

Perry Patronage: Donor-Appointees Gave the Governor \$3.8 Million

Contents

- I. Summary
- II. Introduction
- III. Appointments By Office
- IV. Big-Donor Appointees
- V. Employer Contributions
- VI. Perry Appointees Unknown to Perry's Campaign
- VII. Appointments By Region
- VIII. Appointments By Gender

I. Summary

- Texas Governor Rick Perry tapped 1,027 appointees 1,123 times to serve on 235 state agencies, boards and commissions between December 5, 2002 and February 22, 2006 (some appointees were appointed multiple times).
- Between January 2000 and December 2005 Perry's campaign received a total of \$3,870,324 from 330 of these appointees (32 percent) or their family members. Perry's appointees contributed an average of \$3,769 apiece to the governor's campaign coffers.
- Appointees to education-related offices gave the governor the most money, averaging \$10,616 per appointee. University regents topped this list, led by Texas Tech Regent Larry Anders. The \$220,304 Anders gave Perry made him the governor's most-generous donor-appointee.
- Perry's campaign took in \$3,103,928 more during the same period from sources affiliated with his appointees' employers. Perry Homes attorney John Krugh—whom the governor appointed to the Residential Construction Commission—led this group. Krugh's boss, Bob Perry, gave the governor (no relation) \$690,000.
- Despite a Texas law requiring candidates to use their "best efforts" to disclose the employers and occupations of large donors, Perry's campaign repeatedly failed to make these disclosures for large donors whom Perry already had appointed to state offices.
- Texas most populated regions accounted for the greatest shares of Perry's appointees. The governor selected the most appointees from the Prairies & Lakes and Gulf Coast regions, which encompass Texas' biggest cities.
- Governor Perry tapped women for 38 percent of his appointments. Equality-minded women may have to dig deeper. The average female appointee gave Perry \$1,762 compared to the male average of \$4,476.

II. Introduction

Texas Governor Rick Perry tapped 1,027 appointees 1,123 times to serve on 235 state agencies, boards and commissions between December 5, 2002 and February 22, 2006 (some appointees were appointed multiple times). Between January 2000 and December 2005 Perry's campaign received a total of \$3,870,324 from 330 of these appointees (32 percent) or their family members. In this way the Perry campaign raked in an average of \$3,769 per gubernatorial appointee. During the same period the governor's campaign took in another \$3,103,928 from sources affiliated with the employers of these appointees.

Perry's Donor-Appointees At A Glance

No. of Appointments	No. of Appointees	No. of Donor-Appointees	Appointee Donations To Perry	Average Appointee Contribution	Perry Donations From Appointees' Employers
1,123	1,027	330	\$3,870,324	\$3,769	\$3,103,928

The timing of these contributions ran the gamut. Some contributions arrived in advance of the corresponding appointment, some arrived after the fact, while many other appointees contributed both before and after their appointments. Despite a 2003 state law that requires Texas candidates to use their "best efforts" to disclose the employer and occupation of donors of \$500 or more, the Perry campaign repeatedly failed to disclose the employers of large donors whom the governor already had appointed to state offices (this is discussed more below).

Texas governors have a rich history of using their appointment powers as a patronage tool. Since this is the most comprehensive appointee-patronage study ever, there is no systematic way to compare Perry's patronage to that of his predecessors.¹ Anecdotal evidence suggests that the biggest patronage plums have been appointments to be Parks and Wildlife Commissioners and university regents. These appointments channel the twin Texas obsessions of hunting² and football.

III. Appointments By Office

Education

Education appointees were Governor Perry’s most-generous appointees, contributing an average of \$10,616 apiece. Governor Perry’s No. 1 donor-appointee was Texas Tech Regent Larry Anders, the head of Plano-based life insurer Summit Alliance Companies. Anders gave Perry \$220,304, moving 61 percent of it prior to his 2005 appointment.



\$10,616

Six other Education appointees made six-figure contributions to Governor Perry: UT Regents Robert Rowling (\$207,262) and James Huffines (\$122,180); Texas Tech Regents J. Frank Miller (\$175,000) and L.F. ‘Rick’ Francis (\$107,500); Texas Board of Education Chair Geraldine ‘Tincy’ Miller (\$139,00); and A&M Regent Erle Nye (\$131,000).

Humanities

While regent appointments can yield premium college football seating, there is no such explanation for the No. 2-ranked Humanities category, which yielded an average of \$8,316 per appointee. Two high-roller appointees skewed these numbers. Governor Perry appointed Houston beer distributor magnate John Nau (\$185,260) to the Historical Commission in 2003—one day after Nau gave Perry’s campaign \$12,500.



\$8,316

The other leading Humanities donor-appointee is Austin’s Donna Stockton-Hicks (\$163,160), whom the governor tapped for the Poet Laureate, State Musician and State Artists Committee. Stockton-Hicks owns a chichi, artsy interior design supply store. Husband R. Steven Hicks and brother-in-law Tom Hicks sold a radio company in 1999 for \$16 billion.

Appointments By Type of Office

Appointed Office Category (% of All Appointments)	Average Appointment Price	No. of Appointments	Percent Involving Donations	Total Appointee Donations
Education (12%)	\$10,616	135	35%	\$1,433,093
Humanities (4%)	\$8,316	45	44%	\$374,220
Natural Resources (12%)	\$6,410	133	42%	\$852,556
Insurance (1%)	\$6,167	15	20%	\$92,500
Finance (4%)	\$3,940	41	32%	\$161,527
Corrections/Security (9%)	\$2,673	100	22%	\$267,278
Other (7%)	\$2,171	79	27%	\$171,535
Housing (2%)	\$1,982	17	29%	\$7,000
Infrastructure/Transpo. (3%)	\$1,938	39	46%	\$77,296
Law (7%)	\$1,501	78	36%	\$117,080
Health/Human Services (14%)	\$958	153	16%	\$146,507
Economy (6%)	\$840	62	26%	\$52,070
Licensing (18%)	\$559	198	25%	\$110,712
Retirement (2%)	\$248	28	29%	\$6,950
TOTAL:	\$3,446	1,123	32%	\$3,870,324

Natural Resources

Three Parks & Wildlife Commissioners dominate the No. 3 ranked Natural Resources sector: Heavy equipment dealer and San Antonio Spurs owner Peter Holt (\$206,000); Houston developer Ned Holmes (\$174,250); and Houston auto dealer T. Dan Friedkin (\$151,000).

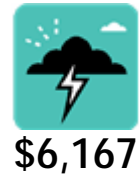


The governor appointed three five-figure donors to the Rock Crushers and Quarries Advisory Committee: McKinney gravel executive John Lattimore (\$81,200); state Senator Troy Fraser (\$10,581); and San Marcos irrigation products manufacturer John Richard Weisman (\$10,000).

The other top donors appointed to Natural Resources posts were: Clifton Thomas of the Guadalupe–Blanco River Authority (\$126,000); Patrick Gordon (\$13,750) of the Rio Grande Compact Commission; John Goodman (\$12,500) of the Emissions Reduction Plan Advisory Board; and Ray Wilkerson (\$10,500) of the Lower Colorado River Authority.

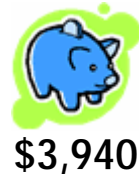
Insurance

The top Insurance appointee is real estate broker Richard Smith (\$86,000) of Bryan, whom Perry appointed to the Workers' Compensation Commission. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development fined Smith's company \$19,200 several months after his 2003 appointment. HUD alleged that title companies supplied Smith's company with free virtual home tours in exchange for business referrals.



Finance

The leading Finance appointee is Finance Commissioner Allan Polunsky (\$150,000) of San Antonio law firm Polunsky & Beitel. Perry also appointed one of Polunsky's partners, Jesse Adams, to the Racing Commission.



Corrections

Dallas attorney Christina Melton Crain is the top-giving Corrections appointee (\$175,966). Perry appointed Crain to the Criminal Justice Board. Husband Nate Crain of Shop Online fortune previously chaired the Dallas County Republican Party.



\$2,673

Most Expensive Offices

Appointed Office	No. of Appointments	Average Donation Per Appointment	Top Donor
State Artists Committee	1	\$163,160	Donna Stockton-Hicks
Education Board	2	\$69,500	Geraldine 'Tincy' Miller
Parks & Wildlife Commission	8	\$67,814	Peter Holt
Guadalupe-Blanco River Authority	2	\$63,000	Clifton Thomas
UT System Board of Regents	6	\$58,831	Robert Rowling
Texas Tech Board of Regents	9	\$57,296	Larry Anders
Criminal Justice Board	5	\$46,533	Christina M. Crain
Finance Commission	6	\$25,067	Allan Polunsky
A&M University Board of Regents	6	\$25,025	Erle Nye
Human Services Board	3	\$22,773	Jerry Kane
Alcoholic Beverage Commission	1	\$21,607	John T. Steen, Jr.
Historical Commission	10	\$19,401	John Nau III
Workers' Compensation Commission	5	\$17,200	Richard Smith
University of N. TX Board of Regents	3	\$17,000	Robert A. Nickell
Advisory Council on Physical Fitness	3	\$16,667	Scott Kubitz
Higher Education Coordinating Board	11	\$14,813	Paul Foster
Rio Grande Compact Commission	1	\$13,750	Patrick Gordon
Commission for Women	13	\$12,306	Suzanne Azoulay
Rock Crushers/Quarries Adv. Com.	9	\$11,531	John V. Lattimore
Structural Pest Control Board	3	\$7,000	John Morrison
Transportation Commission	4	\$6,794	Robert Nichols
Univ. of Houston Board of Regents	3	\$6,750	Dennis Dixon Golden
Jefferson/Orange Co. Pilot Com.	5	\$6,720	William F. Scott
Economic Development Corp.	7	\$5,641	Paul Foster
Judicial Conduct Commission	2	\$5,250	Wm 'Buck' Prewitt III
Midwestern State Univ. Bd of Regents	4	\$4,806	Munir Lalani
Preservation Board	1	\$4,250	Jocelyn Levi Straus
Emissions Reduction Plan Adv. Board	4	\$3,140	John B. Goodman
School Land Board	1	\$3,000	Todd Barth



IV. Big-Donor Appointees

Donor-Appointee	Family's Amount	Appointed Office	City	Employer
Larry Anders	\$220,304	TX Tech Regents	Plano	Summit Alliance Co's
Robert B. Rowling	\$207,262	UT Regents	Dallas	TRT Holdings, Inc.
Peter M. Holt	\$206,000	Parks & Wildlife	Blanco	Holt CAT; San Antonio Spurs
John Liston Nau III	\$185,260	Historical Commission	Houston	Silver Eagle Distributing
Christina M. Crain	\$175,966	Criminal Justice Board	Dallas	Self-employed attorney
J. Frank Miller	\$175,000	TX Tech Regents	Dallas	JPI
Ned S. Holmes	\$174,250	Parks & Wildlife	Houston	Parkway Investments
Donna Stockton-Hicks	\$163,160	State Artists Committee	Austin	Stockton Hicks Laffey
T. Dan Friedkin	\$151,000	Parks & Wildlife	Houston	Friedkin Companies
Suzanne Azoulay	\$150,000	Commission for Women	Dallas	NA
Allan B. Polunsky	\$150,000	Finance Commission	San Antonio	Polunsky & Beitel
Geraldine 'Tincy' Miller	\$139,000	Education Board	Dallas	Henry S. Miller Co.
Erle Allen Nye	\$131,000	A&M Regents	Dallas	TXU Corp.
Clifton Thomas Jr.	\$126,000	Guadalupe-Blanco River Auth.	Victoria	C.L. Thomas, Inc.
James Huffines	\$122,180	UT Regents	Austin	PNB Financial
Paul Foster	\$112,224	*Economic Development Corp.	El Paso	Western Refining Co.
L.F. 'Rick' Francis	\$107,500	Texas Tech Regents	El Paso	Francis Properties
Kent C. Sullivan	\$90,975	District Court judge	Houston	McFall Martinez Sherwood...
Richard Smith	\$86,000	Workers Compensation Com.	Bryan	Richard Smith Co.
John V. Lattimore, Jr.	\$81,200	Rock Crushers Advisory Com.	McKinney	Lattimore Properties, Inc.
Jerry Kane	\$68,320	*Health/Human Svcs Council	Corpus	Sam Kane Beef
Oliver John Bell	\$55,700	Criminal Justice Board	Austin	E Team Companies Comm.
Scott Kubitz	\$50,000	Fitness Advisory Council	El Paso	Flex Enterprises, L.P.
Robert A. Nickell	\$46,000	Univ. of N. TX Regents	Dallas	Investor
William F. Scott	\$25,000	Jefferson/Orange Co. Pilot Com.	Nederland	Trans-Global Solutions, Inc.
John T. Steen, Jr.	\$21,607	Alcoholic Beverage Commission	San Antonio	Self-employed attorney
John Lee Morrison	\$21,000	Structural Pest Control Board	San Antonio	Worldwide Pest Control
Nicholas Serafy, Jr.	\$18,984	Economic Development Corp.	Brownsville	Proficiency Testing Service,
Dennis Dixon Golden	\$18,750	*Univ. Houston Regents	Carthage	Golden Eye Associates
A.W. 'Whit' Riter III	\$17,587	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Tyler	Riter Management Co.
Robert Lee Nichols	\$15,714	Transportation Commission	Jacksonville	NA
Scott Caven	\$15,498	UT Regents	Houston	Goldman Sachs & Co.
Nancy Neal	\$15,000	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Lubbock	NA
Joe Bob Hinton	\$14,682	*Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Crawford	Mobil Oil Corp.
Patrick R. Gordon	\$13,750	*Rio Grande Compact Com.	El Paso	Gordon & Mott P.C.
Samuel Loyd Neal, Jr.	\$13,500	Military Preparedness Com.	Corpus	Hilb Rogal & Hamilton Insur.
John B. Goodman	\$12,500	Emissions Reduction Adv. Board	Houston	Goodman Global Holdings
Ida Clement Steen	\$11,500	A&M Regents	San Antonio	Cullen/Frost Bankers
Troy Fraser	\$10,581	Rock Crushers Advisory Com.	Horseshoe	State of Texas
William 'Buck' Prewitt III	\$10,500	Judicial Conduct Commission	Horseshoe	Prewitt Management
Ray Wilkerson	\$10,500	Lower Colorado River Authority	Austin	Ray Wilkerson Companies
Julie K. Attebury	\$10,050	Medical Board	Amarillo	Happy Horizons Properties
Alfred B. Jones	\$10,000	Economic Development Corp.	Corpus	American Bank
Munir Lalani	\$10,000	Midwestern State Univ. Regents	Wichita Falls	Lalani Properties
John Richard Weisman	\$10,000	Rock Crushers Advisory Com.	San Marcos	Hunter Industries, Ltd.
Lawrence Anderson	\$9,000	Medical Board	Tyler	Dermatology Assoc. of Tyler
Noe Fernandez	\$8,955	Health/Human Svcs Transition	McAllen	Dos Rios Textiles Corp.
John W. Barnhill, Jr.	\$8,047	UT Regents	Brenham	Blue Bell Creameries

Donor-Appointee	Family's Amount To Perry	Appointed Office	City	Employer
Andrew W. Dunn	\$7,350	Jefferson/Orange Co. Pilot Com.	Orange	Groves Pallet Co.
Jerry Farrington	\$7,000	*Higher Ed. Interim Committee	Dallas	TXU Corp.
Ted Houghton, Jr.	\$6,960	Transportation Commission	El Paso	El Paso Water Utilities
Woodrow McCasland	\$6,700	Lower Colorado River Authority	Horseshoe	Highland Lakes Bank
Sada Cumber	\$6,500	Economic Development Corp.	Austin	SozoTek, Inc.
William Flores	\$6,400	Real Estate Commission	Sugar Land	Gryphon Exploration Co.
Christie Leedy	\$6,250	Commission for Women	Abilene	Abilene Dental
Jacob Monty	\$6,000	*Mutual Insurance Co. Board	Houston	Monty Partners LLP
Catherine Mosbacher	\$6,000	Family/Protective Svcs Council	Houston	NA
Paul G. Pond	\$5,750	Stephen Austin State Univ.	Port Neches	Greenlawn Memorial Park
Christopher D. DeCluitt	\$5,625	Brazos River Authority Board	Waco	Sovereign Corp.
Ken Kelley	\$5,000	Energy Planning Council	Amarillo	Applied LNG Technologies
Scott P. Sayers Jr.	\$4,950	Cemetery Committee	Austin	Ben Crenshaw
Amanullah Khan	\$4,675	Medical Board	Dallas	Cancer Center Associates
John David White	\$4,600	A&M Regents	Houston	Jones Walker
Pamela Gough	\$4,550	Midwestern State Univ. Regents	Graham	Open Door Christian School
Roger Williams	\$4,522	Transpo. Motor Vehicle Board	Weatherford	Roger Williams Chrysler
Trinidad Mendenhall	\$4,500	Econ. Dev. Stakeholders Board	Houston	Fiesta Mart, Inc.
Barry Smitherman	\$4,500	*Public Utility Commission	Houston	Harris County
Rice M. Tilley, Jr.	\$4,500	Univ. N. TX Regents	Forth Worth	Haynes Boone
Stephen Gustafson	\$4,425	Midwestern State Univ. Regents	Wichita Falls	Falls Distributing Co.
Jocelyn Levi Straus	\$4,250	Preservation Board	San Antonio	NA
John D. Parker	\$4,078	Parks & Wildlife Commission	Lufkin	Trans-Texas Homes Corp.
Bob Stafford	\$4,050	Texas Tech Regents	Amarillo	Stafford Cattle Co.
Bob Bowman	\$4,000	Historical Commission	Lufkin	Bob Bowman & Associates
Chao-Chiung Lee	\$4,000	Military Facilities Commission	Houston	STOA Int'l Architects, Inc.
William W. Collins, Jr.	\$4,000	Arts Commission	Fort Worth	Self-Employed attorney
Mark Bivins	\$3,750	Parks & Wildlife Commission	Amarillo	Corsino Cattle Co.
Wade Gear	\$3,500	Brazos River Authority Board	Mineral Wells	Clements-Gear Management
Mark Griffin	\$3,500	Texas Tech Regents	Lubbock	Rip Griffin Truck Service
Ernest Angelo, Jr.	\$3,500	Public Safety Commission	Midland	NA
James Herring	\$3,500	Water Development Board	Amarillo	Friona Industries, L.P.
'Hope' Andrade	\$3,500	Transportation Commission	San Antonio	OptimaCare
Jeff Austin III	\$3,250	Regional Mobility Authority	Tyler	Austin Bank
Colleen McHugh	\$3,137	*UT Regents	Corpus	Bracewell & Patterson
James R. Nichols	\$3,100	Professional Engineers Board	Fort Worth	Freese & Nichols, Inc.
Windy Sitton	\$3,063	Texas Tech Regents	Lubbock	Sitton's Selections
Albert F. Hausser	\$3,050	Historical Commission	San Antonio	NA
Todd Barth	\$3,000	School Land Board	Houston	Bowers Properties
C. Kent Conine	\$3,000	Housing & Cmty Affairs Dept.	Frisco	Conine Residential Group
Deborah Hunt	\$3,000	Tax Professional Examiners Bd.	Austin	Williamson County
Keith E. Miller	\$3,000	Medical Board	Center	Texas Medical Foundation
L. Mijares	\$3,000	Public Finance Authority	El Paso	Mijares Mora Architects
Joe Max Green	\$3,000	Stephen Austin State Univ.	Nacogdoches	Joe Max Green/Insurance
John Walton	\$3,000	Real Estate Commission	Lubbock	Century 21 Realtors
Lupe Fraga	\$2,750	A&M Regents	Sugar Land	Tejas Office Products, Inc.
Fred N. Moses	\$2,600	Licensing & Regulation Com.	Plano	Telecom Electric Supply
Mary Hardie Teeple	\$2,500	Arts Commission	Spicewood	NA
Fred 'Shad' E. Rowe	\$2,500	Pension Review Board	Dallas	Rowe & Co.

Donor-Appointee	Family's Amount To Perry	Appointed Office	City	Employer
Robert Wingo	\$2,500	Economic Development Corp.	El Paso	SandersWingo, Inc.
Gary Fickes	\$2,350	Econ. Dev. Stakeholders Board	Southlake	Fickes & Dorety Develop.
Paul A. Braden	\$2,250	Pension Review Board	El Paso	Delgado Acosta Braden...
Hollis Horton, III	\$2,250	Appeals judge	Beaumont	Orgain Bell & Tucker
Joseph B.C. Fitzsimons	\$2,250	Parks & Wildlife Commission	San Antonio	Self-Employed attorney
Jeffery Ross	\$2,250	Health Services Council	Bellaire	Foot Specialists Medical Ctr
Julie Brink Straus	\$2,250	Commission for Women	San Antonio	NA
George McWilliams	\$2,250	Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Texarkana	Patton Roberts McWilliams...
Billy M. Atkinson, Jr.	\$2,000	Public Accountancy Board	Sugar Land	PricewaterhouseCoopers
Sylvia Fernandez	\$2,000	Cancer Council	San Antonio	University of Texas Health
Bernie Francis	\$2,000	Texas State Univ. Regents	Carrollton	Business Control Systems
Ralph Gauer	\$2,000	Military Preparedness Com.	Harker	Fort Hood
Wayne Halbert	\$2,000	Rio Grande Water Authority	San Benito	AdamsGardens Irrigation Dist
Glenda C. Mariott	\$2,000	Residential Construction Com.	College	Mariott Homes
Jesse R. Adams	\$1,750	Racing Commission	Helotes	Adams & Polunsky
Harris M. Hauser	\$1,707	Pharmaceutical/Therap. Com.	Houston	Memorial Neurological Assoc.
David Allex	\$1,700	Regional Mobility Authority	Harlingen	Allex & Assoc.
Michael Cooper Waters	\$1,600	Rural & Community Affairs Office	Abilene	Hendrick Health System
Brenda Pejovich	\$1,550	Building & Procurement Com.	Dallas	NA
Bud Alldredge, Jr.	\$1,500	Veterinary Examiners Board	Sweetwater	Sweetwater Veterinary Hosp.
Richard Azar	\$1,500	Aerospace/Aviation Adv. Com.	El Paso	5T6 Resources
Sharon S. Butterworth	\$1,500	*Aging/Disability Servcs Council	El Paso	NA
Joe Ned Dean	\$1,500	District Attorney	Trinity	State of Texas
Sara Armstrong Hixon	\$1,500	Historical Commission	Houston	NA
Jane Juett	\$1,500	Economic Development Corp.	Amarillo	Kitchen Gallery, Inc.
James Pendell	\$1,500	School Safety Center Board	Clint	Strickland Foods
Lynden B. Rose	\$1,500	University of Houston Regents	Houston	L M Rose Consulting
Linda McKenna	\$1,427	Public Finance Authority	Harlingen	Valley Baptist Health System
Jane Wetzel	\$1,425	School Safety Center Board	Dallas	NA
Lee Anderson	\$1,400	Medical Board	Fort Worth	Retina Consultants
Timothy J. Turner	\$1,350	Medical Board	Bellaire	Global PTM
Ernest Aliseda	\$1,250	District Court judge	McAllen	Martin Drought & Torres
James T. Campbell	\$1,250	Appeals judge	Amarillo	Peterson Farris Doores...
F. Scott Dueser	\$1,250	Texas Tech Regents	Abilene	First Financial Bankshares
Cobie Russell	\$1,250	Arts Commission	Dallas	Self-Employed artist
Jimmie Steidinger	\$1,250	Rio Grande Water Authority	Donna	NA
James S. Walker II	\$1,250	Architectural Examiners Board	Houston	James S. Walker Architects
Robert W. Shepard	\$1,200	*Higher Ed. Coordinating Board	Harlingen	Shepard Walton King

*Appointed to more than one office; most-recent appointment listed here.

V. Employer Contributions

In addition to the almost \$3.9 million that the Perry campaign received from the families of gubernatorial appointees, the campaign collected another \$3,103,928 from sources affiliated with the employers of Perry's appointees. This employer-related money (received between January 2000 and December 2005) includes contributions from other company employees, company-affiliated PACs and in some instances from the company itself.³



The appointee boasting the largest employer-related contributions is Perry Homes attorney John Krugh. Krugh's boss, Bob Perry, is Texas' No. 1 individual donor. Bob Perry gave \$690,000 to Rick Perry (no relation) since 2000. Krugh helped draft 2003 legislation that created the Texas Residential Construction Commission. Governor Perry's appointees to this industry-friendly commission—including Krugh—all represent the building industry. Perry Homes' role in creating and running the commission prompted Democratic state Rep. Garnet Coleman to tell the *Austin American-Statesman*, "In Texas you can buy your own state agency, then regulate yourself."

Four other appointee companies are associated with more than \$200,000 in gubernatorial contributions. Governor Perry appointed Whitney Wolf, a senior vice president at SBC (now AT&T) to the Skill Standards Board. SBC PACs and employees gave Perry \$311,118.

Animal Health Commissioner Ralph Simmons is a production director at Pilgrim's Pride poultry. Dominated by donations by company founder Lonnie 'Bo' Pilgrim, Pilgrim's Pride contributed \$281,692 to the governor.

A Perry Finance Commission pick is Dell Computer finance executive Kenneth Harris. Dell executives have given the governor \$253,220.

Perry appointed Reliant Energy Executive Vice President Jerry Langdon to the Energy Planning Council. Reliant PACs and employees gave the governor's campaign \$211,000.

Appointees With Big-Donor Employers

Employer	PAC/Employee Amount†	Appointee	Appointed Office
Perry Homes	\$690,000	John R. Krugh	Residential Construction Com.
SBC, Inc.	\$311,118	Whitney B. Wolf	Skill Standards Board
Pilgrim's Pride Corp.	\$281,692	Ralph Simmons	Animal Health Commission
Dell, Inc.	\$253,220	Kenneth Harris	Finance Commission
Reliant Energy	\$211,000	Jerry Langdon	Energy Planning Council
TXU Corp.	\$127,975	Mitchell Lucas	Radiation Advisory Board
Hance Scarborough...	\$125,000	Lisa Ivie Miller	Fire Fighters' Pension Commission
HE Butt Grocery Co.	\$101,000	Gregorio Flores	Volunteerism/Cmty Service Com.
Baker & Botts	\$85,000	Jane N. Bland	Appeals judge
Akin Gump Strauss...	\$77,250	Robert Pemberton	Appeals judge
Friedkin Companies	\$66,000	T. Dan Friedkin	Parks & Wildlife Commission
Compass Bank	\$58,025	Robert G. Griffith	Commission for the Blind
O'Donnell Foundation	\$50,000	Carolyn R. Bacon	School Finance Jt. Select Com.
Polunsky & Beitel	\$50,000	Allan B. Polunsky	Finance Commission
Bracewell & Patterson	\$44,500	*Colleen McHugh	UT System Board of Regents
Andrews Kurth	\$35,000	Mauricio Rondon	District Court judge
Exxon Mobil Corp.	\$32,300	Kathleen Jackson	Lower Colorado River Authority
Trans-Global Solutions	\$32,179	William F. Scott	Jefferson/Orange Co. Pilot Com.
CenterPoint Energy	\$31,400	Joseph Berry	One-Call Board
TX Petro. Marketers Assn	\$30,000	Jerdy Gary	Regional Mobility Authority
United Servcs Auto. Assn	\$27,500	Joe Robles	Military Preparedness Commission
S&B Infrastructure	\$27,000	Timothy Flannery	Assistive/Rehab. Services Council
American Electric Power	\$26,029	Charles Patton	Energy Planning Council
Jackson Walker	\$25,250	Suzan Kedron-Lyn	Physical/Occup. Therapy Exam.
King Ranch	\$24,000	Jack Hunt	Water Development Board
Texas Instruments	\$23,000	Tegwin Ann Pulley	TX Woman's Univ. Bd of Regents
Bank One	\$20,000	Cary P. Yates	Manufactured Housing Board
Boeing	\$20,000	Leland Williams	Aerospace/Aviation Adv. Com.
Western Refining Co.	\$18,000	*Paul Foster	Economic Development Corp.
American Airlines	\$14,625	Amy Ley	Council for Dev. Disabilities
Dow Chemical Co.	\$14,500	Sharon J. Barnes	Health & Human Services Council
Bell Helicopter	\$12,500	Douglas Grady, Jr.	People with Disabilities Com.
Waste Management, Inc.	\$10,000	Larry O'Donnell III	Energy Planning Council
Cash America	\$8,500	William White	Finance Commission
Vought Aircraft Industries	\$7,000	Janie Haga	Aerospace/Aviation Adv. Com.
Merrill Lynch	\$6,600	Judith Devenport	One-Call Board
Ebby Halliday Real Estate	\$6,500	Mary F. Burleson	Real Estate Commission
Deloitte & Touche	\$6,000	Greg Bailes	Public Accountancy Board
Dos Rios Textiles Corp.	\$6,000	Noe Fernandez	Health/Human Srvcs Transition
Sam Kane Beef	\$6,000	*Jerry Kane	Health & Human Services Council
Blue Bell Creameries	\$5,500	John Barnhill, Jr.	UT System Board of Regents
Lockwood Andrews...	\$5,500	James S. Duncan	Building & Procurement
Desert Eagle Distributing	\$5,500	Robert Brown	Parks & Wildlife Commission
Mary Kay, Inc.	\$5,100	Anne Crews	Family & Protective Services
Goldman Sachs & Co.	\$5,025	Scott Caven	UT System Board of Regents

† Does not include contributions from the corresponding appointee.

*Appointed to more than one office; most-recent appointment listed here.

VI. Perry Appointees Unknown To Perry's Campaign

A 2003 reform that Governor Perry signed into law requires Texas candidates to use their "best efforts" to disclose the occupation and employer of donors who contribute a total of \$500 or more to a campaign in one reporting period.

Candidates who fail to do so are required to document at least one written or verbal request to the donor for the missing information.



Perry's campaign repeatedly failed to disclose the employer of large donors whom Perry already had appointed to state offices. The campaign left the employer field blank, for example, in reporting \$25,000 contributions from Perry-appointed A&M Regent Erle Nye and Finance Commissioner Allan Polunsky. The campaign failed to disclose this information even though the governor previously reported it in press releases about the corresponding appointments.

Appointees Whom the Perry Campaign Failed To Identify When They Made Post-Appointment Political Contributions

Donor-Appointee	Poorly Disclosed, Post-Appointment Perry Donations	Employer Disclosed With Post-Appointment Perry Donation(s)	Employer Listed In Governor's Release Announcing Appointment
Erle A. Nye	\$25,000	Left blank	TXU Corp.
Allan B. Polunsky	\$25,000	Left blank	Polunsky & Beitel
William F. Scott	\$20,000	"Best Efforts"	Trans-Global Solutions
*Joe Bob Hinton	\$10,482	"Self"	Mobil Oil Corp.
*Jerry Kane	\$7,000	Left blank	Sam Kane Beef
*Jerry Farrington	\$5,000	Left blank	TXU Corp.
*Dennis Dixon Golden	\$4,500	"Best Efforts"/Blank	Golden Eye Associates
John David White	\$4,500	"Best Efforts"/Blank	Jones Walker
John W. Barnhill, Jr.	\$3,500	"Retired"	Blue Bell Creameries
William 'Buck' Prewitt	\$3,000	"Retired"	Prewitt Mgmt. Co.
Ken Kelley	\$2,500	"Best Efforts"	Applied LNG Tech.
Keith E. Miller	\$2,500	"Self"	TX Medical Foundation
Paul A. Braden	\$2,000	"Best Efforts"	Delgado Acosta
William Flores	\$2,000	"Self"	Gryphon Exploration Co.
John D. Parker	\$1,466	"Retired"	Trans-TX Homes Corp.
Andrew W. Dunn	\$1,000	"Best Efforts"	Groves Pallet Co.
Bob Bowman	\$1,000	Left blank	Bob Bowman & Assoc.
Dan T. Serna	\$1,000	"Best Efforts"	Serna & Co.
Jane Juett	\$1,000	"Retired"	Kitchen Gallery, Inc.
*Ralph Gauer	\$1,000	"Retired"	Fort Hood
*Samuel Neal, Jr.	\$1,000	"Best Efforts"	Hilb Rogal & Hamilton
James Pendell	\$1,000	"Self"/Blank	Strickland Foods
Jack M. Skeen, Jr.	\$500	"Best Efforts"	Smith County
Jeffery Ross	\$500	"Self"	Foot Specialists Med. Ctr
Ruth Schiermeyer	\$500	"Self"	MassMutual
Gloria 'Gogi' Dickson	\$500	"Self-Employed"	Dickson Consulting
John A. Brieden	\$500	"Self-employed"	State Farm Insurance
Randall N. Reichle	\$500	"Self"	Eye Center of Texas
Mark Delaney	\$500	"Best Efforts"	William Scotsman, Inc.

*Appointed to more than one office; most-recent appointment listed here.

Similarly, the campaign reported that it had exhausted its “Best Efforts” attempting to identify the occupation and employer of \$20,000 donor William F. Scott, whom the governor previously appointed to the Jefferson and Orange County Pilot Commission. At that time the governor had identified Scott as the Chair and CEO of the shipping company Trans-Global Solutions, Inc.

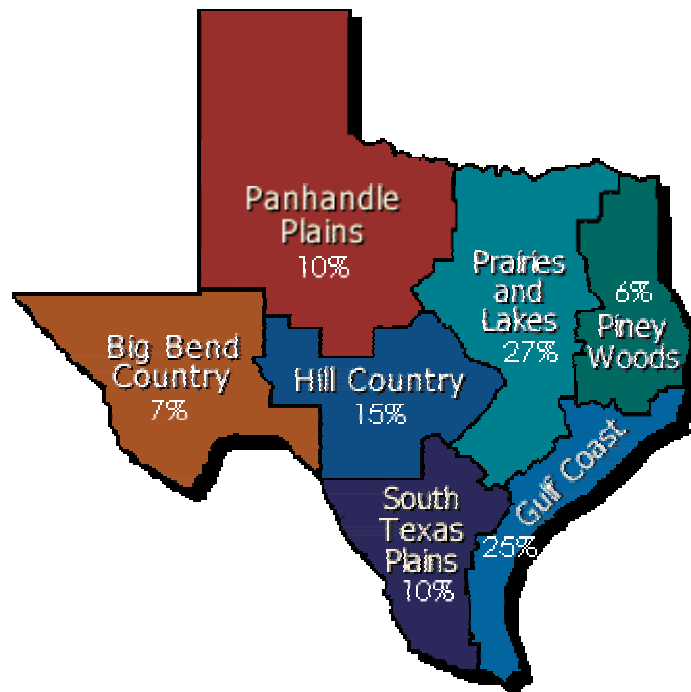
VII. Appointments By Region

Region	No. of Appointments	Percent of Appointments	Total Appointee Donations	Average Appointment Price
Prairies & Lakes	299	27%	\$1,515,468	\$5,068
Gulf Coast	279	25%	\$972,357	\$3,485
Hill Country	171	15%	\$622,976	\$3,643
Panhandle Plains	114	10%	\$97,293	\$853
South TX Plains	111	10%	\$260,312	\$2,345
Big Bend	78	7%	\$314,534	\$4,032
Piney Woods	70	6%	\$87,384	\$1,248
TOTAL	*1,122	100%	\$3,870,324	\$3,446

Note: One appointee is from Connecticut.

Governor Perry's appointees were geographically concentrated; he picked more than half of them from the state's two most populous areas: the Metroplex's Prairies & Lakes region and Houston's Gulf Coast Region. Another 15 percent of Perry's appointees came from the Austin-dominated Hill Country. The Panhandle Plains and South Texas Plains each produced 10 percent of Perry's gubernatorial appointees. The sparsely populated Big Bend and Piney Woods regions produced the fewest appointees.

Generally, appointees from appointee-intensive regions contributed heavily to Perry's campaign. In an exception, the governor collected a generous average contribution of \$4,032 from Big Bend appointees, whose region accounted for just 7 percent of all gubernatorial appointees.



VIII. Appointments By Gender

Gender	No. of Appointments	Percent of Appointments	Percent of TX Populaton*	Total Appointee Donations	Average Appointment Price
Female	426	38%	50%	\$750,599	\$1,762
Male	697	62%	50%	\$3,119,725	\$4,476
TOTAL:	1123	100%	100%	\$3,870,324	\$3,446

*U.S. Census, 2000.

Governor Perry tapped women for 38 percent of his appointments. The governor collected \$1,762 from his average female appointee, considerably less than the \$4,476 that he received from the average male appointee. Male spouses also accounted for much of the money that Governor Perry received from the families of his most generous female appointees, a list led by Christina Melton Hicks, Donna Stockton-Hicks and Geraldine “Tincy” Miller.



¹ Texans For Public Justice previously published a less-thorough study of some of then-Governor Bush’s donor appointees. See “Governor Bush’s Well-Appointed Texas Officials,” October 2000.

² Two Perry appointees accompanied Vice President Dick Cheney on his ill-fated, South Texas hunting expedition in February 2006. Perry appointed future Cheney shooting victim Harry Whittington to the Family & Protective Services Council. He also appointed Sara Armstrong Hixon, who survived the expedition unscathed, to the Historical Commission.

³ Texas law generally prohibits corporate contributions to candidates. Yet it does permit direct contributions from limited liability corporations (LLCs), limited liability partnerships (LLPs) and professional corporations (PCs).