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HOUSE BILL DRH40330-MLF-72F (02/07)

D

LL DRH10107-MR-32A (02/03)

Short Title: Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws.

(Public)

Health Plan.

Sponsors: Representative Louis Saine, Goodman, and Hance (Primary Sponsors)

George Saine and Stone (Primary Sponsors)

Referred to:

Jason Saine: Hired Gun

H.B. 349
Mar 20, 2017
HOUSE PRINCIPAL CLERK

1 AN ACT TO PROMOTE UN
2 OUTDOOR ADVERTIS
3 ADVERTISING, AND
4 MAKING AGENCY DEC

HOUSE DRH40171-MH-88 (3/11)

Short Title: Develop Broadband Connectivity Plan.

(Public)

GENERAL AS

FOR SALE

HOUSE

Short Title: Exclusive Taxing Aut

Sponsors: Representatives West

Referred to:

9 The Gen

H

HOUSE BILL DRH40181-MH-12 (11/30)

10 AN ACT TO RECOGNIZE THE E

11 CHEMISTS

12 The General Assembly of North Car

13 SECTION 1. Article 1

14 adding a new section to the

15 "§ 105-1.2. Exclusive taxing author

16 The State recognizes the exclus

17 levy taxes within its jurisdiction

18 trust by the United States for the ben

19 SECTION 2. This act is

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA
SESSION 2017

H.B. 625
Apr 6, 2017
HOUSE PRINCIPAL CLERK

HOUSE BILL DRH40339-MQf-102 (03/22)

April 2019

HOA/Condo Crime & Fidelity Insurance Policies.

(Public)

Representatives Williams, Saine, J. Bell, and Bradford (Primary Sponsors).

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF NORTH CAROLINA
SESSION 2017

H.B. 68
Feb 8, 2017
HOUSE PRINCIPAL CLERK

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

CAMPAIGN FOR

TO REQUIRE HOMEOWNERS ASSOCIATIONS, CONDOMINIUM

ASSOCIATIONS, AND THEIR MANAGEMENT C

FIDELITY INSURANCE POLICIES TO

ERSHIP FROM LOSS DUE TO THE

ATION, THE EXECUTIVE BOARD

AGEMENT COMPANY AND TO REQUIRE

PERFORMED BY HOMEOWNERS ASSO

ATIONS.

Assembly of North Carolina enacts:

SECTION 1. G.S. 47C-1-102 reads as rewritten:

2. Applicability.

This Chapter applies to all condominiums created within this State after October 1, 47C-1-105 (Separate Titles and Taxation), 47C-1-106 (Applicability of Local Regulations, and Building Codes), 47C-1-107 (Eminent Domain), 47C-2-103

HOUSE BILL DRH3004-MQ-19* (01/23)

ACCOUNTABILITY

(Public)

and Brenden Jones (Primary Sponsors).

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED

COURAGING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BRIGHT MARKETS BY ADDING
DIGITAL INFRASTRUCTURE NECESSARY FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
INNOVATION IN KEY MARKETS, INCLUDING BROADBAND, RETAIL ONLINE
MARKETS, INTERNET OF THINGS, CLOUD SERVICES, HEALTH CARE, AND TRAINING

Jason Saine: Hired Gun

North Carolina State Representative Jason Saine Frequently Sponsors Favorable Legislation Benefitting Special Interest Groups After Accepting their Campaign Contributions

Introduction

North Carolina State Representative Jason Saine is a member of the North Carolina House of Representatives and has represented the 97th House district since 2011.¹ In 2018, Rep. Saine served as the national chairman of the American Legislative Exchange Council (“ALEC”), which, according to *The News & Observer*, is “a conservative group backed by corporations that proposes model legislation for state legislators to introduce”.²

In his role as a state legislator, Rep. Saine is a notably adept fundraiser. Since his appointment to the General Assembly, Rep. Saine has raised at least \$784,600 in campaign contributions from a wide variety of special interest groups.³ For instance, he has accepted \$60,000 from telecom companies like AT&T and Time Warner Cable, and he has also pocketed \$2,750 from animal rights activists.⁴

While state legislators must raise a lot of money to fund their campaigns, Rep. Saine’s fundraising is among the most successful in the North Carolina General Assembly. According to his resume, Rep. Saine is a “Top 5 fundraiser in the [North Carolina] House Republican Caucus,” boasting of raising over \$200,000 each cycle.⁵ Rep. Saine’s fundraising haul is notable because he ran unopposed in the 2016 election, and he has not faced a serious challenger since his first election in 2012.⁶

Furthermore, Rep. Saine has used this campaign cash to support a lavish lifestyle. During recent election cycles, Rep. Saine has spent tens of thousands of dollars on expensive restaurants, luxury hotels, and extensive travel. Much of his spending occurs outside North Carolina and does not appear to be directly connected to legitimate campaign activity.⁷ For instance, Rep. Saine used campaign funds to pay for meals at trendy out-of-state restaurants such

¹ <http://www.jasonsaine.com/bio/>.

² Lynn Bonner, *NC House Member is Next Chairman of National Conservative Group ALEC*, *The News & Observer*, December 11, 2017, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article189208549.html>.

³ <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ CfA obtained Rep. Saine’s resume through a Freedom of Information Act (“FOIA”) request to the Federal Communications Commission. See Resume, Rep. Jason Saine, December 9, 2016, available at <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/5781446-Jason-Saine-Resume-From-FCC.html>.

⁶ https://ballotpedia.org/Jason_Saine.

⁷ Brant Clifton, *Traveling & Eating (on Special Interests’ Dime) with Jason*, *The Daily Haymaker*, February 15, 2018, available at <http://dailyhaymaker.com/?p=19546>; Brant Clifton, *Viva Las Vegas! (Hey, Let’s Eat.)*, *The Daily Haymaker*, February 15, 2018, available at <http://dailyhaymaker.com/?p=20307>.

as Washington, D.C.'s The Hamilton, where a \$291.72 meal is inexplicably listed as "lodging," and Boston's Oak+Rowan.⁸ Rep. Saine has also used campaign funds for numerous out-of-state hotel stays in locations such as Las Vegas, Nevada, St. Petersburg, Florida, Cincinnati, Ohio, Charleston, South Carolina, Mclean, Virginia, and Chicago, Illinois as well as for several stays at high end hotels, including at the Westin in Stamford, Connecticut (\$1,247.16), the W San Francisco (\$719.79), and the Grand Hyatt in downtown Washington, D.C (\$336.70).⁹ Rep. Saine has also charged thousands of dollars in airfare to his campaign account.

Rep. Saine's in-state campaign purchases are no less decadent. He routinely expenses thousands of dollars in food purchases, including dinners and catering at expensive venues such as the City Club Raleigh (\$7,857.29), Sullivan's (\$1,000.21), and the Lincoln Country Club (\$4,555.98).¹⁰ He has also used his campaign account to pay for rental cars, including a \$1,328.37 payment to Enterprise in his hometown of Lincolnton, NC.¹¹ Perhaps most notably, Rep. Saine spent more than \$19,000 on clothes and tailored suits in 2015, all charged to his campaign account.¹²

"To fund this lifestyle, Rep. Saine has introduced a bevy of bills to benefit special interests."

To fund this lifestyle, Rep. Saine has introduced a bevy of bills to benefit special interests. A review of Rep. Saine's campaign finance reports and legislative history reveals that he has introduced or sponsored 23 bills that appear to be written for the benefit of specific industries that contributed to his campaign committee. Furthermore, despite being a self-proclaimed "champion for conservative causes" and a former national chairman of ALEC, an organization "dedicated to the principles of limited government, free markets and federalism," Rep. Saine has sponsored bills either to skew regulation in the direction of his campaign donors or to support specific donors such as animal rights activists and green energy advocates, neither of which are generally ideological allies of conservatives.¹³ Of the 23 bills Rep. Saine introduced that appear to benefit his campaign donors, eleven passed out of the North Carolina House of Representatives and four were signed into law.

⁸ Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2017 Year End Semi-Annual, January 26, 2018, *available at* <https://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ReportDetail/?RID=152811&TP=EXP>; Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2018 First Quarter, April 30, 2018, *available at*

<https://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ReportDetail/?RID=155018&TP=EXP>.

⁹ Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2017 Year End Semi-Annual, January 26, 2018; Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2018 First Quarter, April 30, 2018; Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2018 Third Quarter, October 29, 2018, *available at*

<https://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ReportDetail/?RID=160746&TP=EXP>; Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2018 Fourth Quarter, January 10, 2019, *available at*

<https://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/ReportDetail/?RID=163280&TP=EXP>.

¹⁰ The amounts listed are the total Rep. Saine's campaign committee spent at each restaurant between 2011 and 2018. *See* Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Reports, 2011 Year End Semi-Annual through 2018 Fourth Quarter, *available at* <https://cf.ncsbe.gov/CFOrgLkup/DocumentGeneralResult/?SID=STA-68QWJT-C-001&OGID=21907>.

¹¹ Jason Saine Committee, Disclosure Report, 2018 Third Quarter, October 29, 2018.

¹² Jim Morrill, Rep. Jason Saine Defends \$19,000 Clothing Buy, *The Charlotte Observer*, August 10, 2015, *available at* <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/politics-government/article30621459.html>.

¹³ <http://www.jasonsaine.com>; <https://www.alec.org/about/>.

While politicians often accept campaign contributions from the industries they regulate, Rep. Saine appears to have outstripped his fellow public officials in his efforts to use his legislative position to benefit his campaign donors. This report reveals nine egregious, previously unreported examples of Rep. Saine's efforts to introduce bills for the apparent benefit of his campaign donors, providing him with campaign cash used to fund a high-flying lifestyle.

Key Findings

- Rep. Saine received \$23,000 from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and introduced a bill that would have restricted the state's ability to tax the tribe as well as recognizing the tribe's "exclusive authority... to levy taxes within its jurisdiction."¹⁴
- Rep. Saine accepted \$11,000 in campaign donations from the founder of a charter school network and subsequently introduced a bill that would have allowed three schools in the network to participate in a state health plan reserved for public school teachers and state employees.
- Rep. Saine received \$60,000 in campaign donations from the telecommunications industry and introduced legislation to remove barriers to the deployment of 5G technology and to establish public-private partnerships for the expansion of broadband connectivity in North Carolina.
- Rep. Saine accepted \$17,500 from two insurance companies and two trade associations that deal with Homeowners' Association (HOA) insurance and introduced legislation that would have required HOAs to purchase crime and fidelity insurance, effectively creating new customers for insurance companies.
- Rep. Saine received \$3,750 from outdoor advertisers and introduced four bills that contained favorable provisions for the outdoor advertising industry.
- Rep. Saine accepted \$2,750 in campaign donations from animal welfare interests and subsequently introduced "puppy mill" legislation during four legislative sessions.
- Rep. Saine received \$81,400 in campaign donations from energy providers and green energy advocates and sponsored four bills that apparently would have benefited the industry.
- Rep. Saine accepted \$53,241 in campaign donations from real estate interests and homebuilders and introduced two bills that appear to primarily benefit realtors, managers, and home builders.

¹⁴ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H912>; *Exclusive Taxing Authority of Cherokee*, H.B. 912, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, April 16, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/3801/0/DRH20302-RBx-20>.

- Rep. Saine received \$38,850 from health organizations that appear to be interested in telemedicine and introduced a bill requiring insurers to cover telemedicine services.

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians

- Rep. Saine has received \$23,000 from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians and introduced a bill that would have restricted the state’s ability to tax the tribe as well as recognizing the tribe’s “exclusive authority... to levy taxes within its jurisdiction.”¹⁵

Between 2012 and 2018, Rep. Saine received \$23,000 in campaign contributions from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, his third largest donor.¹⁶ The tribe is a major donor to North Carolina political candidates, because that is what’s “necessary to get favorable representation.”¹⁷

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	11/05/2018	\$5,200
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	01/15/2018	\$4,200
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	11/16/2017	\$1,000
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	10/11/2016	\$5,100
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	01/23/2015	\$1,000
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	01/02/2015	\$2,500
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	12/19/2014	\$2,500
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	10/29/2014	\$1,000
Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians	08/16/2012	\$500

On April 16, 2015, after having already received \$7,500 from the tribe, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 912, subsequently entitled “Taxation of Tribal Land and Tobacco Products,” which would have restricted “the State’s taxing authority by recognizing the exclusive authority of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians to levy taxes within its jurisdiction.”¹⁸

Under federal law, North Carolina is not allowed to impose certain taxes on tribal lands and tribal members.¹⁹ Rep. Saine’s bill, however, required “the State [to] restrict itself beyond the current limitations imposed by federal law.”²⁰ The bill summary for the proposal argued, “the State is conceding its authority to impose many of the taxes it currently imposes that involve tribal land and tribal members.”²¹

¹⁵ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H912>; *Exclusive Taxing Authority of Cherokee*, H.B. 912, April 16, 2015.

¹⁶ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=874#f1gro=d-id>; <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019.

¹⁷ Julie Rose, *Cherokees Spend Big in NC Politics*, *WFAE*, October 4, 2013, available at <https://www.wfae.org/post/cherokees-spend-big-nc-politics#stream/0>; Joseph Martin, *Campaign Finance Practices Questioned, Cherokee One Feather*, November 26, 2018, available at <https://theonefeather.com/2018/11/campaign-finance-practices-questioned/>.

¹⁸ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H912>; [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23\(e1\)](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23(e1)).

¹⁹ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23\(e1\)](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23(e1)).

²⁰ *Id.*

²¹ *Id.*

The final version, signed into law by Governor Pat McCrory on September 30, 2015, appears weaker, but still exempted from taxation “real and personal property... regardless of ownership” on “lands held in trust by the United States for the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.”²² The final version also allowed the Department of Revenue to “enter into an agreement” with the tribe regarding the state-imposed excise tax on tobacco products, without specifying what the agreement must entail.²³ After the law was enacted, the tribe donated an additional \$15,500 to Rep. Saine’s campaign committee.²⁴

“Under federal law, North Carolina is not allowed to impose certain taxes on tribal lands and tribal members. Rep. Saine’s bill, however, required ‘the State [to] restrict itself beyond the current limitations imposed by federal law.’”

Notably, the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians operates Harrah’s Cherokee Casino and Resort, one of the 20 largest casinos in the world.²⁵ The first official summary of Rep. Saine’s bill noted that the tribe planned to open a new casino in late 2015, alluding to the imminent financial importance of Rep. Saine’s legislation, which presumably provided the tribe significant tax breaks.²⁶



In 2015, Rep. Saine introduced a bill to restrict taxes on the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, right as the tribe was planning to open a new casino.

²² [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-84\(sl\)](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-84(sl)).

²³ *Id.*

²⁴ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=874#{{1|gro=d-id}}>, accessed February 6, 2019.

²⁵ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23\(e1\)](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23(e1)); Rose, *WFAE*, Oct. 4, 2013.

²⁶ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23\(e1\)](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H912-SMRB-23(e1)).

Charter School Health Insurance

- Rep. Saine accepted \$11,000 in campaign donations from the founder of a charter school network and subsequently introduced a bill that would have allowed three schools in the network to participate in a state health plan reserved for public school teachers and state employees.

TeamCFA

John Bryan, the founder of the TeamCFA charter school network, has contributed a total of \$11,000 to Rep. Saine’s campaign committee since 2012, Rep. Saine’s fourth largest individual donor.²⁷ Since 2012, Mr. Bryan has contributed more than \$100,000 to North Carolina candidates who support school privatization efforts and has lobbied for favorable changes to the state’s charter school laws.²⁸

John D. Bryan	10/17/2016	\$2,500
John D. Bryan	06/29/2015	\$2,500
John D. Bryan	11/25/2013	\$4,000
John D. Bryan	04/29/2012	\$2,000

On March 7, 2017, after having received \$11,000 from Mr. Bryan, Rep. Saine and three other primary sponsors introduced H.B. 273, “an act to authorize Coastal Preparatory Academy, Pine Springs Preparatory Academy, and Unity Classical Charter School to elect to participate in the state health plan for teachers and state employees.”²⁹ Unsurprisingly, Mr. Bryan’s TeamCFA operates those three schools.³⁰ The House passed the bill, but it died in the Senate.

Charter school employees in North Carolina are not considered state employees, but charter schools can elect to participate in state plans.³¹ When Rep. Saine introduced the bill, however, state law required charter schools to elect to participate in the state health plan within 30 days of the signing of a school’s charter.³² The language of Rep. Saine’s bill implies TeamCFA’s schools did not opt to participate in the state health program within that timeframe and required a legislative exemption.³³ Therefore, it appears this bill was introduced to provide a legislative benefit to three of the schools operated by one of Rep. Saine’s top donors.

²⁷ <http://teamcfa.org/who-we-are/teamcfa-staff>; T. Keung Hui and Lynn Bonner, [Group Tied to Rich Donor Who Backed NC School Takeover Law Now Wants to Run Those Schools](https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article178169451.html), *The News & Observer*, October 10, 2017, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article178169451.html>;

<https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=2181444#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id>.

²⁸ Lindsay Wagner, [Out of State Money Behind Secret Plan to Fund Charter Takeover of NC’s Worst Performing Schools](http://www.ncpolicywatch.com/2015/08/13/out-of-state-money-behind-secret-plan-to-fund-charter-takeover-of-ncs-worst-performing-schools/), *NC Policy Watch*, August 13, 2015, available at <http://www.ncpolicywatch.com/2015/08/13/out-of-state-money-behind-secret-plan-to-fund-charter-takeover-of-ncs-worst-performing-schools/>.

²⁹ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H273>; *Charter Schools in State Health Plan*, H.B. 273, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/1042/0/DRH10107-MR-32A>.

³⁰ <http://teamcfa.org/schools/>.

³¹ <http://www.ncpublicschools.org/charterschools/information/topics?role=administrators&&topic=Employment>.

³² [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H273-SMTV-6\(CSTV-1\)-v-3](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H273-SMTV-6(CSTV-1)-v-3).

³³ *Id.*



Rep. Saine accepted \$11,000 in campaign donations from the founder of a charter school network and subsequently introduced a bill that would have allowed three schools in the network to participate in a state health plan reserved for public school teachers and state employees.

Lincoln Charter Education Foundation

Rep. Saine previously has been criticized for his ties to charter schools.³⁴ On September 30, 2016, the Lincoln Charter Education Foundation submitted an application to open a publicly-funded charter school in Rep. Saine's hometown of Lincoln, North Carolina. Rep. Saine served as treasurer of the nonprofit and spoke out in favor of the nonprofit's application at a hearing before the North Carolina Charter School Advisory Board. In particular, Rep. Saine highlighted the charter school's plan to use taxpayer dollars to pay Charter Schools USA, a for profit company, to operate the school.

Rep. Saine did not disclose to the board, however, that seven days after his group submitted its application, the CEO of Charter Schools USA, Jonathan Hage, contributed \$3,000 to Rep. Saine's campaign committee.³⁵ Three weeks later, a lobbying firm representing Charter Schools USA, McGuire Woods, contributed another \$4,000 to Rep. Saine's campaign.³⁶ In total,

³⁴ Charter Industry CEO's Campaign Contribution Closely Timed to State Lawmaker's Pitch for New Charter School, *A.J. Fletcher Foundation*, December 19, 2016, available at <https://ajf.org/charter-industry-ceos-campaign-contribution-closely-timed-state-lawmakers-pitch-new-charter-school/>.

³⁵ *A.J. Fletcher Foundation*, Dec. 19, 2016; <http://www.dpi.state.nc.us/docs/charterschools/applications/18-19/westlakerubric.pdf>.

³⁶ *A.J. Fletcher Foundation*, Dec. 19, 2016; <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019.

McGuireWoods has contributed \$16,500 to Rep. Saine, and the firm is his sixth largest overall donor.³⁷

Additional Legislation

Rep. Saine has sponsored several bills promoting charter schools in North Carolina. On April 11, 2017, he introduced H.B. 800, which included various beneficial changes to charter school laws. These changes included permitting charter school corporations (instead of local school boards) to directly employ teachers, permitting charter schools to grow faster, and making assistance available for charter schools looking to participate in the NC Pre-K program.³⁸ That bill was eventually signed into law on July 21, 2017.³⁹

Additionally, on April 15, 2015, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 778, which sought to “enhance the charter school application process” by prohibiting “format issues with an application” from derailing a school’s charter application process. The bill also would have allowed companies applying for charter school status a 10-minute appeal prior to any final vote on an application. That bill died in the House.⁴⁰

Telecommunications Legislation

- Rep. Saine received \$60,000 in campaign donations from the telecommunications industry and introduced legislation to remove barriers to the deployment of 5G technology and to establish public-private partnerships for the expansion of broadband connectivity in North Carolina.

Since 2011, Rep. Saine has received a total of \$60,000 from corporations categorized as “Telecom Services & Equipment” by FollowTheMoney.org. Telecommunications companies are Rep. Saine’s largest industry donor.⁴¹

AT&T	08/20/2018	\$5,200
AT&T	11/16/2017	\$5,200
AT&T	09/02/2016	\$3,500
AT&T	10/20/2015	\$3,500
AT&T	12/15/2014	\$1,000
AT&T	10/16/2014	\$500
AT&T	05/06/2014	\$500
CenturyLink	09/10/2018	\$2,500

³⁷ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=14043#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

³⁸ Lynn Bonner, Jane Stancill, and David Raynor, [Here’s How Much Charter School Backers Have Spent on NC Campaigns](https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article178438456.html), *The News & Observer*, October 12, 2017, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article178438456.html>.

³⁹ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H800>.

⁴⁰ *Charter School Changes*, H.B. 778, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, April 14, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/3274/0/DRH30287-MK-148>.

⁴¹ This does not include the “uncoded” category. See <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=24#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

CenturyLink	11/16/2017	\$3,000
CenturyLink	09/02/2016	\$2,500
CenturyLink	12/17/2015	\$500
CenturyLink	10/30/2015	\$2,000
CenturyLink	02/02/2015	\$500
CenturyLink	01/02/2015	\$1,000
CenturyLink	12/19/2014	\$1,000
CenturyLink	11/25/2013	\$500
Charter Communications	07/20/2018	\$5,200
Time Warner Cable	09/29/2016	\$1,000
Time Warner Cable	04/25/2016	\$1,800
Time Warner Cable	01/12/2016	\$3,250
Time Warner Cable	02/02/2015	\$250
Time Warner Cable	09/09/2014	\$3,000
Time Warner Cable	11/04/2011	\$100
Sprint	08/29/2018	\$2,000
Sprint	09/18/2017	\$3,000
Sprint	08/12/2016	\$500
Sprint	09/22/2014	\$750
North Carolina Telephone Cooperative Coalition	10/22/2018	\$1,500
North Carolina Telephone Cooperative Coalition	05/15/2018	\$1,000
North Carolina Telephone Cooperative Coalition	10/17/2016	\$1,500
North Carolina Telephone Cooperative Coalition	01/14/2016	\$750
Verizon Communications	12/04/2017	\$1,500

Rep. Saine has introduced several bills apparently favorable to his telecom industry donors. On March 9, 2017, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 310, entitled “Wireless Communications Infrastructure Siting,” designed to make it easier for telecommunications firms to set up 5G networks in North Carolina. Specifically, the bill cleared the way for telecommunications companies to install wireless antennas and other equipment in public areas, since 5G networks require more components than existing networks.⁴² The new legislation gave the companies easier access to public utility poles and state right-of-way areas.⁴³ The bill was signed into law on July 21, 2017.

Additionally, Rep. Saine’s “BRIGHT Futures Act,”⁴⁴ introduced as H.B. 68 on February 8, 2017, would have “[created] a new grant program... to assist the growth of businesses in the BRIGHT market segment... an acronym referring to broadband, retail (as in retail online services), the internet of things, the power grid, health care and training and education.”⁴⁵ The

⁴² <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H310>; Press Release, North Carolina Lawmakers Enable 5G Broadband, Office of Speaker Tim Moore, August 2, 2017, available at <http://speakermoore.com/north-carolina-lawmakers-enable-5g-broadband-2/>.

⁴³ Press Release, Speaker Tim Moore’s Office, Aug. 2, 2017.

⁴⁴ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H68>; Paul Woolverton, North Carolina Senator Files BRIGHT Futures Act to Expand Broadband Connectivity, *The Fayetteville Observer*, February 10, 2017, available at <http://www.govtech.com/network/North-Carolina-Senator-Files-BRIGHT-Futures-Act.html>.

⁴⁵ Woolverton, *The Fayetteville Observer*, Feb. 10, 2017.

bill would have allowed local governments to create public-private partnerships to expand broadband connectivity and permitted the North Carolina Department of Commerce “to issue grants to underwrite projects that expand digital infrastructure in rural areas.”⁴⁶ It appears Rep. Saine’s bill would have funneled grant money to telecom companies under the auspices of expanded broadband connectivity for the state’s rural residents. The bill passed out of the House but died in the Senate.

Rep. Saine also introduced H.B. 349 on March 24, 2015, entitled “Develop Broadband Connection Plan”, which would have provided for the development of a statewide broadband connectivity plan, to “encourage provision of broadband access in all areas of North Carolina.”⁴⁷ The bill, which passed the House but died in the Senate, would also have “[expanded] the service area that broadband service providers are permitted to provide telephone service to their broadband customers.”⁴⁸ Presumably this would have created a broader market for telecom providers.

Removing an Annual Reporting Requirement for Broadband and Cable Availability

Despite Rep. Saine’s enthusiasm for the development of broadband and telecom services, in December 2018, he included a provision in an omnibus bill that would have removed an annual reporting requirement for telecom companies. At the time, telecom companies were required to submit information to the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State (“the Department”) regarding the extent and availability of broadband and cable in North Carolina.⁴⁹

According to emails obtained by CfA, the Department opposed the proposal to remove the reporting requirement. The Department told Rep. Saine’s office that the annual service reports “add a level of transparency to the benefit of numerous stakeholders” and provide “crucial information for customers, regulators and policy makers, especially at a time when reports... have highlighted broadband deserts in the state.”⁵⁰

The Department also noted that the Consumer Protection Section of the North Carolina Department of Justice utilizes information from these reports when investigating whether companies have discriminated against consumers based on race or income.⁵¹ Similarly,

⁴⁶ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H68-SMST-9\(CSST-6\)-v-3](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H68-SMST-9(CSST-6)-v-3); Woolverton, *The Fayetteville Observer*, Feb. 10, 2017; Paul Woolverton, *North Carolina House Passes “Bright Futures” Bill to Spread Fast Internet*, *The Fayetteville Observer*, April 21, 2017, available at <http://www.govtech.com/policy/North-Carolina-House-Passes-Bright-Futures-Bill-to-Spread-Fast-Internet.html>.

⁴⁷ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H349>; *Develop Broadband Connectivity Plan*, H.B. 349, General Assembly of North Carolina 2015, March 24, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/1683/0/DRH40171-MH-88>.

⁴⁸ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H349-SMTS-15\(CSTS-4\)-v3](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H349-SMTS-15(CSTS-4)-v3).

⁴⁹ NC League of Municipalities, *Broadband, Cable Data Lost with Proposed Report Repeal*, December 7, 2018, available at <https://www.nclm.org/advocacy/legislative-bulletin?articledate=12-07-2018>.

⁵⁰ CfA obtained emails between Rep. Saine’s office and the North Carolina Department of the Secretary of State through an open records request to the Department. See Email from Leo John to Clark Riemer, November 28, 2018, available at <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/5788116-2018-11-28-From-Leo-John-Ljohn-Sosnc-Gov-57.html>.

⁵¹ *Id.*

numerous state legislators expressed concern that “if the data collection ceased, the state would have less information about which areas of the state have broadband service.”⁵²

Nonetheless, Rep. Saine continued to push the change through the legislature. The provision was included in an omnibus technical corrections bill and became law on December 27, 2018.⁵³ In acknowledging the widespread criticism of the provision, Rep. Saine promised to introduce a new, revised reporting requirement in the following legislative session.⁵⁴

Mandatory Requirements for Homeowners’ Associations

- Rep. Saine accepted \$17,500 from two insurance companies and two trade associations that deal with Homeowners’ Association (HOA) insurance and introduced legislation that would have required HOAs to purchase crime and fidelity insurance, effectively creating new customers for insurance companies.

Rep. Saine has received \$17,500 in campaign contributions since 2012 from organizations that either sell or appear to be impacted by Homeowners’ Association (HOA) insurance. He received \$9,500 from State Farm, which sells HOA insurance.⁵⁵ Additionally, Nationwide, which has donated a total of \$4,000 to Rep. Saine, offers a variety of insurance products, including commercial crime insurance.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the Independent Insurance Agents of North Carolina “is a statewide trade association representing nearly 1000 independent insurance agencies in North Carolina.”⁵⁷ Finally, Rep. Saine’s campaign committee received \$1,000 from Associations, Inc., which “provides community association management services in North America.”⁵⁸

North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	01/23/2017	\$1,000
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	09/29/2016	\$1,500
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	10/27/2014	\$2,000
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	02/24/2014	\$2,000
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	09/23/2013	\$2,000
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	11/01/2012	\$500
North Carolina State Farm Agents & Associates	05/01/2012	\$500
Nationwide	09/27/2016	\$2,000
Nationwide	05/13/2014	\$2,000
Independent Insurance Agents of North Carolina	05/13/2014	\$2,000
Independent Insurance Agents of North Carolina	02/28/2012	\$1,500
Associations, Inc.	09/19/2016	\$1,000

⁵² NC League of Municipalities, Dec. 7, 2018.

⁵³ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2017/s469>.

⁵⁴ NC League of Municipalities, Dec. 7, 2018.

⁵⁵ <https://www.statefarm.com/small-business-solutions/insurance/business-owners-policies/residential-community-homeowner>; <https://www.statefarm.com/insurance/home-and-property/associations-organizations/residential-community-and-homeowner>.

⁵⁶ <https://www.nationwide.com/business/insurance/commercial-crime/>.

⁵⁷ <https://www.linkedin.com/company/independent-insurance-agents-of-north-carolina-inc./about/>.

⁵⁸ <https://www.bloomberg.com/research/stocks/private/snapshot.asp?privcapId=45821680>.

After receiving \$17,500 from these industry organizations, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 625, “HOA/Condo Crime & Fidelity Insurance Policies,” on April 6, 2017, requiring Homeowners’ Associations and their management companies to acquire crime and fidelity insurance policies, effectively legislating new customers for his donors.⁵⁹

An official bill summary from April 19, 2017 said, “House Bill 625 would require condominium and homeowners' associations and their management companies to obtain a crime and fidelity insurance policy and require the associations' executive boards to perform annual independent financial audits.”⁶⁰

“In other words, Rep. Saine’s bill would have required HOAs to purchase a policy written by a state-approved insurance company such as State Farm or Nationwide, both of which have contributed to Rep. Saine’s campaign.”

The bill’s language further stated, “the crime and fidelity policy shall be written by an insurance company authorized to write a crime and fidelity policy in this State and shall cover the lot owners' association manager and all of the manager's employees and protect all or a portion of the association funds in the custody of the association manager or association employees acting under the association manager's supervision.”⁶¹ In other words, Rep. Saine’s bill would have required HOAs to purchase a policy written by a state-approved insurance company such as State Farm or Nationwide, both of which have contributed to Rep. Saine’s campaign. Further, the introduction of new regulatory burdens for HOAs appears to be at odds with Rep. Saine’s otherwise conservative philosophy of limited government. The bill passed the House and died in the Senate.⁶²

Outdoor Advertising

- Rep. Saine received \$3,750 from outdoor advertisers and introduced four bills that contained favorable provisions for the outdoor advertising industry.

Rep. Saine has received \$3,750 from an executive of an outdoor advertising company and from a trade association representing outdoor advertisers. The company, Fairway Outdoor Advertising, and the industry’s trade association, the North Carolina Outdoor Advertisers Association, have been critical of state and local outdoor advertising regulations. In 2017, Aaron Guyton, Director of Government and Public Relations for Fairway Outdoor Advertising, told the North Carolina Legislature, “the industry has been slowly choked by local governments.”⁶³

North Carolina Outdoor Advertisers Association	11/26/2018	\$1,000
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⁵⁹ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2017/H625>.

⁶⁰ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H625-SMBH-12\(e1\)-v-8](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H625-SMBH-12(e1)-v-8).

⁶¹ *HOA/Condo Crime & Fidelity Insurance Policies*, H.B. 625, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, April 6, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/2984/0/DRH40339-MQf-102>.

⁶² <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2017/H625>.

⁶³ Gary Robertson, *North Carolina Billboard Regulations Finally Clear Committee*, *Associated Press*, June 14, 2017, available at <https://www.heraldsun.com/news/state/article156209974.html>.

North Carolina Outdoor Advertisers Association	09/16/2016	\$1,000
North Carolina Outdoor Advertisers Association	04/22/2016	\$1,200
Paul G. Hickman (General Manager, Fairway Outdoor Advertising)	09/16/2016	\$550

Earlier that year, Craig Justus, general counsel for the North Carolina Outdoor Advertising Association, complained that the state’s compensation for displacing highway billboards was “negligible.”⁶⁴ “‘What the DOT offers us is zero,’ Justus said. ‘That is neither just nor is it compensation.’”⁶⁵

Less than a year after outdoor advertisers contributed \$2,750 to Rep. Saine’s campaign, on April 5, 2017, Rep. Saine introduced four bills designed to benefit the outdoor advertising industry:

- **H.B. 581:** “An act to promote uniformity of regulation and modernization of outdoor advertising, to increase permit fees for outdoor advertising, and to establish a reasonable time frame for making agency decisions regarding permits and appeals.”⁶⁶
- **H.B. 580:** “An act to allow for the relocation and reconstruction of off-premises outdoor advertising.”⁶⁷
- **H.B. 579:** “An act to clarify the standards for determining just compensation for the removal of off-premises outdoor advertising.”⁶⁸
- **H.B. 578:** “An act to increase selective vegetation removal permit fees and to clarify standards for selective vegetation removal.”⁶⁹

Press reports and available bill summaries indicate these bills were favorable to the industry but also somewhat controversial. For example, the *Associated Press* reported that H.B. 581 would “bring more financial compensation to owners of roadside billboards” and would “[allow] traditional signs to be replaced more easily with digital signs.”⁷⁰ However, when the North Carolina House voted down the bill, Rep. Jay Adams, a Republican, “called the bill ‘crony capitalism,’ using government ‘to preserve an obsolete business.’”⁷¹

⁶⁴ Gary Robertson, *Billboard Law Rewrite OK’d Despite Road Agency Opposition*, *Associated Press*, May 23, 2017, available at <https://www.blueridgenow.com/news/20170523/billboard-law-rewrite-okd-despite-road-agency-opposition>.

⁶⁵ *Id.*

⁶⁶ *Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws*, H.B. 581, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, April 5, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/2791/0/DRH40330-MLf-72F>.

⁶⁷ *Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws*, H.B. 580, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, April 5, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/2790/0/DRH10190-ML-72C>.

⁶⁸ *Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws*, H.B. 579, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, April 5, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/2789/0/DRH40331-ML-72D>.

⁶⁹ *Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws*, H.B. 578, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, April 5, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/2788/0/DRH30243-MLf-72A>.

⁷⁰ Robertson, *Associated Press*, May 23, 2017.

⁷¹ Lynn Bonner, *NC House Defeats Controversial Bill Helping Billboard Companies*, *The News & Observer*, June 26, 2017, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/article158361664.html>.

“When the North Carolina House voted down [Rep. Saine’s outdoor advertising] bill, Rep. Jay Adams, a Republican, ‘called the bill ‘crony capitalism,’ using government ‘to preserve an obsolete business.’”

Additionally, WRAL reported H.B. 580 would “make it easier for a billboard owner to find a new location for a billboard that has to be relocated due to road construction or development. The owner could basically pick a new location as long as it's zoned the same as the old one.”⁷² Similarly, WRAL said H.B. 579 “would increase what billboard owners must be paid if their billboards are condemned and not relocated.”⁷³ According to their respective bill summaries, these bills would also have prohibited cities and counties from enacting ordinances that could hinder outdoor advertisers’ ability to relocate or reconstruct their outdoor advertising signs.⁷⁴

H.B. 578 contains many small, technical changes to provisions governing outdoor advertisers that presumably would have been favorable to the industry.⁷⁵



⁷² Laura Leslie, *Local Billboard Rules Targeted in House Bills*, WRAL, April 20, 2017, available at <https://www.wral.com/local-billboard-rules-targeted-in-house-bills-/16656078/>.

⁷³ *Id.*

⁷⁴ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H580-SMBA-34\(CSBA-9\)-v-6;](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H580-SMBA-34(CSBA-9)-v-6;)
[https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H579-SMBA-35\(e1\)-v-3.](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H579-SMBA-35(e1)-v-3.)

⁷⁵ *Revisions to Outdoor Advertising Laws*, H.B. 578, Apr. 5, 2017.

None of Rep. Saine’s outdoor advertising bills passed the North Carolina House. Nevertheless, the North Carolina Outdoor Advertising Association donated another \$1,000 to Rep. Saine on November 26, 2018.⁷⁶

Animal Rights Legislation

- Rep. Saine accepted \$2,750 in campaign donations from animal welfare interests and subsequently introduced “puppy mill” legislation during four legislative sessions.

Since 2012, Rep. Saine has received at least \$2,750 from animal rights activists and veterinary associations:

NC Veterinary Medical Association	10/15/2018	\$1,000
NC Veterinary Medical Association	10/17/2016	\$750
North Carolina Voters for Animal Welfare	09/23/2014	\$500
Caleb Scott (President of the North Carolina Voters for Animal Welfare)	08/13/2012	\$500

The North Carolina Veterinary Medical Association (“NCVMA”) is the trade association for North Carolina veterinarians and supports “the regulation and oversight of commercial dog breeders.”⁷⁷ Notably, the NCVMA states on the political fundraising page on its website, “The Golden Rule of Politics – Those who have the gold, make the rules.”⁷⁸

Furthermore, North Carolina Voters for Animal Welfare describes itself as “the only state-wide political action committee (PAC) dedicated to improving the care and treatment of all animals by electing legislators that will pass laws to protect animals in NC.”⁷⁹ It has endorsed “puppy mill bills” and has written about the need to “make state legislators understand that we need a law to protect dogs in large scale breeder options.”⁸⁰

In tandem with receiving contributions from animal rights activists, Rep. Saine has sponsored puppy mill bills, which include tougher regulations for large commercial dog breeders.⁸¹ Rep. Saine introduced his first puppy mill bill on April 11, 2013, after receiving a \$500 contribution from Caleb Scott, President of the North Carolina Voters for Animal Welfare, on August 13, 2012.⁸² The bill passed out of the House but died in the Senate. The North

⁷⁶ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=8208#f11gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁷⁷ Lindsey Eaton, *Dozens of Animals Rescued from Puppy Mill in Pender County*, *Fox 8*, October 9, 2013, available at <https://myfox8.com/2013/10/09/dozens-of-animals-rescued-from-puppy-mill-in-pender-county/>; [http://www.ciclt.net/sn/adm/editpage.aspx?ClientCode=ncvma&FileName=Regulation of Commercial Dog Breeding \(Puppy Mills\).txt](http://www.ciclt.net/sn/adm/editpage.aspx?ClientCode=ncvma&FileName=Regulation of Commercial Dog Breeding (Puppy Mills).txt).

⁷⁸ <http://www.ciclt.net/sn/adm/editpage.aspx?ClientCode=ncvma&Filename=NCVMA PAC.txt>.

⁷⁹ <http://www.ncvaw.org/about/our-board/>.

⁸⁰ <http://www.ncvaw.org/veterinarians-against-puppy-mills/>.

⁸¹ <http://www.jasonsaine.com>; Colin Campbell, *NC House OKs Bill to Curb Puppy Mills*, *The News & Observer*, April 22, 2015, available at <https://www.newsobserver.com/news/politics-government/politics-columns-blogs/under-the-dome/article19232541.html>.

⁸² <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2013/H930>; Carter Coyle, *Stokes County man says he tattooed his dog*, *Fox 8*, March 29, 2013, available at <https://myfox8.com/2013/03/29/stokes-county-man-says-he-tattooed-his-dog/>;

Carolina Voters for Animal Welfare donated another \$500 to Rep. Saine’s campaign on September 23, 2014, and Rep. Saine reintroduced the legislation the following spring, on March 4, 2015.⁸³ That bill also passed the House, but again died in Senate.

On October 17, 2016, the NCVMA donated \$750 to Rep. Saine’s campaign.⁸⁴ Two months later, during a special legislative session, Rep. Saine again introduced a puppy mill bill, which did not pass the House.⁸⁵ Rep. Saine introduced legislation for the fourth time on February 22, 2017, but the bill again did not pass the House.⁸⁶ The NCVMA donated another \$1,000 to Rep. Saine’s campaign on October 15, 2018.⁸⁷

“According to the Gaston Gazette, ‘critics of the proposed regulations have long contended there is no real ‘puppy mill’ crisis in North Carolina, and that the state’s animal cruelty laws adequately punish hoarders and abusers.’”

Rep. Saine’s proposed bills would have established “standards of care for large commercial dog breeding facilities” and provided “law enforcement with tools to ensure that dogs at those facilities are treated humanely.”⁸⁸ Rep. Saine was credited in press reports as the leader of the initiative.⁸⁹ According to the *Gaston Gazette*, “critics of the proposed regulations have long contended there is no real ‘puppy mill’ crisis in North Carolina, and that the state’s animal cruelty laws adequately punish hoarders and abusers.”⁹⁰ Rep. Saine’s support for this legislation raises the question of whether Rep. Saine, a self-proclaimed anti-regulatory conservative, introduced the legislation primarily for the donations.

Energy Industry Legislation

- Rep. Saine received \$81,400 in campaign donations from energy providers and green energy advocates and sponsored four bills that apparently would have benefited the industry.

<https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=16216816#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁸³ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2015/h159>; <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=24603553#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁸⁴ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=16049397#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁸⁵ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2015E4/H9>.

⁸⁶ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/h179>.

⁸⁷ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=16049397#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁸⁸ <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2013/3758/0/DRH70300-LL-36>.

⁸⁹ Laura Leslie, *House Member Makes Another Run at ‘Puppy Mill’ Regulations*, *WRAL*, Feb. 24, 2017, available at <https://www.wral.com/house-member-makes-another-run-at-puppy-mill-regulations/16550057/>; Campbell, *The News & Observer*, Apr. 22, 2015.

⁹⁰ Michael Barrett, *Lawmaker Makes Bid to Take a Bite Out of Puppy Mills*, *Gaston Gazette*, March 3, 2017, available at <https://www.gastongazette.com/news/20170303/lawmaker-makes-bid-to-take-bite-out-of-puppy-mills>.

Since 2012, Rep. Saine has received \$81,400 from energy industry donors who stood to benefit from his legislation.⁹¹ Notably, Rep. Saine is a self-described champion of the renewable energy industry. “I’m clean and green but conservative,” he has said in defending his inconsistent policy positions.⁹² His renewable energy donors apparently agree. For instance, he has received a total of \$7,500 from NC Clean Energy Business Alliance, \$8,600 from clean energy advocate Jay Winters Faison, \$7,500 from Cathy Wilhelm, the Chief Administrative Officer of Strata Solar, which is run by her husband, and \$8,750 from Robin Delmer and \$6,250 from George Strobel, two executives at Monarch Capital, which reportedly owns 46 solar facilities in North Carolina.⁹³

Duke Energy	08/16/2018	\$5,200
Duke Energy	03/31/2018	\$5,200
Duke Energy	01/23/2017	\$500
Duke Energy	09/02/2016	\$5,100
Duke Energy	01/15/2016	\$5,100
Duke Energy	09/30/2014	\$4,000
Marathon Petroleum Corporation	10/17/2018	\$1,000
Marathon Petroleum Corporation	03/19/2018	\$2,500
Marathon Petroleum Corporation	03/16/2016	\$1,500
North Carolina Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives	10/12/2018	\$3,000
North Carolina Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives	04/18/2018	\$3,000
North Carolina Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives	08/01/2012	\$300
North Carolina Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives	03/18/2012	\$250
Koch Industries	07/30/2018	\$2,000
Koch Industries	10/23/2015	\$2,500
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	10/17/2018	\$500
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	09/02/2016	\$1,500
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	02/08/2016	\$2,000
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	10/06/2015	\$1,500

⁹¹ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=32#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=33#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=36#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

⁹² Teri Saylor, *ALEC Chief Jason Saine’s Path to Political Power*, *Business North Carolina*, March 30, 2018, available at <http://businessnc.com/alec-chief-jason-saines-path-to-political-power/>.

⁹³ [https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=23595824#\[\]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=5956720#\[\]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=17052149#\[\]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=6842693#\[\]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=42583357#\[\]1|gro=d-id](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=23595824#[]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=5956720#[]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=17052149#[]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=6842693#[]1|gro=d-id;https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=42583357#[]1|gro=d-id), accessed February 6, 2019; <https://clearpath.org/about-us/jay-faison/>; <https://www.stratasolar.com/about-us/leadership>; Travis Fain and Tyler Dukes, *CEOs Gave Heavily During Legislative Session, Exposing Loophole in NC’s Fundraising Ban*, *WRAL*, August 30, 2018, available at <https://www.wral.com/in-session-campaign-donations/17716104/>.

NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	10/08/2014	\$500
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	09/22/2014	\$500
NC Clean Energy Business Alliance	03/24/2014	\$1,000
Robin Delmer (Monarch Capital)	05/21/2018	\$5,000
Robin Delmer (Monarch Capital)	04/16/2018	\$1,250
Robin Delmer (Monarch Capital)	09/25/2017	\$1,500
Robin Delmer (Monarch Capital)	01/23/2015	\$1,000
George Lewis Strobel II (Monarch Capital)	05/21/2018	\$5,000
George Lewis Strobel II (Monarch Capital)	04/16/2018	\$1,250
Jay Winters Faison (ClearPath)	03/02/2018	\$3,500
Jay Winters Faison (ClearPath)	10/23/2015	\$5,100
Cathy Wilhelm (Strata Solar)	10/24/2016	\$2,500
Cathy Wilhelm (Strata Solar)	05/11/2015	\$1,000
Cathy Wilhelm (Strata Solar)	05/11/2015	\$4,000
Piedmont Natural Gas PAC	10/13/2015	\$750
Piedmont Natural Gas PAC	02/02/2015	\$750
Piedmont Natural Gas PAC	10/12/2011	\$150

Two of Rep. Saine’s bills would have apparently benefitted his renewable energy industry donors. For example, on April 16, 2015 Rep. Saine introduced as H.B. 930, the “Buy Back Renewable Energy Property Credit” bill.⁹⁴ The bill, which died in the House, would have “[permitted] the repurchase of installments of the credit for investing in renewable energy property.”⁹⁵

Additionally, on April 1, 2015, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 454, the “Energy Investment Act,” which would have extended a credit for investing in renewable energy property by five years.⁹⁶ *WRAL* reported that two of Rep. Saine’s solar-connected donors, Robin Delmer and George Strobel of Monarch Capital, were “interested” in solar tax credits that were expiring at the time.⁹⁷ That bill also died in the House.

Rep. Saine also introduced H.B. 808, the “Rural Consumer Protection Act,” on April 14, 2015, which would have protected “rural consumers of electricity by extending certain provisions of the Public Utilities Act to electric membership corporations and by providing additional transparency to the operation and governance of electric membership corporations.”⁹⁸ While no official bill summaries exist (as the bill died shortly after being introduced), the bill apparently would have provided electric cooperatives with an exemption to be considered a

⁹⁴ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2015/H930>.

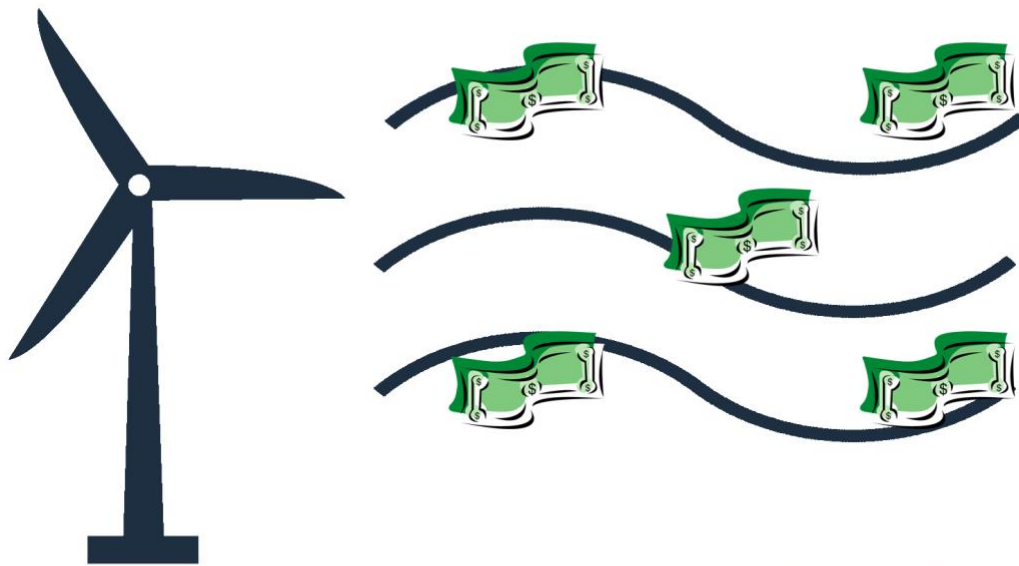
⁹⁵ *Buy Back Renewable Energy Property Credit*, H.B. 930, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, April 16, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/3827/0/DRH40409-MC-179B>.

⁹⁶ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H454>; *Energy Investment Act*, H.B. 454, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, April 1, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/2622/0/DRH30194-MC-95A>.

⁹⁷ Fain and Dukes, *WRAL*, Aug. 30, 2018.

⁹⁸ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H808>; *Rural Consumer Protection Act*, H.B. 808, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, April 14, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/3305/0/DRH40362-MH-144>.

public utility in certain situations.⁹⁹ Notably, Rep. Saine has received \$6,550 from the North Carolina Association of Rural Electric Cooperatives.¹⁰⁰



Since 2012, Rep. Saine has received \$81,400 from energy industry donors who stood to benefit from his legislation, including those with renewable energy interests.

Additionally, on March 23, 2015, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 332, the “Energy Policy Amendments” which would have provided for the “cost recovery for natural gas economic development infrastructure.”¹⁰¹ The bill would have allowed natural gas local distribution companies to recover the infeasible portion of a line extension through an annual rider.¹⁰² *WRAL* described the bill, which passed the House but died in the Senate, as an “economic development measure” and “a proposal to ensure that natural gas lines could be extended to manufacturers in rural areas.”¹⁰³

Notably, Duke Energy has donated \$25,100 to Rep. Saine since 2012, and the company is his largest overall donor. The company “distributes natural gas to more than 1.5 million customers in the Carolinas, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee.”¹⁰⁴ Piedmont Natural Gas, another

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ [https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=8197#\[{1}|gro=d-id](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=8197#[{1}|gro=d-id), accessed February 6, 2019; <https://www.ncelectriccooperatives.com/who-we-are/#about-us>.

¹⁰¹ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2015/H332>; *Natural Gas Econ. Dev. Infrastructure*, H.B. 332, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2015, March 23, 2015, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2015/1533/0/DRH40152-TD-8>.

¹⁰² [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H332-SMTD-17\(CSTD-8\)-v4](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2015/H332-SMTD-17(CSTD-8)-v4).

¹⁰³ Mark Binker, *Bill Putting Renewable Requirements on Hold Hitches Ride on Natural Gas Bill*, *WRAL*, May 19, 2015, available at <https://www.wral.com/bill-putting-renewable-requirements-on-hold-hitches-ride-on-natural-gas-bill/14655546/>.

¹⁰⁴ <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019; <https://www.duke-energy.com/energy-education/how-energy-works/delivering-natural-gas>.

donor to Rep. Saine, serviced 1 million of these natural gas customers before being acquired by Duke Energy on October 3, 2016.¹⁰⁵ Piedmont Natural Gas PAC made a \$750 donation to Rep. Saine one month before Rep. Saine introduced his natural gas bill. Koch Industries and Marathon Petroleum, both of which have subsidiaries that operate in natural gas markets, have also contributed to Rep. Saine’s campaign committee.¹⁰⁶

Real Estate and Homebuilding

- Rep. Saine accepted \$53,241 in campaign donations from real estate interests and homebuilders and introduced two bills that appear to primarily benefit realtors, managers, and home builders.

Rep. Saine has received a total of \$40,141 from the real estate industry, \$8,100 from general contractors, and \$5,000 from home builders.¹⁰⁷

North Carolina Association of Realtors	09/18/2018	\$5,200
North Carolina Association of Realtors	04/20/2018	\$3,000
North Carolina Association of Realtors	09/21/2016	\$5,100
North Carolina Association of Realtors	01/20/2016	\$4,000
North Carolina Association of Realtors	01/02/2015	\$2,000
North Carolina Association of Realtors	12/08/2014	\$2,000
North Carolina Association of Realtors	10/16/2014	\$2,000
Christopher Gilleland (President, William Douglas Property Management)	05/11/2015	\$2,500
Christopher Gilleland	10/08/2014	\$1,000
Christopher Gilleland	04/14/2014	\$1,000
Christopher Gilleland	04/30/2013	\$4,000
Christopher Gilleland	08/24/2012	\$250
Christopher Gilleland	05/09/2012	\$250
Christopher Gilleland	03/09/2012	\$50
Christopher Gilleland	01/20/2012	\$250
Ken Tucker (CEO, Denver Construction)	05/29/2015	\$2,500
Ken Tucker	04/29/2014	\$2,600
Ken Tucker	11/02/2011	\$2,000
North Carolina Home Builders Association	11/05/2018	\$1,000
North Carolina Home Builders Association	04/20/2018	\$1,000
North Carolina Home Builders Association	10/11/2016	\$1,000
North Carolina Home Builders Association	12/16/2015	\$1,000
North Carolina Home Builders Association	10/27/2014	\$250

¹⁰⁵ <http://piedmontng.com/about/aboutpng/home.aspx>.

¹⁰⁶ <https://www.investopedia.com/insights/companies-owned-koch-brothers/>;
<http://www.marathonpetroleum.com/Operations/Midstream/MPLX/>.

¹⁰⁷ [https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=51#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=51#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id;);
[https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=11#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=11#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id;);
<https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-cci=12#%5B%7B1%7Cgro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019.

North Carolina Home Builders Association	04/24/2014	\$250
North Carolina Home Builders Association	05/01/2012	\$500
I Norwood Stone (President, Wynnefield Properties) Associations, Inc.	05/11/2015	\$2,500
Dennis Bailey (Realtor, Real Estate Broker)	09/19/2016	\$1,000
Dennis Bailey	06/25/2018	\$250
Dennis Bailey	04/28/2017	\$150
Dennis Bailey	03/27/2017	\$100
Dennis Bailey	08/12/2016	\$100
Peter Joseph Gallo (Real Estate Appraiser)	03/14/2017	\$500
Peter Joseph Gallo	05/11/2015	\$250
Peter Joseph Gallo	07/15/2014	\$96
Peter Joseph Gallo	08/07/2013	\$96
Carolina Associated General Contractors	05/15/2018	\$500
Carolina Associated General Contractors	04/25/2016	\$500
Volkmar Dirksen (Real Estate Broker)	11/12/2014	\$250

Two of Rep. Saine’s bills appear to have presented direct and considerable benefits to the real estate industry, with fewer apparent benefits to the general public. Rep. Saine was a sponsor, though not a primary sponsor, of H.B. 252, a bill entitled “Building Code Regulatory Reform” that was introduced on March 2, 2017, which contained many changes to building inspection procedures, as well as provisions that appear to provide leniency for the real estate industry.¹⁰⁸

Specifically, the bill included: “prohibiting the adoption or enforcement of any existing regulation requiring regular, routine building inspections, without first obtaining approval from the North Carolina Building Code Council; new inspection requirement exemptions for persons supervised by architects or engineers; new inspection requirement exemptions for engineered components and elements certified as compliant by the manufacturer; creating a new informal review process for inspection decisions made by county and city inspectors; [allowing] a building permit applicant to choose which version of an interpretation will apply to the permit, if an interpretation changes after the building permit is issued; and [exempting] certain lots from needing separate meters for new irrigation systems.”¹⁰⁹

“The North Carolina Home Builders Association, which has donated a total of \$4,000 to Rep. Saine, called the bill one of its ‘top priorities.’”

The North Carolina Home Builders Association, which has donated a total of \$4,000 to Rep. Saine, called the bill one of its “top priorities.”¹¹⁰ The bill was eventually signed into law on July 20, 2017.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2017/H252>.

¹⁰⁹ [https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H252-SMBH-3\(CSSB-6\)-v-3](https://dashboard.ncleg.net/api/Services/BillSummary/2017/H252-SMBH-3(CSSB-6)-v-3).

¹¹⁰ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=3829#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019; Real Estate & Building Industry Coalition, *General Assembly Adjourns, Sending Key Building Industry Bills to Governor, In the Loop*, July 6, 2017, available at <https://rebiccharlotte.com/2017/07/06/general-assembly-adjourns-sending-key-building-industry-bills-to-governor/>.

¹¹¹ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H252>.

Additionally, Rep. Saine’s “Protect the Hardworking Taxpayer Act,” introduced as H.B. 54 on February 7, 2017, would have removed the limitation on the income tax deduction for mortgage expense and property tax.¹¹² The law at the time allowed homeowners to deduct only up to \$20,000 of their mortgage interest payments from their taxes. Rep. Saine’s bill would have removed that \$20,000 limit so that homeowners could deduct an unlimited amount of their mortgage interest payments from their tax bill.

The North Carolina Association of Realtors – which has donated a total of \$18,100 to Rep. Saine, making them his second largest overall donor– said removing the cap on both the mortgage interest and property tax deductions was one of their top 2017 legislative priorities.¹¹³ Rep. Saine’s bill died in the House.¹¹⁴

Telemedicine Legislation

- Rep. Saine received \$38,850 from health organizations that appear to be interested in telemedicine and introduced a bill requiring insurers to cover telemedicine services.

Rep. Saine has received a total of \$38,850 from health organizations that appear to be interested in telemedicine:¹¹⁵

Carolinas Healthcare System	05/02/2018	\$5,000
Carolinas Healthcare System	09/26/2016	\$5,100
Carolinas Healthcare System	10/09/2014	\$2,000
Carolinas Healthcare System	05/13/2014	\$2,000
North Carolina Health Care Facilities Association	04/30/2018	\$3,000
North Carolina Health Care Facilities Association	02/25/2016	\$3,000
North Carolina Health Care Facilities Association	09/29/2016	\$5,000
North Carolina Health Care Facilities Association	02/02/2015	\$1,000
North Carolina Hospital Association	10/17/2018	\$3,500
North Carolina Hospital Association	04/09/2018	\$3,500
North Carolina Hospital Association	09/30/2014	\$1,000

¹¹² *Protect the Hardworking Taxpayers Act*, H.B. 54, General Assembly of North Carolina Session 2017, February 7, 2017, available at <https://webservices.ncleg.net/ViewBillDocument/2017/183/0/DRH30034-MC-6>.

¹¹³ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=4450#f1|gro=d-id>, accessed February 6, 2019; <https://www.ncrealtors.org/wp-content/uploads/2017LegisHandout.pdf>.

¹¹⁴ <https://www2.ncleg.net/BillLookup/2017/H54>.

¹¹⁵ <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019.

North Carolina Medical Society	10/21/2016	\$1,000
North Carolina Medical Society	01/25/2016	\$1,000
North Carolina Medical Society	09/16/2014	\$1,000
Association for Home & Hospice Care of North Carolina	01/23/2015	\$1,500
Association for Home & Hospice Care of North Carolina	10/08/2014	\$250

On April 11, 2017, Rep. Saine introduced H.B. 828, “IT Changes/Libraries & Telemedicine,” a bill that would have required insurance companies to cover the cost of providing telemedicine services. The bill subsequently died in the House.¹¹⁶

A number of Rep. Saine’s donors have interests in telemedicine. *Fortune* reported the Carolinas HealthCare System, Rep. Saine’s ninth largest overall donor contributing \$14,100 to his campaigns, has “embraced” telemedicine.¹¹⁷ The organization’s director of virtual care said telemedicine “will save the company from building many new hospital beds, and make better use of the ones it has,” and would drive down other expenses.¹¹⁸

A lobbyist for the North Carolina Medical Society, which has donated a total of \$3,000 to Rep. Saine, told North Carolina Health News, “we need to incentivize telemedicine,” in the context of legislative action.¹¹⁹ Additionally, Tracy Colvard, VP of Government Relations and Public Policy for the Association for Home & Hospice Care of North Carolina, which has donated \$1,750 to Rep. Saine, said in a February 12, 2018 PowerPoint presentation available on the North Carolina legislature’s website that home health agencies, such as the ones he represents, “also provide palliative care and telehealth services.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁶ <https://www.ncleg.gov/BillLookup/2017/H828>.

¹¹⁷ [https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=10917#\[\]1|gro=d-id](https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=10917#[]1|gro=d-id), accessed February 6, 2019.

¹¹⁸ Erika Fry, *Doctors Work on ‘Webside Manner’ As Telemedicine Becomes More Popular*, *Fortune*, November 2, 2016, available at <http://fortune.com/2016/11/02/telemedicine-virtual-health/>.

¹¹⁹ <https://www.followthemoney.org/show-me?dt=1&c-t-eid=6700286&d-eid=4080>, accessed February 6, 2019; Rose Hoban, *Telehealth Bill Gets Hung Up at Legislature*, *North Carolina Health News*, June 13, 2018, available at <https://www.northcarolinahealthnews.org/2018/06/13/telehealth-bill-gets-hung-up-at-legislature/>.

¹²⁰ <https://www.ncleg.net/documentsites/committees/JLOCHHS/JLOC-HHS%20Subcommittees%20by%20Interim/2017-18%20JLOC-HHS%20Subcommittees/Aging%20Subcommittee/February%2012,%202018%20Meeting/II.%20AHC%20Presentation%20for%20the%20Sub%20comm%20on%20Aging%202-12-18.pdf>.

Methodology

Campaign for Accountability relied on FollowTheMoney.org to retrieve and analyze information about Rep. Saine's campaign finances and identify Rep. Saine's largest and most unusual donors, including donors who were not natural ideological allies of a politician who describes himself as a "champion for conservative causes."¹²¹

CfA also reviewed all of the legislation Rep. Saine has introduced since becoming a member of the General Assembly and identified legislation that appeared to benefit his campaign donors.¹²² Rep. Saine is the primary sponsor of all of the bills included in the report, unless otherwise noted. All of the legislative information comes directly from the North Carolina General Assembly's website.

Conclusion

Rep. Saine appears to have used his legislative position repeatedly to introduce legislation for the benefit of his campaign donors. While many legislators accept campaign contributions from industries affected by their legislation, the extent to which Rep. Saine appears to have worked for the benefit of special interest groups seems unusual. Beyond accepting industry contributions, Rep. Saine has used his campaign cash to reward himself with a luxurious lifestyle.

Public officials should introduce legislation for the benefit of the public interest. When public officials support legislation to narrowly benefit their donors, it erodes confidence in our institutions.

¹²¹ <https://www.followthemoney.org>; <https://www.followthemoney.org/entity-details?eid=6700286>, accessed February 6, 2019; <http://www.jasonsaine.com>.

¹²² <https://www.ncleg.gov/Members/IntroducedBills/H/632>.