



Under the Influence:

Highlights from Public Citizen's Special Interest Index

October 2006

This report ranks members of Congress according to their acceptance of four categories of campaign contributions since the 2000 election cycle:

- **Overall Rankings:** top ten and bottom ten in the Senate, and the top and bottom twenty in the House;
- **K Street Cash:** the amount of money received from lobbyists;
- **On Tour:** the amount of money received from out-of-state donors;
- **Fat Cats or Passing the Hat:** the amount of money from large versus small donors; and
- **PAC-Men and PAC-Women:** the amount of money from political action committees (PACs).

Adjustments were made to the data to ensure an apples-to-apples comparison, and the adjusted data were used for the rankings.¹ State rankings average the position of all members in the state's delegation. Data for all of the categories begins with the 2000 election cycle, which started in January 1999. Ending dates vary: Lobbying data end December 31, 2005, while the other three categories – PAC, Out of state, Small donors – end in June 2006.

Highlights from our findings are summarized below. More information – including the underlying data for each of these rankings – is on the Web at www.cleanupwashington.org/sii.

Democracy at Risk:

Special Interest Takeover Freezes Congress, Leaves Public Out in the Cold

Scandals connecting prominent members of Congress to special interest lobbyists, including the admissions of guilt by Reps. Randy "Duke" Cunningham of California, Bob Ney of Ohio and lobbyist Jack Abramoff show that there is an urgent need to revitalize our democracy. Other investigations that are still pending, including an inquiry about \$90,000 in cash found in the freezer of Rep. William Jefferson of Louisiana and alleged wrongdoing by Rep. Jerry Lewis of California, reinforce the lesson that integrity must be restored to Congress. Yet when members of Congress faced a historic opportunity to enact meaningful lobbying and ethics reforms, they failed.

Running for Congress has become an expensive endeavor. In the 2004 election cycle, Congressional candidates raised almost \$1.3 billion, an average of \$570,000 per candidate.² But nothing is free. The high cost of electoral campaigns and the easy flow of money into politics – and out again as earmarks and other special favors for industry – shows that the ones really footing the bill today are the taxpayers.

This study is one way of understanding how the influence of special interests can overwhelm the institution of Congress, opening its marble hallways (and back rooms) only to the wealthy and well-connected.

Following the Money: Special Interest Influence Highlights

Taking the scores from each of the four categories, we assigned a cumulative ranking to each Member of the Senate and, separately, to the House.

The ten senators with the most ties to special interest money were:

**Figure 1:
Ten Senators Most Dependent on Special Interest Money**

Rank	Member
1	Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.)
1	Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)
3	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)
4	Sen. Mary L Landrieu (D-La.)
5	Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)
6	Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.)
7	Sen. Richard C Shelby (R-Ala.)
8	Sen. Tim Johnson (D-S.D.)
9	Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)
10	Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)

Those with the least dependence on special interest money were (least at top):

**Figure 2:
Ten Senators Least Dependent on Special Interest Money**

Rank	Member
90	Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.)
89	Sen. Daniel K Akaka (D-Hawaii)
88	Sen. Robert C Byrd (D-W.Va.)
87	Sen. James M Jeffords (I-Vt.)
86	Sen. Daniel K Inouye (D-Hawaii)
85	Sen. Russell D Feingold (D-Wis.)
84	Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.)
82	Sen. James W DeMint (R-S.C.)
82	Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas)
81	Sen. Richard G Lugar (R-Ind.)

(**Note:** Ten senators were not included in the overall rankings because complete data on contributions from lobbyists were not available for them. They are Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.), Tom Coburn (R-Okla.), Norm Coleman (R-Minn.), John Cornyn (R-Texas), Mark Dayton (D-Minn.), Elizabeth Dole (R-N.C.), Mel Martinez (R-Fla.), Barack Obama (D-Ill.), Mark Pryor (D-Ark.) and Ken Salazar (D-Colo.). These ten senators are included in each category ranking, except lobbyist and overall, and data are available for each member individually.)

House members who have the highest reliance on special interest money were:

**Figure 3:
20 House Members Most Dependent on Special Interest Money**

Rank	Member
1	Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.)
2	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)
3	Rep. Michael G Oxley (R-Ohio)
4	Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)
5	Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)
6	Rep. Charles B Rangel (D-N.Y.)
7	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)
8	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)
9	Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)
10	Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)
11	Rep. Nancy L Johnson (R-Conn.)
12	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)
13	Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)
14	Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)
15	Rep. John D Dingell (D-Mich.)
16	Rep. Hal Rogers (R-Ky.)
17	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)
18	Rep. John P Murtha (D-Pa.)
19	Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)
20	Rep. E Clay Shaw (R-Fla.)

House members showing the least reliance on special interest money were (listed in order of the representative with the least dependence of special interest money to the most):

**Figure 4:
20 House Members Least Dependent on Special Interest Money**

Rank	Member
433	Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa)
432	Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.)
431	Rep. Steven A King (R-Iowa)
430	Rep. Todd Platts (R-Pa.)
429	Rep. Tom Osborne (R-Neb.)
428	Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.)
427	Rep. Joel Hefley (R-Colo.)
426	Rep. Robert C Scott (D-Ga.)
425	Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.)
423	Rep. Al Green (D-Texas)
423	Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)
422	Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.)
421	Rep. Diane E Watson (D-Calif.)
420	Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.)
419	Rep. G K Butterfield (D-N.C.)
418	Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D-N.Y.)
417	Rep. Timothy V Johnson (R-Ill.)
416	Rep. Jo Ann Davis (R-Va.)
415	Rep. Gene Taylor (D-Miss.)
414	Rep. John F Tierney (D-Mass.)

The 10 states showing the greatest reliance on special interest money among their Senate delegations were (sorted from greatest reliance to least):

**Figure 5:
10 Senate Delegations Most Dependent on Special Interest Money**

State	Avg. of Overall Rank
Tennessee	1.0
Montana	10.5
Pennsylvania	11.5
Iowa	14.0
Illinois	14.0
New York	15.5
Connecticut	18.5
Arkansas	25.0
Mississippi	25.5
Nebraska	26.5

The 10 states' Senate delegations that showed the least reliance on special interest money were:

**Figure 6:
10 Senate Delegations Least Dependent on Special Interest Money**

State	Avg. Of Overall Rank
Hawaii	87.5
Wisconsin	87.5
Texas	82.0
Maryland	74.5
Vermont	73.5
California	70.5
Kansas	70.0
West Virginia	70.0
Wyoming	68.5
Michigan	61.5

(**Note:** Because 10 senators were not included in the rankings due to the lack of availability of complete data, the “average” ranking of eight states was based on the information of only one senator. Complete data were not available for either of Minnesota’s senators, so the state is not included at all in these rankings.)

The 10 states' House delegations that greatest reliance on special interest money were:

**Figure 7:
10 House Delegations Most Dependent on Special Interest Money**

State	Avg. Of Overall Rank
Alaska	14.0
Louisiana	88.6
West Virginia	92.3
South Dakota	98.0
North Dakota	102.0
Nevada	106.7
Connecticut	139.6
Alabama	147.0
Kentucky	156.7
New Jersey	159.3

The 10 states' House delegations that least reliance on special interest money were:

**Figure 8:
10 House Delegations Least Dependent on Special Interest Money**

State	Avg. Of Overall Rank
Vermont	365.0
Nebraska	311.7
Maine	296.0
Texas	273.8
Idaho	267.5
Wyoming	267.0
Arkansas	266.3
New Hampshire	263.0
Mass.	262.7
Iowa	261.6

I. K Street Cash: Contributions from Lobbyists

Lobbyists are paid big bucks to convince members of Congress to vote a certain way. They do this through meetings in which they lay out their point of view. They also sometimes provide members of Congress with expensive meals, golf trips and campaign contributions to ensure access.

In addition to the direct contributions detailed below, the “bundling” of contributions from individuals by lobbyists substantially enabled the rapid increase in political expenditures in recent years, which are not reflected in the chart. This chart is only the tip of the iceberg in documenting lobbyists’ influence through fundraising.

Two senators receive more than \$200,000 per cycle (adjusted) from registered lobbyists: Sen. Richard Shelby (R-Ala.) and Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.). Ten senators have received more than \$140,000 from lobbyists per election cycle (adjusted). *See* Figure 9.

**Figure 9:
10 Top Senate Recipients of Contributions from Lobbyists**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Sen. Richard C Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$214,885
2	Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.)	\$203,600
3	Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)	\$191,281
4	Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$185,659
5	Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)	\$181,946
6	Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.)	\$179,726
7	Sen. Mary L Landrieu (D-La.)	\$167,949
8	Sen. Chris Dodd (D-Conn.)	\$148,410
9	Sen. George Allen (R-Va.)	\$145,603
10	Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)	\$145,078

At the other end of the spectrum, ten senators have received less than \$28,000 per cycle from lobbyists per cycle (adjusted). (**Note:** The campaign contributions from lobbyists to 10 senators were not available. They are Lamar Alexander (R-Tenn.), Tom Coburn (R-Okla.), Norm Coleman (R-Minn.), John Cornyn (R-Texas), Mark Dayton (D-Minn.), Elizabeth Dole (R-N.C.), Mel Martinez (R-Fla.), Barack Obama (D-Ill.), Mark Pryor (D-Ark.) and Ken Salazar (D-Colo.)) See Figure 10.

**Figure 10:
10 Senators Who Accepted the Least Money from Lobbyists**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)
90	Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.)	\$0
89	Sen. Daniel K Akaka (D-Hawaii)	\$4,556
88	Sen. Frank R Lautenberg (D-N.J.)	\$8,271
87	Sen. Craig Thomas (R-Wyo.)	\$15,820
86	Sen. Russell D Feingold (D-Wis.)	\$16,917
85	Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas)	\$17,887
84	Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.)	\$22,975
83	Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.)	\$23,716
82	Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.)	\$26,397
81	Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.)	\$27,059

The top 20 House recipients of campaign contributions from lobbyists receive an average of at least \$95,000 per cycle (adjusted). See Figure 11.

**Figure 11:
Top 20 House Recipients of Contributions from Lobbyists**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Rep. Jerry Lewis (R-Calif.)	\$172,248
2	Rep. John P Murtha (D-Pa.)	\$167,342
3	Rep. Michael G Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$167,048
4	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$162,151
5	Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$149,917
6	Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$147,833
7	Rep. Tom Davis (R-Va.)	\$134,098
8	Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$132,211
9	Rep. Jim Moran (D-Va.)	\$130,679
10	Rep. Doris Matsui (D-Calif.)	\$124,042
11	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	\$122,914
12	Rep. Chris Van Hollen (D-Md.)	\$122,663
13	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$121,900
14	Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)	\$114,778
15	Rep. Edward J Markey (D-Mass.)	\$111,084
16	Rep. Charles B Rangel (D-N.Y.)	\$107,285
17	Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)	\$106,964
18	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$102,558
19	Rep. Dave Hobson (R-Ohio)	\$101,388
20	Rep. Hal Rogers (R-Ky.)	\$95,795

In contrast, the 20 lobbyists who accepted the least money from lobbyists took less than \$2,300 each per cycle (adjusted). Rep. Jim Leach did not accept a single dollar from registered lobbyists since 1998. *See* Figure 12.

**Figure 12:
20 House Members Who Accepted the Least Money from Lobbyists**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)
433	Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa)	\$0
432	Rep. Tom Osborne (R-Neb.)	\$108
431	Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.)	\$1,072
430	Rep. Al Green (D-Texas)	\$1,110
429	Rep. Cynthia A McKinney (D-Ga.)	\$1,317
428	Rep. Luis V Gutierrez (D-Ill.)	\$1,480
427	Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Ill.)	\$1,534
426	Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.)	\$1,536
425	Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.)	\$1,572
424	Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.)	\$1,594
423	Rep. Steven A King (R-Iowa)	\$1,651
422	Rep. Daniel William Lipinski (D-Ill.)	\$1,665
421	Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas)	\$1,896
420	Rep. Todd Platts (R-Pa.)	\$1,926
419	Rep. Joel Hefley (R-Colo.)	\$2,055
418	Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-Texas)	\$2,060
417	Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.)	\$2,073
416	Rep. Major R Owens (D-N.Y.)	\$2,089
415	Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.)	\$2,094
414	Rep. Jose E Serrano (D-N.Y.)	\$2,204

II. On Tour: Contributions from Individuals Who Live Out of State

Members of Congress are elected to represent constituents, yet many candidates for office receive contributions from people who do not live in their states or districts. Large amounts of out-of-state contributors may indicate that candidates are gearing up for a national election, that they are beholden to special interests located outside their state or district, or both.

Forty-nine members of the Senate receive more than half of their contributions from individuals (*i.e.*, not PACs) from people who live outside of the states they represent. Senators receiving the highest amount of out-of-state contributions per election were Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) (\$4,677,090), Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.) (\$2,935,535), and Sen. Joe Biden (D-Del.) (\$2,454,438).

Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.) (\$673), Sen. Daniel Akaka (D-Hawaii) (\$25,129), and Sen. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.) (\$28,349) received the lowest amount of contributions from out of state. *See* Figures 13 and 14.

**Figure 13:
10 Senators Who Accept the Most Out-of-State Money**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Out of State Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.)	\$4,677,090
2	Sen. Evan Bayh (D-Ind.)	\$2,935,535
3	Sen. Joseph R Biden, Jr (D-Del.)	\$2,454,438
4	Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$2,301,738
5	Sen. Charles E Schumer (D-N.Y.)	\$2,126,325
6	Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.)	\$2,076,941
7	Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.)	\$2,036,711
8	Sen. Barack Obama (D-Ill.)	\$1,841,307
9	Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa)	\$1,720,151
10	Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$1,684,479

**Figure 14:
10 Senators Who Accept the Least Out-of-State Money**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Out of State Per Cycle (adjusted)
100	Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.)	\$673
99	Sen. Daniel K Akaka (D-Hawaii)	\$25,129
98	Sen. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.)	\$28,349
97	Sen. Craig Thomas (R-Wyo.)	\$63,508
96	Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (R-Texas)	\$65,369
95	Sen. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.)	\$107,349
94	Sen. John W Warner (R-Va.)	\$137,969
93	Sen. Robert C Byrd (D-W.Va.)	\$144,232
92	Sen. Mike Enzi (R-Wyo.)	\$155,155
91	Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-Ga.)	\$192,389

House members tended to receive less in out-of-state contributions than senators, but many still received large amounts of out-of-state money per election. Rep. Patrick J Kennedy (D-R.I.) accepted \$1,092,564, Rep. Harold E Ford, Jr, (D-Tenn.) accepted \$911,717, and Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) accepted \$897,524.

The House members who accepted the lowest amount of contributions from out-of-state per election were: Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa) with \$379, Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.) with \$2,150, and Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.) with \$3,306. *See* Figures 15 and 16.

**Figure 15:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Most Out-of-State Money**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Out of State Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Rep. Patrick J Kennedy (D-R.I.)	\$1,092,564
2	Rep. Harold E Ford, Jr (D-Tenn.)	\$911,717
3	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$897,524
4	Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)	\$843,945
5	Rep. Rahm Emanuel (D-Ill.)	\$774,089
6	Rep. Allyson Schwartz (D-Pa.)	\$662,436
7	Rep. John P Murtha (D-Pa.)	\$659,136
8	Rep. Michael G Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$649,302
9	Rep. Charles B Rangel (D-N.Y.)	\$608,422
10	Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$599,558
11	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	\$592,397
12	Rep. Katherine Harris (R-Fla.)	\$589,708
13	Rep. David Wu (D-Ore.)	\$569,716
14	Rep. Geoff Davis (R-Ky.)	\$566,682
15	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$520,839
16	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$489,607
17	Rep. Edward J Markey (D-Mass.)	\$483,307
18	Rep. Stephanie Herseth (D-S.D.)	\$472,531
19	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$468,012
20	Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$458,239

**Figure 16:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Least Out-of-State Money**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Out of State Per Cycle (adjusted)
433	Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa)	\$379
432	Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.)	\$2,150
431	Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.)	\$3,306
430	Rep. Joel Hefley (R-Colo.)	\$5,252
429	Rep. Daniel William Lipinski (D-Ill.)	\$6,333
428	Rep. Mac Thornberry (R-Texas)	\$7,653
427	Rep. Gene Green (D-Texas)	\$9,342
426	Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Ill.)	\$9,589
425	Rep. Vernon J Ehlers (R-Mich.)	\$9,668
424	Rep. Kenny Ewell Marchant (R-Texas)	\$11,792
423	Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-Texas)	\$12,011
422	Rep. Vic Snyder (D-Ark.)	\$12,128
421	Rep. Ruben Hinojosa (D-Texas)	\$12,242
420	Rep. John Culberson (R-Texas)	\$12,519
419	Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)	\$13,385
418	Rep. Tom Osborne (R-Neb.)	\$14,159
417	Rep. Robert C Scott (D-Ga.)	\$14,312
416	Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.)	\$14,458
415	Rep. Steven A King (R-Iowa)	\$14,596
414	Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (D-Calif.)	\$15,144

III. Fat Cats or Passing the Hat? Contributions of \$200 or Less

When candidates are collecting money, it is easier to go to a relatively small number of wealthy donors who can write \$2,000 checks than to gather many, many more small contributions from a large number of people. Candidates with many small donations likely reached out to a more economically and socially diverse group of citizens.

Federal election law does not require itemized reporting of donations of \$200 or less. Members of Congress who receive more money from small donors, especially in proportion to their overall contributions, probably are turning more to their whole constituencies to raise money instead of to a few well-heeled supporters

There is a large spread in percentage terms between senators who receive the smallest percentage of contributions from small donors – Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.), at 5.4 percent – and those who receive the most – Sen. James Jeffords (I-Vt.), at 83.2 percent. *See* Figures 17 and 18.

**Figure 17:
10 Senators Who Accept Smallest Percentage of Contributions
from Small Donors**

Rank	Member	Percent of Contributions from Small Donors
1	Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-W.Va.)	5.4
2	Sen. Thad Cochran (R-Miss.)	6.3
2	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	6.3
4	Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	7.0
4	Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.)	7.0
6	Sen. Ted Stevens (R-Alaska)	7.5
7	Sen. Mary L Landrieu (D-La.)	8.8
8	Sen. Joe Lieberman (D-Conn.)	11.7
9	Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.)	12.4
10	Sen. Frank R Lautenberg (D-N.J.)	13.9

**Figure 18:
10 Senators Who Accept the Largest Percentage of Contributions
from Small Donors**

Rank	Member	Percent of Contributions from Small Donors
100	Sen. James M Jeffords (I-Vt.)	83.2
99	Sen. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.)	73.5
98	Sen. Russell D Feingold (D-Wis.)	64.3
96	Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.)	62.6
96	Sen. Barbara A Mikulski (D-Md.)	62.6
95	Sen. Patty Murray (D-Wash.)	61.0
94	Sen. Daniel K Akaka (D-Hawaii)	56.1
93	Sen. Tom Coburn (R-Okla)	54.4
92	Sen. John Thune (R-S.D.)	52.6
91	Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.)	52.5

In the House, the difference between those who rely the least on small donors and those who relied on them the most is also quite large. Reps. Henry Waxman (R-Calif.) and John Campbell (R-Calif.) both received less than 10 percent of their total contributions from small donors – 8.1 and 8.4 percent respectively – while small donors accounted for 82.3 percent of Rep. Steven King’s (R-Iowa) contributions. *See* Figures 19 and 20.

**Figure 19:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Smallest Percentage of Contributions
from Small Donors**

Rank	Member	Percent of Contributions from Small Donors
1	Rep. Henry A Waxman (D-Calif.)	8.1
2	Rep. John Campbell (R-Calif.)	8.4
3	Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.)	13.0
4	Rep. Hal Rogers (R-Ky.)	13.4
5	Rep. Brian P Bilbray (R-Calif.)	15.0
6	Rep. Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-Fla.)	15.8
7	Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio)	16.1
8	Rep. Jean Schmidt (R-Ohio)	16.5
9	Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.)	17.0
10	Rep. Ric Keller (R-Fla.)	17.4
11	Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	17.7
12	Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.)	17.8
13	Rep. John J Duncan, Jr (R-Tenn.)	18.5
14	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	18.6
15	Rep. Howard L Berman (D-Calif.)	19.3
16	Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-N.Y.)	19.7
17	Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	20.2
17	Rep. Charles "Chip" Pickering, Jr (R-Miss.)	20.2
19	Rep. Alan B Mollohan (D-W.Va.)	20.8
20	Rep. Bud Cramer (D-Ala.)	21.0

**Figure 20:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Largest Percentage of Contributions
from Small Donors**

Rank	Member	Percent of Contributions from Small Donors
433	Rep. Steven A King (R-Iowa)	82.3
432	Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-Vt.)	75.4
431	Rep. Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.)	74.8
430	Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas)	70.3
429	Rep. Henry J Hyde (R-Ill.)	69.5
428	Rep. Jim McDermott (D-Wash.)	68.9
427	Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.)	66.8
426	Rep. Marilyn Musgrave (R-Colo.)	66.6
425	Rep. Ted Strickland (D-Ohio)	66.0
424	Rep. Dale E Kildee (D-Mich.)	65.0
423	Rep. Lane Evans (D-Ill.)	64.4
422	Rep. Chris Smith (R-N.J.)	63.6
421	Rep. Collin C Peterson (D-Minn.)	63.5
420	Rep. Tom Tancredo (R-Colo.)	62.2
419	Rep. Gwen Moore (D-Wis.)	62.1
418	Rep. Martin Olav Sabo (D-Minn.)	61.2
417	Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.)	61.1
416	Rep. Betty McCollum (D-Minn.)	60.4
415	Rep. Jo Ann Davis (R-Va.)	58.3
413	Rep. Tammy Baldwin (D-Wis.)	57.5
413	Rep. Robert C Scott (D-Ga.)	57.5

**IV. PAC-Men and PAC-Women
Contributions from Political Action Committees (PACs)**

Members of Congress are elected to represent constituents, but often receive contributions from special interest organizations called political action committees (PACs). PACs may give up to \$5,000 per candidate per election and typically target elections in which their donations will have the biggest impact.

Seven members of the Senate and 97 members of the House received more than half of their total contributions from PACs. Senators relying the most heavily on PAC contributions were Sen. Mike Enzi (R-Wyo.) (71 percent), Sen. Mike Crapo (R-Idaho) (62.4 percent) and Sen. Craig Thomas (R-Wyo.) (58.2 percent). The House members who rely the most heavily on PAC contributions were Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.) (80.5 percent), Rep. John Tanner (D-Tenn.) (80.1 percent) and Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald (78.1 percent).

The top Senate recipients of PAC money (in dollars received on an adjusted per cycle basis) were: Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.) (\$1.8 million), Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.) (\$1.4 million), Sen. Gordon H Smith (R-Ore.) (\$1.3 million), Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) (\$1.3 million), Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa) (\$1.2 million) and Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.) (\$1.2 million). *See Figures 21 and 22.*

(**Note:** Some members included in our overall charts have stated publicly in news reports or other sources that they do not accept any PAC money whatsoever. PACs, which are the source for the data below, do not always report returned donations. The following members have indicated that they take no money from PACs: Sens. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.), Mark Dayton (D-Minn) and Herb Kohl (D-Wis.); as well as Reps. John Hostettler (D-Mass.), Bob Inglis (R-S.C.), Jim Leach (R-Iowa), Marty Meehan (D-Mass.), , Tom Osborne (R-Neb.) and Todd Platts (R-Pa.).)

**Figure 21:
10 Senators Who Accept the Most Money from PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Sen. Max Baucus (D-Mont.)	\$1,753,812
2	Sen. Harry Reid (D-Nev.)	\$1,366,783
3	Sen. Gordon H Smith (R-Ore.)	\$1,261,822
4	Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.)	\$1,253,552
5	Sen. Chuck Grassley (R-Iowa)	\$1,236,106
6	Sen. Blanche Lincoln (D-Ark.)	\$1,187,598
7	Sen. Rick Santorum (R-Pa.)	\$1,181,890
8	Sen. Mary L Landrieu (D-La.)	\$1,178,531
9	Sen. Bill Frist (R-Tenn.)	\$1,135,615
10	Sen. Richard C Shelby (R-Ala.)	\$1,079,123

Figure 22: 10 Senators Who Accept the Least Money from PACs

Rank	Member	Contributions from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
100	Sen. Herb Kohl (D-Wis.)	\$1,486
99	Sen. Maria Cantwell (D-Wash.)	\$3,576
98	Sen. Mark Dayton (D-Minn.)	\$4,581
97	Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.)	\$45,279
96	Sen. Joseph R Biden, Jr (D-Del.)	\$75,489
95	Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.)	\$79,819
94	Sen. Daniel K Akaka (D-Hawaii)	\$154,811
93	Sen. Tom Coburn (R-Okla)	\$189,125
92	Sen. Frank R Lautenberg (D-N.J.)	\$206,516
91	Sen. Robert C Byrd (D-W.Va.)	\$218,606

The top House recipients of PAC money were (on an adjusted, per-cycle basis): Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) (\$2.9 million), Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.) (\$2.2 million), Rep. Michael G Oxley (R-Ohio) (\$1.9 million), Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.) (\$1.8 million), Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio) (\$1.6 million) and Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.) (\$1.4 million). *See* Figures 23 and 24.

**Figure 23:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Most Money from PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Rep. Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.)	\$2,904,608
2	Rep. Roy Blunt (R-Mo.)	\$2,159,569
3	Rep. Michael G Oxley (R-Ohio)	\$1,878,579
4	Rep. Bill Thomas (R-Calif.)	\$1,820,302
5	Rep. John Boehner (R-Ohio)	\$1,601,501
6	Rep. Steny H Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$1,401,727
7	Rep. Jim McCrery (R-La.)	\$1,372,805
8	Rep. Nancy L Johnson (R-Conn.)	\$1,351,287
9	Rep. Joe Barton (R-Texas)	\$1,297,661
10	Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.)	\$1,216,980
11	Rep. Eric Cantor (R-Va.)	\$1,205,209
12	Rep. Charles B Rangel (D-N.Y.)	\$1,184,329
13	Rep. Deborah Pryce (R-Ohio)	\$1,163,148
14	Rep. John D Dingell (D-Mich.)	\$1,068,010
15	Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D-N.D.)	\$1,022,093
16	Rep. Henry Bonilla (R-Texas)	\$942,385
17	Rep. E Clay Shaw, Jr (R-Fla.)	\$938,538
18	Rep. Don Young (R-Alaska)	\$912,551
19	Rep. Pete Sessions (R-Texas)	\$880,325
20	Rep. Heather Wilson (R-N.M.)	\$862,146

**Figure 24:
20 Representatives Who Accept the Least Money from PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
433	Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa)	\$64
432	Rep. Todd Platts (R-Pa.)	\$640
431	Rep. Marty Meehan (D-Mass.)	\$1,661
430	Rep. John Hostettler (R-Ind.)	\$2,219
429	Rep. Tom Osborne (R-Neb.)	\$2,304
428	Rep. Wayne T Gilchrest (R-Md.)	\$18,456
427	Rep. Ron Paul (R-Texas)	\$38,615
426	Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.)	\$39,283
425	Rep. Joel Hefley (R-Colo.)	\$53,835
424	Rep. Daniel William Lipinski (D-Ill.)	\$79,371
423	Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.)	\$85,689
422	Rep. Roscoe G Bartlett (R-Md.)	\$90,838
421	Rep. Mark E Souder (R-Ind.)	\$97,022
420	Rep. G K Butterfield (D-N.C.)	\$107,690
419	Rep. Bill Jenkins (R-Tenn.)	\$113,600
418	Rep. Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.)	\$114,868
417	Rep. Ed Case (D-Hawaii)	\$117,661
416	Rep. Zach Wamp (R-Tenn.)	\$118,533
415	Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.)	\$119,119
414	Rep. Vernon J Ehlers (R-Mich.)	\$120,863

Contributions from business and labor PACs are treated the same way in campaign finance law. However, breakouts of the types of PACs from which members receive large amounts of contributions can lead insight into the special interests to which members are the most beholden. See Figures 25, 26, 27 and 28.

**Figure 25:
10 Representatives Who Accept the Most Money from Business PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Business PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Rep. Dennis Hastert	\$2,767,275
2	Rep. Roy Blunt	\$2,110,236
3	Rep. Michael G. Oxley	\$1,862,404
4	Rep. Bill Thomas	\$1,800,679
5	Rep. John Boehner	\$1,537,440
6	Rep. Jim McCrery	\$1,343,035
7	Rep. Joe Barton	\$1,289,202
8	Rep. Nancy L. Johnson	\$1,264,544
9	Rep. Eric I. Cantor	\$1,159,595
10	Rep. Tom Reynolds	\$1,140,830

**Figure 26:
10 Senators Who Accept the Most Money from Business PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Business PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Sen. Max Baucus	\$1,542,371
2	Sen. Mitch McConnell	\$1,193,027
3	Sen. Gordon Smith	\$1,178,425
4	Sen. Charles E. Grassley	\$1,176,211
5	Sen. Rick Santorum	\$1,129,608
6	Sen. Bill Frist	\$1,107,233
7	Sen. Harry Reid	\$1,047,039
8	Sen. Blanche L. Lincoln	\$1,040,589
9	Sen. Richard C. Shelby	\$1,018,043
10	Sen. Norm Coleman	\$894,063

**Figure 27:
10 Representatives Who Accept the Most Money from Labor PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Labor PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Rep. Steny H. Hoyer	\$410,241
2	Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$400,879
3	Rep. Lane Evans	\$333,735
4	Rep. George Miller	\$320,604
5	Rep. David R. Obey	\$307,717
6	Rep. Neil Abercrombie	\$289,224
7	Rep. Patrick J. Kennedy	\$288,306
8	Rep. Chet Edwards	\$286,951
9	Rep. Michael H. Michaud	\$278,175
10	Rep. Tim Holden	\$273,761

**Figure 28:
10 Senators Who Accept the Most Money from Labor PACs**

Rank	Member	Contributions from Labor PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
1	Sen. Harry Reid	\$269,762
2	Sen. Patty Murray	\$248,121
3	Sen. Tom Harkin	\$245,929
4	Sen. Edward M. Kennedy	\$223,432
5	Sen. Mary Landrieu	\$207,708
6	Sen. Byron L. Dorgan	\$206,238
7	Sen. Dick Durbin	\$202,788
8	Sen. Tim Johnson	\$191,262
9	Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$185,332
10	Sen. Robert Menendez	\$177,740

Endnotes

¹ To account for differences in the number of years members serve, the rankings of lobbyist, out-of-state, and PAC contributions are based upon two-year cycle totals.

² David Magleby, Anthony Corrado, and Kelly Patterson, eds. *Financing the 2004 Election* (Washington DC: Brookings Institute, 2006), p. 75.