

### **Potential Legislative Conflicts Around Pensions**

Updated June 24, 2021

Perhaps the most contentious issue of the 2021 legislative session was pension funds. The state treasurer and other leaders on the Vermont Pension Investment Committee and elsewhere brought this issue forward at the start of the session. A proposal from the House Government Operations Committee (and the Speaker) followed that would start to address the issue with both taxpayer dollars and benefit changes to reduce the deficit. This proposal was quickly disparaged by the VSEA and NEA as well as other union activists. The plan was abandoned and a summer study committee was ordered, guaranteeing that the issue would sit another year and the deficit would grow further.

Campaign for Vermont has been committed to government transparency, ethics, and open government officials. In this light, we were curious what conflicts of interest legislators might have when it comes to pensions and how those conflicts might impact a legislator's opinion or voting preference on a pension bill. To be clear, the passed by the legislature this year does not address benefits, however it does allow for several legislators to serve on the summer task force that will be bringing recommendations back to the legislature. We are hoping this work will shed some light on who should and should not serve on that task force.

#### **Research Question:**

How many legislators have conflicts of interest around pension funds and how significant are they?

#### Methodology:

Campaign for Vermont reviewed legislative bios, candidate websites, financial disclosure forms, and campaign finance filings (2018-2020) for all 180 legislators to get as clear of a picture as possible about where potential conflicts might arise.

### Findings:

- We found that 51 legislators had some sort of potential conflict. That is more than 25% of
  people serving in the legislature. Most of these conflicts were either large campaign donations,
  active employment for the legislator/spouse in a public school or state government, or the
  legislator/spouse was receiving pension benefits from the state employee or teacher pension
  funds.
- 2. The distribution of these conflicts is more concerning than the actual number. Fifteen members of the Senate had some level of conflict, which is a full half of that legislative body.



- 3. The NEA and VSEA donated \$31,672 to legislators over the past two years.
- 4. Key legislators on committees that deal with pensions have potential conflicts.
  - Jane Kitchel (Chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee) did not receive any campaign contributions but is a retired state employee and is receiving pension benefits.
  - b. Ann Cummings (Chair of the Senate Finance Committee) received \$780 dollars from the NEA in October of 2020.
  - c. Mark MacDonald (Vice Chair of the Senate Finance Committee) received over \$1500 from the NEA and he is a retired teacher receiving pension benefits.
  - d. Anthony Pollina (Vice Chair of the Senate Government Operations Committee) received \$780 from the NEA.

Detailed findings can be found in Appendix B.

#### **Recommendations:**

Determining how much influence household income and campaign contributions will have on how a legislator approaches or votes on an issue is a difficult thing to assess and it will vary greatly from person to person. For this reason, we would prefer to error on the side of caution, however there are practical limitations to this as well. We can't, for example, reasonably expect half of the Senate to recuse themselves because they might have a conflict of interest.

To try to address some of these issues, we have broken our recommendations into two distinct sets: one to address the pension task force membership, and a second to address voting conflicts when a pension benefits bill comes to the floor.

For the pension task force we recommend selecting legislators without any potential conflicts where at all possible. This includes legislators who themselves or their spouse is an active state employee or public school teacher or they have received campaign contributions from the NEA, VSEA, or other state employee or teachers union. The one exception we might make to this is for retired state employees or teachers with extensive human resources or financial expertise.

We expect this pension task force to come back to the legislature in January with recommendations for benefit changes. When it comes to voting on a bill that contains benefits for state employees and teachers, the most immediate conflict is legislators who themselves are an active state employee or teacher, or whose spouse or domestic partner are an active state employee or teacher. This is because the types of benefit changes being contemplated have the greatest potential to impact active employees directly. This group of legislators should recuse themselves when pension benefit bills come up for vote.

The second tier of voting conflicts is legislators who have received campaign contributions from unions that represent groups covered under the public pension plans we are talking about. This is difficult because ideally we would say that any campaign donation has the potential to create a conflict but



because so many legislators have received donations from unions we would accept a donation threshold instead as a trigger for recusal. In light of this, we recommend any legislator who has received \$1,000 or more collectively in the current campaign cycle (2020-2021) from unions representing employees covered under Vermont's public pension plans recuse themselves.

This does not preclude legislators who have received less than that from recusing themselves if they feel the donations represent an undue influence or they are concerned about the appearance of impropriety. In fact, we would encourage legislators to reach out to their respective ethics panels in the House and Senate if they are worried they might have a conflict in this area.

The third tier of potential conflicts is with legislators who themselves or whose spouse/domestic partner is a retired state employee or teacher and is receiving pension benefits. We believe this group has less of a conflict than the other two groups because none of the plans that have been proposed impact existing state employees directly. However, even if it wouldn't change their benefits, existing retirees may have sympathy for current employees situation or they may have friends that haven't retired yet that could be impacted. Still, we don't feel the potential for these conflicts rises to the level requiring recusal unless an individual legislator deems it necessary. Because each person's situation is different, we would encourage legislators to reach out to their respective ethics panels if they think they might have an issue.

Recommendations for specific legislators can be found in Appendix A.

### **Conclusion:**

Campaign for Vermont is dedicated to transparent open government as the foundation for the prosperity and vitality of our state. As such, we hope that legislators will consider the potential conflicts of interest they may have on pension benefits as well as other issues. Our goal in presenting this information is to make the public more aware, but also to make legislators more aware of conflicts (real or perceived) they might not have considered. We believe this awareness leads to better decision making and better outcomes for Vermonters.



## **Appendix A**

**Recommendation Matrix** 

Senators	Recommendations		
	Task Force	Voting	
Senator Becca Balint	No	Recuse	
Senator Philip Baruth	No		
Senator Joe Benning	No	Recuse	
Senator Christopher Bray			
Senator Randy Brock			
Senator Brian Campion			
Senator Thomas Chittenden	No	Recuse	
Senator Alison Clarkson			
Senator Brian Collamore			
Senator Ann Cummings	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Ruth Hardy			
Senator Cheryl Hooker	No	Recuse	
Senator Russ Ingalls			
Senator Jane Kitchel	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Virginia "Ginny" Lyons	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Mark A. MacDonald	No	Recuse	
Senator Dick Mazza			
Senator Dick McCormack			
Senator Alice W. Nitka			
Senator Corey Parent			
Senator Christopher A. Pearson	No	Recuse	
Senator Andrew Perchlik	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Anthony Pollina	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Kesha Ram			
Senator Dick Sears Jr.			
Senator Michael Sirotkin	No	Seek Advice	
Senator Robert Starr	No	Recuse	
Senator Joshua Terenzini			
Senator Richard Westman			
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No

Seek Advice

Senator Jeanette K. White



Representatives	Recommendations		
	Task Force	Voting	
David Yacovone	No	Seek Advice	
Theresa Wood	No	Seek Advice	
Tommy Walz	No	Recuse	
Tom Terenzini	No	Seek Advice	
Robert Hooper	No	Seek Advice	
Diane Lanpher	No	Seek Advice	
Mary Howard	No	Recuse	
Kathryn Webb	No	Seek Advice	
Peter Anthony	No	Recuse	
Sarah "Sarita" Austin	No	Seek Advice	
John L. Bartholomew	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Lynn Batchelor	No	Seek Advice	
Matthew Birong	No	Seek Advice	
Alyssa Black	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Seth Bongartz	No	Recuse	
Representative Erin Brady	No	Recuse	
Representative R. Scott Campbell	No	Recuse	
Representative Kevin "Coach" Christie	No	Recuse	
Representative Harold "Hal" Colston	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Katherine "Kari" Dolan	No	Recuse	
Representative Kate Donnally	No	Recuse	
Representative Caleb Elder	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Alice M. Emmons	No	Recuse	
Representative Kenneth Goslant	No	Recuse	
Representative Paul Martin	No	Recuse	
Representative Michael McCarthy	No	Seek Advice	
Representative James McCullough	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Kristi Morris	No	Recuse	
Representative William Notte	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Avram Patt	No	Recuse	
Representative Larry Satcowitz	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Katherine Sims	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Taylor Small	No	Seek Advice	
Representative Maida Townsend	No	Seek Advice	



Representative Joseph "Chip" Troiano No Recuse
Representative Kirk White No Seek Advice

Only legislators with recommendations are listed above. If there are no recommended actions for a legislator, they will not appear in the list above.



# **Appendix B**

**Conflict Matrix** 

# Spouse/Significant

Senators	Legislator		Cam	npaign	Other		
	State Emp.	Teacher	NEA	VSEA	State Emp.	Teacher	
Becca Balint			\$ 1,280				
Joe Benning						Active	
Thomas Chittenden						Active	
Ann Cummings			\$ 780				
Cheryl Hooker		Retired	\$ 1,430	\$ 1,430		Retired	
Jane Kitchel	Retired						
Virginia "Ginny" Lyons			\$ 905				
Mark A. MacDonald		Retired	\$ 1,560				
Christopher A. Pearson						Active	
Andrew Perchlik			\$ 780				
Anthony Pollina			\$ 780				
Michael Sirotkin			\$ 535				
Robert Starr			\$ 1,092				
Jeanette K. White			\$ 780				



# Spouse/Significant

Representatives	Legis	lator	Cam		Campaign		Other	
	State Emp.	Teacher		NEA	VS	EA	State Emp.	Teacher
David Yacovone	Former*							
Theresa Wood	Retired							
Tommy Walz		Retired	\$	1,040	\$	500		Retired
Tom Terenzini	Retired							
Robert Hooper	Retired							
Diane Lanpher	Former*		\$	500				
Mary Howard	Retired		\$	1,040	\$	500		
Kathryn Webb		Retired						
Peter Anthony			\$	1,040	\$	500		
Sarah "Sarita" Austin		Retired						
John L. Bartholomew			\$	728				
Lynn Batchelor	Retired							
Matthew Birong			\$	500				
Alyssa Black			\$	728				
Seth Bongartz			\$	728	\$	500		Retired
Erin Brady		Active	\$	728			Active	
R. Scott Campbell			\$	1,040	\$	500		
Kevin "Coach" Christie		Active						
Harold "Hal" Colston			\$	728				
Katherine "Kari" Dolan	Active							
Kate Donnally							Active	
Caleb Elder					\$	520		
Alice M. Emmons			\$	1,040	\$	500		Retired
Kenneth Goslant							Active	
Paul Martin							Active	
Michael McCarthy			\$	1,040				
James McCullough			\$	700				
Kristi Morris			\$	1,040	\$	500		
William Notte			\$	728				
Avram Patt			\$	1,040				
Larry Satcowitz			\$	728				
Katherine Sims			\$	728				
Taylor Small			\$	728				
Maida Townsend		Retired						
Joseph "Chip" Troiano			\$	1,040				
Kirk White			\$	728				

<sup>\*</sup>Legislators listed as "Former" were previously employed but are not drawing down pension benefits.