

# **P E R C-WV**

**West Virginia  
People's Election Reform Coalition  
*2002 Election Cycle Report***

*Sponsored by:*

*Mountain State Education and Research Foundation  
Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition  
West Virginia Citizen Action Group*

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### **This report was produced by:**

Mountain State Education and Research Foundation  
P. O. Box 5517  
Charleston, W V 25361

Ohio Valley Environmental Coalition  
P. O. Box 6753  
Huntington, W V 25773  
304-522-0246  
[www.ohvec.org](http://www.ohvec.org)

West Virginia Citizen Action Group  
1500 Dixie Street  
Charleston, W V 25311  
304-346-5891  
[www.wvcag.org](http://www.wvcag.org)

## Foreword

Since 1996, when PERC-WV began monitoring campaign finance in West Virginia, contributions to members of the legislature have increased 60%, outpacing consumer inflation nearly four times. With campaign contributions increasing, the influence of the West Virginia voter is overshadowed by the financial clout of special interest groups. The average West Virginian is left feeling disenfranchised and powerless to effect change in government, as reflected in decreasing voter turnout over the past decade.

Running for political office in West Virginia is fast becoming the exclusive domain of the wealthy who can afford to spend substantial sums in self-promotion, or for those who have close ties to moneyed special interests. In the vast majority of races, the candidate who raises and spends the most money wins the election. In the 2002 election, the top fundraisers in their district won 76% of all contested seats in the legislature. Contributions from the candidates and their family members are the biggest source of funding for campaigns, accounting for 20% of all identified contributions to members of the legislature.

Easily accessible documentation of the sources of campaign contributions in West Virginia elections did not exist before PERC-WV's first election cycle report in 1996. Thanks to former Secretary of State Ken Hechler and current Secretary of State Joe Manchin it is now possible for all West Virginians to view campaign donations on line. However, PERC-WV is the only statewide organization that has an entire database in which contributors are identified by special interest affiliation. With PERC-WV's analysis of the 2002 data complete, comparison of four election cycles is possible.

PERC-WV believes that in a democracy, every person should have an equal right to participate in our political system—regardless of race, color, creed, gender or economic status. Yet, it is increasingly difficult for an ordinary citizen to effectively participate in our democracy, either to be elected to public office or to be heard above moneyed special interests that finance election campaigns.

One of the solutions to providing more citizen access to the democratic process is the concept of "Clean Elections". This comprehensive approach to campaign finance reform, which has already been adopted in several states, is designed to help level the playing field and provide a constitutional alternative to special interest-driven campaigns. "Clean Elections" laws passed in Maine and Arizona serve as a model for the WV Clean Elections Act, which is currently being studied by the West Virginia legislature. This initiative will provide full public funding for candidates who agree to limit their spending and forgo all private donations. "Clean Elections" is a major step toward election reform "that makes all other reforms possible".

## Highlights of the 2002 Election Cycle

- The 2002 election cycle was the most expensive in West Virginia history. Legislative candidates raised over \$6 million during the election. PERC was able to identify 82% of those contributions as coming from one of 34 special interest groups.
- Over \$4 million in contributions (67%) went to candidates who won. 59% of all contributions went to incumbents, 34% went to challengers and 6% went to candidates for open seats in the legislature.
- While there were more than 25,000 contributions made to legislative candidates during the election, our electoral system continues to be financed by a select few. Many donors gave multiple times and to several candidates. The actual number of individual contributors is less than one percent of all voting age West Virginians.
- For the fourth consecutive election cycle, House Speaker Bob Kiss had the most contributions of all House candidates. Kiss raised over \$72,000 and rolled over an additional \$110,000 from previous campaigns.
- Former Finance Committee Chairman Oshel Craigo was the most successful fundraiser of all Senate candidates, a position he also held in 1998. Craigo raised \$408,587, more than any other legislative candidate since PERC-WV began tracking campaign contributions in 1996. Craigo exceeded his previous fundraising record by more than \$80,000.
- Of the top ten individual contributors to legislative winners, five are affiliated with gambling, two with the coal industry and two are trial lawyers. The five contributors affiliated with gambling gave nearly \$100,000 collectively to members of the legislature. This accounts for 65% of all gambling contributions to legislators.
- Greenbrier related contributions dropped 85% from an all-time high of \$62,255 in 1998 to \$9,370 in 2000. While direct contributions from the Greenbrier Hotel PAC to members of the legislature nearly doubled from 2000 to 2002, overall Greenbrier-related contributions continued to decline, totaling just \$7,550 for the 2002 election cycle. Contributions from all gambling interests declined 24% since 2000, but these interests continue to contribute substantial sums of money to members of the legislature.
- Average total contributions to Senate members increased 86%, from \$51,159 in 1996 to \$95,372 in 2002. The average total contributions to House members increased 46%, from \$17,486 in 1996 to \$25,589 in 2002.
- The average total contributions to legislators from 1996 (the first year PERC monitored campaign contributions) to 2002 spikes in the Senate in 1998 and 2002. The 1998 spike was due, in part, to the three high-cost races of Senators Craigo, McCabe, and Mitchell that together totaled over \$660,000. The 2002 spike is largely attributable to Senators Smith and Chafin, who together raised nearly \$500,000.
- In most legislative races the candidate who was able to raise and spend the most money won, although there were some notable exceptions in 2002. Three incumbent senators – Finance Chairman Oshel Craigo, Judiciary Chairman Bill

Wootton and John Mitchell – all lost their bids for reelection even though they raised and spent more than their opponents. House Health and Human Resources Chairwoman Mary Pearl Compton also lost her bid for a senate seat despite outspending her opponent two to one. While these examples show that money doesn't always determine the outcome of the race, they are exceptions rather than the rule. Candidates who raised the most money in their district won 76% of all contested seats in the legislature.

- Contributions to winning legislative candidates from themselves and their family members continue to be the largest source of funding for campaigns, accounting for 20% of all identified contributions to members of the legislature. Senator Lisa Smith led the pack of self-financed candidates. The \$258,000 she loaned her campaign accounted for 38% of all contributions from self and family that went to winning candidates.
- Contributions from health care providers were the biggest source of special interest campaign funding for members of the legislature. Doctors, hospitals and other health care professionals poured \$475,650 into legislative coffers, more than twice the amount they contributed in 2000. These contributions account for 14% of all identified contributions to legislators.
- Of the top ten special interest groups contributing the most in 2002, nine were also in the top ten in 2000. Seven increased their level of giving from the previous election, and at least four - health care, labor, coal and consumer lawyers - were involved in major legislative battles during the 2003 session.
- Although PAC contributions have continued to increase, the percentage of contributions to legislative winners from PACs decreased. PAC contributions increased 29% from 1996 to 2002, but made up only 30% of total contributions to legislators compared with 37% in 1996. The \$1,256,069 in PAC contributions that went to members of the legislature account for 73% of all PAC contributions to legislative candidates.
- Labor was the largest source of PAC contributions to legislators, and the third largest source of funding overall. Of the \$285,558 labor contributed to members of the legislature, 99% came from PACs. Although labor is a powerful political force and an active contributor to political campaigns, their political spending pales in comparison to that of their adversaries. In both the 2000 and 2002 election cycles, business sector contributions exceeded those of labor by more than six times.
- In 2000, contributions to both Bob Wise and Cecil Underwood came from many of the same special interest groups. An analysis of the contributions Bob Wise has raised since being elected makes the similarities between these two governors even clearer. Before announcing he would not seek reelection, Wise raised over \$1 million for his campaign. 17% (or \$187,400) of his identified special interest contributions came from coal, the same percentage Underwood received for his 2000 reelection bid.

# Terminology

For the purposes of this report the following definitions apply:

A **“beginning balance”** or **“balance transfer”** consists of surplus funds a candidate carries or transfers over from a previous campaign.

**“Identified contributions”** reflect the total donations received by candidates from special interest groups.

**“Other business”** refers to members of the business community who do not fall under one of the other specific interest groups used by PERC. This interest group includes, but is not limited to: retailers, wholesalers and funeral home directors (and their various trade organizations) and outdoor advertising interests.

**“Other lawyers”** refers to lawyers who could not be identified as either a consumer (trial) lawyer or a corporate lawyer.

A **“political action committee”** or **“PAC”** is any entity (a corporation, labor union, political party or other organization) that collects funds from its employees or members to redistribute in the form of campaign contributions. PACs are required by law to keep accounts and file regular financial statements with the Secretary of State and/or the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

**“Social issues”** include all individual or organizational contributors affiliated with issues such as gun control and choice, among others.

A **“special interest block”** is an assemblage of special interest groups that unite to advocate for, or oppose, specific legislation.

A **“special interest group”** is a unique interest or business affiliation. PERC-WV uses 34 special interest groups to identify contributors.

**“Tort reform”** is any effort by health care providers, the insurance industry and members of the business community to place limits on malpractice and product liability.

**“Total contributions”** are the aggregate of all contributions, “identified” and “unidentified,” that a candidate(s) raises or receives during an election cycle.

**“Unidentified contributions”** are campaign donations from contributors whose occupation or business interest is not known. Other sources of campaign income that are considered unidentified include beginning balances (or balance transfers), interest income and refunds.

## Overview and Methodology

The purpose of this report is to provide West Virginians with a quantitative summary of campaign donations made in the 2002 election cycle to legislative candidates. The report focuses primarily on members of the legislature, but also looks at special interest contributions made to Governor Bob Wise for his reelection bid. Comparisons to the 1996, 1998 and 2000 figures are included where relevant. The report attempts to identify the type of donation, origin, and special interest category of the contributions. The data compiled for this report was obtained from the candidates' own financial reports filed with the Secretary of State.

Most candidates filed at least four election reports with the Secretary of State. For this analysis, PERC-WV examined more than 1,000 reports and developed a database containing more than 27,000 contributions.

Unless otherwise noted, the percentages given are based on "identified contributions," where indicated, although in some instances percentages are based on "total contributions."

PERC-WV researchers identified contributions from 34 individual special interest groups. By law, candidates must identify donors who give more than \$250 by name, address, occupation and employer. Donors who contribute \$250 or less can be identified by name only. However, many contributors who give over \$250 are often not completely identified and discovering their business interests is difficult and sometimes impossible.

Candidates list the occupation of their donors in a variety of ways. Some are very specific, listing not only the name of the employer, but also the industry represented. Others list very generic terms such as "businessman," "housewife" or "retired." Still others ignore the occupation requirement altogether. Such practices account for a many of the "unidentified contributions."

PERC-WV researchers discovered a variety of reasons candidates use generic terms. Sometimes, candidates are simply careless or ignorant about either the donor's occupation or state election laws. However, in many cases, the terms "housewife" or "businessman" describe people motivated by or affiliated with major special interests. Over the past four election cycles, this has been noted with contributions affiliated with gambling and amusement interests, garbage and solid waste collectors, and the coal industry.

A variety of resources were employed in determining donors' special interest relationships. PERC-WV databases for the 1996, 1998 and 2000 election cycles were used as well as professional rosters, phone books and direct contacts with the candidates. Volunteers from around the state also helped identify contributors. These efforts identified 82% of all contributions to legislative candidates.

PERC-WV researchers also developed four "special interest blocks" to further depict a broader influence. It is important to note that these special interest categories are somewhat subjective. Because some special interests are members of more than one block, total percentages may exceed 100%.

## Reflections and Recommendations

Six years have passed since PERC-WV began tracking and reporting on campaign finance in West Virginia. In each of our reports, part of our analysis has been to make recommendations on how to best reduce the influence of money in West Virginia politics. While some concerns outlined in previous reports have improved, others still need to be addressed.

**1996 Suggestion:** Increase funding for Secretary of State's office in order to more closely monitor campaign filings.

**Action to date: None.** The Election Division continues to be under-funded which negatively affects monitoring of election filings. This is a critical need in a time of increasing 'campaign inflation.'

**Recommendation:** Adequately fund Secretary of State's Division of Elections to ensure effective oversight and candidate compliance with campaign finance disclosure laws.

**1996 Suggestion:** Require electronic filing of reports by candidates who raise more than \$5,000.

**Action to date: Improved.** The Election Division posts candidates' financial reports on its web page ([www.wvsos.com/elections/cfreports](http://www.wvsos.com/elections/cfreports)). This has increased public access immensely. However, scanning and posting is a tedious and time-consuming task for Election Division staff that could be eliminated by electronic filing.

**Recommendation:** Electronic filing by candidates is still needed to streamline the filing and oversight of campaign finance reports.

**1996 Suggestion:** Prohibit 'co-mingling' of campaign contributions between candidate committees.

**Action to Date: Somewhat improved.** Because of PERC-WV research and media coverage, the practice of candidates giving their campaign money to other candidates was closely scrutinized. It was discovered that there was already a law against this practice but it had not been enforced. Legislators quickly "fixed" the problem of past non-compliance and now the only time candidates may legally transfer monies from their campaign to another is after the general election, when the law allows such "excess funds" to be liquidated. Candidates now better understand the statutory limitations on disbursement of campaign funds.

**Recommendation:** Although candidate-to-candidate contributions decreased from 1998 to 2000, numerous violations continue to occur and these types of donations increased 67% from 2000 to 2002. More attention needs to be focused on this practice. A loophole still exists where a candidate may indefinitely hold funds in a prior campaign account even after opening a separate account for the next election. Such funds held over in a prior campaign account become "excess funds" which the candidate can then legally distribute to other candidates. The letter of the law is being followed but the intent is violated. House Speaker Bob Kiss has at least three open committees and several former candidates and office holders have open accounts that they use to make campaign donations. Candidates must be required to close out prior campaign accounts when they move into the next election cycle.

**1998 Suggestion:** Regulate contributions to the governor's inaugural committee the same as contributions to political campaigns.

**Action to Date: Somewhat improved.** Contributions to the 1997 governor's inaugural were unlimited and nothing in code covered the fate of any excess funds after the party was over. Donations to inaugural committees now have a \$5,000 contribution limit and disbursement of excess funds is now regulated in the same manner as political campaigns. However, this limit has done little to influence the flow of special interest money to the governor's inaugural committee. Inaugural contributions were down only seven percent from 1997 to 2001. Corporations, which are not allowed to contribute to a candidate's election campaign, may still donate up to \$5,000 to a newly elected governor's inaugural. Donors contributing \$250 or less are not required to be identified.

**Recommendation for 2002:** Eliminate corporate donations to inaugurals and limit other donations to the same \$1,000 ceiling as political campaigns. Reporting requirements for donations of \$250 or less should be the same as regular campaign contributions. An alternative would be to eliminate contributions and establish some form of public financing for inaugural celebrations.

**2000 Suggestion:** Require full disclosure of lobbying activities including compensation paid to lobbyists.

**Action to Date: None.** After candidates are elected, lobbyists begin the flow of money and perks to our lawmakers. How much money is being spent by special interests to influence our laws? Lobbyists have to report direct contributions and 'entertainment' given to candidates, but full disclosure by their employers on how much they are paid to wine and dine our representatives is not required. According to a March 6, 2003 article in the *Charleston Gazette*, lobbyists spent \$165,000 during the legislative session – mostly on receptions, meals and drinks for legislators. Currently, each lobbyist is required to file disclosures for spending on each legislator if the spending is more than \$25 a year. Efforts were made during the 2003 legislative session to increase the spending disclosure threshold to \$200. Governor Wise vetoed the legislation.

**Recommendation:** Current spending disclosure requirements should be maintained and West Virginia should adopt a law similar to Maryland's that requires full disclosure by employers. Requiring full disclosure would provide us with a more accurate picture of what special interests are willing to pay to influence government decision-making.

**2000 Suggestion:** Require candidates to file at least three reports during the year between election cycles if they raise more than \$5,000.

**Action to Date: None.** Reporting periods for candidates' financial reports during the election year have become shorter and more frequent because of the passage of several PERC-WV backed election bills. However, in the off years between elections, candidates are required to file only one report. This allows a candidate to do a year of fundraising that goes unreported until a few weeks before the primary election. While many candidates do little fundraising during the off year, some candidates raise a substantial amount of their contributions during this time.

**Recommendation:** Require candidates to file at least three reports during the year between election cycles if they raise more than \$5,000. Reporting gives the public notice of candidates' activities and where their support lies.

## Issues for 2004

**The deeper one looks into the money chase that has become our electoral process, the more one finds the need to reform.** Here are some new suggestions:

**Concern:** During the 2003 session, as the Senate considered passage of a bill intended to clarify ambiguities in state election laws and make changes mandated by the federal Help America Vote Act, Senator Truman Chafin offered an amendment to raise the limit on individual and PAC contributions to candidates from \$1,000 per election to \$4,000. Fortunately, the Senate defeated this effort but it serves as a reminder that comprehensive reforms are needed.

**Recommendation<sup>\*</sup>:** In addition to comprehensive reforms like Clean Elections, West Virginia could consider placing additional limits on contributions to candidate committees. Some states like Colorado and California have limits as low as \$100. Spending limits could also be considered. While no state has mandatory-spending limits, Vermont passed a comprehensive reform initiative in 1997 that included spending limits, contribution limits and public financing.<sup>1</sup> The spending and contribution limits were challenged, but in a landmark ruling issued August 7, 2002, the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Second District upheld the constitutionality of Vermont's spending limits. The court concluded: *"Fundamentally, Vermont has shown that, without expenditure limits, its elected officials have been forced to provide privileged access to contributors in exchange for campaign money. Vermont's interest in ending this state of affairs is compelling: the basic democratic requirements of accessibility, and thus accountability are imperiled when the time of public officials is dominated by those who pay for such access with campaign contributions."*<sup>2</sup>

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\* See endnotes for references.

## The WV Clean Elections Act... Revitalizing Democracy in West Virginia\*

Small improvements have led to progress in the effort to clean up election financing in West Virginia; however, much more is needed. Decades could be spent passing incremental reforms seeking to patch a fundamentally flawed system. With campaign inflation far outpacing economic inflation and candidates breaking spending records with every election cycle, something new must be put in place soon before political office is priced totally out of reach of the vast majority of our citizens.

It's time for a comprehensive approach to campaign finance reform that will fundamentally improve and preserve our democratic electoral process. The West Virginia Clean Elections Act would establish a constitutional alternative to special interest driven campaigns by providing full public financing to qualified candidates who agree to limit their spending and forgo all private donations. The "clean money" option would reduce candidate reliance on special interest money, and enable candidates who lack personal wealth or access to wealthy campaign contributors to wage a competitive campaign. At least six states have already adopted full public financing programs for some or all state offices, and several others, including West Virginia, are considering similar legislation.

In Maine and Arizona, the nation's two pioneering Clean Elections states, it is now the political norm to run for office free from direct dependence on private campaign contributions.

In Arizona, candidates who ran "clean" in the 2002 election now hold nine out of eleven statewide offices, including governor, secretary of state, attorney general and treasurer. Janet Napolitano is the first governor in the nation to take office without financial ties to special interest groups. And thirty-two out of ninety members (36%) of the Arizona legislature were elected using the Clean Elections system.<sup>3</sup> In Maine, 77% of the senate and 55% of the house ran "clean."<sup>4</sup>

Overall, 53% of Maine and Arizona's elected officials who took office in 2003 participated in the voluntary Clean Elections system.<sup>5</sup> Participation roughly doubled in both states from 2000, as more incumbents and challengers tried out the system, which had broad bipartisan participation. In Arizona, 64% of Democrats and 34% of Republicans opted into the program. In Maine, 71% of Democrats and 54% of Republicans participated along with a handful of third party and independent candidates.<sup>6</sup>

In Clean Elections states amazing things are happening. Research shows that important goals of public funding are being met by the Clean Elections system. Clean Election reform has:

- ✓ **Freed candidates from fundraising.** As the cost of campaigns has risen candidates have been forced to spend more and more time fundraising and less time with voters. Clean Election reform reduces the amount of time candidates and officeholders spend fundraising. Once a candidate qualifies for public financing, he/she can focus on substantive issues and serving the public interest, rather than soliciting campaign contributions.

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\* See endnotes for references.

- ✓ **Increased electoral competition and voter choice by leveling the fundraising playing field.** Under our current funding system, candidates who lack personal wealth or access to special interests are at a competitive disadvantage, and incumbent office holders are able to build campaign war chests that effectively discourage competition. Public financing levels the playing field by reducing the fundraising advantage enjoyed by incumbent office holders and those who can afford to spend vast amounts on self-promotion, increasing competition and giving voters more choices in the process.
- ✓ **Increased the number and diversity of candidates running for public office.** In both Maine and Arizona the number of candidates running for public office has jumped each year since Clean Elections was introduced.<sup>7</sup> More women and people of color have run for office and won under the Clean Elections system. In Arizona's 2002 elections, the number of Native American and Latino candidates running for office nearly tripled from the 2000 elections.<sup>8</sup> Interviews conducted with women and people of color who ran "clean" in 2000 revealed that 4 out of 5 would not have run without the availability of public funds.<sup>9</sup>
- ✓ **Reduced the influence of special interests in government decision-making.** Special interests pour millions of dollars into electoral politics, using their financial power to influence public policy and legislators' votes. The resulting public perception that issues essential to the public good take a back seat to issues important to special interest donors discourages voter participation and political engagement. The results of Clean Election reform are already beginning to show in the way state legislatures operate. In Maine for example, the state overcame corporate opposition to pass a successful plan for universal health care in 2001. According to the bill's sponsor, Representative Paul Volenik, the insurance industry's influence was diminished as a result of Clean Elections.<sup>10</sup>

These achievements show that public financing promotes a more vigorous democracy and reveal that reforming the electoral process is possible. Clean Elections is a solution whose time has come. **If your group or organization would like to learn more about Clean Money Elections call OVEC at 304-522-0246 or WV-Citizen Action Group at 304-346-5891.**

## **About The WV People's Election Reform Coalition**

The West Virginia People's Election Reform Coalition (PERC-WV) is a non-partisan coalition made up of labor organizations, good government advocates, environmental groups and others working together to raise awareness on the need for campaign finance reform. PERC-WV members include current political office holders and candidates from the Republican, Democratic, Mountain and Libertarian parties.

PERC-WV's primary mission is to focus attention on how special interest money influences our democratic institutions in West Virginia. By maintaining a database of special interest contributions to political campaigns, tracking significant bills in the legislature, and issuing reports on our research, PERC-WV educates the public on the significant influence that special interest money plays in West Virginia politics. PERC-WV underscores problems and proposes solutions based on its research.

People across the political spectrum agree that special interest money dominates West Virginia politics, affecting everyone's issues. By focusing attention on the source of this campaign cash, PERC-WV encourages changes that can help shift the balance of power from the special interests to the public interest.

**PERC-WV**

**Report on**

**2002**

**Legislative Races**

## Special Interest Contributions to Legislative Candidates in 2002<sup>1</sup>

Special Interest Group	Senate	House	Total	% of Identified
Agriculture	\$14,100	\$10,765	\$24,865	*
Banking & Finance	\$84,505	\$108,280	\$192,785	4%
Beverage	\$40,700	\$41,450	\$82,150	2%
Business Lobbyists	\$44,483	\$32,400	\$76,883	2%
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$52,725	\$49,314	\$102,039	2%
Coal	\$162,107	\$170,145	\$332,252	7%
Communications	\$10,440	\$7,805	\$18,245	*
Consumer Lawyers	\$114,033	\$162,922	\$276,955	5%
Corporate Lawyers	\$72,907	\$69,658	\$142,566	3%
Education	\$58,650	\$116,860	\$175,510	3%
Electric Power	\$6,425	\$10,750	\$17,175	*
Environment	\$3,840	\$4,680	\$8,520	*
Gambling	\$76,825	\$110,795	\$187,620	4%
Healthcare	\$325,377	\$369,534	\$694,912	14%
Insurance	\$47,775	\$54,128	\$101,903	2%
Labor	\$135,906	\$320,909	\$456,815	9%
Oil & Gas	\$47,800	\$56,030	\$103,830	2%
Other Business	\$78,616	\$61,102	\$139,718	3%
Other Candidates	\$86,341	\$82,408	\$168,749	3%
Other Lawyers	\$67,435	\$58,661	\$126,096	2%
Pharmaceuticals	\$16,735	\$21,000	\$37,735	1%
Political Party	\$30,133	\$63,401	\$93,534	2%
Public Employees	\$24,507	\$14,175	\$38,682	1%
Railroad	\$1,550	\$2,475	\$4,025	*
Real Estate & Construction	\$142,387	\$99,030	\$241,417	5%
Religion	\$970	\$320	\$1,290	*
Self & Family	\$637,136	\$404,980	\$1,042,116	20%
Social Issues	\$21,940	\$27,910	\$49,850	1%
Solid Waste	\$1,250	\$3,275	\$4,525	*
Timber	\$18,200	\$9,150	\$27,350	1%
Tobacco	\$13,450	\$19,500	\$32,950	1%
Tourism	\$14,350	\$1,400	\$15,750	*
Transportation	\$31,246	\$49,829	\$81,075	2%
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,484,843</b>	<b>\$2,615,043</b>	<b>\$5,099,885</b>	
Balance Transfers <sup>2</sup>	\$74,614	\$332,941	\$407,555	
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$287,946	\$392,660	\$680,605	
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,847,403</b>	<b>\$3,340,643</b>	<b>\$6,188,046</b>	

\*Less than one percent of identified special interest contributions.

<sup>1</sup> Candidates on the ballot in the 2002 general election.

<sup>2</sup> Balance transfers are funds that candidates have carried over from previous campaigns.

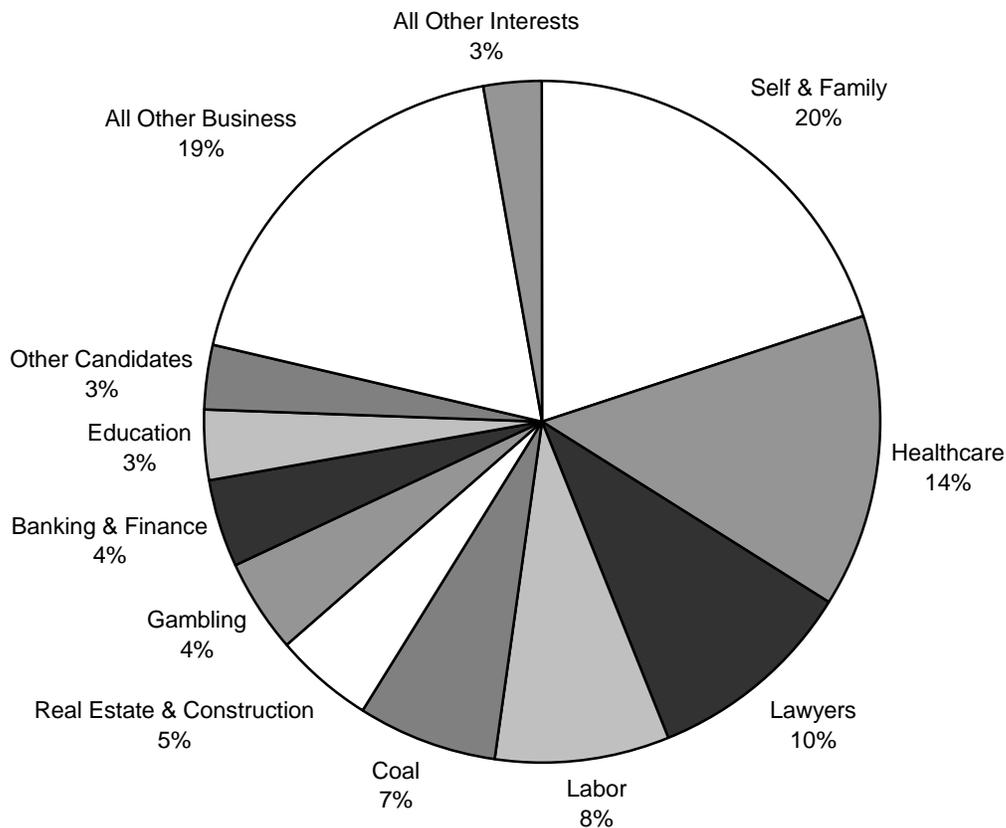
## Special Interest Contributions to Legislative Candidates<sup>1</sup>

Special Interest Group	1998	2000	2002
Agriculture	\$25,575	\$24,829	\$24,865
Banking & Finance	\$199,085	\$133,067	\$192,785
Beverage	\$77,857	\$71,900	\$82,150
Business Lobbyists	\$90,050	\$66,038	\$76,883
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$68,180	\$67,525	\$102,039
Coal	\$295,937	\$213,398	\$332,252
Communications	\$18,245	\$18,215	\$18,245
Consumer Lawyers	\$265,486	\$141,618	\$276,955
Corporate Lawyers	\$141,079	\$98,013	\$142,566
Education	\$120,056	\$152,013	\$175,510
Electric Power	\$1,729	\$5,375	\$17,175
Environment	\$9,277	\$8,745	\$8,520
Gambling	\$240,110	\$222,152	\$187,620
Healthcare	\$451,491	\$344,175	\$694,912
Insurance	\$74,213	\$48,045	\$101,903
Labor	\$239,975	\$298,383	\$456,815
Oil & Gas	\$176,575	\$102,504	\$103,830
Other Business	\$175,489	\$109,381	\$139,718
Other Candidates	\$168,240	\$81,082	\$168,749
Other Lawyers	\$140,885	\$67,203	\$126,096
Pharmaceuticals	\$46,774	\$48,050	\$37,735
Political Party	\$89,230	\$45,933	\$93,534
Public Employees	\$16,228	\$19,790	\$38,682
Railroad	\$850	\$775	\$4,025
Real Estate & Construction	\$213,485	\$153,150	\$241,417
Religion	\$1,277	\$660	\$1,290
Self & Family	\$936,091	\$1,247,201	\$1,042,116
Social Issues	\$18,076	\$26,525	\$49,850
Solid Waste	\$11,700	\$6,500	\$4,525
Timber	\$28,683	\$37,650	\$27,350
Tobacco	\$23,320	\$23,975	\$32,950
Tourism	\$13,450	\$8,150	\$15,750
Transportation	\$72,510	\$75,825	\$81,075
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$4,451,208</b>	<b>\$3,967,845</b>	<b>\$5,099,885</b>
Balance Transfers <sup>2</sup>	\$237,961	\$431,685	\$407,555
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$556,667	\$380,596	\$680,605
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$5,245,836</b>	<b>\$4,780,126</b>	<b>\$6,188,046</b>

<sup>1</sup> Contributions to candidates on the ballot in the 1998, 2000 and 2002 general elections. Figures for 1996 are not available. A comparison of four election cycles is provided for legislators on page 19.

<sup>2</sup> Balance transfers are funds that candidates have carried over from previous campaigns.

## Special Interest Contributions to Legislators in 2002<sup>1</sup>



1

All Other Business includes the following special interest groups: Agriculture, Beverage, Business Lobbyists, Chemicals & Manufacturing, Communications, Electric Power, Insurance, Oil & Gas, Other Business, Pharmaceuticals, Rail Road, Solid Waste, Timber, Tobacco, Tourism and Transportation.

All Other Interests includes Environment, Political Party, Social Issues, Religion and Public Employees.

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<sup>1</sup> Percentages in this chart are of total identified special interest contributions to legislators.

## Special Interest Contributions to Legislators in 2002

Special Interest Group	Senate	House	Legislative Total	% of Identified
Agriculture	\$11,600	\$9,325	\$20,925	1%
Banking & Finance	\$48,480	\$93,915	\$142,395	4%
Beverage	\$23,900	\$38,750	\$62,650	2%
Business Lobbyists	\$29,374	\$29,850	\$59,224	2%
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$29,475	\$44,849	\$74,324	2%
Coal	\$80,981	\$142,595	\$223,576	7%
Communications	\$6,205	\$6,605	\$12,810	*
Consumer Lawyers	\$39,450	\$132,447	\$171,897	5%
Corporate Lawyers	\$44,832	\$52,583	\$97,416	3%
Education	\$27,900	\$84,660	\$112,560	3%
Electric Power	\$5,275	\$10,750	\$16,025	*
Environment	\$875	\$1,320	\$2,195	*
Gambling	\$54,575	\$98,425	\$153,000	4%
Healthcare	\$188,165	\$287,485	\$475,650	14%
Insurance	\$36,475	\$48,463	\$84,938	2%
Labor	\$59,886	\$225,672	\$285,558	8%
Oil & Gas	\$27,100	\$52,880	\$79,980	2%
Other Business	\$30,525	\$50,774	\$81,299	2%
Other Candidates	\$38,516	\$61,559	\$100,075	3%
Other Lawyers	\$41,225	\$34,809	\$76,034	2%
Pharmaceuticals	\$4,775	\$18,125	\$22,900	1%
Political Party	\$11,463	\$31,946	\$43,409	1%
Public Employees	\$10,622	\$12,540	\$23,162	1%
Railroad	\$1,250	\$1,875	\$3,125	*
Real Estate & Construction	\$81,800	\$78,850	\$160,650	5%
Religion	\$945	\$70	\$1,015	*
Self & Family	\$449,129	\$231,083	\$680,212	20%
Social Issues	\$3,650	\$24,265	\$27,915	1%
Solid Waste	\$800	\$3,175	\$3,975	*
Timber	\$12,375	\$7,750	\$20,125	1%
Tobacco	\$11,200	\$19,000	\$30,200	1%
Tourism	\$1,800	\$1,200	\$3,000	*
Transportation	\$15,900	\$45,209	\$61,109	2%
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$1,430,522</b>	<b>\$1,982,805</b>	<b>\$3,413,326</b>	
Balance Transfers <sup>1</sup>	\$48,674	\$303,510	\$352,185	
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$142,120	\$272,566	\$414,686	
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$1,621,316</b>	<b>\$2,558,880</b>	<b>\$4,180,196</b>	

\*Less than one percent of identified special interest contributions.

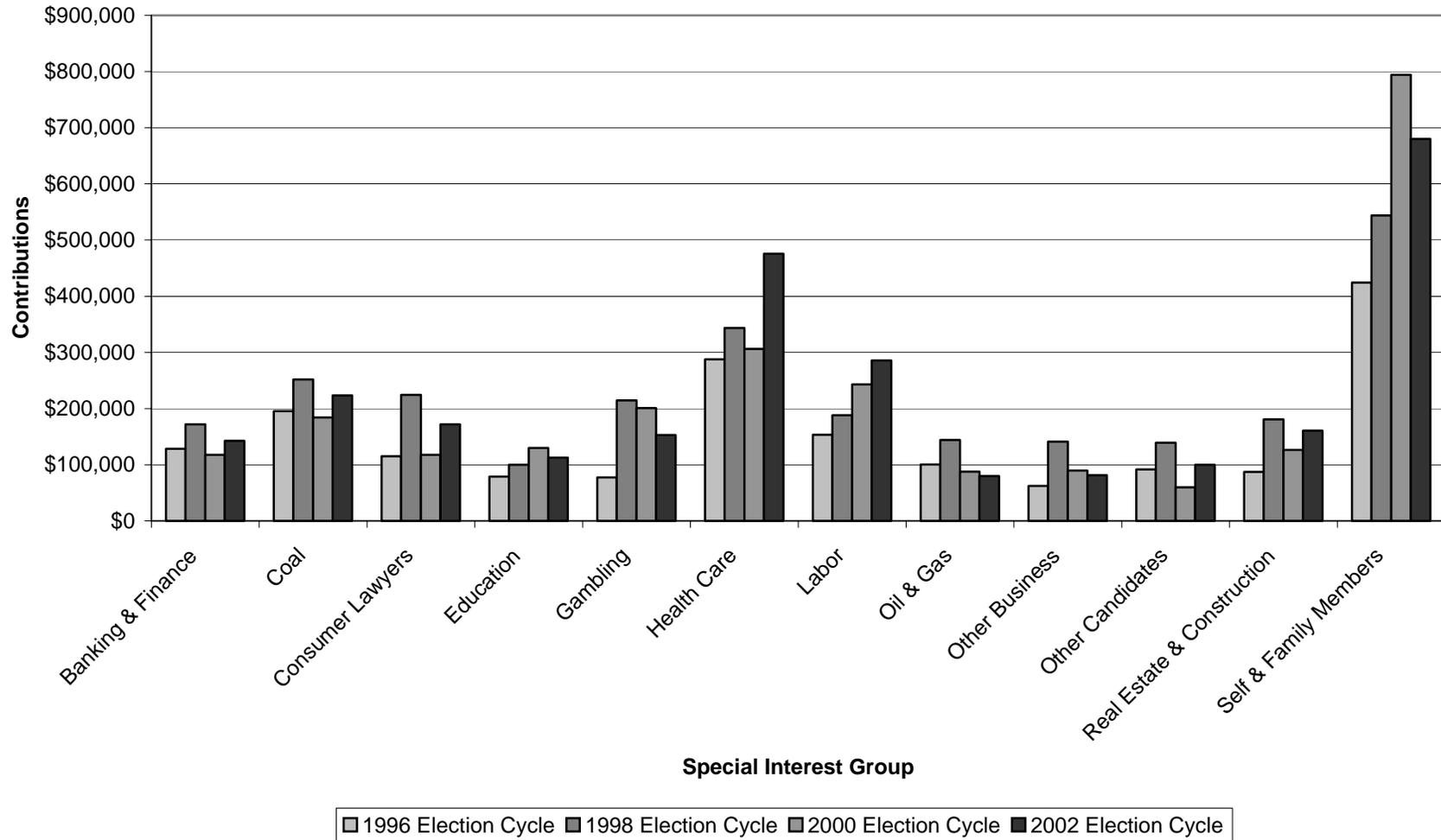
<sup>1</sup> Balance transfers are funds that candidates have carried over from previous campaigns.

## Special Interest Contributions to Legislators

Special Interest	1996	1998	2000	2002
Agriculture	\$17,500	\$18,755	\$20,225	\$20,925
Banking & Finance	\$128,542	\$171,992	\$117,347	\$142,395
Beverage	\$45,650	\$69,707	\$67,075	\$62,650
Business Lobbyists	\$47,799	\$67,250	\$56,613	\$59,224
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$57,694	\$49,329	\$53,850	\$74,324
Coal	\$195,350	\$251,806	\$184,238	\$223,576
Communications	\$3,900	\$14,310	\$12,755	\$12,810
Consumer Lawyers	\$115,100	\$224,511	\$117,656	\$171,897
Corporate Lawyers	\$19,825	\$114,719	\$78,571	\$97,416
Education	\$78,650	\$100,101	\$130,003	\$112,560
Electric Power	\$1,150	\$800	\$800	\$16,025
Environment	\$3,050	\$3,780	\$8,185	\$2,195
Gambling	\$77,205	\$214,685	\$201,052	\$153,000
Health Care	\$287,805	\$343,520	\$306,091	\$475,650
Insurance	\$47,780	\$59,994	\$41,425	\$84,938
Labor	\$153,185	\$188,345	\$242,933	\$285,558
Oil & Gas	\$100,350	\$143,980	\$87,794	\$79,980
Other Business	\$62,285	\$141,234	\$89,548	\$81,299
Other Candidates	\$91,674	\$139,181	\$59,885	\$100,075
Other Lawyers	\$48,620	\$111,065	\$58,083	\$76,034
Pharmaceuticals	\$17,950	\$38,212	\$44,375	\$22,900
Political Party	\$27,293	\$40,522	\$23,877	\$43,409
Public Employees	n/a	\$12,343	\$15,550	\$23,162
Railroad	\$6,800	\$550	\$675	\$3,125
Real Estate & Construction	\$87,199	\$180,750	\$126,382	\$160,650
Religion	\$1,100	\$450	\$660	\$1,015
Self & Family Members	\$424,284	\$544,046	\$794,407	\$680,212
Social Issues	\$10,000	\$13,476	\$25,220	\$27,915
Solid Waste	\$3,600	\$10,925	\$4,500	\$3,975
Timber	\$21,900	\$24,583	\$32,900	\$20,125
Tobacco	\$2,225	\$20,695	\$23,075	\$30,200
Tourism	\$5,500	\$13,450	\$7,400	\$3,000
Transportation	\$46,950	\$59,440	\$65,370	\$61,109
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,237,915</b>	<b>\$3,388,506</b>	<b>\$3,098,520</b>	<b>\$3,413,326</b>
Balance Transfers <sup>1</sup>	n/a	\$225,062	\$426,517	\$352,185
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$380,407	\$395,510	\$276,455	\$414,686
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,618,322</b>	<b>\$4,009,078</b>	<b>\$3,801,492</b>	<b>\$4,180,196</b>

<sup>1</sup> Balance transfers are funds that candidates have carried over from previous campaigns.

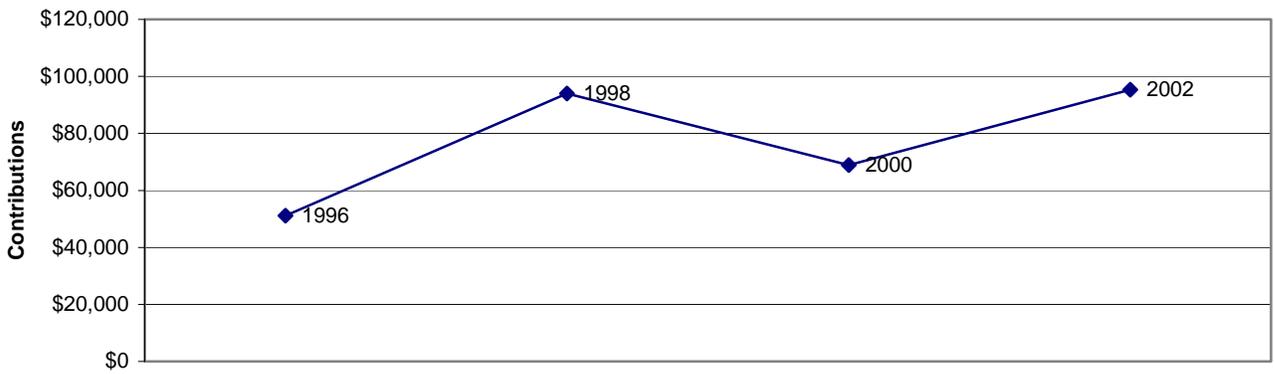
## Special Interest Contributions to Legislators



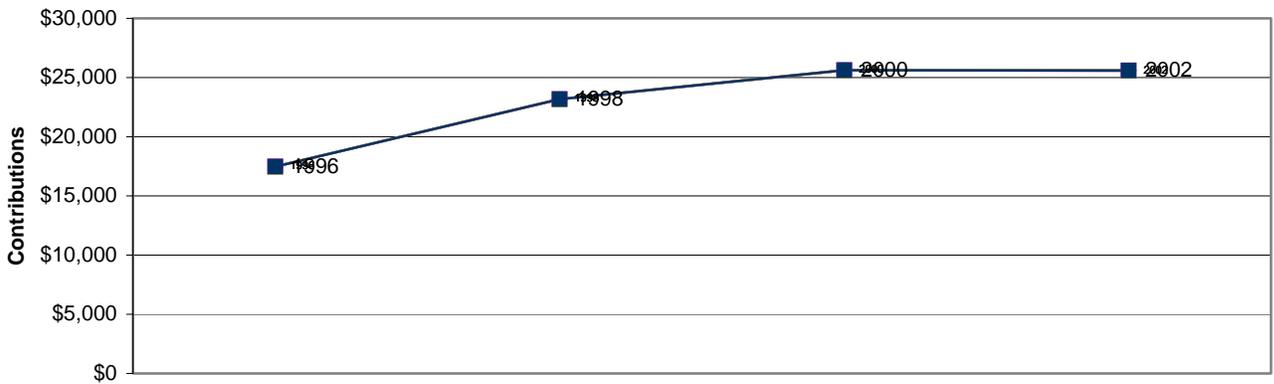
### Average Total Contributions to Legislators

	1996	1998	2000	2002	% Change from 1996 to 2000
<b>Senate</b>	\$51,159	\$93,989	\$68,930	\$95,372	86%
<b>House</b>	\$17,486	\$23,142	\$25,608	\$25,589	46%
<b>Legislative Average</b>	\$22,379	\$33,975	\$32,216	\$35,728	60%

### Average Total Contributions to Senate Members



### Average Total Contributions to House Members



## Special Interest Groups Contributing the Most to Legislators

### 2002 Election Cycle

<b>SPECIAL INTEREST</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	<b>% of Identified Contributions</b>	<b>% Change Since 2000</b>
Self & Family Members	\$680,212	20%	-14%
Health Care	\$475,650	14%	55%
Labor	\$285,558	8%	18%
Coal	\$223,576	7%	21%
Consumer Lawyers	\$171,897	5%	46%
Real Estate & Construction	\$160,650	5%	27%
Gambling	\$153,000	4%	-24%
Banking & Finance	\$142,395	4%	21%
Education	\$112,560	3%	-13%
Other Candidates	\$100,075	3%	67%
<b>TOP TEN TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,505,572</b>	<b>73%</b>	

### 2000 Election Cycle

<b>SPECIAL INTEREST</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	<b>% of Identified Contributions</b>
Self & Family Members	\$794,407	26%
Health Care	\$306,091	10%
Labor	\$242,933	8%
Gambling	\$201,052	6%
Coal	\$184,238	6%
Education	\$130,003	4%
Real Estate & Construction	\$126,382	4%
Consumer Lawyers	\$117,656	4%
Banking & Finance	\$117,347	4%
Other Business	\$89,548	3%
<b>TOP TEN TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,309,657</b>	<b>75%</b>

## Individuals with Most Contributions to Legislators in 2002

<b>INDIVIDUAL</b>	<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b># of Contributions</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
Edson Arneault	\$33,350	73	Gambling
Jeremy Jacobs	\$26,000	61	Gambling
William Bright	\$20,950	54	Coal
Herbert Tyner	\$17,450	35	Gambling
John & Kathleen Hodges	\$14,850	47	Business Lobbyist
Marvin Masters	\$13,550	16	Trial Lawyer
Buck & Hallie Harless	\$12,500	22	Coal
Kevin & Donna Desanctis	\$12,250	26	Gambling
Bernard Lee & Carol Hartman	\$10,125	23	Gambling
W. Kent Carper	\$ 9,880	19	Trial Lawyer

## Political Action Committees (PACS) Contributing the Most to Legislators in 2002

<b>POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
WV Laborers District Council PAC	\$59,600	Labor
WV Law PAC	\$58,600	Trial Lawyers
WV Bankers PAC	\$57,750	Banking & Finance
WV Hospital Association PAC	\$54,700	Hospital Association
WV Federation of Teachers	\$50,900	Education
WV State Medical Association PAC	\$39,190	Medical Association
Associated General Contractors PAC	\$37,050	Construction
United Mine Workers of America PAC	\$32,100	Labor
West Virginians for Coal PAC	\$31,000	Coal Association
Columbia Gas Employees PAC	\$29,000	Gas Company

Political Action Committees Contributing the Most Frequently  
to Legislators in 2002

<b>POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE</b>	<b># of Contributions</b>	<b>Affiliation</b>
WV Hospital Association PAC	160	Hospital Association
WV Bankers PAC	137	Banking & Finance
West Virginians for Coal PAC	134	Coal Association
Chiropractors Independent Political Committee	124	Chiropractors
Associated General Contractors PAC	117	Construction
WV Federal of Teachers	109	Education
WV Law PAC	104	Trial Lawyers
WV Education Association (WVEA) PAC	101	Education
Jackson & Kelly State Legislative PAC	91	Corporate Lawyers
WV State Medical Association PAC	83	Medical Association

Comparison of PAC Contributions to Legislators

	<b>1996</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>% Change Since 1996</b>
<b>Total PAC Contributions</b>	\$970,353	\$1,138,788	\$1,173,336	\$1,256,069	29%
<b>% of Total Contributions</b>	37%	28%	31%	30%	
<b>Number of Contributions</b>	3,213	3,946	3,930	4,020	
<b>Average Contribution</b>	\$302	\$289	\$299	\$312	

## PAC Contributions by Special Interest Group<sup>1</sup>

<b>Special Interest Group</b>	<b>PAC Contributions</b>	<b>% of Total PAC Contributions</b>
Labor	\$282,403	22%
Healthcare	\$180,242	14%
Education	\$99,550	8%
Banking & Finance	\$93,940	7%
Coal	\$79,300	6%
Insurance	\$59,250	5%
Consumer Lawyers	\$58,600	5%
Real Estate & Construction	\$56,900	5%
Oil & Gas	\$48,750	4%
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$41,950	3%
Transportation	\$41,175	3%
Beverage	\$38,350	3%
Political Party	\$29,995	2%
Tobacco	\$23,600	2%
Corporate Lawyers	\$20,850	2%
Pharmaceuticals	\$16,000	1%
Electric Power	\$15,350	1%
Unidentified PACs	\$12,909	1%
Other Business	\$12,855	1%
Social Issues	\$12,500	1%
Agriculture	\$12,400	1%
Gambling	\$8,150	1%
Timber	\$8,100	1%
Business Lobbyists	\$2,950	*

\*Less than one percent of total PAC contributions to legislators.

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<sup>1</sup> Contributions from political action committees (PACs) to members of the legislature. This does not include donations from individual contributors affiliated with the listed special interest groups.

## Candidates with the Most Contributions

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$408,587	Robert Kiss	\$182,460
Lisa Smith (R)	\$296,091	Dan Foster	\$131,954
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$211,364	Carrie Webster	\$90,297
Truman Chafin	\$197,392	Sally Susman	\$75,640
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$139,568	Barbara Fleischauer	\$65,685

## Most Money Raised per Vote Received

SENATE		HOUSE	
John Bartlett (C)*	\$65.19	Carrie Webster	\$38.36
Oshel Craigo*	\$24.76	Mark Sadd (R)*	\$25.91
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$19.93	Robert Kiss	\$19.20
Lisa Smith (R)	\$16.28	Dave Ebbitt (R)*	\$16.75
Truman Chafin	\$15.53	Eustace Frederick	\$16.66

## Least Money Raised per Vote Received

SENATE		HOUSE	
Toni Tampoya (R)*	\$.03	Steve Forloine (RF)*	\$.00
Patrick Lane (R)*	\$.73	Alan Balogh (RF)*	.00
John Unger	\$1.05	Susan Mayers (R)*	.01
Larry Edgell	\$1.13	Gwen Ramey (R)*	.02
Steve Harrison (R)	\$1.33	Greg Miller (R)*	.03

\* DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

Legislators with Highest Percentage of Total  
Contributions from Small Donors (Under \$100)

SENATE		HOUSE	
Larry Edgell	9%	Bonnie Brown	20%
Russell Weeks (R)	6%	Barbara Fleischauer	17%
Steve Harrison (R)	5%	Greg Howard (R)	17%
Mike Oliverio	5%	John Overington (R)	17%
Randy White	4%	Robert Tabb	14%
Edwin Bowman	4%	Linda Sumner (R)	13%
Evan Jenkins	3%	Tom Azinger (R)	13%
Frank Deem (R)	3%	Mike Caputo	13%
Jesse Guills (R)	3%	Bill Hamilton (R)	13%

Legislators with Highest Percentage of Total  
Contributions from Large Donors (Over \$500)

SENATE		HOUSE	
Lisa Smith (R)	96%	Craig Blair (R)	100%
Tracy Dempsey	78%	Cindy Frich (R)	87%
Truman Chafin	72%	Sally Susman	76%
John Unger	57%	Lidella Hrutkay	74%
Russell Weeks (R)	55%	Joe Ferrell	73%

**Campaign Surplus**

(Legislators with the Most Money Available for  
Next Campaign Because of 2002 Surplus)

SENATE		HOUSE	
Edwin Bowman	\$80,937	Robert Kiss	\$80,913
Brooks McCabe	\$60,802	Kevin Craig	\$34,690
Tracy Dempsey	\$16,189	Eustace Frederick	\$32,137
John Unger	\$13,426	Margaret Leach	\$24,059
Larry Edgell	\$11,721	L Gil White (R)	\$21,261

**Candidates Receiving Highest Amounts from  
Selected Special Interest Groups**

***SELF-FINANCING      \$1,042,116 TOTAL***

SENATE		HOUSE	
Lisa Smith (R)	\$258,000	Sally Susman	\$56,104
Truman Chafin	\$87,200	Fred Gillespie (R)*	\$27,602
Oshel Craigo*	\$63,700	Lidella Hrutkay	\$21,812
Tracy Dempsey	\$43,725	Warren McGraw*	\$20,441
Chris Davis (R)*	\$40,181	Cindy Frich (R)	\$16,873

***HEALTH CARE      \$694,912 TOTAL***

SENATE		HOUSE	
Evan Jenkins	\$59,943	Dan Foster	\$50,920
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$48,431	Dave Ebbitt (R)*	\$26,925
Oshel Craigo*	\$44,145	Marshall Long	\$24,625
Mike Oliverio	\$30,755	Robert Kiss	\$15,875
Bill Wooton*	\$22,216	Jesse Samples (R)*	\$11,860

***LABOR      \$456,815 TOTAL***

SENATE		HOUSE	
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$27,570	Brent Boggs	\$17,400
Randy White	\$22,146	Mike Caputo	\$11,900
Tracy Dempsey	\$18,700	Jim Ferguson*	\$11,550
John Mitchell*	\$15,250	Dale Martin	\$11,100
Oshel Craigo*	\$11,300	Eugene Claypole*	\$10,900

***COAL      \$332,252 TOTAL***

SENATE		HOUSE	
Doug Waldron (R)*	\$34,652	Steven Kominar	\$15,400
Oshel Craigo*	\$19,800	Robert Kiss	\$10,400
Brooks McCabe	\$11,950	Jim Mullins (R)*	\$8,925
Jesse Guills (R)	\$10,850	Dan Foster	\$8,875
Truman Chafin	\$10,756	Steve Hunter*	\$6,350

\* DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

Candidates Receiving Highest Amounts from  
Selected Special Interest Groups  
(continued)

*CONSUMER LAWYERS*

*\$276,955 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$32,633	Carrie Webster	\$24,142
John Mitchell*	\$23,950	Barbara Fleischauer	\$15,805
Truman Chafin	\$18,600	Sharon Spencer	\$10,250
Bill Wooton*	\$11,400	Warren McGraw*	\$8,550
Tracy Dempsey	\$10,350	Richard Staton	\$8,500

*REAL ESTATE & CONSTRUCTION*

*\$241,417 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$35,400	Barbara Warner	\$7,500
Jesse Guills (R)	\$16,850	Corey Palumbo	\$5,740
Brooks McCabe	\$11,150	Mark Sadd (R)*	\$5,610
Mike Oliverio	\$9,050	Samuel Cann	\$3,600
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$8,350	Dan Foster	\$3,100

*BANKING & FINANCE*

*\$192,785 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$18,075	Dan Foster	\$7,855
Bill Wooton*	\$6,825	Robert Kiss	\$6,600
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$6,250	Harry Keith White	\$4,100
Truman Chafin	\$4,900	Corey Palumbo	\$3,550
Joe Minard	\$4,450	Harold Michael	\$3,550
		Jon Amores	\$3,550

*GAMBLING*

*\$187,620 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Tracy Dempsey	\$15,900	Barbara Warner	\$5,250
Oshel Craigo*	\$11,450	Mike Caputo	\$4,900
Truman Chafin	\$10,350	John Doyle	\$4,800
Randy White	\$7,500	Robert Kiss	\$4,700
Sarah Minear (R)	\$5,000	Randy Swartzmiller	\$4,150

\* DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

Candidates Receiving Highest Amounts from  
Selected Special Interest Groups  
(continued)

*EDUCATION* *\$175,510 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$12,700	Mary Poling	\$4,350
John Unger	\$5,000	Walter Duke (R)	\$4,225
Tracy Dempsey	\$4,550	Tal Hutchins*	\$3,900
Randy White	\$4,450	Susan Hubbard*	\$3,400
John Mitchell*	\$4,050	Dale Stephens*	\$3,300

*OTHER CANDIDATES* *\$168,749 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$24,800	Carrie Webster	\$5,995
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$8,514	Ray Keener*	\$5,870
Tracy Dempsey	\$7,080	Richard Staton	\$3,995
Bill Wooton*	\$6,900	Corey Palumbo	\$3,435
Truman Chafin	\$5,720	Virginia Mahan	\$3,385

*CORPORATE LAWYERS* *\$142,566 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Brooks McCabe	\$13,450	Dan Foster	\$8,025
Oshel Craigo*	\$10,150	Corey Palumbo	\$6,225
Evan Jenkins	\$6,700	Carrie Webster	\$4,308
Bill Wooton*	\$5,325	Kevin Craig	\$3,400
Mike Oliverio	\$4,807	Dale Buck*	\$3,250

*OTHER BUSINESS* *\$139,718 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$20,925	Kevin Craig	\$2,845
Rick Rice (R)*	\$10,690	Dan Foster	\$2,765
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$8,625	L Gil White (R)	\$2,600
Mike Oliverio	\$4,010	Jerry Mezzatesta	\$2,400
Truman Chafin	\$3,800	Corey Palumbo	\$2,375

\* DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

Candidates Receiving Highest Amounts from  
Selected Special Interest Groups  
(continued)

*OTHER LAWYERS*

*\$126,096 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Truman Chafin	\$12,375	Warren McGraw*	\$11,750
Edwin Bowman	\$11,775	Carrie Webster	\$5,700
Tracy Dempsey	\$8,600	Richard Thompson	\$4,697
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$8,460	Ray Keener*	\$3,425
John Mitchell*	\$6,300	Barbara Fleischauer	\$3,350

*OIL & GAS*

*\$103,830 TOTAL*

SENATE		HOUSE	
Oshel Craigo*	\$13,550	Samuel Cann	\$4,350
Frank Deem (R)	\$4,700	Robert Kiss	\$2,800
Mike Oliverio	\$4,500	Gerald Crosier	\$2,600
Steve Harrison (R)	\$3,750	Dan Foster	\$2,500
Jesse Guills (R)	\$3,150	Kevin Craig	\$2,250

\* DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

## Defining Special Interest Blocks

Special interest groups often unite to advocate for, or oppose, specific legislation. PERC-WV identified four “special interest blocks,” described below, that are currently active on issues at the legislature. PERC-WV lists the amount and percentage of identified contributions each legislator received from these four blocks: the “tort reform” advocates; special interests typically opposing increased environmental protection; special interests typically opposing increased taxes on alcohol, tobacco and gambling; and “progressive” special interests. Since some special interest groups are members of more than one block, total percentages may exceed 100%.

### “Tort Reform” Advocates

A perennial legislative issue is some form of “tort reform.” Advocates for tort reform include virtually all members of the **business community, health care providers and corporate lawyers** who are seeking to put a limit on liabilities of manufacturers and the medical profession. The tort reform percentage assigned to each legislator reflects the percentage of identified contributions from these donors.

### Special Interests Typically Opposed to Increased Environmental Protection

This block is comprised of regulated industries that typically oppose strengthening environmental regulation and enforcement. These groups include **agriculture, chemical and manufacturing, coal, electric power, oil and gas, real estate and construction, solid waste, timber, transportation (automotive), and the corporate lawyers and lobbyists** who represent these interests.

### Special Interests Typically Opposed to Increased Taxes on Alcohol, Tobacco and Gambling (“Anti-Sin Tax” Block)

Increased taxation of **alcohol, tobacco and gambling** is a common legislative issue. Each of these special interests opposes the general concept of “sin taxes” and often work with each other to defeat proposals for increased taxes and regulations. The “anti-sin tax” percentage assigned to each legislator is the percentage of identified contributions coming from the alcohol (beverage), tobacco and gambling interest groups.

### “Progressive” Special Interest Groups

**Organized labor, education organizations, trial (consumer) lawyers, environmentalists and social justice advocates** often align themselves on the same issues. This block tends to support common political candidates as well.

## Highest Contributions from “Tort Reform” Advocates

SENATE	Amount	% of Identified	HOUSE	Amount	% of Identified
Oshel Craigo*	\$225,990	64%	Dan Foster	\$96,628	88%
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$102,955	86%	Robert Kiss	\$56,425	86%
Evan Jenkins	\$100,263	82%	Barbara Warner	\$43,125	90%
Mike Oliverio	\$86,497	91%	Kevin Craig	\$41,904	77%
Jesse Guills (R)	\$78,735	92%	L Gil White (R)	\$32,325	91%

## Highest Contributions from Special Interests Typically Opposing Increased Environmental Protection

SENATE	Amount	% of Identified	HOUSE	Amount	% of Identified
Oshel Craigo*	\$108,130	30%	Dan Foster	\$28,250	26%
Brooks McCabe	\$50,250	52%	Kevin Craig	\$27,084	50%
Jesse Guills (R)	\$44,075	52%	Robert Kiss	\$20,450	31%
Thomas Scott (R)*	\$39,149	33%	Steven Kominar	\$20,300	68%
Mike Oliverio	\$38,457	40%	Barbara Warner	\$19,750	41%

\*DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

## Highest Contributions from Special Interests Opposing Increased Taxes on Alcohol, Tobacco & Gambling

SENATE	Amount	% of Identified	HOUSE	Amount	% of Identified
Truman Chafin	\$19,100	10%	Robert Kiss	\$8,950	14%
Oshel Craigo*	\$18,700	5%	Richard Staton	\$8,200	16%
Tracy Dempsey	\$17,300	13%	L Gil White (R)	\$6,400	18%
Sarah Minear (R)	\$8,650	11%	Barbara Warner	\$6,350	13%
Randy White	\$8,600	11%	Scott Varner	\$6,300	15%

## Highest Contributions from “Progressive” Special Interests (Labor, Education, Trial Lawyers and Environmentalists)

SENATE	Amount	% of Identified	HOUSE	Amount	% of Identified
Mary Pearl Compton*	\$74,503	47%	Carrie Webster	\$36,082	45%
John Mitchell*	\$43,315	49%	Barbara Fleischauer	\$28,395	54%
Tracy Dempsey	\$33,600	25%	Brent Boggs	\$18,850	88%
Randy White	\$30,546	41%	Mike Caputo	\$17,220	63%
Bill Wooton*	\$22,300	22%	Dale Martin	\$16,200	62%

\*DEFEATED IN GENERAL ELECTION

**PERC-WV**

**Special Section**

**on Contributions to**

**West Virginia Leadership**

As the most powerful member of the House, the Speaker often receives substantial special interest contributions. In 2002, House Speaker Bob Kiss raised more money than any other member of the House of Delegates, as he did in 1996, 1998 and 2000. Kiss transferred \$110,000 from previous campaigns and he had the largest campaign surplus at the end of the 2002 election cycle.

In previous election cycles, Kiss was often the House candidate receiving the most contributions from many of the special interest groups highlighted in this report. While this did not happen as frequently in 2002, he was still among the top five recipients of contributions from health care providers, the coal industry, banking and finance, gambling and amusement interests, and the oil and gas industry. In terms of contributions from the special interest blocks defined in this report, Kiss was the top recipient of contributions from “tort reform” advocates and was in the top five recipients of contributions from special interests typically opposing increased environmental protection and those opposing increased taxes on alcohol, tobacco and gambling (“sin taxes”).

Senate President Earl Ray Tomblin was reelected to a four-year term during the 2000 election and has not raised any contributions for his 2004 campaign.

Before he announced he would not seek reelection, Governor Bob Wise raised over \$1 million for his 2004 campaign. In 2000 the governor’s race was significant mainly in the similarities of special interest contributions to the major candidates. An analysis of the contributions Bob Wise has raised since being elected makes these similarities more evident. 17% (or \$187,400) of Wise’s identified contributions came from coal, the same percentage Underwood received for his 2000 reelection bid.

The coal industry was the biggest contributor to Wise’s inaugural celebration, donating \$120,340, more it contributed during the 2000 election. Of the coal contributions he has received since, many came as the legislature was debating increasing the weight limits for coal trucks. A March 2002 fundraiser netted over \$73,500 with most of the contributions coming from coal companies, coal haulers and land companies. \$20,500 came from employees and spouses of Riverton Coal and its parent company, RAG Coal International. This is the largest single-day giving PERC-WV has seen from any corporation since it began monitoring campaign financing in 1996.

Other interests that contributed heavily to both Wise’s and Underwood’s reelection bids include health care providers, real estate and construction interests, banking and finance interests and other businesses.

## Special Interest Contributions to House Speaker Bob Kiss

Special Interest	1996	1998	2000	2002
Agriculture	\$350	\$200	\$1,500	\$250
Banking & Finance	\$5,450	\$8,075	\$6,362	\$6,600
Beverage	\$3,800	\$5,500	\$5,000	\$3,000
Business Lobbyists	\$4,350	\$2,525	\$3,675	\$350
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$4,000	\$2,700	\$3,850	\$2,100
Coal	\$12,300	\$30,325	\$13,300	\$10,400
Communications	\$500	\$200	\$1,200	\$0
Consumer Lawyers	\$2,000	\$450	\$600	\$1,000
Corporate Lawyers	\$2,150	\$6,499	\$4,328	\$200
Education	\$100	\$120	\$750	\$2,500
Electric Power	\$100	\$100	\$50	\$1,000
Gambling	\$4,700	\$7,725	\$11,524	\$4,700
Health	\$12,000	\$29,575	\$20,625	\$15,875
Insurance	\$1,150	\$700	\$1,150	\$2,250
Labor	\$0	\$1,050	\$0	\$200
Oil & Gas	\$6,850	\$9,275	\$6,150	\$2,800
Other Business	\$3,800	\$2,200	\$8,712	\$1,200
Other Candidates	\$2,167	\$2,450	\$4,996	\$1,500
Other Lawyers	\$550	\$3,000	\$1,150	\$200
Pharmaceuticals	\$950	\$2,250	\$1,600	\$1,100
Railroad	\$400	\$50	\$100	\$0
Real Estate & Construction	\$3,600	\$7,050	\$10,218	\$2,250
Religion	\$0	\$100	\$0	\$0
Self	\$0	\$0	\$1,075	\$0
Social Issues	\$100	\$1,025	\$1,000	\$1,000
Solid Waste	\$0	\$500	\$1,000	\$0
State Employees	\$0	\$270	\$350	\$2,650
Timber	\$500	\$1,125	\$750	\$0
Tobacco	\$0	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,250
Tourism	\$200	\$200	\$900	\$500
Transportation	\$3,350	\$2,760	\$2,900	\$1,100
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$75,417</b>	<b>\$128,499</b>	<b>\$115,815</b>	<b>\$65,975</b>
Balance Transfers <sup>1</sup>	\$0	\$0	\$50,000	\$110,000
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$29,701	\$24,509	\$14,244	\$6,485
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$105,118</b>	<b>\$153,008</b>	<b>\$180,059</b>	<b>\$182,460</b>

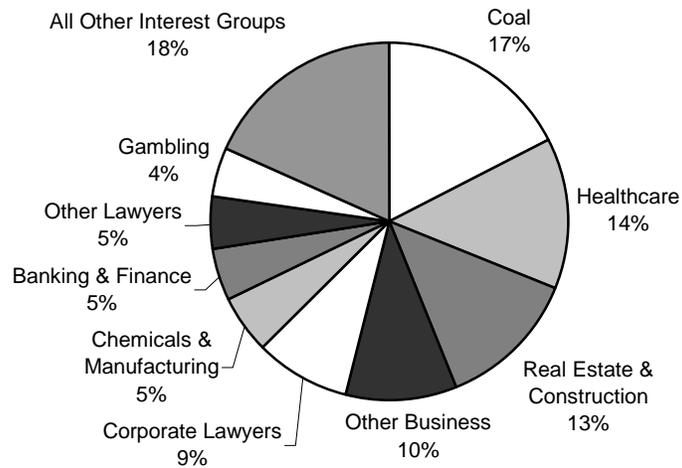
<sup>1</sup> Balance transfers are funds carried over from previous campaigns.

## Special Interest Contributions to Governor Bob Wise

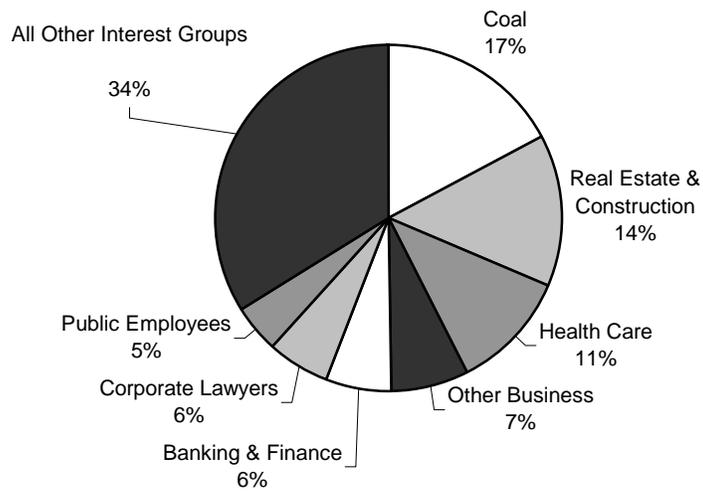
INTEREST GROUP	2000 Election Cycle	Inaugural	2004 Reelection
Agriculture	\$2,350	\$0	\$1,500
Banking & Finance	\$76,441	\$34,130	\$51,450
Beverage	\$25,768	\$5,000	\$10,000
Business Lobbyists	\$30,350	\$2,000	\$11,750
Chemicals & Manufacturing	\$76,535	\$36,900	\$56,550
Coal	\$115,600	\$120,340	\$187,400
Communications	\$56,796	\$24,800	\$20,500
Consumer Lawyers	\$130,795	\$10,500	\$15,250
Corporate Lawyers	\$123,285	\$15,780	\$93,950
Education	\$57,698	\$5,000	\$9,500
Electric Power	\$2,500	\$10,000	\$1,000
Environment	\$3,310	\$700	\$0
Gambling	\$56,880	\$40,350	\$47,500
Health Care	\$295,064	\$35,805	\$149,275
Insurance	\$18,125	\$6,000	\$7,450
Labor	\$94,089	\$17,905	\$2,000
Oil & Gas	\$92,776	\$43,600	\$17,500
Other Business	\$157,870	\$41,625	\$106,678
Other Candidates	\$90,770	\$945	\$29,150
Other Lawyers	\$290,448	\$5,490	\$49,450
Pharmaceuticals	\$11,950	\$10,000	\$19,750
Political Party	\$17,023	\$0	\$1,250
Public Employees	\$75,066	\$1,995	\$23,600
Railroad	\$3,944	\$5,000	\$0
Real Estate & Construction	\$275,829	\$103,148	\$137,350
Religion	\$500	\$0	\$0
Self & Family Members	\$2,350	\$0	\$250
Social Issues	\$14,033	\$0	\$1,000
Solid Waste	\$40,450	\$10,000	\$3,500
Timber	\$6,725	\$2,500	\$1,250
Tobacco	\$1,000	\$0	\$0
Tourism	\$17,425	\$5,000	\$2,950
Transportation	\$30,132	\$1,000	\$19,700
<b>Identified Special Interest Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,293,877</b>	<b>\$595,513</b>	<b>\$1,078,453</b>
Balance Transfer <sup>1</sup>			\$39,800
Other Unidentified Contributions	\$619,981	\$297,021	\$130,237
<b>Total Contributions</b>	<b>\$2,913,858</b>	<b>\$892,534</b>	<b>\$1,248,490</b>

<sup>1</sup> Balance transfers are funds carried over from previous campaigns.

### Special Interest Contributions to Bob Wise for 2004 Reelection



### Special Interest Contributions to Cecil Underwood in 2000



## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Hoover Institution website, Campaign Finance: Current State Structure, State and Local Overview, ([www.hoover.stanford.edu](http://www.hoover.stanford.edu)).

<sup>2</sup>National Voting Rights Institute website, Defending Campaign Spending Limits: Reexamining *Buckley v. Valeo*, Vermont: Leading the Way on Limiting Campaign Spending, ([www.nvri.org](http://www.nvri.org)).

<sup>3</sup>Clean Money in Action, a fact sheet on Arizona's new Clean Election system prepared by Northeast Action for the Money and Politics Implementation Project, ([www.neaction.org](http://www.neaction.org)).

<sup>4</sup>Clean Money in Action, a fact sheet on Maine's new Clean Election system prepared by Northeast Action for the Money and Politics Implementation Project, ([www.neaction.org](http://www.neaction.org)).

<sup>5</sup>Public Campaign, Tri-Partisan Class of "Clean" Officials Elected in Maine and Arizona, November 18, 2002 press release, ([www.publiccampaign.org](http://www.publiccampaign.org)).

<sup>6</sup>Clean Money in Action.

<sup>7</sup>*Id.*

<sup>8</sup>Center for Governmental Studies, Investing in Democracy: Creating Public Financing of Elections in Your Community, (2003), ([www.cgs.org](http://www.cgs.org)).

<sup>9</sup>Clean Money in Action.

<sup>10</sup>Money and Politics Implementation Project, Revitalizing Democracy: Clean Election Reform Shows the Way Forward, (2002), ([www.neaction.org](http://www.neaction.org)).