

Under the Influence

Special Interest Money and
California's Members of Congress



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About Public Citizen

Public Citizen is a 100,000 member non-profit organization based in Washington, D.C. We represent consumer interests through lobbying, litigation, research and public education. Founded in 1971, Public Citizen fights for consumer rights in the marketplace, safe and affordable health care, campaign finance reform, fair trade, clean and safe energy sources, and corporate and government accountability. Public Citizen has five divisions and is active in every public forum: Congress, the courts, governmental agencies and the media. Congress Watch is one of the five divisions.



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¹ "Congressman Resigns After Guilty Plea," CNN, No. 28, 2005.

² Jonathan Weisman and Jeffrey H. Birnbaum, "Lawmaker Defends PAC Fees Paid to Wife," *Washington Post*, July 11, 2006.

³ Richard Simon, Chuck Neubauer and Rone Tempest, "Lawmakers Paying Family Members Is Not Uncommon Practice," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 2005.

⁴ David Magleby, Anthony Corrado, and Kelly Patterson, eds. *Financing the 2004 Election* (Washington DC: Brookings Institute, 2006), p. 75.

⁵ Congressional Research Service Memorandum, *Earmarks in Appropriations Acts: FY1994, FY1996, FY1998, FY2000, FY2002, FY2004, FY2005* (January 26, 2006).

cycle, including a marked jump that occurred following enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which doubled the maximum allowable contribution to campaign committees.

PAC-Men and PAC-Women

This table details the amount of campaign contributions received from political action committees from the beginning of the 2000 election cycle in January 1999 through June 30, 2006. The results, based on data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics, are subdivided into two categories: business and labor. (A third PAC category, contributions provided by ideological groups, is not presented in this table.) In order to account for members having served for different lengths of time, a multiplier is used to create parity on a per-election-cycle basis. Each election of a member of the House counts as one election cycle. Each election for a member of the Senate counts as three election cycles. Per-cycle figures are adjusted to correct for an increase in campaign contributions with each passing cycle, including a marked jump that occurred following enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which doubled the maximum allowable contribution to campaign committees.

On Tour: Contributions from Individuals Who Live Out of State

This table details the amount of campaign contributions over \$200 received by members of Congress from individuals who do not live in the state that they represent. Note: Calculations in this table do not include contributions from PACs or contributions from individuals who gave \$200 or less (the cutoff point for disclosure of itemized contributions to the Federal Election Commission). The table covers contributions made from the start of the 2000 election cycle in January 1999 through June 30, 2006. The data were provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. To account for members having served for different lengths of time, a multiplier is used to create parity on a per-election cycle basis. Each election of a member of the House counts as one election cycle. Each election of a member of the Senate counts as three election cycles. Per-cycle figures are adjusted to correct for an increase in campaign contributions with each passing cycle, including a marked jump that occurred following enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which doubled the maximum allowable contribution to campaign committees.

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

This table enumerates campaign contributions of \$200 or less given by individuals, from the start of the 2000 election cycle in January 1999 to June 30, 2006. Federal election rules do not require itemized reporting of such contributions, which is why it was chosen as a cutoff point to separate small donors from others. The table is based on data provided by the Center for Responsive Politics. In order to account for members having served for different lengths of time, a multiplier is used to create parity on a per election cycle basis. Each election of a member of the House counts as one election cycle. Each election of a member of the Senate counts as three election cycles. Data are further adjusted to account for increases in campaign contributions that occurred since 2000, including a marked jump that occurred in the 2004 election cycle following enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which doubled the maximum allowable contribution to campaign committees.

Who Really Represents California? An Index of Special Interest Influence

This report takes a hard and close look at the sources of campaign funding for all of California's incumbent federal office holders.

Scandals involving prominent state legislators such as **Rep. Randy "Duke" Cunningham**, who admitted in November 2005 that he took more than \$2.4 million in bribes from defense contractors in exchange for hundreds of millions of dollars in federal contracts steered to them from Cunningham's perch on a defense appropriations subcommittee, have rocked the state and angered citizens.¹

Sadly, Cunningham is not alone in his legal and ethical breaches. Some members of California's congressional delegation have turned their fundraising operations into family businesses. Since 2003, **Rep. John Doolittle** paid 15 percent (nearly \$140,000) of the money raised by his political committee to his wife, Julie, a professional fundraiser.² The wife and brother of **Rep. Richard Pombo** received more than \$350,000 from 2001 to 2005 from Pombo's political fund.³

Powerful interests and lobbyists spend millions of dollars to gain access to elected officials, and are rewarded with billions of taxpayer dollars in return. The potential leaders of tomorrow who refuse to play this game or do not have access to millions cannot get a start in federal politics today.

The costs of this pay-to-play system are high. Issues that concern ordinary citizens get left behind: skyrocketing gas prices fail to spur a plan for energy independence; a soaring federal budget deficit produces yet more spending without any end in sight; members of Congress get a raise while the minimum wage stagnates. Most tellingly, voters get a do-nothing Congress that will not enact meaningful lobbying or ethics reform despite criminal indictments of its own members.

The report breaks out campaign contributions to California's federal lawmakers, detailing for each incumbent the:

- Amount of contributions from lobbyists;
- Value of privately funded travel accepted;
- Amount of contributions from out-of-state donors;
- Percentage of contributions from donors who give \$200 or less, a measure of grassroots financial support as opposed to special interest support; and
- Amount of contributions from political action committees (PACs).

Certain categories of data were adjusted, as indicated, to account for the periods of time members served and overall increases in contributions since the 2000 election cycle. Some of the findings highlighted below reflect these adjusted figures.

This report unearths the following facts about California's congressional delegation:

- **Rep. Bill Thomas** ran uncontested in the 2004 election, yet still raised more than \$2.6 million, relying largely on PACs. Among members of the California delegation, Thomas received the highest amount of contributions from PACs per cycle (\$1.8 million), the second-highest percentage of contributions from out-of-state (71.2 percent) and the third-highest amount of contributions from lobbyists per cycle (\$122,980).
- Since the 2000 election cycle, Thomas received only 18.6 percent of such contributions from small donors (calculation excludes PACs), giving him the fifth-lowest such ratio among members of California's congressional delegation.
- Despite winning the most recent election with 83 percent of the vote, **Rep. Jerry Lewis** continues to run a vigorous fundraising machine. Lewis tops the other members of California's congressional delegation in contributions from lobbyists since 2000, averaging \$172,248 per cycle from K Street. He is also the second-highest recipient of contributions from out of state and fifth highest recipient of contributions from PACs.
- **Rep. Henry Waxman** has the lowest reliance on small donors (only 8.1 percent of his total contributions from individuals) among all members of California's congressional delegation.
- **Rep. Adam Schiff** has the highest reliance on small donors (52.6 percent) among all members of California's congressional delegation, edging out **Sens. Dianne Feinstein** (52.5 percent) and **Barbara Boxer** (52.1 percent). (Note: This table pertains only to contributions from individuals, not PACs.)
- Six members of California's congressional delegation reported over \$100,000 in privately funded travel from January 2000 to June 2005.

The problem of money and its influence in elections is fundamental and must be addressed with a fundamental change: the public funding of congressional elections.

Public funding puts voters back at the center of elections. Candidates collect an established number of small contributions, such as \$5, from supporters. These donations qualify them for public campaign funds, if they agree to accept no additional private money and abide by strict spending limits. When candidates face privately funded opponents who outspend them or independent expenditures on behalf of their opposition, they can qualify for additional funding, up to a limit.

The benefits of public funding for congressional candidates are substantial:

- More and different voices on Capitol Hill would be heard;
- There would be less pressure on lawmakers to cater to donors;
- Candidates would spend less time raising money and more time serving the public and speaking with constituents; and
- Public confidence in the integrity of elections and elected officials would increase.

Methodology for Determining Data in Tables

Explanation of Adjustments to the Totals.

Unadjusted numbers would not provide an apples-to-apples comparison of the amount of money contributed to members who were in office for different numbers of years over the time period studied. Contribution amounts in the tables in this study were therefore adjusted, as we note in each table, to allow a comparison of members who served less than the full time period of the study (2000 to 2006) with those who were officeholders for the full period.

Certain figures were also adjusted, as noted in each chart in which this occurs, to account for the increase in contributions that occurred in 2004 following enactment of the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002, which doubled the maximum allowable contribution to campaign committees. This second adjustment was similarly needed to ensure fairness in comparing contributions to some senators who last ran for office in 2002 (before the contribution limits were doubled) to contributions to members who ran in 2004, after the doubling of the contribution limits occurred.

Teeing Off: Acceptance of Privately Funded Travel and Related Expenses.

These data, obtained from the Center for Public Integrity (CPI), enumerate the amount of privately-funded travel and related expenditures reported by each current member of each state's congressional delegation from January 2000 through June 2005. To account for members having varying numbers of years of service since January 2000, a column – *Privately Funded Travel (with years of service multiplier)* – was created. It extrapolates the value of each member's travel to 5.5 years, the length of the study.

CPI noted the sheer number of "misfiled, misreported and mystifying travel disclosures" in its original analysis of congressional travel. Documents filed by members are often illegible or incomplete, and some may have been lost. The result is a level of imprecision in figures derived from the documents, which is why this chart provides travel amounts only in increments of \$10,000. On top of the exhaustive review conducted by CPI, we also independently reviewed the travel forms of the members in our study and compared the totals against CPI's database. In cases where the reported figures were uncertain, the lowest apparent total was assigned. The figures therefore should be viewed as a guidepost to the amount of travel members accepted, rather than as absolute indicators.

K Street Cash: Contributions from Lobbyists

This table details the amount of campaign contributions received by current members of the state's congressional delegation from lobbyists and their families from the start of the 2000 election cycle through the end of 2005. The table includes only contributions made to incumbents, meaning that if a current member was elected for the first time during the period studied, contributions made during his or her initial campaign are not included. The information is based on data obtained from the Center for Responsive Politics. To account for members having served for different lengths of time, data are provided on a per election cycle basis. Each election of a member of the House counts as one election cycle. Each election of a member of the Senate counts as three election cycles. Per-cycle figures are adjusted to correct for an increase in campaign contributions with each passing

Member	\$ from PACs, 2000 Cycle to Present	Pct. of Total \$ from PACs	\$ from Business PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)*	\$ from Labor PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)	\$ from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
Rep. Maxine Waters	\$464,265	31.3	\$35,885	\$77,909	\$119,119
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	\$342,413	20.6	\$72,021	\$1,368	\$85,689

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics. Figures are drawn from information for the period from January 1, 1999 through June 30, 2006 and are based on data released electronically by the FEC on August 7, 2006.

*See Methodology for explanation of adjustment method.

A public funding system for elections is also cost-effective. Congressional candidates spent about \$1.3 billion in the last two-year election cycle – a miniscule amount when compared to the \$2.3 trillion federal budget.⁴ If this cost were divided among all 215 million adults in the United States, it would equal the price of a cup of gourmet coffee – a mere \$3 per year per eligible voter. These costs pale in comparison to the government’s estimate of \$47.4 billion each year that Congress hands out through direct earmarks to wealthy donors, special interests and big business, costing each citizen of voting age \$220 a year.⁵

Most important, public funding is fair. Both Republicans and Democrats are successfully using the system in several states. Arizona’s incumbent Governor Janet Napolitano is now running her second campaign using the Clean Elections program. In Maine, the Republican gubernatorial nominee, Chandler Woodcock, opted into that state’s Clean Elections system. The state legislature in Connecticut passed a Clean Elections bill in December 2005. Arizona and Maine have used statewide and legislative clean elections since 2000, and North Carolina started public funding for judicial races in 2004. Many lawmakers say the system frees them to vote their conscience without having to worry about their next campaign dollar.

Public funding for elections is a practical, proven solution that puts voters in control of elections. It is also the focus of growing public and congressional attention. In Congress, **Reps. John Tierney** (D-Mass.) and **Raul Grijalva** (D-Ariz.) are leading sponsors of H.R. 3099, the Clean Money, Clean Elections Act, which would provide full public funding for House candidates. **Reps. Michael Honda, Tom Lantos, Barbara Lee, George Mill, Pete Stark, Sam Farr, Bob Filner** and Waxman are co-sponsors of this important bill. A similar bill is expected for introduction in the Senate soon.

You can join this exciting movement for public funding of elections and learn more at www.cleanupwashington.org.

Meet Your Member
Basic Facts About California's Senators and Representatives

Member	District	Party	Term	Next Election	Percentage of Vote Received in Last General Election
Sen. Barbara Boxer	n/a	D	3rd	2010	58
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	n/a	D	3rd	2006	56
Rep. Mike Thompson	1	D	4th	2006	67
Rep. Wally Herger	2	R	10th	2006	67
Rep. Dan Lungren	3	R	1st	2006	62
Rep. John Doolittle	4	R	8th	2006	65
Rep. Doris Matsui	5	D	1st	2006	69
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	6	D	7th	2006	72
Rep. George Miller	7	D	16th	2006	59
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	8	D	10th	2006	85
Rep. Barbara Lee	9	D	5th	2006	84
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	10	D	5th	2006	66
Rep. Richard Pombo	11	R	7th	2006	61
Rep. Tom Lantos	12	D	13th	2006	68
Rep. Pete Stark	13	D	17th	2006	71
Rep. Anna Eshoo	14	D	7th	2006	70
Rep. Mike Honda	15	D	3rd	2006	72
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	16	D	6th	2006	71
Rep. Sam Farr	17	D	7th	2006	67
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	18	D	2nd	2006	68
Rep. George Radanovich	19	R	6th	2006	66
Rep. Jim Costa	20	D	1st	2006	54
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	21	R	2nd	2006	73
Rep. Bill Thomas	22	R	14th	Retiring	Uncontested
Rep. Lois Capps	23	D	5th	2006	64
Rep. Elton Gallegly	24	R	10th	2006	62
Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon	25	R	7th	2006	65
Rep. David Dreier	26	R	13th	2006	54
Rep. Brad Sherman	27	D	5th	2006	62
Rep. Howard Berman	28	D	12th	2006	71
Rep. Adam Schiff	29	D	3rd	2006	65
Rep. Henry Waxman	30	D	16th	2006	71
Rep. Xavier Becerra	31	D	7th	2006	81
Rep. Hilda Solis	32	D	3rd	2006	85
Rep. Diane Watson	33	D	3rd	2006	89
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	34	D	7th	2006	75
Rep. Maxine Waters	35	D	8th	2006	80
Rep. Jane Harman	36	D	6th	2006	62
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	37	D	6th	2006	75
Rep. Grace Napolitano	38	D	4th	2006	Uncontested
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	39	D	5th	2006	60

Member	\$ from PACs, 2000 Cycle to Present	Pct. of Total \$ from PACs	\$ from Business PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)*	\$ from Labor PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)	\$ from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
Rep. Henry Waxman	\$1,490,710	45.0	\$230,404	\$123,826	\$375,137
Rep. Duncan Hunter	\$1,491,591	41.0	\$325,314	\$35,900	\$371,445
Rep. Bob Filner	\$1,468,982	40.1	\$146,761	\$208,132	\$371,344
Rep. Wally Herger	\$1,342,155	52.6	\$317,721	\$12,469	\$338,952
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	\$1,016,992	31.9	\$329,142	\$580	\$336,950
Rep. Ed Royce	\$1,332,722	30.3	\$328,579	\$0	\$334,509
Rep. Mike Honda	\$1,263,070	27.8	\$120,664	\$174,225	\$323,980
Rep. John Doolittle	\$1,291,811	27.0	\$297,295	\$10,530	\$321,628
Rep. Sam Farr	\$1,185,122	52.3	\$183,440	\$105,931	\$300,208
Rep. Linda Sanchez	\$889,646	38.2	\$86,071	\$168,344	\$292,929
Rep. George Radanovich	\$1,161,971	36.7	\$281,399	\$3,879	\$289,674
Rep. Darrell Issa	\$1,160,480	27.0	\$270,175	\$5,339	\$287,624
Rep. Hilda Solis	\$1,136,453	42.2	\$102,989	\$154,809	\$284,101
Rep. Doris Matsui	\$554,670	26.6	\$150,678	\$105,089	\$274,562
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	\$1,066,644	35.1	\$75,615	\$163,188	\$269,910
Rep. Dan Lungren	\$579,282	27.6	\$263,012	\$1,238	\$269,301
Rep. Pete Stark	\$1,051,349	68.6	\$173,744	\$83,607	\$267,417
Rep. Gary Miller	\$1,041,806	50.3	\$253,011	\$4,779	\$262,213
Rep. Ken Calvert	\$1,016,052	38.5	\$241,584	\$4,189	\$254,083
Rep. Susan A Davis	\$963,073	26.4	\$107,971	\$102,749	\$250,489
Rep. Mary Bono	\$993,401	36.4	\$240,420	\$3,819	\$248,860
Rep. Howard Berman	\$975,247	28.4	\$156,769	\$77,548	\$248,015
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	\$951,215	45.8	\$171,791	\$59,061	\$239,492
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$915,937	49.3	\$103,215	\$116,917	\$230,010
Rep. Grace Napolitano	\$857,561	65.2	\$96,105	\$112,401	\$219,613
Rep. John Campbell	\$412,367	20.8	\$182,762	\$0	\$204,122
Rep. Barbara Lee	\$798,312	26.4	\$65,469	\$125,494	\$202,163
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	\$804,067	78.1	\$83,492	\$111,310	\$201,138
Rep. Elton Gallegly	\$722,754	25.2	\$174,235	\$6,567	\$187,883
Rep. Tom Lantos	\$532,871	13.5	\$36,114	\$66,064	\$132,224
Rep. Diane Watson	\$509,580	29.7	\$40,966	\$69,471	\$129,052

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics. Figures are drawn from information for the period from January 1, 1999 through June 30, 2006 and are based on data released electronically by the FEC on August 7, 2006.

* See Methodology for explanation of adjustment method.

† Percentage represents contributions from individuals who gave \$200 or less divided by all contributions from individuals.

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 known as 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.

Member	\$ from PACs, 2000 Cycle to Present	Pct. of Total \$ from PACs	\$ from Business PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)*	\$ from Labor PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)	\$ from PACs Per Cycle (adjusted)
Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$1,582,939	7.8	\$217,425	\$185,332	\$489,176
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	\$2,699,134	12.5	\$351,954	\$80,093	\$458,314
Rep. Bill Thomas	\$5,481,401	64.5	\$1,800,679	\$11,090	\$1,820,302
Rep. Brian Bilbray	\$1,132,524	31.2	\$1,117,889	\$17,485	\$1,197,384
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$3,441,135	36.2	\$380,952	\$400,879	\$838,820
Rep. David Dreier	\$3,302,331	41.3	\$802,373	\$19,905	\$828,378
Rep. Jerry Lewis	\$2,667,945	43.7	\$615,731	\$34,298	\$659,803
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	\$2,211,108	53.2	\$413,977	\$127,212	\$569,005
Rep. Richard Pombo	\$2,243,855	37.2	\$511,224	\$27,579	\$551,779
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	\$1,385,537	42.7	\$261,157	\$156,995	\$459,818
Rep. Xavier Becerra	\$1,819,209	62.8	\$288,523	\$161,503	\$459,455
Rep. Adam Schiff	\$1,760,328	21.2	\$176,463	\$202,956	\$446,417
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	\$1,745,120	30.0	\$198,302	\$201,771	\$444,599
Rep. George Miller	\$1,738,310	58.3	\$93,363	\$320,604	\$431,855
Rep. Lois Capps	\$1,621,167	33.6	\$226,650	\$157,953	\$416,236
Rep. Anna Eshoo	\$1,655,354	50.9	\$345,709	\$62,663	\$415,196
Rep. Mike Thompson	\$1,650,358	36.9	\$294,020	\$101,744	\$413,152
Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon	\$1,670,205	30.6	\$362,099	\$28,619	\$412,727
Rep. Jim Costa	\$866,570	33.9	\$245,772	\$124,549	\$397,598
Rep. Jane Harman	\$1,502,953	27.2	\$211,473	\$116,015	\$387,753
Rep. Brad Sherman	\$1,519,895	37.1	\$214,188	\$152,512	\$387,708
Rep. Joe Baca	\$1,501,510	48.5	\$175,324	\$184,805	\$386,891

Member	District	Party	Term	Next Election	Percentage of Vote Received in Last General Election
Rep. Ed Royce	40	R	7th	2006	68
Rep. Jerry Lewis	41	R	14th	2006	83
Rep. Gary Miller	42	R	4th	2006	68
Rep. Joe Baca	43	D	4th	2006	66
Rep. Ken Calvert	44	R	7th	2006	62
Rep. Mary Bono	45	R	5th	2006	66
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	46	R	9th	2006	62
Rep. Linda Sanchez	47	D	2nd	2006	61
Rep. John Campbell	48	R	1st	2006	44
Rep. Darrell Issa	49	R	3rd	2006	63
Rep. Bob Filner	50	D	7th	2006	62
Rep. Brian Bilbray	51	R	1st	2006	50
Rep. Duncan Hunter	52	R	13th	2006	69
Rep. Susan Davis	53	D	3rd	2006	67

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.

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.

Member	Total Contributions from Lobbyists, 2000 to 2005	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)*
Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$246,283	\$67,845
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	\$281,112	\$48,018
Rep. Jerry Lewis	\$701,033	\$172,248
Rep. Doris Matsui	\$111,750	\$124,043
Rep. Bill Thomas	\$356,189	\$122,980
Rep. John Doolittle	\$266,771	\$62,331
Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon	\$246,504	\$60,579
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$258,719	\$57,931
Rep. Richard Pombo	\$233,360	\$53,149
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	\$162,572	\$44,026
Rep. David Dreier	\$186,135	\$43,774
Rep. Duncan Hunter	\$168,767	\$42,918
Rep. Henry Waxman	\$154,750	\$39,813
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$121,288	\$28,820

Member	Total Contributions from Lobbyists, 2000 to 2005	Contributions from Lobbyists Per Cycle (adjusted)*
Rep. Ken Calvert	\$109,959	\$27,887
Rep. Anna Eshoo	\$95,194	\$25,439
Rep. Ed Royce	\$92,783	\$24,092
Rep. Jane Harman	\$101,099	\$23,232
Rep. Howard Berman	\$81,050	\$23,040
Rep. Mike Thompson	\$88,462	\$22,116
Rep. Xavier Becerra	\$74,050	\$19,898
Rep. Gary Miller	\$74,355	\$17,501
Rep. George Radanovich	\$67,619	\$17,110
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	\$33,355	\$16,900
Rep. Brian Bilbray	\$22,975	\$16,197
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	\$63,519	\$16,177
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	\$61,992	\$15,878
Rep. George Miller	\$55,754	\$15,097
Rep. Mary Bono	\$63,820	\$14,799
Rep. Elton Gallegly	\$48,569	\$14,118
Rep. Pete Stark	\$49,220	\$13,618
Rep. Brad Sherman	\$49,056	\$13,327
Rep. Darrell Issa	\$42,000	\$12,116
Rep. Grace Napolitano	\$47,625	\$12,026
Rep. Wally Herger	\$45,390	\$11,662
Rep. Dan Lungren	\$20,250	\$11,239
Rep. Jim Costa	\$10,100	\$11,211
Rep. Mike Honda	\$32,550	\$10,547
Rep. Tom Lantos	\$42,300	\$10,416
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	\$40,400	\$10,209
Rep. Joe Baca	\$39,430	\$10,017
Rep. Adam Schiff	\$32,650	\$9,735
Rep. Hilda Solis	\$28,151	\$9,384
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	\$42,777	\$9,355
Rep. Lois Capps	\$34,800	\$9,252
Rep. Bob Filner	\$30,400	\$8,161
Rep. Sam Farr	\$25,775	\$7,349
Rep. John Campbell	\$6,300	\$6,993
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	\$11,768	\$6,424
Rep. Barbara Lee	\$25,450	\$6,172
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	\$17,650	\$5,050
Rep. Susan Davis	\$13,500	\$4,134
Rep. Linda Sanchez	\$9,750	\$3,799
Rep. Diane Watson	\$11,200	\$3,733
Rep. Maxine Waters	\$5,625	\$1,781

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics. Figures are drawn from information for the period from January 1, 1999 through December 31, 2005.

*See Methodology for explanation of adjustment method.

Member	Contributions from Small Donors	Contributions from Small Donors Per Cycle (adjusted)*	Percentage of Contributions from Small Donors [†]
Rep. Gary Miller	\$362,514	\$80,556	27.8
Rep. Jane Harman	\$1,255,211	\$302,610	28.2
Rep. Pete Stark	\$56,585	\$13,431	28.6
Rep. Anna Eshoo	\$556,572	\$127,819	28.9
Rep. Maxine Waters	\$230,844	\$52,451	29.4
Rep. Mike Honda	\$905,305	\$231,855	30.1
Rep. Duncan Hunter	\$786,846	\$180,092	30.2
Rep. Xavier Becerra	\$365,044	\$83,097	30.3
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	\$569,555	\$177,955	30.6
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	\$380,824	\$89,707	31.3
Rep. Ed Royce	\$1,078,852	\$250,761	31.3
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$373,800	\$84,705	31.4
Rep. Mary Bono	\$640,118	\$153,816	32.6
Rep. Doris Matsui	\$379,704	\$187,953	33.1
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	\$93,023	\$21,318	33.2
Rep. Bob Filner	\$781,720	\$185,137	33.3
Rep. George Miller	\$348,281	\$85,378	33.4
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	\$705,954	\$169,488	34.2
Rep. John Doolittle	\$1,222,991	\$294,169	35.2
Rep. Grace Napolitano	\$194,641	\$45,311	36.6
Rep. Darrell Issa	\$570,876	\$129,846	37.7
Rep. Lois Capps	\$1,302,796	\$317,543	39.2
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	\$720,824	\$163,244	40.2
Rep. Hilda Solis	\$677,514	\$170,353	40.5
Rep. Susan Davis	\$1,067,833	\$275,267	40.8
Rep. Linda Sanchez	\$670,337	\$212,029	40.9
Rep. George Radanovich	\$898,187	\$217,833	41.3
Rep. Dan Lungren	\$977,748	\$427,904	42.2
Rep. Joe Baca	\$558,978	\$141,229	42.7
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	\$1,907,715	\$472,911	44.1
Rep. Sam Farr	\$535,648	\$129,383	44.2
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	\$898,571	\$220,387	44.8
Rep. Barbara Lee	\$1,142,962	\$273,218	45.1
Rep. Wally Herger	\$557,815	\$136,054	45.8
Rep. Jim Costa	\$1,190,949	\$519,403	46.4
Rep. Tom Lantos	\$2,313,641	\$521,604	47.2
Rep. Elton Gallegly	\$1,064,314	\$261,353	47.3
Rep. Mike Thompson	\$1,545,572	\$373,379	48.1
Rep. Diane Watson	\$593,839	\$156,632	51.2
Rep. Adam Schiff	\$3,567,970	\$915,499	52.6

Member	Total Contributions from Out-of-State, 2000 Cycle to Present*	Pct. of Contributions from Out-of-State	Contributions from Out-of-State Per Cycle (adjusted) [†]
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	\$102,042	12.2	\$25,764
Rep. Wally Herger	\$95,840	14.5	\$24,068
Rep. Joe Baca	\$87,564	11.7	\$21,883
Rep. Sam Farr	\$77,855	11.5	\$19,958
Rep. Elton Gallegly	\$75,029	6.3	\$19,617
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	\$72,405	6.5	\$18,042
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	\$62,027	33.2	\$15,144

Source: The Center for Responsive Politics. Figures are drawn from information for the period from January 1, 1999 through June 30, 2006 and are based on data released electronically by the FEC on August 7, 2006.

*Contributions include only those from individuals who gave more than \$200.

[†] See Methodology for explanation of adjustment method.

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

When candidates are collecting dollars, 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.

Member	Contributions from Small Donors	Contributions from Small Donors Per Cycle (adjusted)*	Percentage of Contributions from Small Donors [†]
Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$11,238,562	\$3,308,112	52.1
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	\$10,090,253	\$1,695,567	52.5
Rep. Henry A Waxman	\$135,229	\$30,324	8.1
Rep. John Campbell	\$94,356	\$46,706	8.4
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$830,099	\$182,469	13.0
Rep. Brian Bilbray	\$250,689	\$89,014	15.0
Rep. Bill Thomas	\$572,511	\$176,224	18.6
Rep. Howard Berman	\$535,394	\$119,221	19.3
Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon	\$816,715	\$196,523	21.8
Rep. Brad Sherman	\$631,542	\$146,633	23.4
Rep. David Dreier	\$752,299	\$166,900	23.6
Rep. Jerry Lewis	\$894,996	\$197,165	24.2
Rep. Ken Calvert	\$484,068	\$109,144	25.6
Rep. Richard Pombo	\$864,526	\$204,793	26.1
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	\$684,333	\$210,479	27.5

Teeing Off

Acceptance of Privately Funded Travel and Related Expenses

Being a member of Congress is supposed to be a job, not a vacation. Yet lawmakers accept free trips all over the world. While some of the trips are legitimate fact-finding missions, others include golf outings and spa visits. Often traveling with Members are representatives of the special interests that funded the travel. Sometimes these companions are lobbyists, who can use charter flights and breaks between holes on the golf course to lobby members of Congress.

Member	Total Privately Funded Travel*	Years of Service [†]	Privately Funded Travel (with years-of-service multiplier) [‡]
Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$60,001 to \$70,000	5.5	\$60,001 to \$70,000
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. George Miller	\$150,001 to \$160,000	5.5	\$150,001 to \$160,000
Rep. Howard Berman	\$140,001 to \$150,000	5.5	\$140,001 to \$150,000
Rep. Maxine Waters	\$140,001 to \$150,000	5.5	\$140,001 to \$150,000
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	\$130,001 to \$140,000	5.5	\$130,001 to \$140,000
Rep. Linda Sanchez	\$50,001 to \$60,000	2.5	\$110,001 to \$120,000
Rep. Darrell Issa	\$80,001 to \$90,000	4.5	\$100,001 to \$110,000
Rep. Barbara Lee	\$100,001 to \$110,000	5.5	\$100,001 to \$110,000
Rep. Henry Waxman	\$100,001 to \$110,000	5.5	\$100,001 to \$110,000
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	\$30,001 to \$40,000	2.5	\$70,001 to \$80,000
Rep. Bill Thomas	\$70,001 to \$80,000	5.5	\$70,001 to \$80,000
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	\$60,001 to \$70,000	5.5	\$60,001 to \$70,000
Rep. Wally Herger	\$50,001 to \$60,000	5.5	\$50,001 to \$60,000
Rep. John Doolittle	\$40,001 to \$50,000	5.5	\$40,001 to \$50,000
Rep. George Radanovich	\$40,001 to \$50,000	5.5	\$40,001 to \$50,000
Rep. Pete Stark	\$40,001 to \$50,000	5.5	\$40,001 to \$50,000
Rep. Lynn Woolsey	\$40,001 to \$50,000	5.5	\$40,001 to \$50,000
Rep. Lois Capps	\$30,001 to \$40,000	5.5	\$30,001 to \$40,000
Rep. Anna Eshoo	\$30,001 to \$40,000	5.5	\$30,001 to \$40,000
Rep. Howard P "Buck" McKeon	\$30,001 to \$40,000	5.5	\$30,001 to \$40,000
Rep. Adam Schiff	\$20,001 to \$30,000	4.5	\$30,001 to \$40,000
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	\$30,001 to \$40,000	5.5	\$30,001 to \$40,000
Rep. Ken Calvert	\$20,001 to \$30,000	5.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. David Dreier	\$20,001 to \$30,000	5.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Mike Honda	\$10,001 to \$20,000	4.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Dan Lungren	\$1 to \$10,000	0.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Gary Miller	\$20,001 to \$30,000	5.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Grace Napolitano	\$20,001 to \$30,000	5.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Richard Pombo	\$20,001 to \$30,000	5.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Hilda Solis	\$10,001 to \$20,000	4.5	\$20,001 to \$30,000
Rep. Jim Costa	\$10,001 to \$20,000	5.5	\$10,001 to \$20,000
Rep. Jane Harman	\$10,001 to \$20,000	5.5	\$10,001 to \$20,000

Member	Total Privately Funded Travel*	Years of Service [†]	Privately Funded Travel (with years-of-service multiplier) [‡]
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	\$1 to \$10,000	2.5	\$10,001 to \$20,000
Rep. Mike Thompson	\$10,001 to \$20,000	5.5	\$10,001 to \$20,000
Rep. Diane Watson	\$10,001 to \$20,000	4.5	\$10,001 to \$20,000
Rep. Joe Baca	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Xavier Becerra	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Brian Bilbray	\$1 to \$10,000	1	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Susan Davis	\$1 to \$10,000	4.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Sam Farr	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Bob Filner	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Elton Gallegly	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Duncan Hunter	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Tom Lantos	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Jerry Lewis	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Zoe Lofgren	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Juanita Millender-McDonald	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Ed Royce	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Brad Sherman	\$1 to \$10,000	5.5	\$1 to \$10,000
Rep. Mary Bono	\$0	5.5	\$0
Rep. John Campbell	\$0	0.5	\$0
Rep. Doris Matsui	\$0	0.5	\$0

Source: The Center for Public Integrity.

* Due to the imprecise reporting of privately funded travel, increments of \$10,000 are used.

[†] The range of the available data is from January 1, 2000 to June 30, 2005.

[‡] The figure incorporates the years of service factor and extrapolates each member's travel as if he or she had served all 5.5 years.

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.

Member	Total Contributions from Out-of-State, 2000 Cycle to Present*	Pct. of Contributions from Out-of-State	Contributions from Out-of-State Per Cycle (adjusted) [†]
Sen. Barbara Boxer	\$1,904,296	18.4	\$575,270
Sen. Dianne Feinstein	\$1,688,907	18.5	\$284,143
Rep. Bill Thomas	\$1,790,169	71.2	\$592,397
Rep. Jerry Lewis	\$1,868,440	66.7	\$454,616

Member	Total Contributions from Out-of-State, 2000 Cycle to Present*	Pct. of Contributions from Out-of-State	Contributions from Out-of-State Per Cycle (adjusted) [†]
Rep. Jane Harman	\$1,354,983	42.4	\$342,931
Rep. Tom Lantos	\$1,448,018	55.9	\$335,321
Rep. Nancy Pelosi	\$1,155,688	20.9	\$283,720
Rep. Howard "Buck" McKeon	\$1,139,195	39.0	\$277,429
Rep. Richard Pombo	\$1,021,541	41.7	\$246,036
Rep. Duncan Hunter	\$920,062	50.7	\$229,171
Rep. Doris Matsui	\$378,333	49.3	\$187,275
Rep. David Dreier	\$672,344	27.6	\$169,003
Rep. Loretta Sanchez	\$590,731	24.5	\$149,581
Rep. Henry Waxman	\$580,173	37.7	\$147,512
Rep. John Doolittle	\$467,706	20.8	\$112,949
Rep. Howard Berman	\$398,250	17.8	\$105,210
Rep. Adam Schiff	\$348,563	10.8	\$90,161
Rep. Dan Lungren	\$189,010	14.1	\$86,419
Rep. Mike Honda	\$332,391	15.8	\$84,804
Rep. Linda Sanchez	\$233,007	24.0	\$77,703
Rep. Ellen Tauscher	\$296,734	21.8	\$75,961
Rep. Mary Bono	\$260,658	19.7	\$65,377
Rep. Devin Gerald Nunes	\$185,404	10.3	\$64,316
Rep. Bob Filner	\$254,425	16.3	\$62,815
Rep. Brian Bilbray	\$175,909	12.4	\$61,380
Rep. Ken Calvert	\$244,156	17.4	\$61,055
Rep. Darrell Issa	\$223,150	23.6	\$56,590
Rep. Brad Sherman	\$213,976	10.3	\$54,676
Rep. Xavier Becerra	\$215,975	25.7	\$54,612
Rep. Ed Royce	\$211,633	9.0	\$53,017
Rep. Barbara Lee	\$207,804	15.0	\$51,676
Rep. Mike Thompson	\$200,655	12.0	\$50,377
Rep. Maxine Waters	\$197,325	35.5	\$49,578
Rep. Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$193,922	23.8	\$47,803
Rep. Lois Capps	\$178,101	8.8	\$45,974
Rep. George Miller	\$181,194	26.1	\$44,864
Rep. John Campbell	\$88,583	8.6	\$43,849
Rep. Anna Eshoo	\$171,294	12.5	\$43,837
Rep. Jim Costa	\$96,150	7.0	\$43,556
Rep. Dana Rohrabacher	\$165,950	15.5	\$41,011
Rep. Dennis Cardoza	\$117,168	9.1	\$40,316
Rep. George Radanovich	\$150,219	11.7	\$37,199
Rep. Susan A Davis	\$131,957	8.5	\$36,283
Rep. Hilda Solis	\$120,526	12.1	\$29,851
Rep. Gary Miller	\$119,805	12.7	\$28,938
Rep. Pete Stark	\$113,120	80.2	\$28,692
Rep. Grace Napolitano	\$112,575	33.4	\$28,381
Rep. Diane Watson	\$98,724	17.4	\$26,860