

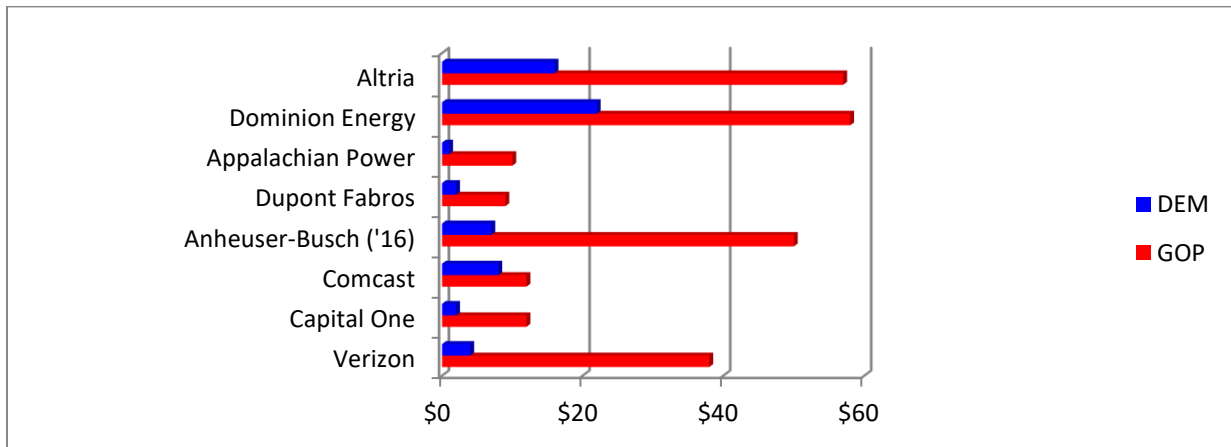
Issue: Campaign Finance

# Campaign Finance Disparity in the VA House of Delegates

## Overview

Big corporate donors in Virginia tend to contribute in roughly equal measure to both Democratic and Republican candidates at the state-wide level (e.g. Governor), where Democrats frequently get elected. However, further down ballot at the district voting level (e.g. State Senate, House of Delegates), these donors clearly favor Republicans. This disparity, along with other factors like gerrymandering and voter suppression, helps to sustain a situation where Republicans have control of the House of Delegates.

## Research



CORPORATE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS UNDERWRITE REPUBLICAN DELEGATE CANDIDATES TO DEMOCRATS BY 4:1 MARGIN - DONATIONS IN \$K

### Major donors to GOP Delegates:

#### I. VA Republican Party

Since 1996, they have given a total of \$25m to individual candidates.

Largest donations have been to Governor candidates.

State Senate and Delegate donations range from \$860k - \$100.



Largest Delegate recipients are (1996-present):

Charles Poindexter \$731k  
Mike Watson \$483k  
Barbara Comstock \$377k  
Tim Hugo \$317k  
Scott Lingamfelter \$311k  
David Yancey \$303k  
Tag Greason \$293k  
Joseph Yost \$286k  
(several others are in \$200k - \$100k range)

Largest donors to the VA Republican Party, which has raised \$25m since 1996:

Dominion PAC- \$5.2m  
Republican National Committee- \$4.6m  
Republican Party of Virginia, Federal- \$4m (Note no data after 2014)  
US Rep – National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC)- \$3.5m  
VA Senate Republican Caucus- \$3.1m  
Opportunity Virginia PAC- \$2.9m  
RSLC (REDMAP)- \$2.8m  
US Rep-National State Elections Committee- \$1.8m  
Virginians for Jerry Kilgore- \$1.3m

## ***II. Dominion Leadership Trust (PAC)***

Founded in 2002 by then Republican House of Delegates Speaker Bill Howell (retiring this year), to raise money for GOP candidates- his “Leadership PAC”

### **Issues**

#### **1. Pay to Play-**

“Since the speaker founded the PAC in 2002, delegates who gave to the PAC in the final months before a session won promotions in the next session to new committees or committee chair posts a total of 71 times, a Daily Press review of campaign funds and legislative records found. Another 15 were big donors in the preceding 12 months. Twelve won promotions without making a donation in those final weeks, but five of them had been big donors earlier. Six delegates made donations without ever winning a promotion.” (from Daily Press 6/27/15)

The article quoted Delegates who say giving to this PAC is expected, and you need to give more as you become more senior (like “paying dues”). The article looks at the very powerful Commerce & Labor Committee, and points out that many members were appointed onto the committee soon after large grants by themselves or family



members. The article also discusses the Appropriations Committee, and argues that big money flows right before new members are named.

The Dem leadership PAC doesn't have same track record- Toscano's PAC has received gifts only from himself, and one other Delegate (at \$250).

## 2. Attack ads-

According to the group Virginia House Democrats, voters in Prince William and Fauquier Counties recently began receiving mailings from the Dominion PAC, using phrases like "illegal aliens" alongside "violent felons" and "child predators," in discussing Democratic Delegate candidate Elizabeth Guzman, who is of Peruvian descent.

### **Top Recipients from PAC (2002-present):**

\$5m- Republican Party of VA  
\$685k- House Republican Campaign Committee  
\$555k - \$100 -Individual Republican Delegates (top is Yancey)

### **Top Donors to the PAC (2002-present):**

\$1.5m Republican State Leadership Committee (RSLC= REDMAP group)  
\$583k- Dominion Energy  
\$250k- Altria  
\$97k- Koch industries  
\$484k - \$1k- individual delegates  
Top individual donors- Jones, Howell, Orrock, Kilgore, Byron, Bell, Gilbert, Landes, Ware

### **Standing Committee Chairs in House of Delegates (all GOP):**

Danny Marshall- Agriculture, Chesapeake and Natural Resources (gave \$135k)  
Chris Jones- Appropriations (gave \$484k, top individual donor; jumped a senior person for this committee assignment per Daily Press article)  
Terry Kilgore- Commerce & Labor (gave \$352k; jumped a senior person)  
Riley Ingram- Counties, Cities & Towns (gave \$139k)  
David Albo- Courts (gave \$165k)  
Steven Landes- Education (gave \$190k)  
Lee Ware- Finance (gave \$179k)  
Robert Orrock- Health, Welfare and Institutions (gave \$358k)  
Scott Lingamfelder- Militia, Police and Public Safety (gave \$58k)  
Mark Cole- Privileges & Election (gave \$62k; jumped a senior person)  
Bill Howell- Rules (founder + gave \$433k)  
Rich Anderson- Science & Technology (gave \$84k)  
Ronald Villanueva- Transportation (gave \$35k)



### **III. Altria (holding company of Phillip Morris & other cigarette & cigar makers)**

In 2017, Altria has given \$230,500 to Repubs vs. \$122,000 to Dems  
Overall (1996-present)= \$5.8m total (\$3.75m Repub vs. \$2.1m Dem)

Key Takeaway-- In VA a big tobacco company like Altria needs to hedge its bets and give to both parties at state-wide level (where Dems do well). So 4 biggest donations this year are evenly divided; e.g. Altria gave same amount to both Governor candidates. But further down ballot the Republicans get much more than their Democratic counterparts, and this disparity is impactful in smaller local elections.

Top recipients from Altria in 2017:

\$25k (2 Dem, 2 Rep)

1. Common Good VA (PAC set up by McAuliffe, one of its top donors is Planned Parenthood of VA, has only given to Dems this year)
2. One Richmond (totally DEM)
3. Republican Party of VA
4. VA Senate Republican Caucus

\$15k (1 Dem, 1 Rep)

1. Dominion Leadership Trust
2. VA Senate Dem Caucus

\$15k Thomas Norment (Senator)- R

\$10k- House Republican Campaign Committee

\$10k each to the following candidates:

- Gillespie (Gov.)- R
- Northam (Gov)- D
- Frank Wagner (Gov)- R
- Bryce Reeves (Lt Gov)- R
- Jill Vogel (Lt. Gov)- R
- Ryan McDougle (Senator)- R
- Mark Ochsenshain (Senator)- R
- Richard Saslaw (Senate)- D

#### **2017 Donations to House of Delegates Candidates—**

Total of \$56,500 to Republican Delegate Candidates

Total of \$16,000 to Democratic Delegate Candidates

Note \$1k and above recipients are all Republicans except for 2:

\$15k Kirk Cox (Majority Leader)- R

\$7k- Todd Gilbert- R

\$5k Timothy Hugo- R



\$5k David Toscano (Minority Leader)- D  
\$2,500- Chris Jones- R  
\$2,500- John O'Bannon- R  
\$2,500- Lee Ware- R  
\$2000- Riley Ingram- R  
\$2000- Terry Kilgore- R  
\$1500- Jackson Miller- R  
\$1000- Richard Anderson- R  
\$1000- Laquan Austion- R  
\$1000- Rob Bell- R  
\$1000- Ben Cline- R  
\$1000- Eileen Filler-Corn- D (D41)  
\$1000- Scott Garrett- R  
\$1000- Tag Greeson- R  
\$1000- Steve Landes- R  
\$1000- Scott Lingamfelter- R  
\$1000- Manoli Loupassi- R  
\$1000- Christopher Peace- R  
\$1000- Joseph Yost- R

#### ***IV. Dominion Energy (Big electricity & natural gas company)***

Since 1996, they have given \$14m to campaigns (\$5.8m GOP, \$4.8m Dem, \$4.1 other)

Largest recipients since 1996 –  
[\$3.9m to Dominion Energy- ??]  
\$583k to Dominion PAC  
\$486k to VA Democratic Party  
\$425k to Commonwealth Victory Fund  
\$383k to VA Republican Party

Key Takeaway-- As with Altria, Dominion Energy hedges its bets by donating to some Democratic candidates and groups, particularly at the statewide level. But further down ballot the Republican candidates get much more than their Democratic counterparts, and this disparity is impactful in smaller local elections.

#### **2017 Donations to House of Delegates Candidates—**

Total of \$58k to Republican Delegate Candidates  
Total of \$22k to Democratic Delegate Candidates  
Note \$5k and above recipients are all Republicans:  
\$11k- Kirk Cox- R  
\$7k- Timothy Hugo- R  
\$6k- Chris Jones- R  
\$5k- Terry Kilgore- R  
\$5k- Jackson Miller- R

**Article- Richmond Times-Dispatch 4/18/17**

53 Dem and 4 GOP House of Delegates candidates sign pledge not to accept \$\$ from Dominion Energy or Appalachian Power (including Foy (D2), Roem (D13) & Tran (D42)). Note that both companies donate more to Republicans, especially at state senate & delegate level.

**Article- GreentechMedia.com 3/2/16**

Terry Kilgore, Republican Delegate in charge of Commerce & Labor, has successfully delayed, or “carried over” to 2017, voting on several bills promoting solar and other clean energies. Note that he has received generous donations from Dominion Energy.

**Article- Washington Post 5/4/17**

Northam vs. Gillespie (Gov race)—Northam is being criticized for taking money from Dominion Energy and owning stock.

**V. RSLC (REDMAP group)**

They have donated \$12.3m in Virginia since 2003 (all GOP), including:

\$2.8m to the VA Republican Party

\$1.4m to Dominion PAC

individual candidates for Gov, Atty Gen, Senate and Delegate

Delegate recipients include LeMunyon D67 (\$30k in 2009) and Anderson D51 (\$20k in 2009)—those seats flipped Republican in 2009, right before census (part of REDMAP master plan).

REDMAP funders include 2 tobacco giants Reynolds American and Altria, Karl Rove’s superPAC, Koch Industries, Walmart and some other Fortune 500 companies. \$6.5m came from organizations that don’t have to disclose their donors. [sources: Mother Jones & ProPublica]

**VI. Middle Resolution PAC**

(It’s not clear if this PAC is still active, as VPAP only has data from 2009-2016)

Gave \$1.1m over the years to several individual candidates

Boasts on their website:

- Led a broad coalition to pass voter Photo ID law
- Created a broad coalition to stop Medicaid Expansion
- Introduced Parental Choice Education Savings Accounts legislation and delivered it the Governor's Desk (twice!)
- Facilitated a political path for three members of the Freedom Caucus

## VII. Others

Most corporate and trade group donors favor GOP candidates in the House of Delegates, in terms of direct donations. This may be due partly to the fact that there have been more GOP incumbents over recent years, and these groups are trying to build/cement relationships with sitting Delegates.

The following companies gave the following amounts to Delegate candidates in the most recent time period reported on VPAP website:

- Appalachian Power: \$10,000 GOP vs. \$1,000 Dem in 2017
- Verizon: \$38,250 to GOP vs. \$4,250 Dem in 2017
- Comcast: \$12,000 GOP vs. \$8,000 Dem in 2017
- Anheuser-Busch \$50,250 GOP vs. \$6,500 Dem in 2016
- Dupont Fabros Technology \$8,500 GOP vs. \$2,000 Dem in 2017
- Capital One \$11,600 GOP vs. \$1,750 Dem in 2017

Trade groups-- majority of money goes to GOP candidates-

- VA Trial Lawyers Assn= biggest donor to Delegates (mostly GOP)
- VA Assn of Realtors (mostly GOP)
- VA Beer Wholesalers Assn (mostly GOP)
- VA Bankers Assn (mostly GOP)
- Newport News Shipbuilding (mostly GOP)
- Medical Society of VA (mostly GOP)

A few trade groups are more generous to Democrats:

- Northern VA Assn of Realtors
- VA Education Assn
- Labor groups (e.g. AFL-CIO)

Side Note re ALEC (American Legislative Exchange Council): Not a donor, but gift disclosures show substantial amounts to GOP Delegates, such as Bill Howell (Former Speaker)- \$28k from 2001-2016, and others from \$11k and down, all related to travel/meetings.

ALEC's board is made up of legislators, almost all Republican

ALEC's private enterprise board (15 members) includes 4 big pharma, 3 Energy giants, Reynolds and Altria (tobacco), Koch. Dominion Energy is a financial supporter of ALEC.

### **Republican Delegate incumbent examples—who are their donors?**

Per vpap website:

*Mark Dudenhefer (D2; 2011-present)*- stepping down (note Austion has raised more than Foy but has since dropped out.)

Repub Party \$175k (\$20k= biggest single donation 2011)

Dominion PAC \$86k

Majority Leader PAC \$45k



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*Randy Minchew (D10; 2006-present)* (note Gooditis ahead in fundraising)

Self-fund \$286k

Repub Party \$134k (\$12k= biggest)

Various trade groups

Dominion PAC \$30k

*Joseph Yost (D12; 2011-present)* (note Hurst slightly ahead in fundraising)

Dominion PAC \$344k (\$99k in 2011)

Repub Party \$286k (\$80k in 2011)

House Repub Campaign Committee \$100k, Majority Leader PAC \$87k

Individuals & trade groups, Altria (\$3k), a couple of pharma companies

*Bob Marshall (D 13; 1996-present)* (note Danica Roem ahead in fundraising)

Individuals & companies (biggest is \$50k)

Repub Party \$21k

Altria \$10k

Dominion PAC \$9k

Dominion Energy \$7k

Other companies, individuals, groups

*Scott Lingamfelter (D31; 2001-present)* (only slightly ahead of Guzman in fundraising)

Repub Party \$311k

Self fund \$115k

Individuals, family

Dominion PAC \$42k

Dominion Energy \$31k

Individuals, party, trade groups

*Greason (D32; 2009-present)*

Repub Party \$293k (\$161k in Oct 2009, before census- seat flipped to him)

Dominion PAC \$57k

Trade groups

Dominion Energy \$19k

Other groups, individuals, companies

*Tim Hugo (D40; 2002-present)*

Repub Party \$317k (\$158k in Sept/Oct 2007)

Dominion Energy \$69k (\$7k this year)

Dominion PAC \$58k

Verizon \$42k

Appalachian Power Co \$34k

Altria \$21k

Other companies & trade groups





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*Dave Albo (D42; 1996-present)*

Repub Party \$278k (\$22k= biggest)

Dominion PAC \$127k (\$50k= biggest)

Trade groups

Capital One \$30k

Dominion Energy \$24k

Altria \$24k

AOL, Anheuser-Busch, B of A, Verizon all over \$10k each

*Jackson Miller (D50; 2006-present)—is he running?? (or clerk of court?)*

Repub Party \$269k (big checks in 2009)

Trade groups

Dominion PAC \$44k

Dominion Energy \$34k

Appalachain Power Co \$22k

Capital One \$12k

Altria \$10k

Trade groups

*Rich Anderson (D51; 2009-present)*

Repub Party \$239k (\$50k in 2009)

Middle Resolution PAC \$82k

Dominion PAC \$43k

RSLC (REDMAP) \$20k (Oct 2009, before census, then seat flipped to him)

Dominion Energy \$8.5k

Altria \$5.5k

Trade groups

*Jim LeMunyon (D67; 2008-present)*

Repub Party \$223k

Middle Resolution PAC \$118k

Dominion PAC \$75k (\$25k this year)

RSLC (REDMAP group) \$30k (Oct 2009, before census, then seat flipped to him)

Trade groups, companies, individuals

Dominion Energy \$10k

*Jimmie Massie (D72; 2007-present)—withdrew from race, new candidate is Whitlock*

Dominion Energy \$23k (small chunks of \$2500-\$1000 over the years)

Family, trade groups

Altria \$17k (small chunks of \$2500-\$1000 over the years)

Repub party \$15k



*John O'Bannon (D73; 2000-present)*

Commonwealth First PAC \$256k

Trade groups

Repub Party \$72k (biggest is \$17k in 2009)

Dominion Energy \$30k (small chunks over time)

Altria \$16k (small chunks over time)

Other companies, trade groups, individuals

*David Yancey (D94; 2012-present)*

Dominion PAC \$555k (biggest chunks in 2013, including one \$150k))

Repub Party \$303k (biggest chunk in 2013 \$70k)

Majority Leader PAC \$65k

trade groups, self

Dominion Energy \$13k

Side Note—The following seats flipped Republican after big 2009 donations (pre-census) from the Republican Party: Rich Anderson (D51), Tag Greason (D32), Jim Lemunyon (D67). In 2 of the cases (Anderson and LeMunyon), the candidates also enjoyed big 2009 donations directly from the REDMAP gerrymandering group.

### **Major donors to Democratic Delegates:**

#### ***I. Democratic Party of VA***

\$25m given to individual candidates since 1996

Who donates to the Dem Party of VA?

\$69m raised since 1996

House Dem Caucus \$14.5m

VA Senate Dem Caucus \$9m

US Dem – Senatorial Campaign Committee \$4.5m

Commonwealth Victory Fund \$3.4m

US Dem – Congressional Campaign \$1.8m

Common Good VA \$1.8m

Moving VA Forward \$1.7k

Philip Munger \$1.3m

Dem Party of VA – Fed \$600k

Dominion Energy \$486k

#### ***II. House Democratic Caucus—*** (raises money specifically for House of Delegates)

Since 2004, the Caucus has given:

\$14m to Dem Party of VA

Individuals recipients in the \$702k - \$200k range, up to \$140k at a time:



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Monty Mason, Joseph Bouchard, Robert Mathieson, Robert Farinholt, John Bell,  
Gregory Werkheiser, Adam Tomer, Kathleen Murphy

Donors to House Dem Caucus (since 2004):  
Commonwealth Victory Fund \$2.6m  
Toscano (Delegate) \$1m  
A Strong Majority PAC \$935k  
VA First PAC \$746k  
Other individual delegates

**Democratic Delegate incumbent examples—who are their donors?**

Per vpap website:

*John Bell (D87; 2009-present)* (note he is behind in fundraising)  
Dem Party of VA \$548k (biggest check \$91k in 2013)  
House Dem Caucus \$409k  
Independence USA PAC \$29k  
Planned Parenthood \$19k  
Democracy for America \$19k

*Kathleen Murphy (D34; 2013-present)*  
Dem Party of VA \$417k (\$103k in 2013)  
House Dem Caucus \$204k

*Vivian Watts (D39; 1996-present)*  
Low amounts, has run unopposed since 2011

*Kaye Kory (D38; 2009-present)*  
Self  
Dem Party \$37k  
All low amounts, includes Dominion Energy \$6k

*David Toscano, Minority Leader (D57; 2005-present)*  
Individuals, self, trade groups  
Dominion Energy \$37k  
Verizon \$21k  
Altria \$18k  
Genentech \$16k

*Lamont Bagby (D74; 2015-present)* note no Republicans run here  
Self, individuals, low amounts  
Dominion Energy \$3k



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*Marcus Simon (D53; 2013-present)*

EKKO Title \$27k  
House Dem Caucus \$24k  
Individuals, trade groups  
Dominion Energy \$3k

*Mark Keam (D35; 2009-present)*

Dem Party \$152k (all 2009)  
Trade group  
Self \$10k  
Dominion Energy \$8.7k  
Altria \$4.5k

**Prince William area Democratic candidates—Who funds them?**

Article- Inside Nova 7/18/17

6 Dems in Prince William area have raised more than their GOP opponents (D2, 13, 31, 40, 50, 51)- in June raised \$196k vs. \$104k for GOP. Mostly powered by Roem (D13).

Research takeaway—Some have their own money. Flippable is backing some at \$10k level. Only If You Run is backing one at \$10k level. Roem has large individual donor at \$45k level. Most of these candidates seem to be behind their GOP opponents in overall fundraising, per vpap.

Details:

*D2 Jennifer Foy* (slightly behind Laquan Austion)

Self fund \$12.8k

Other individuals at much smaller amounts (\$1000 and less)

*D13 Danica Roem* (ahead of incumbent)

Individual (Chris Abele) \$45k

Flippable \$10k

Smaller donations from Victory Institute, Gay and Lesbian Leadership Council

House Dem Caucus \$1k

*D31 Elizabeth Guzman* (slightly behind incumbent)

Self fund \$10k

Flippable \$10k

Individuals \$5k and less

House Dem Caucus \$1k

*D40 Donte Tanner* (behind incumbent)

Only if you Run \$10k

Self fund \$8k

Individuals \$5k and less



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*D50 Lee Carter* (behind the incumbent)  
Individuals \$4k and less

*D51 Hala Ayala* (slightly behind incumbent)  
Small donors \$3k or less

Sources:

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