Republicans of TX	Austin
\$558,500	\$4,263	\$0	\$0	Charles C Butt (HEB Grocery)	Sn Antonio
\$435,000	\$3,321	\$0	\$0	Border Health PAC	McAllen
\$426,445	\$3,255	\$9,250	\$487	TX Medical Assn.	Austin
\$418,762	\$3,197	\$29,500	\$1,553	Energy Future Holdings	Dallas
\$408,500	\$3,118	\$59,000	\$3,105	Texans for Education Reform	Austin
\$404,007	\$3,084	\$21,000	\$1,105	TX Republican Rep. Camp. Com.	Austin
\$397,550	\$3,035	\$6,000	\$316	Associated Gen'l Contractors of TX	Austin
\$383,129	\$2,925	\$22,250	\$1,171	Blackridge Consulting	Austin
\$370,000	\$2,824	\$17,000	\$895	Richard Weekley (Weekley Properties)	Houston
\$365,500	\$2,790	\$41,500	\$2,184	TX Apartment Assn.	Austin
\$365,265	\$2,788	\$3,720	\$196	AT&T, Inc. PAC	Dallas
\$328,370	\$2,507	\$4,000	\$211	TX Trial Lawyers Assn.	Austin
\$316,388	\$2,415	\$7,000	\$368	United Services Auto. Assn. (USAA)	Sn Antonio
\$316,000	\$2,412	\$28,000	\$1,474	Chickasaw Nation	Ada, OK
\$312,000	\$2,382	\$14,000	\$737	Time Warner Cable	Austin
\$277,500	\$2,118	\$7,500	\$395	Farmers Employee & Agent PAC	Austin
\$275,930	\$2,106	\$23,000	\$1,211	Indep't Insurance Agents of TX	Austin
\$275,619	\$2,104	\$0	\$0	TX House Leadership Fund	Austin
\$257,156	\$1,963	\$24,526	\$1,291	HillCo (Partners) PAC	Austin
\$253,824	\$1,938	\$9,072	\$477	TX Farm Bureau	Waco
\$243,000	\$1,855	\$3,000	\$158	TX & SW Cattle Raisers Assn.	Ft Worth
\$224,800	\$1,716	\$14,750	\$776	TX Assn. of Builders	Austin
\$223,788	\$1,708	\$121,611	\$6,401	Republican Party of TX	Austin
\$220,500	\$1,683	\$18,500	\$974	Indep't Bankers Assn.	Austin
\$218,099	\$1,665	\$1,500	\$79	Wholesale Beer Distrib. of TX	Austin
\$208,500	\$1,592	\$2,000	\$105	TX Hospital Assn.	Austin
\$204,057	\$1,558	\$14,750	\$776	TX Optometric PAC	Austin
\$202,290	\$1,544	\$10,500	\$553	Allen Boone Humphries Robinson	Houston
\$200,829	\$1,533	\$7,959	\$419	TX State Farm Agents PAC	Austin
\$192,300	\$1,468	\$25,500	\$1,342	TX Land Title Assn.	Austin
\$186,250	\$1,422	\$6,500	\$342	TX Automobile Dealers Assn.	Austin
\$185,850	\$1,419	\$3,750	\$197	Gulf States Toyota PAC	Houston
\$185,500	\$1,416	\$24,500	\$1,289	Trevor Ahlberg (Cash Store/Cottonwood)	Irving
\$163,500	\$1,248	\$0	\$0	Houston Fire Fighters PAC	Houston
\$184,500	\$1,408	\$5,000	\$263	Peter & Julianna Holt (Holt Co's)	Sn Antonio
\$182,226	\$1,391	\$2,500	\$132	Linebarger Groggan Blair & Sampson	Austin
\$179,289	\$1,369	\$2,500	\$132	John L & Barbara Nau	Houston
\$175,000	\$1,336	\$9,500	\$500	Atmos Energy	Houston
\$172,500	\$1,317	\$0	\$0	Ryan TX PAC	Dallas
\$164,625	\$1,257	\$1,000	\$53	<u>(Richie' Ray</u> (Richie's Specialty Pharmacy)	Spring
\$162,611	\$1,241	\$7,500	\$395	TX Dental Assn.	Austin
		amount exceeds as			

**Bold:** Average anti-Straus amount exceeds average pro-Straus amount. The donors above supplied 32% of the \$52 million that the 131 anti-Straus members raised in the 2014 cycle.

The individuals bankrolling anti-Straus rebels include such well-known Straus adversaries as Empower Texans founder <u>Tim Dunn</u>. Also making the list are Jeff Davis Sandefer and UT Regent Wallace Hall. This duo bankrolled the Empower and Accountability First PACs, while leading controversial efforts to overhaul state universities. This session, anti-Straus Rep. Jeff Leach is leading the <u>call</u> to reform corrupt admissions policies at the University of Texas that Hall publicized.

Led by Anthony Ewing, who sells retail-display cases, a cluster of anti-Straus funders hail from the affluent Metroplex satellites of Plano and Frisco. Led by the fracking-billionaire <u>Wilks brothers</u>, many Straus foes are powered by oil and gas.

The top anti-Straus contributors listed in this report gave \$2.4 million to the 19 anti-Straus members, or 54 percent of the total that they raised. Backed by a deeper bench, the top pro-Straus contributors listed here gave \$17 million to 131 Straus loyalists, or one-third of what they raised.

## Members Who Backed Rep. Turner To Replace Speaker Straus

Total Raised 2014 Cycle     House Member     Dist.     Primary Vote     General Vote       \$687,490     Scott Turner     33     100%     100%       \$536,843     Rodney Anderson     105     53%     55%       \$514,259     Jonathan Stickland     92     65%     64%       \$436,509     Matt Schaefer     6     61%     88%       \$262,662     Matt Shaheen     66     49%     100%       \$243,755     Pat Fallon     106     100%     70%       \$223,395     Jeff Leach     67     100%     79%       \$225,704     David Simpson     7     100%     100%       \$210,244     Matt Rinaldi     115     51%     57%       \$195,427     Tony Tinderholt     93     100%     92%       \$174,899     Matt Krause     93     100%     100%       \$105,060     Dustin Burrows     83     NA     81%       \$97,841     Stuart Spitzer     4     51%     89%       \$95,575     Scott Sanford								
\$687,490   Scott Turner   33   100%   100%     \$536,843   Rodney Anderson   105   53%   55%     \$514,259   Jonathan Stickland   92   65%   64%     \$436,509   Matt Schaefer   6   61%   88%     \$262,662   Matt Shaheen   66   49%   100%     \$243,755   Pat Fallon   106   100%   70%     \$233,395   Jeff Leach   67   100%   79%     \$225,704   David Simpson   7   100%   100%     \$210,244   Matt Rinaldi   115   51%   57%     \$195,427   Tony Tinderholt   115   51%   57%     \$181,358   Bryan Hughes   93   100%   100%     \$105,060   Dustin Burrows   83   NA   81%     \$97,841   Stuart Spitzer   4   51%   89%     \$95,575   Scott Sanford   70   100%   100%     \$89,551   Molly White   55   54%   100%     \$70,768   Mark Keough   15   57%								
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\$514,259   Jonathan Stickland   92   65%   64%     \$436,509   Matt Schaefer   6   61%   88%     \$262,662   Matt Shaheen   66   49%   100%     \$243,755   Pat Fallon   106   100%   70%     \$243,755   Pat Fallon   106   100%   70%     \$243,755   Pat Fallon   106   100%   70%     \$233,395   Jeff Leach   67   100%   79%     \$225,704   David Simpson   7   100%   100%     \$210,244   Matt Rinaldi   115   51%   57%     \$195,427   Tony Tinderholt   115   51%   57%     \$181,358   Bryan Hughes   93   100%   92%     \$174,899   Matt Krause   93   100%   100%     \$105,060   Dustin Burrows   83   NA   81%     \$97,841   Stuart Spitzer   4   51%   89%     \$95,575   Scott Sanford   5   54%   100%     \$89,551   Molly White   55   57%   100% <td>\$687,490</td> <td>Scott Turner</td> <td>33</td> <td>100%</td> <td>100%</td>	\$687,490	Scott Turner	33	100%	100%			
\$436,509   Matt Schaefer   6   61%   88%     \$262,662   Matt Shaheen   66   49%   100%     \$243,755   Pat Fallon   106   100%   70%     \$233,395   Jeff Leach   67   100%   79%     \$225,704   David Simpson   7   100%   100%     \$210,244   Matt Rinaldi   115   51%   57%     \$195,427   Tony Tinderholt   115   51%   57%     \$181,358   Bryan Hughes   93   100%   100%     \$105,060   Dustin Burrows   83   NA   81%     \$97,841   Stuart Spitzer   4   51%   89%     \$95,575   Scott Sanford   70   100%   100%     \$89,551   Molly White   55   54%   100%     \$70,768   Mark Keough   15   57%   100%     \$68,764   Stephanie Klick   91   100%   69%	\$536,843	Rodney Anderson	105	53%	55%			
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\$210,244   Matt Rinaldi     \$195,427   Tony Tinderholt     \$195,427   Tony Tinderholt     \$181,358   Bryan Hughes     \$174,899   Matt Krause     \$105,060   Dustin Burrows     \$105,060   Dustin Spitzer     \$93   100%     \$97,841   Stuart Spitzer     \$95,575   Scott Sanford     \$89,551   Molly White     \$70,768   Mark Keough     \$68,764   Stephanie Klick	\$233,395	Jeff Leach	67	100%	79%			
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\$181,358   Bryan Hughes   5   100%   92%     \$174,899   Matt Krause   93   100%   100%     \$105,060   Dustin Burrows   83   NA   81%     \$97,841   Stuart Spitzer   4   51%   89%     \$95,575   Scott Sanford   70   100%   100%     \$89,551   Molly White   55   54%   100%     \$70,768   Mark Keough   15   57%   100%     \$68,764   Stephanie Klick   91   100%   69%	\$210,244	Matt Rinaldi	115	51%	57%			
\$174,899     Matt Krause     93     100%     100%       \$105,060     Dustin Burrows     83     NA     81%       \$97,841     Stuart Spitzer     4     51%     89%       \$95,575     Scott Sanford     70     100%     100%       \$89,551     Molly White     55     54%     100%       \$70,768     Mark Keough     15     57%     100%       \$68,764     Stephanie Klick     91     100%     69%	\$195,427	Tony Tinderholt	94	55%	57%			
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\$95,575     Scott Sanford       \$89,551     Molly White       \$70,768     Mark Keough       \$68,764     Stephanie Klick       \$91     100%	\$105,060	Dustin Burrows	83	NA	81%			
\$89,551     Molly White     55     54%     100%       \$70,768     Mark Keough     15     57%     100%       \$68,764     Stephanie Klick     91     100%     69%	\$97,841	Stuart Spitzer	4	51%	89%			
\$70,768     Mark Keough     15     57%     100%       \$68,764     Stephanie Klick     91     100%     69%	\$95,575	Scott Sanford	70	100%	100%			
\$68,764 Stephanie Klick 91 100% 69%	\$89,551	Molly White	55	54%	100%			
	\$70,768	Mark Keough	15	57%	100%			
\$64,150 Bill Zedler 96 100% 81%	\$68,764	Stephanie Klick	91	100%	69%			
	\$64,150	Bill Zedler	96	100%	81%			

### **Notes**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of the 146 House members who participated in the Speaker vote on January 13, 2015, 127 members voted for Straus and 19 voted to replace him.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Empower Texans *PAC* contributes money to candidates and discloses its contributors and expenditures. Meanwhile, the Empower Texans *non-profit* make independent expenditures of so-called "dark money" to promote or attack candidates. The non-profit does not report who contributed this dark money, though it does disclose how it is spent. Much of these independent expenditures fund attacks on relatively moderate Republicans or promote their tea-party challengers.