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Lobbyists— Affluence & Influence?

Lobbyists advocate for a variety of clients— from corporations to trade organizations to non-profit organizations. At the end of 2010, there were 1,175 individuals registered as legislative agents or lobbyists with the Ohio Joint Legislative Inspector General. Nearly 85% (995 of the 1,175 registered legislative lobbyists) reported lobbying on the operating budget—House Bill 1. Eight of the ten bills with the largest number of lobbyists passed one or both Houses during the 128th General Assembly. However, lobbyists are required to identify bills that they seek to influence, but they are not required to identify whether they are in favor of the bill. This means that it is impossible to tell whether lobbyists are attempting to move, stall, or amend legislation.

This study explores the role of lobbyists and their influence on the legislative process by examining campaign contributions. It examines contributions to statewide and legislative candidates from January 1, 2009 – December 3, 2010 from registered lobbyists, political action committees associated with registered employers of lobbyists, and contributions from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations. It also examines activities reported to the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee gifts: meals and conferences.

While lobbyists’ “wining and dining” and contributions at fundraisers greases access to members of the House and Senate, some prominent lobbyists have a built-in advantage— they are former legislators. Sixteen former legislators are "contract" lobbyists; they advocate for clients on a contractual basis. The other seventeen former legislators are "in-house" lobbyists and advocate for only one client.

Lobbyists are required to disclose expenditures—“wining and dining” and gifts for legislators. While lobbyists continue to “wine and dine” legislators, gifts have taken a back seat to campaign fundraisers.

From January 2009 until the most recent filing in August 2010, legislative lobbyists spent a total of \$202,186 on gifts and meals. It should be noted that lobbyists file activities with the Joint Legislative Inspector General (JLEC) three times a year (January, May & August). The 128th Ohio General Assembly went on recess at the beginning of June 2010.

All together from January 1, 2009 - December 3, 2010, Ohio legislative lobbyists contributed \$738,465 to Senators and Representatives in the 128th General Assembly and candidates for the 129th.

Top Individual Lobbyist Contributions to Legislators & Legislative Candidates

	Contributor	Law/Lobbying Firm or Employer	Total Amount Spent on Lobbying Gifts &/or Meals 1/2009-8/2010	Total Amount Contributed to Legislators & Legislative Candidates 1/2009-12/2010
1	Sean P. Dunn	Sean P. Dunn & Associates LLC	\$1,751	\$44,319
2	Richard A. Weiland	Richard Consulting Group	\$0	\$36,310
3	Ronald D. Wine	Ron Wine Consulting Group	\$0	\$28,500
4	Samuel C. Randazzo	McNees, Wallace & Nurick LLC	\$0	\$22,800
5	Alan L. Melamed	Melamed Communications LLC	\$8	\$21,400
6	Thomas L. Froehle	McNees, Wallace & Nurick LLC (now with AEP)	\$0	\$19,100
7	Daniel M. McCarthy	The Success Group	\$0	\$17,930
8	Steven R. Wermuth	Focus on Policy LLC	\$245	\$17,725
9	Stephen D. Dimon	Capital Insights LLC	\$234	\$16,750
10	Charles H. Gerhardt, III	Government Strategies Group LLC	\$0	\$14,417
11	Penny M. Tipps	Public Policy Strategies LLC	\$6,571	\$13,525
12	Thomas P. Pappas	Thomas P. Pappas & Associates	\$379	\$12,750
13	Richard A. Ayish	The Success Group	\$1,112	\$12,725
14	Daniel G. Hilson	Roetzel & Andress	\$0	\$10,254
15	Edwin B. Hogan	New Visions Group	\$0	\$10,025
16	Michael Toman	The Success Group	\$453	\$9,000
17	N. Victor Goodman	Benesch, Friedlander, Coplan & Aronoff	\$32	\$8,430
18	Daniel J. Massey	Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur LLP	\$0	\$8,000
19	Philip A. Craig	The Craig Group	\$28	\$7,900
20	Dayna G. Baird	Government Edge, Inc.	\$617	\$7,575
21	Thomas E. Stewart	Ohio Oil & Gas Association	\$0	\$7,500
22	Vincent J. Squillace, III	VJS Public Sector Consulting	\$727	\$6,950
23	Connor P. Patton	McDonald Hopkins LLC	\$0	\$6,825
24	C. Luther Heckman	C. Luther Heckman, Attorney at Law	\$0	\$6,400
21	Carolyn H. Towner	Towner Policy Group LLC	\$50	\$6,275

JLEC also requires the employers of lobbyists to register. From January 1, 2009 - December 3, 2010, all the Political Action Committees (PAC's) of registered employers of legislative lobbyists contributed \$15,575,533 to Senators and Representatives in the 128th General Assembly and candidates for the 129th.

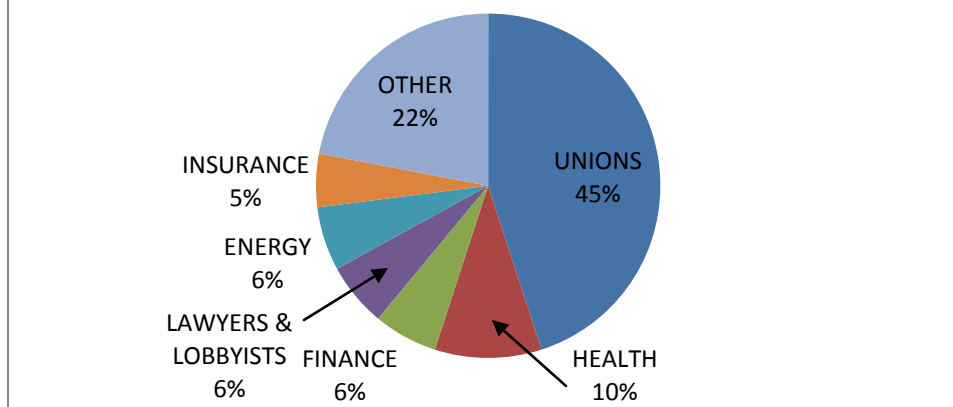
Top Contributions from Employers of Lobbyists to Legislators & Legislative Candidates

1/1/2009-12/3/2010

	Registered employers of lobbyists/Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	Total Amount
1	OAPSE AFSCME	\$983,678
2	Ohio State Association of Plumbers & Pipefitters	\$801,085
3	SEUI Ohio State Council	\$767,176
4	Ohio Education Association	\$650,500
5	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	\$642,576
6	AFSCME	\$578,419
7	AFL-CIO/Sheetmetal Workers	\$443,452
8	Wholesale Beer and Wine Association of Ohio	\$441,010
9	Ohio Dental Association	\$379,391
10	Ohio Association of Realtors	\$351,705
11	FirstEnergy	\$333,550
12	AFL-CIO	\$231,800
13	AEP	\$225,190
14	Laborers District Council of Ohio	\$205,915
15	Ohio Credit Union League	\$202,919
16	Time Warner	\$190,225
17	Ohio Society of Certified Public Accountants	\$188,426
18	Ohio Federation of Teachers	\$187,850
19	Ohio Oil & Gas Association	\$165,390
20	KeyCorp	\$160,785
21	Ohio Academy of Nursing Homes	\$155,000
22	Nationwide Insurance Company	\$151,000
23	Ohio Automobile Dealers Association	\$148,940
23	Ohio State Medical Association	\$145,250
24	Calfee, Halter & Griswold LLP	\$132,145
25	Ohio Optometric Association	\$130,770

	Registered employers of lobbyists/Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	Total Amount
26	Ohio Nurses Association	\$125,611
27	Ohio Home Builders Association	\$122,900
28	Ohio State Building & Construction Trades Council	\$122,895
29	NiSource Inc.	\$116,025
30	Huntington Bank	\$112,200
31	Ohio Contractors Association	\$111,345
32	OCSEA AFSCME	\$110,872
	Dominion Resources Services	\$106,050
33	Ohio Health Care Association	\$104,150
34	Ohio State Bar Association	\$103,675
35	Vorys Sater Seymour & Pease LLP	\$102,185
36	AT&T	\$99,425
37	Duke Energy	\$98,650
38	Schottenstein, Zox & Dunn	\$93,875
39	Bricker & Eckler LLP	\$91,985
40	Ohio Association for Justice	\$87,771
41	Ohio & Vicinity Regional Council of Carpenters	\$86,825
42	AFL-CIO/Communications Workers of America	\$81,716
43	Ohio Farm Bureau Federation	\$80,273
44	Ohio Rural Electric Cooperatives	\$77,855
45	Ohio Bankers League	\$77,650
46	Cardinal Health	\$77,650
47	Ohio Association of Professional Fire Fighters	\$76,025
48	Ohio Hospital Association	\$75,691
49	Ohio Coal Association	\$69,450
50	Kegler, Brown, Hill & Ritter	\$67,695

Top Economic Sectors of Registered Employers of Lobbyists



**Other includes construction, food & beverage, telecommunications and real estate.*

Forty-five percent of the campaign contributions from registered employers of lobbyists to legislators and legislative candidates came from unions; 10% from healthcare industry; 6% from finance, lawyers & lobbyists and the energy sector; and 5% from insurance. Democrats received more than \$9.2 million from unions, while the Republicans received only \$193,645.

Top Lobbying Expenditures 1/2009 - 8/2010

	Registered Employer	Number of Agents or Lobbyists	Amount spent on conference, food &/or gifts for legislators	Amount their PAC Contributed to Legislators & Legislative Candidates
1	Wholesale Beer & Wine Association	18	\$46,825	\$441,010
2	Ohio Association of Realtors	5	\$34,909	\$351,705
3	Ohio Chamber of Commerce	7	\$28,248	\$18,250
4	Ohio Nurses Association	7	\$25,640	\$125,611
5	Ohio Chemistry Technology Council	2	\$18,856	N/A*
6	Community Action of Appalachian Ohio	1	\$17,913	\$7,700
7	Ohio Environmental Council	2	\$17,795	N/A*
8	Ohio Cable Telecommunications Association	10	\$15,912	\$54,643
9	Ohio Aggregates & Industrial Mineral Association	4	\$15,354	\$22,790
10	Ohio Association of Community Health Centers	3	\$14,127	N/A*

**These entities do not have a Political Action Committee.*

From January 1, 2009 - August 2010, registered employers spent \$648,615 on meals and gifts. This money was primarily spent on conferences or events for legislators.

Who are Lobbyists?

Many prominent lobbyists learned the inner-workings of government as public servants before moving on to lobbying. Brian Hicks, CEO of Hicks Partners LLC, was the Chief of Staff for Governor Taft and Ohio Deputy Secretary of State. Neil Clark, Grant Street Consultants, was once the Chief Operating Officer of the Ohio Senate Republican Caucus. Now a partner at Calfee Halter & Griswold LLC, Leah Pappas Porner served as Assistant Deputy Legal Counsel for Governor Voinovich from 1992 to 1995 and was the Director of Special Counsel for the Ohio Attorney General from 1995 to 1999. Further from home, Denny Larr, of CWS Governmental Relations, Ltd, worked in the White House in the Ford and Carter Administrations. Former Ohio Attorney General and Auditor of State of Ohio Jim Petro lobbies for the Humane Society of the United States. Many are active in the political parties— Paul Tipps was the chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party. Douglas Preisse lobbies for Van Meter, Ashbrook and Associates, Inc. and is the Chairman of the Franklin County Republican Party. Preisse also was the Chair of the Kasich-Taylor New Day Inaugural Committee.

Election 2010 shifted power to the Republicans, which created new opportunities for political insiders. Don Thibaut, former aide to Governor-Elect John Kasich, just established a lobbying firm—Credo. Matt Borges, the Chief of Staff for former State Treasurer Joe Deters and the campaign manager for the newly elected Auditor Dave Yost, was hired in December as the Roetzel and Andress' Government Relations Director.

Local government entities have in-house lobbyists or retain the services of contract lobbyists. The executive branch of Ohio government also lobbies the Ohio Legislature. For example, the Ohio Secretary of State has a legislative director who advocates for legislative changes sought by the Secretary.

Unions also employ lobbyists. The AFL-CIO has a team of lobbyists comprised of Pierrette “Petee” Talley and Tim Burga. Monica Moran lobbies for SEIU Ohio State Council, and Robert Davis for AFSCME Ohio Council 8.

Bill Faith, the Executive Director of the Coalition for Homelessness and Housing in Ohio (COHHIO) is a housing advocate. Lisa Hamler-Fugitt, the Executive Director of the Ohio Association of Second Harvest Foodbanks, is another well-known advocate for those struggling with poverty. Gayle Channing Tenenbaum, the CEO of Gayle S. Channing and Associates, is the Legislative Director for the Public Children Services Association of Ohio and a Senior Policy Fellow with Voices for Ohio's Children.

Legislators to Lobbyists

Some of the most successful lobbyists are former legislators. Thirty-three former members of the Ohio House and Senate registered as lobbyists in 2010. Half of these former members are contract lobbyists with more than one client and half work as “in house” lobbyists, many for government entities. Two former Senate Presidents are prominent lobbyists— Stanley “Stan” Aronoff and Richard “Dick” Finan.

Former members of the Ohio General Assembly who were contract lobbyists in 2009-2010

Former legislators	Party	House terms	Senate terms	Current law/lobby firm	Amount Contributed To Ohio Statewide & Legislative Candidates 1/1/2009-12/3/2010
Stanley Aronoff	R	1961-1966	1967-1996	Aronoff, Rosen & Hunt	\$1,500
James Betts	R	1977-1980		Betts & Associates Inc.	\$1,100
Charles Blasdel	R	2001-2006		Blasdel Financial Group	\$6,375
James Callender Jr.	R	1997-2004		Buckley King	\$0
Timothy Cassell	D	2005-2006		Governmental Networking	\$6,825
Robert Doyle	R	1983-1992		Strategic Government Initiatives	\$1,605
Richard Finan	R	1973-1978	1979-2002	Calfee, Halter & Griswold LLP	\$2,000
Tom Fries Sr.	D	1971-1982	1983-1984	Dinsmore Fries Public Sector Advisors LLC	\$36,700
Tim Greenwood	R	1989-1994	1995-1996	Spengler Nathanson PLL	\$0
Jeff Jacobson	R	1993-2000	2001-2008		\$0
David Leland	D	1983-1984		Carpenter, Lipps & Leland LLP	\$22,850
Edward Orlett	D	1973-1986		Ohio State Government Relations Corp.	\$1,750
Larry Price	D	2003-2004		Price & Associates	\$750
Charles “Rocky” Saxbe	R	1975-1982		Chester Willcox & Saxbe, LLP	\$4,127
Michael Wise	R	1993-1998		McDonald Hopkins LLC	\$1,727
Neal Zimmers	D		1975-1994	Zimmers & Associates	\$4,885

Former Legislators who lobbied for only one client in 2009-2010

Former legislators	Party	House terms	Senate terms	Represents	Amount Contributed To Ohio Statewide & Legislative Candidates 1/1/2009-12/3/2010
Greg DiDonato	D	1991-1994	1997-2004	Ohio Mid-Eastern Governments Association	\$100
L. George Distel	D	1999-2008		Ohio Turnpike Commission	\$250
Eric Fingerhut	D		1991-1992 1999-2006	Ohio Board of Regents	\$0
Linda Furney	D		1987-2002	Toledo Lucas County Housing Fund	\$100
William Hartnett	D	1998-2008		Ohio Department of Veterans Services	\$1,550
Leigh Herington	D		1995-2002	Northeast Ohio Public Energy Council	\$100
Robert Hickey Jr.	D	1983-1992		Wright State University	\$645
Ed Jerse	D	1995-2002		Ohio Department of Development	\$50
Bruce Johnson	R		1995-2001	Inter-University Council of Ohio	\$0
Gene Krebs	R	1993-2000		Greater Ohio	\$0
John Mahoney	R		1977-1980	Ohio Municipal League	\$1,150
James McGregor	R	2001-2008		Ohio League of Conservation Voters	\$0
Scott Nein	R	1991-1995	1995-2004	Independent Insurance Agents of Ohio	\$2,000
Joy Padgett	R	1993-1999	2004-2008	Central Ohio Technical College	\$0
Mike Stinziano	D	1973-1994		Ohio Secretary of State	\$2,143
Barbara Ann Sykes	D	2001-2006		Ohio United Way	\$2,100
Kimberly Zurz	D		2005-2008	Ohio Department of Commerce	\$0

There are more than 90 lobbying firms active in Ohio. Together these firms contributed \$110,025 to statewide and legislative candidates. Contract lobbyists associated with these firms contributed an additional \$750,903. Law firms that specialize in government relations contributed \$1,075,566 and contract lobbyists associated with these firms contributed an additional \$350,299. All together these "hired guns" contributed \$2,286,793.

Contributions from lobbyists and lobbying firms January 2009 – December 2010

	Lobbying Firm	Amount from Lobbying Firm's PAC	Amount from Firm's Lobbyists	Total
1	Success Group LLC	\$26,129	\$67,280	\$93,409
2	Public Policy Strategies LLC	\$8,685	\$54,974	\$63,659
3	Richard Consulting Group	\$0	\$62,480	\$62,480
4	Government Strategies Group LLC	\$8,150	\$43,462	\$51,612
5	Melamed Communications LLC	\$0	\$48,540	\$48,540
6	Dinsmore Fries Public Sector Advisors LLC (Affiliated with Dinsmore & Shohl)	\$0	\$38,305	\$38,305
7	Capitol Insights LLC	\$12,650	\$17,750	\$30,400
8	Thomas P. Pappas & Associates	\$8,235	\$21,575	\$29,810
9	RLB Group Government Relations	\$0	\$29,500	\$29,500
10	Ron Wine Consulting Group	\$0	\$28,500	\$28,500
11	New Visions Group LLC	\$12,914	\$12,975	\$25,889
12	Focus on Policy LLC	\$0	\$22,725	\$22,725
13	Craig Group	\$0	\$18,922	\$18,922
14	Government Edge Public Relations	\$0	\$18,136	\$18,136
15	Van Meter, Ashbrook & Associates Inc	\$0	\$13,177	\$13,177
16	Compass Consulting Group LLC	\$0	\$11,000	\$11,000
17	SZD Whiteboard (affiliated with Schottenstein, Zox & Dunn)	\$0	\$10,900	\$10,900
18	K. Brinkman & Associates	\$1,100	\$9,700	\$10,800
19	RH Resources	\$10,727	\$0	\$10,727
20	Lambert Group	\$2,850	\$7,875	\$10,725
	G2G Consultants LLC	\$0	\$10,725	\$10,725
21	Capitol Consulting Group	\$0	\$8,850	\$8,850
22	Hicks Partners LLC	\$150	\$8,450	\$8,600
23	BFG Consulting	\$1,250	\$7,290	\$8,540
24	PACA Inc	\$0	\$7,981	\$7,981
25	VJS Consulting	\$0	\$7,981	\$7,981

Contributions from Law Firms that Specialize in Government Relations January 2009 – December 2010

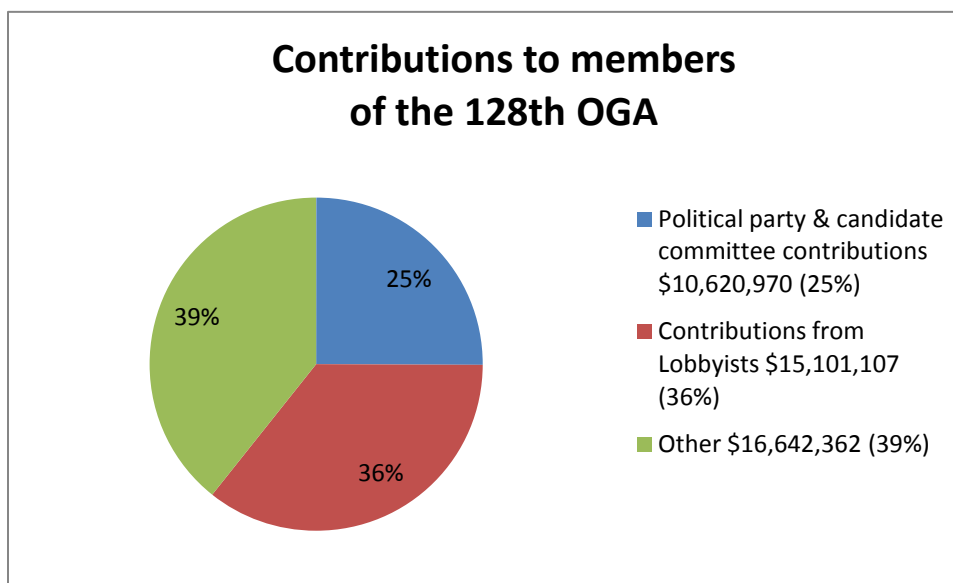
	Law Firms the Specialize in Government Relations	Amount from the Law Firm's PAC	Amount from Firm's Lobbyists	Total
1	Calfee Halter & Griswold LLP	\$174,095	\$18,269	\$192,364
2	Bricker & Eckler LLP	\$152,735	\$11,255	\$163,990
3	Schottenstein, Zox & Dunn	\$154,625	\$0	\$154,625
4	Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease LLP	\$134,785	\$3,050	\$137,835
5	Squires, Sanders & Dempsey	\$124,900	\$5,821	\$130,721
6	Kegler, Brown, Hill & Ritter	\$75,694	\$5,550	\$81,244
7	Roetzel & Andress	\$28,450	\$36,440	\$64,890
8	McNees, Wallace & Nurick LLC	\$0	\$52,400	\$52,400
9	Chester, Willcox & Saxbe LLP	\$40,240	\$10,977	\$51,217
10	McDonalds Hopkins	\$26,985	\$15,426	\$42,411
11	Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur, LLP	\$17,250	\$24,158	\$41,408
12	Weston, Hurd, Fallon, Paisley & Howley LLP	\$37,900	\$1,800	\$39,700
13	Carpenter, Lipps & Leland LLP	\$15,150	\$23,200	\$38,350
14	Benesch, Friedlander, Coplan & Aronoff LLP	\$8,150	\$24,755	\$32,905
15	Law Offices of Sean A. Mentel	\$750	\$24,895	\$25,645
16	Wiles, Boyle, Burkholder, Bringardner	\$24,550	\$0	\$24,550
17	Frost, Brown & Todd LLC	\$17,337	\$0	\$17,337
18	C. Luther Heckman Attorney at Law	\$0	\$17,150	\$17,150
19	Tucker, Ellis & West LLP	\$ 1,750	\$14,793	\$16,543
20	Barnes & Thornburg LLP	\$0	\$16,250	\$16,250
21	Keating, Muething & Klekamp	\$16,000	\$0	\$16,000
22	Waite, Schneider, Bayless & Chesley LPA	\$13,650	\$0	\$13,650
23	Dinsmore & Shohl LLP	\$8,250	\$50	\$8,300
24	Andy Bowers & Associates	\$0	\$8,125	\$8,125
25	William P. Blair Co.	\$0	\$7,425	\$7,425

Ohio General Assembly

Campaign Contributions from lobbyists to members of the 128th Ohio General Assembly By legislative house

Contributions from January 1, 2009 – December 3, 2010	Members of the Ohio House of Representatives	Members of the Ohio Senate
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$403,231.85	\$252,104.76
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$10,422,624.48	\$3,288,826.16
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$444,955.51	\$289,364.61
Total amount	\$11,270,811.84	\$3,830,295.53

All together, members of the 128th Ohio General Assembly received more than half a million dollars (\$655,336) from registered lobbyists or agents. They also received an additional \$13.71 million from Political Action Committees (PACs) associated with registered employers of lobbyists.



Lobbying entities (registered agents, registered employers and lobbying firms and firms that specialize in government relations) contributed \$15,101,107 to members of the Ohio General Assembly. Political party committees (\$10,104,968) and candidate committees (\$516,002) gave \$10,620,970 to members of the Ohio General Assembly.

There are 99 members of the Ohio House and 33 members of the Ohio Senate. Lobbyists contributed nearly 3 times more to members of the Ohio House. However, members of the Ohio Senate have four-year terms. Sixteen members of the Senate did not face re-election in 2010 and still raised more than \$1.5 million from lobbying entities.

Contributions from lobbyists to members of the Ohio Senate who were not up for election in 2010

Amount from registered lobbyists	\$72,533
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$1,298,755
Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations	\$133,400
Total amount	\$1,504,688

**Campaign Contributions from lobbyists to members of the 128th Ohio General Assembly
By party**

	Republican members of the 128th General Assembly	Democratic members of the 128th General Assembly
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$374,316	\$281,020
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$5,195,769	\$8,515,680
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$444,187	\$290,132
Total amount	\$6,014,272	\$9,086,832

128th General Assembly Leadership

Lobbyist Contributions to Senate Majority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
President of the Senate Bill Harris	\$21,700	\$222,452	\$21,186
President Pro Tempore Tom Niehaus	\$17,550	\$237,025	\$30,750
Floor Leader Keith Faber	\$4,213	\$163,805	\$15,425
Whip Mark Wagoner (1/09 – 1/10)	\$3,850	\$151,150	\$12,325
Whip Steve Buehrer (1/10 – 12/10)	\$7,725	\$250,309	\$19,750

Lobbyist Contributions to Senate Minority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Leader Capri Cafaro	\$2,562	\$61,650	\$5,000
Assistant Leader Shirley Smith	\$2,350	\$44,500	\$4,750
Whip Ray Miller	\$1,450	\$10,250	\$0
Assistant Whip Jason Wilson	\$1,600	\$31,300	\$3,350

Lobbyist Contributions to House Majority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Speaker of the House Armond Budish	\$44,245	\$898,205	\$55,469
President Pro Tempore Matt Szollosi	\$12,849	\$810,800	\$25,600
Floor Leader Tracy Maxwell Heard	\$5,591	\$273,728	\$10,150
Assistant Majority Floor Leader Allan Sayre (1/09 – 6/10)	\$2,850	\$141,435	\$5,541
Majority Whip Jay Goyal	\$12,211	\$418,521	\$19,544
Assistant Majority Whip Linda Bolon	\$2,050	\$189,166	\$3,900

Lobbyist Contributions to House Minority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Leader William G. Batchelder	\$22,528	\$486,097	\$41,365
Assistant Leader Lou Blessing	\$250	\$91,350	\$10,000
Whip John Adams	\$1,100	\$66,050	\$850
Assistant Whip Cheryl Grossman	\$5,785	\$91,000	\$10,600

129th General Assembly Leadership

Lobbyist Contributions to Senate Majority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
President of the Senate Tom Niehaus	\$17,550	\$237,025	\$30,750
President Pro Tempore Keith Faber	\$4,213	\$163,805	\$15,425
Majority Floor Leader Jimmy Stewart	\$3,122	\$72,850	\$7,350
Majority Whip Shannon Jones	\$27,790	\$174,137	\$14,763

Lobbyist Contributions to Senate Minority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Minority Leader Capri Cafaro	\$2,562	\$61,650	\$5,000
Assistant Minority Leader Shirley Smith	\$2,350	\$44,500	\$4,750
Minority Whip Edna Brown	\$0	\$6,200	\$100
Assistant Minority Whip Jason Wilson	\$1,600	\$31,300	\$3,350

Lobbyist Contributions to House Majority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Speaker of the House William G. Batchelder	\$22,528	\$486,097	\$41,365
Speaker Pro Tempore Lou Blessing	\$250	\$91,350	\$10,000
Majority Floor Leader Matt Huffman	\$1,413	\$130,450	\$7,850
Assistant Majority Floor Leader Barbara Sears	\$9,100	\$82,293	\$800
Majority Whip John Adams	\$1,100	\$66,050	\$850
Assistant Majority Whip Cheryl Grossman	\$5,785	\$91,000	\$10,600

Lobbyist Contributions to House Minority Leadership

	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations
Minority Leader Armond Budish	\$44,245	\$898,205	\$55,469
Assistant Minority Leader Matt Szollosi	\$12,849	\$810,800	\$25,600
Minority Whip Tracy Maxwell Heard	\$5,591	\$273,728	\$10,150
Assistant Minority Whip Debbie Phillips	\$4,361	\$199,037	\$1,850

Finance Committees

Crafting Ohio's budget is always challenging and will be much more difficult this year because of a projected shortfall of around \$8 billion. The finance committees in both Houses hear testimony and make important decisions about funding and services for the State of Ohio. Together, all members of the 2010 Ohio Senate Finance Committee received more than \$2.54 million from all contributors. Nearly 60% (\$1,523,365) of the contributions received by the committee members was from lobbying entities.

Contributions to the 128th Ohio Senate Finance Committee

Senator	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations	Total Contributions from Lobbying Entities 1/09-12/10	Total Contributions received from All Contributors 1/09-12/10
John Carey, Chair	\$4,610	\$169,895	\$25,600	\$200,105	\$294,237
Mark Wagoner, Vice-Chair	\$3,850	\$151,150	\$12,325	\$167,325	\$309,500
Gary Cates	\$7,700	\$48,200	\$4,800	\$60,700	\$93,785
Keith Faber	\$4,213	\$163,805	\$15,425	\$183,443	\$321,009
Tom Niehaus	\$17,550	\$237,025	\$30,750	\$285,325	\$508,084
Tom Patton	\$7,640	\$120,550	\$13,300	\$141,490	\$277,120
Bill Seitz	\$6,700	\$129,175	\$13,100	\$148,975	\$238,697
Jimmy Stewart	\$3,122	\$72,850	\$7,350	\$83,322	\$106,812
Chris Widener	\$8,420	\$98,600	\$7,950	\$114,970	\$175,464
<i>Dale Miller, Ranking Minority</i>	\$3,310	\$31,800	\$3,050	\$38,160	\$66,742
<i>Ray Miller</i>	\$1,450	\$10,250	\$0	\$11,700	\$12,550
<i>Shirley Smith</i>	\$2,350	\$44,500	\$4,750	\$51,600	\$76,676
<i>Jason Wilson</i>	\$1,600	\$31,300	\$3,350	\$36,250	\$68,640
Total	\$72,515	\$1,309,100	\$141,750	\$1,523,365	\$2,549,316

Nearly one-half of the contributions to members of the Ohio House Finance Committee (\$3,301,561) were from lobbying entities.

Contributions to the 128th Ohio House Finance Committee

Representative	Amount from registered lobbyists	Amount from registered employers of lobbyists	Amount from lobbying firms & law firms that specialize in government relations	Total Contributions from Lobbying Entities 1/09-12/10	Total Contributions received from All Contributors 1/09-12/10
Vernon Sykes,Chair	\$35,035	\$345,476	\$24,150	\$404,661	\$602,504
John Carney, Vice-Chair	\$22,750	\$360,555	\$13,350	\$396,655	\$698,984
Linda Bolon	\$2,050	\$189,166	\$3,900	\$195,116	\$249,411
Barbara Boyd	\$1,405	\$110,901	\$5,050	\$117,356	\$139,804
Edna Brown	\$0	\$6,200	\$100	\$6,300	\$77,342
Ted Celeste	\$14,200	\$132,422	\$4,400	\$151,022	\$271,402
Kathleen Chandler	\$0	\$3,700	\$0	\$3,700	\$4,019
Denise Driehaus	\$5,405	\$121,050	\$3,300	\$129,755	\$311,405
Steve Dyer	\$1,250	\$183,706	\$0	\$184,956	\$590,761
Lorraine Fende	\$2,244	\$49,890	\$2,500	\$54,634	\$109,938
Jennifer Garrison*	\$5,800	\$295,412	\$5,500	\$306,712	\$378,947
Jay Goyal	\$12,211	\$418,521	\$19,544	\$450,276	\$800,148
Clayton Luckie	\$950	\$82,080	\$2,200	\$85,230	\$89,865
Michael Skindell	\$4,535	\$52,300	\$1,400	\$58,235	\$113,513
Stephen Slesnick	\$1,950	\$26,525	\$3,050	\$31,525	\$65,435
Peter Ujvagi*	\$3,135	\$22,025	\$1,700	\$26,860	\$46,753
Tyron Yates*	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
Ron Amstutz, Ranking Minority	\$3,415	\$112,650	\$8,600	\$124,665	\$253,560
Dave Burke	\$1,300	\$34,700	\$1,050	\$37,050	\$80,955
Matthew Dolan*	\$3,520	\$20,900	\$950	\$25,370	\$57,490
Clyde Evans	\$1,050	\$7,750	\$250	\$9,050	\$88,382
Randy Gardner	\$2,350	\$70,450	\$2,550	\$75,350	\$208,062
Bruce Goodwin	\$580	\$26,700	\$1,900	\$29,180	\$65,308
Cheryl Grossman	\$5,785	\$91,000	\$10,600	\$107,385	\$234,894
Dave Hall	\$500	\$21,100	\$500	\$22,100	\$87,057
Ron Maag	\$850	\$17,250	\$900	\$19,000	\$74,193
Jeffrey McClain	\$0	\$12,750	\$0	\$12,750	\$43,400
Ross McGregor	\$7,450	\$82,275	\$6,100	\$95,825	\$207,078
Robert Mecklenborg	\$1,050	\$32,950	\$1,150	\$35,150	\$81,883
Seth Morgan	\$1,750	\$10,450	\$1,300	\$13,500	\$198,339
Barbara Sears	\$9,100	\$82,293	\$800	\$92,193	\$537,339
Total	\$151,620	\$3,023,147	\$126,794	\$3,301,561	\$6,768,171

*Peter Ujvagi resigned in March 2010; Tyron Yates in February 2010; Matthew Dolan in January 2010, Jennifer Garrison in November 2010. All of these resignations occurred after the completion of the Operating Budget.

Election 2010

Ohio Senate

Contributions from lobbyists to candidates for the Ohio Senate

By success

January 1, 2009 – October 12, 2010	All candidates for Ohio Senate	Winning Candidates for Ohio Senate	Losing Candidates for Ohio Senate
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$96,084	\$74,717	\$21,366
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$1,799,439	\$1,254,242	\$545,196
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$104,040	\$54,060	\$10,950
Total amount	\$1,999,563	\$1,383,019	\$577,512

Contributions from lobbyists to candidates for the Ohio Senate

By party

January 1, 2009 – October 12, 2010	Ohio Senate Incumbents	Ohio Senate Challengers
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$51,355	\$1,500
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$1,051,571	\$11,211
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$64,510	\$500
Total amount	\$1,167,436	\$13,211

House

Contributions from lobbyists to candidates for the Ohio House, By success

	All candidates for Ohio House	Winning Ohio House candidates	Losing Ohio House candidates
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$397,790	\$358,440	\$39,350
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$10,362,088	\$8,544,864	\$1,817,224
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$365,783	\$341,769	\$24,014
Total amount	\$11,125,661	\$9,245,073	\$1,880,588

Contributions from lobbyists to candidates for the Ohio House, By incumbency

	Ohio House Incumbents	Ohio House Challengers
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$326,333	\$16,599
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$9,191,567	\$296,951
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$359,134	\$6,650
Total amount	\$9,877,034	\$320,200

While winning candidates and incumbents received significantly more support from lobbyists and lobbying entities, eleven incumbent Democrats lost their seats in the Ohio House to Republican challengers.

Caucus Committees

Members of the Ohio House and Senate raise money for their own political party caucuses and obtain significant support for their caucuses from those interested in influencing legislation.

Contributions to Caucus Committees from Legislative Lobbying Entities

	2009	2010	Total
Ohio House Democratic Caucus Fund	\$548,599	\$259,835	\$808,434
Ohio Senate Democrats	\$119,270	\$136,599	\$255,869
Ohio House Republican Organizational Committee	\$174,004	\$261,128	\$435,132
Republican Senate Campaign Committee	\$314,369	\$395,947	\$710,316
Total amount	\$1,156,242	\$1,053,509	\$2,209,751

The Ohio House Republican Organizational Committee (\$435,132) and the Republican Senate Campaign Committee (\$710,316) received over \$1.145 million from lobbying entities in 2009 and 2010. The Ohio House Democratic Caucus (\$808,434) and the Ohio Senate Democrats (\$255,869) raised \$1.064 million from lobbying entities during the same time period. In 2009, the Democrats took control of the Ohio House for the first time in 14 years and raised more than one half million from lobbyists. Their rapid loss of the House can be traced by observing the flow of money. In 2010, the Ohio House Democratic Caucus Fund raised only half as much from lobbying entities as they did in 2009.

Incumbents generally have a strong advantage over challengers: name recognition and fundraising. However, candidates in 2010 faced a pronounced anti-incumbency wave, and Republican challengers received strong grassroots and financial support. All three Republican incumbents won their bid for re-election. The Republican Senate Campaign Committee played a strong role in the defeat of the two Democratic Senators. Fred Strahorn who was appointed in March 2009 was defeated by Republican Bill Beagle. Strahorn's campaign (\$342,089) was outspent. Beagle received strong in-kind support—\$763,628 for television advertisements and \$10,167 for tele-townhalls from the Ohio Republican Senate Campaign Committee. Additionally, the Ohio Republican Party spent \$119,904 for campaign mailings. Republican Gayle Manning, who defeated Sue Morano, also received significant support from the Republican Senate Campaign Committee—\$1,082,386 for “media buys”, \$11,004 for tele-townhall meetings, and \$5,700 in direct support. She received in-kind support of \$123,098 for printing and publishing costs from the Ohio Republican Party.

Contributions to Ohio Republican Caucuses

January 1, 2009 – October 12, 2010	Ohio House Republican Organizational Committee	Republican Senate Campaign Committee
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$39,882	\$61,072
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$364,750	\$631,402
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$30,500	\$17,841
Total amount	\$435,132	\$710,315

Contributions to Ohio Democratic Caucuses

January 1, 2009 – October 12, 2010	Ohio House Democratic Caucus Fund	Ohio Senate Democrats
Amount from registered lobbyists	\$38,170	\$5,784
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$761,301	\$248,035
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$8,963	\$2,050
Total amount	\$808,434	\$255,869

Statewide Candidates

Former Governor Ted Strickland received \$292,074 from legislative agents; Governor John Kasich received \$124,267.

Contributions from lobbyists to all Ohio statewide candidates

Amount from registered lobbyists	\$749,392
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$5,923,734
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$489,343
Total amount	\$7,162,469

**Statewide includes Governor, Attorney General, Auditor, Treasurer, Secretary of State, Chief Justice and Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court.*

Contributions from lobbyists to candidates for Chief Justice and Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court

Amount from registered lobbyists	\$17,862
Amount from registered employers of lobbyists/ from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	\$481,103
Amount from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations	\$151,050
Total money to candidates	\$650,015

2010 the End of the “Revolving Door”

In 1993, the Ohio General Assembly passed ethics reform that established the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee and established improved disclosure requirements for legislators and lobbyists. It also barred former members from lobbying for one year, right after their term—ending what is sometimes known as the “revolving door.” It prohibited legislative aides from lobbying right after they left the General Assembly.

The goal was to limit the undue influence of cronyism, as well as opportunities for quid pro quos. Tom Brinkman, Jr. left the legislature due to term limits at the end of 2008 and challenged the “revolving door” provision because he said that he wanted to do voluntary lobbying or advocacy work for the Coalition Opposed to Additional Spending and Taxes (COAST). In February 2010, the U.S. District Court for Southern Ohio ruled in favor of Brinkman and tossed out Ohio’s “revolving door.” Chief Judge Susan J. Dlott determined that Ohio’s law was not narrow enough or was “over-inclusive” because the prohibitions included unpaid lobbying like the kind that Brinkman wanted to do.

Chief Judge Dlott also referenced *Citizens United v. FEC* in her decision:

“The appearance of influence or access, furthermore, will not cause the electorate to lose faith in our democracy.” [Majority decision written by Justice Anthony Kennedy] Though the Supreme Court spoke in the specific context of corporate expenditures to advocate for the election or defeat of a candidate, the Supreme Court’s reasoning refutes the premise that O.R.C. § 102.03(A)(4) [the ‘revolving door restriction’] is necessary to prevent former General Assembly members from having special access to the legislative process. The Court concludes that Plaintiffs’ third purported justification does not constitute a compelling interest.”

It should be noted that Brinkman has not registered to lobby with the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee because he is not required under Ohio law to do so as he is a volunteer.

Recommendations

The 129th General Assembly should revisit the “revolving door” or the transition of legislators and legislative aides to the role of lobbyist. A more narrowly-tailored provision should pass Constitutional muster.

Restrictions on the fundraising activities of lobbyists should be considered. For example, it makes sense to prohibit campaign fundraising by registered lobbyists or legislative agents. They should not function as both lobbyist and fundraiser. Lobbyists should not host fundraisers or solicit contributions for members of the General Assembly. Similarly, contract fundraisers for a member should also have a “revolving door” and not be permitted to lobby for that member for a one- or two-year period.

Appendix

Top Lobbyists Contributions to Legislative and Statewide Candidates

	Lobbyist	Employer/Lobbying Firm	Background	Amount
1	Richard A. Weiland	Richard Consulting Corporation		\$62,430
2	Sean P. Dunn	Sean P Dunn & Associates LLC	Served In Office of the Chief Legal Counsel to Governor & in the Ohio Senate Majority Caucus	\$47,819
3	Allan L. Melamed	Melamed Communications LLC		\$47,690
4	Charles H. Gerhardt	Government Strategies Group LLC	Deputy Director of the Governor Voinovich's Regional Economic Development Offices	\$39,312
5	Thomas L. Fries	Thomas Fries & Associates	Ohio House (1971-1982) & Ohio Senate (1983-1984)	\$36,700
6	Daniel M. McCarthy	The Success Group LLC	Managed a number of political campaigns for Congress and the Ohio General Assembly	\$\$33,410
7	Samuel C. Randazzo	McNees, Wallace & Nurick LLC		\$30,300
8	Penny M. Tipps	Public Policy Strategies LLC		\$29,724
9	Ronald D. Wine	Ron Wine Consulting Group		\$28,500
10	Paul Tipps	Public Policy Strategies LLC	Chair of the Ohio Democratic Party	\$25,100
11	Sean A. Mentel	Law Offices of Sean A. Mentel		\$24,895
12	Daniel J. Massey	Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur LLP	Chief Legislative Counsel to a former Attorney General of Ohio for 10 years	\$24,129
13	Richard A. Ayish	The Success Group LLC	Legislative Service Commission intern in the Ohio General Assembly	\$23,169
14	David J. Leland	Carpenters, Lipps & Leland LLP	Ohio House (1983-1984) & Chair of the Ohio Democratic Party	\$22,850
15	Steven R. Wermuth	Focus on Policy LLC	Health Commissioner in Tuscarawas and Clark Counties	\$22,725
16	Thomas L. Froehle	McNees, Wallace & Nurick LLC (Now at AEP)		\$22,100
17	Stephen D. Dimon	Capitol Insights LLC		\$17,750
18	C. Luther Heckman	C. Luther Heckman Attorney at Law	Chairman of the Public Utilities Commission of Ohio & member of Ohio State Racing Commission	\$17,150
19	Thomas P. Pappas	Thomas P. Pappas & Associates	Legislative Assistant to three Ohio State Senators & Served as Campaign Manager for campaigns for Ohio Senate & 1 Congressional Campaign	\$16,250
20	Kimberly L. Redfern	RLB Group Government Relations	Volunteer finance coordinator for the Ohio Democratic Party in 2006 & member of the Governor's Recycling & Litter Prevention Board	\$16,000
21	C. David Paragas	Barnes & Thornburg LLP	Senior aid to two Ohio Senate Presidents	\$15,250
22	Thomas E. Stewart	Ohio Oil & Gas Association	Appointed by Gov. Voinovich to the Interstate Oil and Natural Gas Compact Commission	\$14,500
23	Philip A. Craig	Craig Group		\$\$14,472
24	Daniel G. Hilson	Roetzel & Andress LLC	Served under an Ohio Senate President as Chief Legal and Legislative Counsel	\$14,454
25	Alan H. McCoy	AK Steel		\$13,750

Top Employer Contributions to Statewide and Legislative Candidates

	Registered employers of lobbyists/Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	Total Amount
1	OAPSE AFSCME	\$1,174,847
2	Ohio State Association of Plumbers & Pipefitters	\$1,109,778
3	SEIU Ohio State Council	\$1,030,968
4	International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	\$964,809
5	Ohio Education Association	\$870,244
6	AFSCME	\$803,688
7	AFL-CIO/Sheetmetal Workers	\$542,303
8	Wholesale beer and wine Association of Ohio	\$486,896
9	Laborers District Council of Ohio	\$439,615
10	AFL-CIO	\$433,243
11	FirstEnergy	\$399,050
12	Ohio Dental Association	\$395,891
13	Ohio Association of Realtors	\$353,705
14	Ohio Federation of Teachers	\$319,833
15	Ohio State Building & Construction Trades Council	\$292,380
16	AEP	\$255,085
17	Time Warner	\$231,725
18	Ohio Credit Union League	\$214,419
19	Ohio Society of Certified Public Accountants	\$202,426
20	KeyCorp	\$201,010
21	Nationwide Insurance Company	\$196,150
22	Ohio Oil & Gas Association	\$192,785
23	Ohio & Vicinity Regional Council of Carpenters	\$188,770
24	Huntington Bank	\$183,645
25	Ohio Academy of Nursing Homes	\$177,395

	Registered employers of lobbyists/Contributions from PACs of companies that are registered to lobby	Total Amount
26	AFL-CIO/Communications Workers of America	\$163,104
27	Ohio State Medical Association	\$160,900
28	OCSEA AFSCME	\$160,779
29	Ohio Automobile Dealers Association	\$157,440
30	Ohio Optometric Association	\$152,270
31	Ohio Home Builders Association	\$142,395
32	NiSource Inc	\$141,525
33	Ohio Nurses Association	\$140,111
34	United Steelworkers of America	\$131,891
35	Ohio Association for Justice	\$126,816
36	Ohio Contractors Association	\$126,445
37	Ohio Association of Professional Fire Fighters	\$124,165
38	Fifth Third	\$118,797
39	Ohio Farm Bureau Federation	\$117,713
40	Dominion Resources Services	\$117,550
41	Duke Energy	\$113,440
42	AT&T	\$111,821
43	Ohio Health Care Association	\$108,650
44	Ohio State Bar Association	\$103,675
45	Ohio Hospital Association	\$103,091
46	AFL-CIO/Boilermakers	\$98,596
47	Ohio Rural Electric Cooperatives	\$90,855
48	AFL-CIO/Iron Workers	\$90,170
49	Westfield Insurance Company	\$87,340
50	Cardinal Health	\$86,450

Contributions from lobbyists and lobbying firms January 2009 – December 2010

Lobbying Firm	Amount from Lobbying Firm's PAC	Amount from Firm's Lobbyists	Total
Advocacy & Communication Solutions	\$0	\$756	\$756
Archie R. Shew & Associates	\$0	\$200	\$200
Associated Management Solutions	\$0	\$100	\$100
BFG Consulting	\$1,250	\$7,290	\$8,540
Broad & High Partners LLC	\$550	\$0	\$550
Capital Partners	\$100	\$0	\$100
Capitol Advocates	\$0	\$200	\$200
Capitol Consulting Group	\$0	\$8,850	\$8,850
Capitol Insights LLC	\$12,650	\$17,750	\$30,400
CAP Square Solutions	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Capitol Strategies Group LLC	\$0	\$1,850	\$1,850
Charles Hesse Associates	\$0	\$500	\$500
CJR Group	\$0	\$250	\$250
Colby & Company	\$0	\$1,495	\$1,495
Colwell Group	\$0	\$1,400	\$1,400
Compass Consulting Group LLC	\$0	\$11,000	\$11,000
CPM Government Relations LTD (Affiliated with Carlile Patchen & Murphy LLP)	\$0	\$350	\$350
Craig Group	\$0	\$18,922	\$18,922
CRN Consulting LTD	\$0	\$750	\$750
CWS Governmental Relations LTD (Affiliated with Chester, Willcox & Saxbe)	\$750	\$3,537	\$4,287
Darryl Dever Associates	\$419	\$5,398	\$5,817
Debrosi Consulting	\$0	\$500	\$500
Deleone & Associates LLC	\$0	\$4,875	\$4,875
Dinsmore Fries Public Sector Advisors LLC (Affiliated with Dinsmore & Shohl)	\$0	\$38,305	\$38,305
Engage Public Affairs LLC	\$0	\$500	\$500
Focus on Policy LLC	\$0	\$22,725	\$22,725
Focused Capitol Solutions	\$0	\$2,100	\$2,100
Futey & Associates	\$0	\$225	\$225
G2G Consultants LLC	\$0	\$10,725	\$10,725
Gayle S. Channing & Associates	\$600	\$2,400	\$3,000
Gillis Public Strategies	\$0	\$2,200	\$2,200
Government Advantage Group	\$2,800	\$2,550	\$5,350
Government Edge Public Relations	\$0	\$18,136	\$18,136
Government Strategies Group LLC	\$8,150	\$43,462	\$51,612
Governmental Affairs Management	\$0	\$600	\$600
Governmental Networking	\$0	\$7,425	\$7,425
Governmental Policy Group	\$0	\$5,648	\$5,648
Grady & Associates LLC	\$0	\$1,050	\$1,050
Grant Street Consultants	\$0	\$1,501	\$1,501
GSP Consulting	\$0	\$300	\$300
Harpley CS LLC	\$0	\$300	\$300
Hatch Strategies LLC	\$0	\$400	\$400
Hicks Partners LLC	\$150	\$8,450	\$8,600
Honabarger & Associates	\$0	\$100	\$100

Lobbying Firm	Amount from Lobbying Firm's PAC	Amount from Firm's Lobbyists	Total
Initiative Consulting	\$0	\$1,400	\$1,400
Initihar Consulting	\$0	\$875	\$875
JM & Associates	\$0	\$2,276	\$2,276
Juntou Company	\$0	\$2,500	\$2,500
K. Brinkman & Associates	\$1,100	\$9,700	\$10,800
Keip Government Solutions	\$0	\$550	\$550
Lakeside Consulting	\$0	\$443	\$443
Lambert Group	\$2,850	\$7,875	\$10,725
Landerman Management Associates	\$0	\$3,918	\$3,918
LNE Group LLC	\$10,100	\$3,419	\$13,519
McCune & Associates	\$0	\$2,050	\$2,050
McGough & Associates Inc	\$0	\$1,392	\$1,392
Melamed Communications LLC	\$0	\$48,540	\$48,540
MJK Consulting	\$0	\$4,600	\$4,600
Montrose Group	\$0	\$360	\$360
Neale & Associates	\$0	\$430	\$430
New Visions Group LLC	\$12,914	\$12,975	\$25,889
North Coast Strategy Group	\$0	\$1,610	\$1,610
NSC Consultants	\$0	\$1,542	\$1,542
Ohio Governmental Services Inc	\$0	\$1,491	\$1,491
Ohio State Government Relations Corp	\$0	\$1,750	\$1,750
Oxender & Associates	\$0	\$4,520	\$4,520
PACA Inc	\$0	\$7,981	\$7,981
Patton Consulting	\$0	\$765	\$765
Paul Werth & Associates	\$0	\$2,570	\$2,570
Public Affairs Advocates (Affiliated with Barnes & Thornburg LLP)	\$0	\$5,375	\$5,375
Public Policy Strategies LLC	\$8,685	\$54,974	\$63,659
Richard Consulting Group	\$0	\$62,480	\$62,480
Rick Carne Consulting	\$0	\$4,050	\$4,050
RH Resources	\$10,727	\$0	\$10,727
RLB Group Government Relations	\$0	\$29,500	\$29,500
Robert K. Schmitz Associates	\$0	\$1,100	\$1,100
Ron Wine Consulting Group	\$0	\$28,500	\$28,500
Sean P. Dunn & Associates LLC	\$516	\$52,910	\$53,426
Shoemaker Company	\$0	\$400	\$400
State Street Consultants	\$1,000	\$0	\$1,000
Strategic Government Initiatives	\$0	\$1,000	\$1,000
Strategic Healthcare	\$350	\$50	\$400
Success Group LLC	\$26,129	\$67,280	\$93,409
SZD Whiteboard (affiliated with Schottenstein, Zox & Dunn)	\$0	\$10,900	\$10,900
Terry L. Russell & Associates	\$0	\$100	\$100
Thomas P. Pappas & Associates	\$8,235	\$21,575	\$29,810
Towner Policy Group LLC	\$0	\$6,425	\$6,425
Triumph Communications	\$0	\$2,050	\$2,050
Van Meter, Ashbrook & Associates Inc	\$0	\$13,177	\$13,177
VJS Consulting	\$0	\$7,450	\$7,450
Total	\$110,025	\$750,903	\$860,928

Contributions from Law Firms that Specialize in Government Relations January 2009 – December 2010

Law Firms the Specialize in Government Relations	Amount from the Law Firm's PAC	Amount from Firm's Lobbyists	Total
A.C. Sinagra & Associates	\$0	\$1,620	\$1,620
Alex Arishnikoff Attorney at Law	\$0	\$1,650	\$1,650
Andy Bowers & Associates	\$0	\$8,125	\$8,125
Aronoff, Rosen & Hunt	\$0	\$1,500	\$1,500
Baker & Hostetler LLP	\$0	\$750	\$750
Barnes & Thornburg LLP	\$0	\$16,250	\$16,250
Benesch, Friedlander, Coplan & Aronoff LLP	\$8,150	\$24,755	\$32,905
Bott Law Group	\$0	\$990	\$990
Bricker & Eckler LLP	\$152,735	\$11,255	\$163,990
Calfee Halter & Griswold LLP	\$174,095	\$18,269	\$192,364
Carpenter, Lipps & Leland LLP	\$15,150	\$23,200	\$38,350
Chapman & Cutler LLP	\$0	\$1,050	\$1,050
Chester, Willcox & Saxbe LLP	\$40,240	\$10,977	\$51,217
Christley, Herington & Pierce	\$0	\$100	\$100
C. Luther Heckman Attorney at Law	\$0	\$17,150	\$17,150
Dinsmore & Shohl LLP	\$8,250	\$50	\$8,300
Frost, Brown & Todd LLC	\$17,337	\$0	\$17,337
Grady & Associates LLC	\$0	\$1,050	\$1,050
Hahn, Loeser & Parks LLP	\$0	\$4,350	\$4,350
Isaac, Brant, Ledman & Teetor, LLP	\$2,320	\$0	\$2,320
Keating, Muething & Klekamp	\$16,000	\$0	\$16,000
Kegler, Brown, Hill & Ritter	\$75,694	\$5,550	\$81,244
Law Firm of Richard M. Lewis LLC	\$0	\$350	\$350
Law Offices of Matthew G. Kallner	\$0	\$100	\$100
Law Offices of Sean A. Mentel	\$750	\$24,895	\$25,645
Lumpe & Raber Esq	\$0	\$14,550	\$14,550
McDonalds Hopkins	\$26,985	\$15,426	\$42,411
McNamara & McNamara LLP	\$0	\$200	\$200
McNees, Wallace & Nunick LLC	\$0	\$52,400	\$52,400
Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur, LLP	\$17,250	\$24,158	\$41,408
Roetzel & Andress	\$28,450	\$36,440	\$64,890
Schottenstein, Zox & Dunn	\$154,625	\$0	\$154,625
Shoemaker, Howarth & Taylor LLP	\$0	\$100	\$100
Squires, Sanders & Dempsey	\$124,900	\$5,821	\$130,721
Thompson Hine LLP	\$0	\$150	\$150
Tucker, Ellis & West LLP	\$ 1,750	\$14,793	\$16,543
Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease LLP	\$134,785	\$3,050	\$137,835
Waite, Schneider, Bayless & Chesley LPA	\$13,650	\$0	\$13,650
Weston, Hurd, Fallon, Paisley & Howley LLP	\$37,900	\$1,800	\$39,700
Wiles, Boyle, Burkholder, Bringardner	\$ 24,550	\$0	\$24,550
William P. Blair Co	\$0	\$7,425	\$7,425
Total	\$1,075,566	\$350,299	\$1,425,865

Keys to the Statehouse

Of the 12 members of the Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board in 2010, 4 were elected officials and 5 are registered lobbyists. Three of those lobbyists are former elected officials. The Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board is responsible for maintaining the Statehouse, Senate Building and the grounds around Capitol Square. Stan Aronoff, a former Senate President and now prominent lobbyist, served as the chairman of the Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board during the 1990s.

Richard Finan		Former Senate President	Lobbyist-Calfee Halter & Griswold
Bill Harris	Senate President		
John Hasley	Chief of Staff for the Governor		
Fred Strahorn	Senator		
W. Scott Oelslager	Member of the House of Representatives		
Dan Stewart	Member of the House of Representatives		
Tom Sherman	Clerk of the House		
Vincent Keeran	Clerk of the Senate		
Tom Fries	Representing the Ohio Building Authority	Former member of the Ohio House & Senate	Lobbyist- Tom Fries & Associates
Neal Zimmers	Representing the Ohio Arts Council	Former member of the Ohio Senate	Lobbyist- Zimmers & Associates
Robert E. Fletcher	Representing the public-at-large		Lobbyist-Ohio Real Estate Association
Roderick H. Willcox	Representing the Ohio Historical Society		Lobbyist- Chester Willcox & Saxbe

Nearly 70% members of the Capitol Square Foundation Board in 2010 were registered lobbyists. This board’s mission is to raise funds “to obtain, restore and maintain artifacts and other items related to the history and enhancement of this grand monument and its adjoining grounds, so that the seat of Ohio’s government may reflect the dignity of the state and its citizens.”

Capital Square Foundation Board

Christie Angel , Sean P. Dunn & Associates, Former Columbus City Council aide	Maria Armstrong, Government Relations at Bricker & Eckler, LLP	Stanley Aronoff, Aronoff & Associates, Inc. ; Former President of the Ohio Senate
Cassi Baker, Cardinal Health	Barbara Benham, Huntington Bancshares	William P. Blair, III, William P. Blair, Co.
Erskine E. Case, KeyCorp	Michael Carey, Ohio Coal Association	Carol Caruso, Greater Cleveland Partnership
Brooke A. Cheney, Governmental Policy Group, Inc.	Timothy J. Cosgrove, Squires, Sanders & Dempsey	Jo Ann Davidson, JAD & Associates, LLC
Chuck DeVendra, Ohio News Network	Pete Dobrozsi, Director of Government Relations for Mead-Westvaco	Richard Finan, Calfee, Halter & Griswold; Former President of the Ohio Senate
Daniel R. Helmick, SZD Whiteboard	Dan Hilson, Roetzel & Andress	Nancy Hollister, Former Lt. Governor & Governor ; Former State Representative
Aristotle Hutras, Cleisthenes Project & Ohio Retirement Study Council	Thomas S. Jackson, Ohio Grocers Association	Bruce E. Johnson, Inter-University Council; Former Lt. Governor & Ohio Senator
Joyce Garver Keller, Ohio Jewish Communities, Inc.	Edward Kozelek, Time Warner	Joann Limbach, Former tax commissioner for the State of Ohio, former member of the cabinet of Governor Celeste
Amos Loveday, Atchley Hardin Lane, LLC	John Mahaney, Ohio Council of Retail Merchants	William Mallory, Former member of the Ohio House
Ty Marsh, Columbus Chamber of Commerce	Harry Meshel, The Meshel Group; Former President of the Ohio Senate	Arthur Meyer, Dayton Power & Light
Betty Montgomery, Montgomery Consulting Group, LLC; Former member of the Ohio Senate, former Attorney General and Auditor	Charles R. Moses, Ohio Telecom Association	William J. Napier, Cleveland State University
Bill Newcomb, Vorys, Sater, Seymour & Pease	Scott O'Donnell, Former Superintendent of Ohio Division of Financial Institutions	Leah Pappas Porner, Calfee, Halter & Griswold, LLP
John Rabenold, Axxcess Financial Group	Curt Steiner, The Ohio State University; Former aide to Governor Taft	James R. Tilling, former member of the Senate Republican Caucus; Aide to AG Montgomery
Marian Vance, Ohio Preservation Alliance	Carol Van Sickle, Toledo Regional Chamber of Commerce	Neal F. Zimmers, Zimmers & Associates; Former member of the Ohio Senate

**All bolded are registered lobbyists.*

Methodology

This study examines contributions to statewide and legislative candidates from January 1, 2009 to December 10, 2010 from registered legislative lobbyists, political action committees (PACs) associated with registered employers of legislative lobbyists, and contributions from lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations. This study focuses on legislative agents and employers registered with the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee and does not examine those registered to lobby the executive branch or the retirement system.

This study highlights law firms that have a focus on government relations or government advocacy and uses the word "specializes." "Specializes" should be understood as lay language, rather than as a legal term. It is used as it best describes for a general audience firms that do lobbying. The Court has pre-approved "specializations" but has not approved a "specialization" for government advocacy. It should be noted that these law firms have other areas of practice. They are included in this study because they identify government relations as a practice area on their websites.

Campaign contributions are available on-line from the Ohio Secretary of State at www.sos.state.oh.us. Contribution totals includes both monetary contributions and in-kind. This report does not include independent expenditures spent on the behalf of candidates. It does not include contributions to federal candidates, nor expenditures for Get-Out-The-Vote (GOTV).

To identify lobbyists and the employers of contributors, the Ohio Citizen Action Education Fund used the following:

1. A directory of lobbyists in Ohio from the Ohio Lobbying Association
2. A spreadsheet of lobbyists in Ohio from the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee
3. 2009 Book of Lobbyists & Legislative Liaisons, by The Hannah Report
4. A list of contributors to political action committees (PACs) in Ohio
5. Database of attorneys provided by Martindale-Hubble
6. Search engines like Google

The Joint Legislative Ethics Committee makes lobbyist registration and expenditures available on line at www.jlec-olig.state.oh.us. Contribution information includes registered agents, lobbyist firms and lawyer firms that specialize in government relations and political action committees associated with employers of lobbyists. Some lobbying firms and law firms that specialize in government relations (e.g. the Success Group and McDonald Hopkins LLC) register as the employer of lobbyists with JLEC.

Contribution information only includes the registration period of the lobbyist or legislative agent, so contributions made after termination are not included. It does not include spouses or children

of lobbyists. Because the Ohio Secretary of State has not had an opportunity to audit campaign finance filings, questionable contribution information was confirmed using expenditure information, also available on the Ohio Secretary of State's site.

The AFL-CIO is a registered employer and is composed of 57 labor unions. Campaign contribution information in this study includes affiliated unions that gave through their PACs and Political Contributing Entities (PCEs).

To identify former legislators, the Ohio Citizen Action Education Fund examined former Senate and House Journals available at the State Library of Ohio located at 274 East 1st Avenue, Columbus, Ohio.

Information about the Joint Legislative Ethics Committee was obtained from the Legislative Inspector General Tony Bledsoe and from *Democracy in Session: A History of the Ohio General Assembly* by David M. Gold.

Brinkman v. Budish is available on-line at <http://docs.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/ohio/ohsdce/1:2009cv00326/130098/46/>.

It should be noted that both Catherine Turcer and Leontien Kennedy are registered lobbyists for Ohio Citizen Action, the affiliate of the Ohio Citizen Action Education Fund.

If you have any questions, please contact Catherine Turcer of the Money in Politics Project at 614-221-6077 or send her an email at cturcer@ohiocitizen.org.