



MONEY IN POLITICS PROJECT

REPORT #2

Profiles in Fundraising

The Leader Board:
Maine's Top Legislative
Fundraisers and How They
Earned Their Spots



MONEY IN POLITICS PROJECT

The *Money in Politics Project* is a program of **Maine Citizens for Clean Elections**, a nonpartisan organization that has been working in the public interest to advocate for, increase public support for, defend and improve the Maine Clean Election Act and related campaign finance law since 1995. MCCE is a 501(c)(3) organization. www.MaineCleanElections.org

The *Money in Politics Project* team includes Andrew Bossie, Ann Luther, Alison Smith, and John Brautigam. MCCE appreciates the efforts of many others whose contributions enhanced this report.

MCCE welcomes your comments, questions, and suggestions. Please contact us at:

Maine Citizens for Clean Elections

P.O. Box 18187
Portland, ME 04112

207-831-MCCE

info@mainecleanelections.org

MONEY IN POLITICS PROJECT

REPORT #02

Profiles in Fundraising

The Leader Board: Maine's Top
Legislative Fundraisers and How
They Earned Their Spots

Executive Summary

For Maine legislative candidates, private fundraising is a choice, not a necessity. For more than ten years, the Maine Clean Election Act has provided a full public funding option for qualified state candidates, and the program is the most successful of its type in the United States. Still, some candidates in each electoral cycle choose the “traditional” private funding path.

The Leader Board: Maine's Top Legislative Fundraisers and How They Earned Their Spots, looks at the ten candidates who have raised the most private money for their own campaigns between 2002 and 2012. While some

have raised a lot of money over many campaigns and others have had just one or two very expensive races, these candidates epitomize fundraising under the private funding option. The Leader Board includes five Democrats and five Republicans.

The candidates profiled in this report lead the pack, but their fundraising styles vary. Some candidates self-fund, some raise significant funds from PACs and corporate interests, and some use a balanced approach that includes many individual contributions. These three patterns embody the different interests and values that are typical of the other candidates who forgo public funding.

Style One

In this study, three candidates with independent sources of wealth primarily paid for their own campaigns. With self-funded candidates, undue influence is not an issue, but fairness and equal opportunity in the electoral process is.

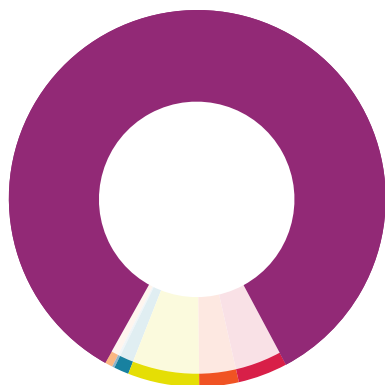
Style Two

Two candidates in the report relied extensively on PACs and commercial sources. Overall, more than two-thirds of their campaign funds came from these types of contributors. This fundraising style presents the greatest threat to public confidence as these



Three Fundraising “Styles” Profiled

STYLE ONE
Independent
Wealth



privately funded legislators carry out their official duties.

Style Three

The remaining five candidates appear to achieve balance among various sources of funding – small individual contributions, larger individual contributions, PAC funds, commercial sources, political party contributions, and funds from their own bank accounts. Because of the diverse sources and the emphasis on individual donors (67% of total funds raised by this group), these candidates do not appear to favor special interest contributors.

All ten of the candidates in this study were bound by

STYLE TWO
PACs and
Commercial
Sources



Maine’s contribution limits, which were lowered in a citizen-initiated referendum in 1996. That ballot initiative, which also contained the Maine Clean Election Act, set the limit at \$250 per donor per election, and the 124th Legislature raised it to \$350 in 2009.

Maine’s relatively low contribution limits offer some assurance that privately funded candidates are not subject to the undue influence of a few major donors. At the same time, a candidate’s choice to seek out private funds, along with the sources of funding received, are important factors in assessing the qualities of that candidate. The Leader Board contains

STYLE THREE
Balanced



four candidates who have controlled a PAC in addition to their campaign committee, and donations to PACs are not limited. This PAC fundraising is covered in the first Money in Politics report in this series, *PACs Unlimited — How Legislator PACs Distort Maine Politics*.

Voters deserve to know who funds campaigns. A better understanding about how private money influences public elections leads to a better-informed electorate, and that leads to a healthier democracy in Maine.

ABOUT THIS SERIES

The Money in Politics Project is a series of twelve reports about the role and effect of money on Maine politics. The reports combine a review of publicly available campaign finance data with on-the-ground analysis of how money influences Maine's elections, government, and public policy. **Maine Citizens for Clean Elections** launched this project because money in politics is an issue of vital concern to the people of Maine, one that goes to the heart of our democratic system.

Profiles in Fundraising

The Leader Board: Maine's Top Legislative Fundraisers and How They Earned Their Spots

Introduction

"Good people in a bad system." This statement is frequently heard in reference to political candidates and the fundraising imperative they face when running for office.

But how does this apply in Maine? For Maine legislative candidates, private fundraising is a choice and not a necessity. The Maine Clean Election Act is the most successful full public funding program ever undertaken in the United States. From 2002 to 2010, 1,450 legislative candidates used public funding in Maine. Only 455 relied on private funding. Publicly funded legislative candidates have been very successful at the polls; 80 percent of legislators serving in 2012 won their seats using public funding. The Maine Clean Election Act is well-established and very popular with the public.

So why do some candidates choose the "traditional" private funding path? And how do those privately funded candidates raise their money?

MCEA Allocation Averages

	House	Senate
Average MCEA allocation 2002-2010	\$4,031	\$17,578
Average of all candidates	\$5,132	\$23,440
Average of candidates in this report	\$6,855	\$39,785

TABLE 2-1

Are private contributions just another way for citizens to express their support, or is this system a permanent flaw in our political process whereby special interests continue to purchase access and influence? What are the consequences of perpetual fundraising over many election cycles and the acquisition of large "war chests" by privately funded candidates?

This report sheds light on a group of candidates whose fundraising epitomizes the private funding option. These candidates all share the fact that they have amassed large amounts of campaign money, but their varied approaches to that result reflect many different styles, interests, and values. Some spend enormous amounts of their own money. Others raise cash from cor-

porations, lobbyists, political action committees, and contributors with powerful interests in the outcome of legislative policy debates. Some raise many smaller contributions — the kind a typical family could afford.

The candidates described in this report lead the pack, but the patterns here are typical of many other candidates who forgo public funding.

Private fundraising for a candidate's own campaign is not the only fundraising activity of concern in Maine politics. MCCE previously published *PACs Unlimited — How Legislator PACs Distort Maine Politics* [<https://my.maineclanelections.org/money-1>], showing how some legislators raise thousands of dollars in unlimited contribu-

tions from special interests for their personal political action committees and those of their caucus. That report did not address the private fundraising that many candidates pursue for their own elections – the subject of this report. It is important to note that some candidates have chosen to simultaneously use both fundraising tools – their own campaign committee and their own PAC.

Despite the success and popularity of Clean Elections, some candidates still prefer to raise and spend private money — whether for ideological, political, or practical reasons. Voters should have complete information about how private funding works and whose interests are served by a system that allows candidates, and often sitting legislators, to enjoy the benefits of thousands of dollars in special interest contributions.

Background

This study reviewed publicly available data for every privately funded House or Senate candidate in the campaign finance database maintained by the Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices (“Ethics Commission”). Candidates were ranked by the amount of private money they received while conducting privately funded campaigns, including money they gave to their own campaigns. More in-depth analysis was conducted on the top ten candidates to produce these profiles.

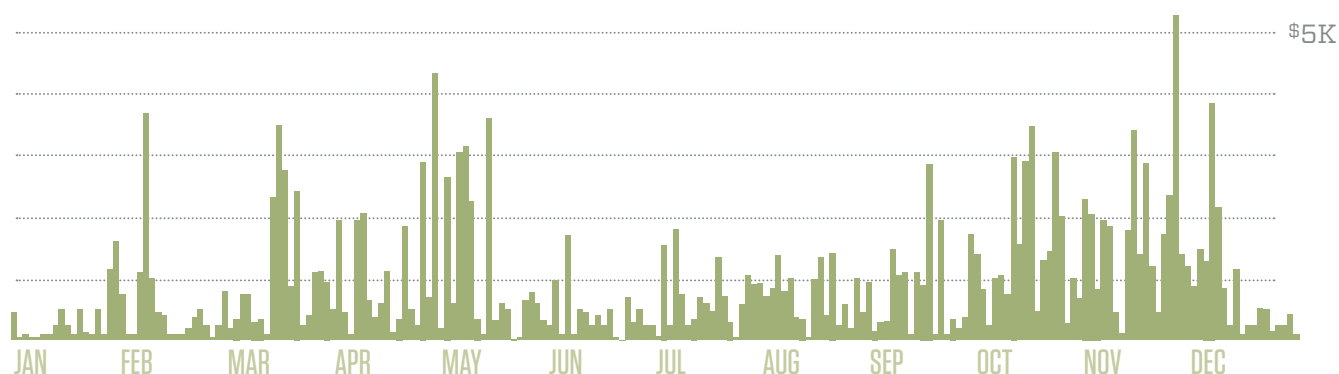
The candidates earning top spots on the Leader Board raised far more campaign cash than other candidates. On average, recent candidates for the Maine House of Representatives have raised approximately \$5,132, while Senate candidates have raised about \$23,440. For publicly funded candidates, the average general election base alloca-

tions over the past decade have been \$4,031 (House) and \$17,578 (Senate). In comparison, the ten candidates in this report raised and spent an average of \$6,855 (House) or \$39,785 (Senate) per election cycle. [TABLE 2-1](#)

These candidates are all bound by Maine’s contribution limit law — the principal means of limiting corruption and the appearance of corruption in privately funded races. Over the years, Maine’s limits have occasionally been amended. Prior to enactment of the Maine Clean Election Act in 1996, an individual could give up to \$1,000 to a legislative candidate, and PACs and corporations could give up to \$5,000. The citizen initiative of that year established a uniform limit of \$250 for any contribution to legislative candidates. That limit remained in effect until 2009, when the legislature increased the limit to \$350. Contribution limits in many other states are higher than those in Maine.

Fundraising activity over a typical election cycle (2006)

TABLE 2-2



These limits are enforced by the Ethics Commission, which routinely reviews candidate fundraising reports. Violation of the limit is a Class E crime in Maine.

While there are ongoing concerns about the corrosive effect of such fundraising on the behavior of our elected officials, another major concern is the amount of time required for private fundraising. Soliciting contributions, calling and meeting with donors, holding fundraising events – these all require time, which is especially scarce during campaign season. Fundraising keeps many candidates busy throughout the election year as they engage in countless conversations with people who are often deeply interested in legislative business. **TABLE 2-2** illustrates how fundraising activity is spread out over a typical election cycle.

Research for this report revealed that candidates have various fundraising styles. The five Democrats and five Republicans we analyzed demonstrate three general approaches to funding their campaigns.

First, some candidates with independent sources of wealth primarily pay for their own campaigns. Three candidates in the top ten fit this description. No one would say that such candidates are beholden to any special interest. But

when a self-funded candidate is able to distinguish him- or herself from the crowd, many people are concerned that other qualified candidates without deep pockets don't get the same opportunity. With self-funded candidates, undue influence is not an issue, but fairness in the electoral process is.

Second, there are two candidates in the top ten who relied extensively on contributions from political action committees and commercial sources. Donations from these contributors, while limited by contribution limit laws, are often part of an overall pattern of giving, whether for a campaign, PAC, party, or other entity. To the extent that these sources represent concentrations of wealth that do not reflect the makeup of the candidate's district, they create the risk of favoritism in the way the successful candidate carries out his or her legislative duties – or at least the appearance thereof. This fundraising style presents the greatest threat to the independence of these legislators and public confidence in their actions.

Third, there are five candidates in the study who appear to achieve a balance among the various possible sources of funding — small individual contributions, larger individual contributions, PAC funds, commercial sources, political

party contributions, and funds from their own bank accounts. These candidates may still face concerns of undue access. But the fact that they don't rely heavily on any one pool of contributions helps reduce any appearance that they favor special interest contributors.

It is important to acknowledge that spending a large amount does not guarantee success. Maine's political landscape is littered with candidates who spent lavishly and lost badly. But the choices candidates make in conducting their campaigns reveal much about them. Did they reject a viable public funding option such as the Maine Clean Election program? If so, where did they turn for financial support, and why? Do they have dozens of small, local contributors, or a small number of special-interest contributors from outside their district? This is important information for the publicly minded citizen to consider.

Finally, we note that three of the candidates in this study have chosen both privately funded and publicly funded campaigns at various times. These candidates apparently are not ideologically opposed to public funding, but use it only under certain circumstances. The nature of those strategic decisions is an interesting question for future analysis.

Terms Used in this Report

“Total Funds Raised.” This reflects all the contributions received by a candidate from 2002 to the present as detailed in the database maintained by the Ethics Commission. This includes unitemized small contributions and loans, but does not include transfers from a previous campaign or Seed Money in a publicly funded effort. It only includes funds raised for the candidate's official campaign committee; any funds raised by the candidate for a PAC or other entity are not included.

“Most Raised for One Election.” For candidates who raised funds during more than one election cycle, this category shows the single election cycle in which he or she received the greatest dollar amount of contributions.

“Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study.” This category indicates the election cycles in which the candidate was privately funded between 2002 and the present. Information for contributions during these cycles is included in the study, but any prior cycles are not included since they are not detailed in the Ethics Commission's electronic database.

“Clean Elections Campaigns.” This indicates campaigns conducted by these candidates using the Maine Clean Election Act public funding system. Funds received during Clean Election campaigns, including public funding payments and the limited private funding raised as Seed Money, are not considered in this study.

“Dollars from Commercial Sources.” This includes contributions from businesses and similar commercial contributors, as indicated by the Ethics Commission's database. This does not include individual contributors who may be affiliated with a commercial entity unless the candidate designated the contributor as a commercial source when filing a report.

“Dollars from Small Contributors.” This includes contributions of \$50 or less, regardless of whether the name of the contributor was reported by the candidate. Some candidates report the aggregate of all contributors of \$50 or less as a single lump sum, which is permitted by the Ethics Commission.

“Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s).” This is the total amount contributed by the candidate him- or herself to the campaign. This may include contributions from the candidate's spouse or domestic partner, as reported by the candidate.

“Dollars from PACs.” This is the total amount contributed by political action committees as reported by the candidate.

“Number of Reported Contributors.” This includes all contributions except those from the candidate and those \$50 or under that the candidate did not report by name. For any record where the candidate does not provide a name, it is not possible to determine how many contributors the sum of money represents, and thus the record is not included in our tally. This means that the total number of actual contributors is usually higher, but the exact number cannot be determined by the data available.

“Dollars Raised from Outside District.” A contributor's legislative district is determined by the contributor's town and street address. Although candidates usually include this information on their report forms, the Ethics Commission database includes only the town and not the street address. Nor does it otherwise indicate whether a contributor is located within the district of the candidate receiving the contribution. By using the contributor's town and other information, however, it is often possible to determine whether the contributor is located inside or outside the district of the candidate. Based on this incomplete information, this report includes our informed assessment of which contributors are outside the district. We have used a conservative approach, designating contributors as “outside” only if there is reasonable information from which to make that finding.

“Number of Maxed-out Donors.” Contributors who give the maximum amount allowed under law in an election are referred to as “maxed-out donors.” In legislative races, the maximum amount for the 2002, 2004, 2006 and 2008 election cycles was \$250. The maximum amount for the 2010 and 2012 election cycles is \$350. Under Maine law the maximum amount is applied on a “per election” basis. This means that a contributor may give the maximum amount twice in one election cycle – once for the primary and again in the general election.

“Dollars Raised from Maxed-out Donors.” This figure represents the total amount of funding raised from “maxed-out donors.”

TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS

#1

John D.
Linnehan



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO John Linnehan

1	Bridges, John	\$500
2	Senate Republican Leadership	\$500
3	Clean House PAC	\$250
4	Jordan, Patrick	\$250
5	Kesaris, George	\$250
6	Leadership for Maine's Future	\$250
7	Leedom & Associates LLC	\$250
8	Colella, Judith	\$250

FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse Commercial Sources Political Action Committees Other Individuals Small Contributions \$50 or less Other Candidates & Committees Political Party Committees

Hometown: Ellsworth	Party: Republican
Total Funds Raised: \$225,566	Most Raised for One Election: \$225,566

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study: **2004 (Senate)**

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$6,900 [3.06%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$2,101 [0.93%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$200,000 [88.67%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$2,850 [1.26%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **130**

Dollars Raised from Outside District: **\$7,675 [3.4%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **64**

Dollars Raised from Maxed-out Donors: **\$16,000 [7.09%]**

Years in Legislature: **0**

Leadership and Committee Position(s): **N/A**

Fundraising Style: **self-funded**

The Scoop: John Linnehan's campaign finance records give him two claims to fame. First, his 2004 campaign budget was ten times the typical Senate candidate's. Second, he funded almost 90% of his campaign with his own funds. No other legislative candidate has poured so much personal wealth into their own campaign in recent memory. Less than one percent of Linnehan's campaign budget consisted of contributions from typical Maine individuals and families giving \$50 or less. Linnehan received only 1.26% of his funding from PACs and only 3.06% from commercial sources. Raising and spending \$26.62 for every vote he received in the general election, Linnehan's spending was not very efficient. He earned only 36% of the vote, losing to incumbent Senator Dennis Damon, who appears at position #7 on the Leader Board. Linnehan is the only candidate to surpass \$200,000 in a state legislative race since the Ethics Commission began keeping electronic records.

Out of
district
funds



Portion of all
funds raised
from maxed-
out donors



FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse	Commercial Sources	Political Action Committees	Other Individuals	Small Contributions \$50 or less	Other Candidates & Committees	Political Party Committees
----------------------	--------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	----------------------------

Hometown: Fairfield	Party: Democrat (later unenrolled)
Total Funds Raised: \$111,998	Most Raised for One Election: \$108,477

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:

2002(Senate); 2010(House)

Clean Election Campaigns: **2004; 2006; 2008**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$7,829** [6.99%]

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$555** [0.50%]

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$92,139** [82.27%]

Dollars from PACs: **\$3,850** [3.44%]

Number of Reported Contributors: **95**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$2,400** [2.14%]

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **61**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$15,450** [13.79%]

Years in Legislature: **1996-2002 (House)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):

Appropriations and Financial Affairs Committee

Fundraising Style: **self-funded**

The Scoop: Tessier's 2002 Senate primary was one of the most costly in Maine history. Tessier's budget of \$108,476 was almost entirely self-funded. His total fundraising from small contributions (\$50 or less) was only \$555 over the course of his two privately funded legislative races. Commercial sources and PACs together constituted just 10.43 % of his total budget. Tessier received 1092 votes and was defeated by Pamela Hatch in the 2002 Senate Democratic primary, thus raising and spending \$99.34 for each vote he received. Of his five legislative races, he conducted two using private funding and three using the Maine Clean Election Act program.

7%

7%

82%

#2
Paul L. Tessier

TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Paul Tessier

1	Maine Eye PAC	\$350
2	Sound Science for Maine PAC	\$350
3	Goucher, Suzanne	\$300
4	IP PAC	\$250
5	Gaunce, Lianne	\$250
6	Gaunce, Nancy	\$250
7	Gerrity, Bruce	\$250
8	Gaunce, Chris	\$250

Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



Out of district funds



TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS

#3

Christopher
G. Hall

23%

52%

8%

7%

8%

FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate
and Spouse

Commercial
Sources

Political
Action
Committees

Other
Individuals

Small
Contributions
\$50 or less

Other
Candidates &
Committees

Political Party
Committees

Hometown: Bristol	Party: Democrat
Total Funds Raised: \$106,415	Most Raised for One Election: \$55,634

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:

2002(Senate); 2004(Senate)

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$7,300 [6.86%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$24,880 [23.38%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$7,996 [7.51%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$8,400 [7.89%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **509**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$15,875 [14.92%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **171**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$42,750 [40.17%]**

Years in Legislature: **2000-2002
(House); 2002-2004(Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):
**Chair, Utilities and Energy Committee;
Business, Research and Economic
Development Committee**

Fundraising Style: **balanced**

The Scoop: The 2002 Senate race between Hall and Republican Les Fossel was extremely close, ending in controversy. A recount left the candidates separated by only 9 votes, with 44 disputed ballots. Democratic Senators holding the majority resolved the standoff by choosing Hall. Hall's fundraising record reflects a large amount of money from individual contributors (\$54,918) and contributors giving \$50 or less (\$24,880). He received relatively little from PACs, commercial sources, and donors outside of his district. Chris Hall also operated a PAC which raised \$19,011.

SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Christopher Hall

1	Lincoln County Dem. Committee	\$1,000
2	Pennington, Sally	\$950
3	Pennington, Samuel	\$850
4	The Benjamins (PAC)	\$750
5	Felsenthal, Peter	\$750
6	Citizens For Justice In Maine	\$750
7	Morris, John	\$600
8	Maine Dental PAC	\$600

Out of district
funds



Portion of all
funds raised
from maxed-
out donors



FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse	Commercial Sources	Political Action Committees	Other Individuals	Small Contributions \$50 or less	Other Candidates & Committees	Political Party Committees
----------------------	--------------------	-----------------------------	-------------------	----------------------------------	-------------------------------	----------------------------

Hometown: Windham	Party: Democrat
Total Funds Raised: \$100,599	Most Raised for One Election: \$37,207

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:

2004(Senate); 2006(Senate); 2008(Senate); 2010(Senate)

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$19,550 [19.43%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$4,332 [4.31%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$2,095 [2.08%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$24,650 [24.50%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **508**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$71,255 [70.83%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **278**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$71,387 [70.96%]**

Years in Legislature: **1977-1982(House); 1983-1986(Senate); 2005-2012(Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):

Transportation Committee Chairman

Fundraising Style: **balanced**

The Scoop: A steady fundraiser for his own campaigns and a successful candidate, Diamond has been a consistent opponent of the public funding program. He served as Maine's Secretary of State from 1989 to 1997, taking a break from his string of nine separate terms in the legislature. Diamond raised more than any other candidate from "maxed-out donors" — contributors who gave the legally permitted maximum amount — taking in \$71,387 from 278 contributions. He also relied heavily on contributions from outside his district [70.83%]. Diamond is third on the Leader Board for funds raised from commercial sources. Diamond also operates "Diamond PAC" — a political action committee that raised an additional \$162,000 in the last decade.

49%

25%

19%

#4
Bill Diamond

TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Bill Diamond

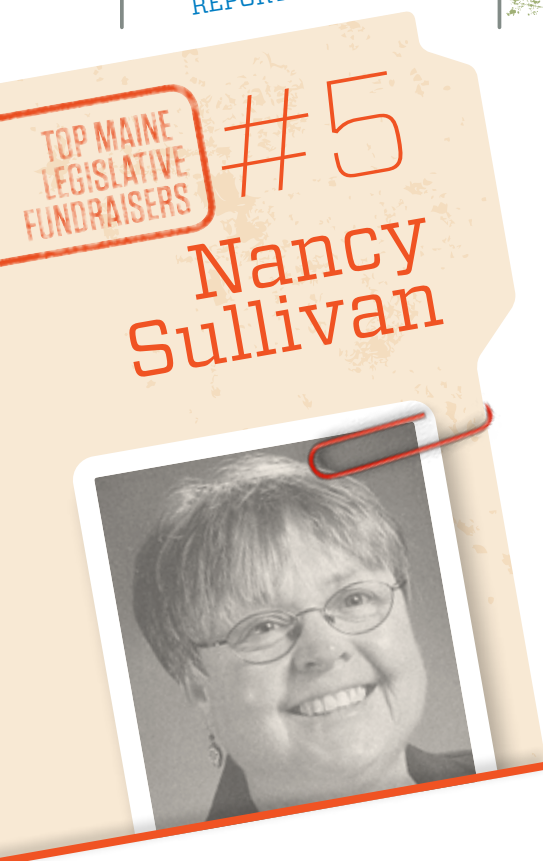
1	Maine Assn. of Realtors	\$1,600
2	Friends of Maine Hospitals	\$1,100
3	Gardner, Julie	\$1,000
4	Kontos, Carol	\$1,000
5	Maine Credit Union League	\$1,000
6	Kruglik, Martin	\$1,000
7	Roux, Jacqueline	\$1,000
8	Public Affairs Group	\$1,000

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors





SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Nancy Sullivan

1	MACBPAC	\$1,850
2	Maine Optometric Assn. PAC	\$1,850
3	Maine Bank PAC	\$1,750
4	Drummond Woodsum	\$1,500
5	Altria	\$1,350
6	Maine Credit Union League	\$1,350
7	AIA PAC	\$1,250
8	Maine Association of Realtors	\$1,250

FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse Commercial Sources Political Action Committees Other Individuals Small Contributions \$50 or less Other Candidates & Committees Political Party Committees

Hometown: Biddeford	Party: Democrat
Total Funds Raised: \$99,601	Most Raised for One Election: \$31,283

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study: **2002(House); 2004(Senate); 2006(Senate); 2008(Senate); 2010 (Senate); 2012 (House primary)**

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$36,579 [36.73%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$4,655 [4.67%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$909 [0.91%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$27,125 [27.23%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **474**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$79,462 [79.78%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **259**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$67,089 [67.36%]**

Years in Legislature: **1999-2004(House); 2005-2012(Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s): **Chair, Insurance and Financial Services; Chair, Legal and Veteran's Affairs; Business, Research and Economic Development**

Fundraising Style: **PACs and commercial sources**

The Scoop: Sullivan has been funded mostly by PACs and corporations, with a focus on businesses under the jurisdiction of her committees. Each of Sullivan's top 10 contributors is either a lobbyist, an employer of a lobbyist, or an industry PAC, and each has given \$1,250 or more since 2002. Major contributors include Altria (the parent company of tobacco giant Philip Morris), Anthem/Wellpoint (Maine's largest health insurance carrier), and the Portland law firm of Drummond Woodsum & MacMahon. Sullivan raised more from outside her district than any other candidate (\$79,462), constituting 79.78% of her funds raised. And she goes for the large contributions. Her total of \$67,089 from "maxed-out donors" constitutes 67.36% of her funds raised.

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse
Commercial Sources
Political Action Committees
Other Individuals
Small Contributions \$50 or less
Other Candidates & Committees
Political Party Committees

Hometown: Waldoboro	Party: Republican
Total Funds Raised: \$83,250	Most Raised for One Election: \$54,922

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:
2004(Senate); 2006(Senate); 2010(House)

Clean Election Campaigns: **2012
(Senate - special election)**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$3,200 [3.84%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$2,735 [3.29%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s):
\$61,630 [74.03%]

Dollars from PACs: **\$7,525 [9.04%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **100**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$12,775 [15.35%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **52**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$13,000 [15.62%]**

Years in Legislature: **2005-2008(Senate);
2011-2012(House)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):
Labor; Marine Resources

Fundraising Style: **self-funded**

The Scoop: Dana Dow is another candidate who has successfully self-funded three campaigns. Dow raised only 9.04% of his funds from PACs. His corporate contributors include some controversial sources such as woodlands developer Plum Creek, pharmaceutical giant Pfizer, and Altria (the parent company of tobacco giant Philip Morris). After serving in the Senate and the House, Dow sought to return to the Senate when a vacancy occurred in 2012. He used public funding for the special election but came up short, gaining 46% of the vote and losing to Christopher Johnson, who also used public funding.

6%

9%

74%

#6
Dana Dow

TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Dana Dow

1	Waldoboro Republican Committee	\$950
2	Maine Bank PAC	\$750
3	Lincoln Co. Republican Committee	\$700
4	Nobleboro Republican Committee	\$550
5	Altria	\$500
6	Friends of Maine Hospitals	\$500
7	MACBPAC	\$500
8	Maine Credit Union League	\$500

Out of district funds




Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



TOP MAINE LEGISLATIVE FUNDRAISERS

#7

Dennis Damon



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Dennis Damon

1	Maine Assn. of Realtors	\$1,500
2	Milliken, Phoebe	\$1,000
3	Howe & Company	\$1,000
4	Maine Dental PAC	\$1,000
5	MEA	\$750
6	James F Mitchell, LLC	\$750
7	The Benjamins (PAC)	\$750
8	Strater, Jeremy	\$750

FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse Commercial Sources Political Action Committees Other Individuals Small Contributions \$50 or less Other Candidates & Committees Political Party Committees

Hometown: Trenton	Party: Democrat
Total Funds Raised: \$74,713	Most Raised for One Election: \$37,415

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:

2002(Senate); 2004(Senate); 2006(Senate); 2008(Senate)

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$7,000** [9.37%]

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$14,935** [19.99%]

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$898** [1.20%]

Dollars from PACs: **\$14,000** [18.74%]

Number of Reported Contributors: **343**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$26,386** [35.32%]

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **161**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$40,250** [53.87%]

Years in Legislature: **2002-2010 (Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s): **Chair, Marine Resources; Chair, Transportation**

Fundraising Style: **balanced**

The Scoop: Dennis Damon never had a close race in his eight years in the Senate. In 2002 he won nearly 50% of the vote in a three-way race. After that, this retired teacher won in a series of landslides, carrying 64% of the vote each cycle until barred by term limits. Despite his very safe seat, he was a formidable fundraiser in his first three campaigns. Organizations supporting Damon include both Maine Citizens Against Handgun Violence (\$200 in 2002), and the National Rifle Association (\$250 in 2006). His pool of small contributions was 19.99% of his overall fundraising, making him second in that category. A large proportion of Damon's contributions, 65%, came from within his district. During the 2008 cycle his campaign raised only \$2,580. He also operated a PAC which raised \$30,669.

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse
Commercial Sources
Political Action Committees
Other Individuals
Small Contributions \$50 or less
Other Candidates & Committees
Political Party Committees

Hometown: Hampden	Party: Republican
Total Funds Raised: \$70,616	Most Raised for One Election: \$21,267

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:

2004(Senate); 2006(Senate); 2008(Senate); 2010(Senate)

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$26,761 [37.90%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$2,479 [3.51%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$450 [0.64%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$21,575 [30.55%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **380**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$50,900 [72.08%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **185**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$48,550 [68.75%]**

Years in Legislature: **1993-2000 (House); 2005-2012 (Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):

Assistant Majority Leader 2011-2012; Veterans and Legal Affairs

Fundraising Style: **PACs and commercial sources**

The Scoop: No other candidate in the top tier relied on PAC and commercial contributions more than Debra Plowman. She raised 30.55% of her funds from PACs and 37.90% from commercial sources — top of the Leader Board in both categories. More than two-thirds of all her funds came from these interests. Small individual contributions made up 3.51% of her total war chest — lower than any other candidate in the study except those who self-funded. Plowman's presence on this list reflects her longevity rather than a pattern of extremely expensive campaigning. Her most expensive campaign was \$21,267 — a moderate amount for a Senate race. Plowman's political action committee, The Right Direction PAC, raised \$27,072. In 2012 Plowman led her caucus in opposing a measure supported by MCCE that would have strengthened the Maine Clean Election Act. Currently Assistant Majority Leader of the Maine Senate, Plowman finished 6th in the 2012 Republican U.S. Senate primary.

22%

31%

38%

#8
Debra Plowman

TOP MAINE
LEGISLATIVE
FUNDRAISERS



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Debra Plowman

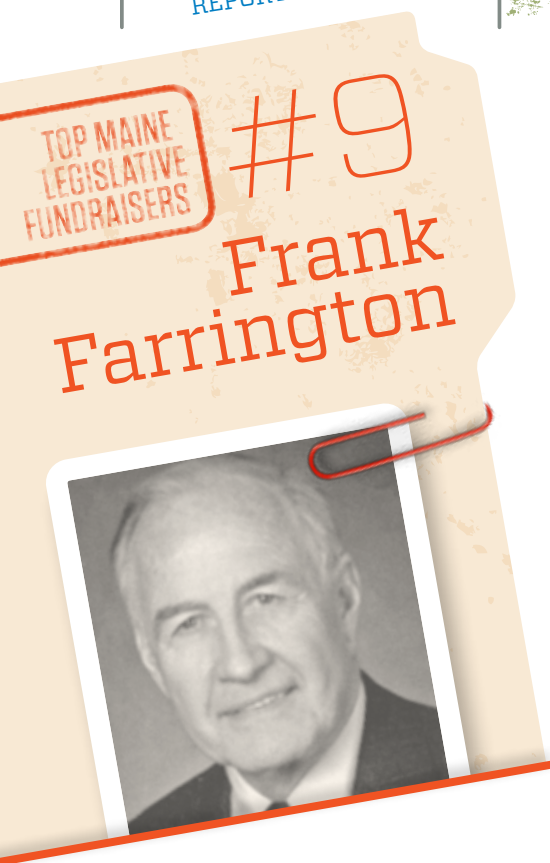
1	Maine Association of Realtors	\$1,600
2	Carlen Transport	\$1,250
3	Foster & Levesque	\$1,200
4	Maine TRUCK PAC	\$1,100
5	NRA	\$1,100
6	Maine Dental PAC	\$1,050
7	Friends of Maine Hospitals	\$1,000
8	Maine Bank PAC	\$1,000

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors





SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Frank Farrington

1	Maine Forest Legacy PAC	\$500
2	Sawyer, Barbara	\$500
3	Savage, Thomas W.	\$500
4	Putnam, Roger	\$500
5	Prentiss and Carlisle	\$500
6	Carlisle, David	\$500
7	Carlisle, Susan	\$500
8	Nicholson, Jr, Norman C.	\$500

FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY

Candidate and Spouse Commercial Sources Political Action Committees Other Individuals Small Contributions \$50 or less Other Candidates & Committees Political Party Committees

Hometown: Bangor	Party: Republican
Total Funds Raised: \$63,632	Most Raised for One Election: \$63,632

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study: **2006 (Senate)**

Clean Election Campaigns: **none**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$4,200 [6.60%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$6,353 [9.98%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$750 [1.18%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **340**

Dollars from PACs: **\$3,500 [5.50%]**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$37,335 [58.67%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **129**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$32,250 [50.68%]**

Years in Legislature: **0**

Leadership and Committee Position(s): **n/a**

Fundraising Style: **balanced, with an emphasis on individual contributors**

The Scoop: Former Bangor Mayor Frank Farrington ran once for the legislature and collected 340 itemized individual contributions — just three fewer than Denis Damon, who ran four times. Farrington raised a total of \$54,538 [85.7%] from individual contributors, and relatively small amounts from PACs and commercial sources. Much of his funding was raised in contributions of \$100 to \$250 from individuals in or near the Bangor district he sought to represent. Still, almost 60% came from outside his district, and more than half came from “maxed-out donors.” He pulled in 43.7% of the vote, failing to unseat incumbent Senator Joe Perry for this perennially competitive Senate seat.

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



FUNDRAISING TOTAL SEGMENTED BY CATEGORY



Hometown: Falmouth	Party: Republican
Total Funds Raised: \$59,592	Most Raised for One Election: \$33,982

Privately Funded Campaigns in this Study:
2002(House); 2004(House); 2008(Senate)

Clean Election Campaigns: **2010 (Senate)**

Dollars from Commercial Sources: **\$9,830 [16.50%]**

Dollars from Small Contributors: **\$5,192 [8.71%]**

Dollars Contributed to Own Campaign(s): **\$2,600 [4.36%]**

Dollars from PACs: **\$14,450 [24.25%]**

Number of Reported Contributors: **405**

Dollars from Outside District: **\$29,032 [48.72%]**

Number of Maxed-out Donors: **136**

Dollars from Maxed-out Donors: **\$34,000 [57.05%]**

Years in Legislature: **1999-2006 (House); 2009-2010 (Senate)**

Leadership and Committee Position(s):
Criminal Justice and Public Safety

Fundraising Style: **balanced**

The Scoop: Davis is one of the few candidates to receive significant amounts of funding from a local political party committee. Davis has also expressed a variety of views on the Clean Elections program. Usually a privately funded candidate, at times he has spoken out against Clean Elections. But in 2010 he opted for public funding in his unsuccessful bid for re-election to the Senate. Davis was defeated by Dick Woodbury, who was also a Clean Election candidate. In 2009 Davis was also the author of unsuccessful legislation to repeal Clean Elections in gubernatorial races.

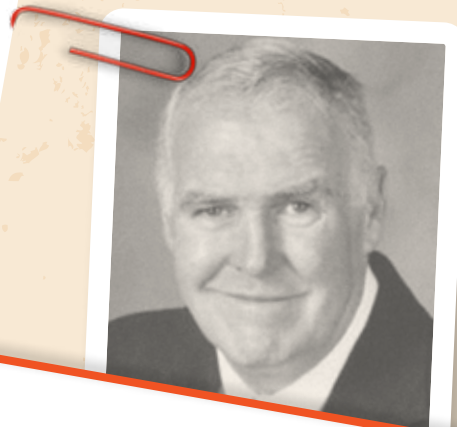
9%

40%

24%

17%

#10
Gerald M. Davis
TOP MAINE LEGISLATIVE FUNDRAISERS



SOME TOP CONTRIBUTORS TO Gerald Davis

1	Falmouth Republican Town Comm.	\$1,500
2	Maine Bank PAC	\$1,450
3	MEA	\$1,250
4	Micucci, Bruce	\$1,100
5	MSEA	\$1,000
6	National Distributors	\$900
7	McKernan, John	\$750
8	Maine Truck PAC	\$750

Out of district funds



Portion of all funds raised from maxed-out donors



Conclusion

A survey compiled by the Ethics Commission in 2007 showed that many legislative candidates are sensitive about the appearance of influence or access that comes with private fundraising. Legislators said that they “don’t want to put [their] hands in the pockets of special interest groups ... don’t want to feel beholden to anyone but constituents ... [and] want to focus on the voters and issues, rather than spending the majority of time raising funds from special interests.”¹

The Maine Clean Election Act has addressed those concerns by giving candidates a better way to run for office. It succeeded in replacing much of the special interest money in Maine campaigns with public interest money – money that comes with no strings attached. The law also imposed meaningful contribution limits on privately funded candidates. Between 1998 and 2006 the amount of private contributions raised in legis-

lative races fell by 77%, from \$3,190,796 to \$744,388 (including Seed Money, the very limited private money raised and spent early in Clean Election campaigns)². This is a dramatic shift in the way Maine candidates fund their campaigns, and it has greatly reduced the appearance that legislators are indebted to wealthy contributors.

Because it includes mandatory spending limits, the Clean Election system remains optional, not compulsory, for candidates. So even in an era when the vast majority of legislative candidates opt in, Maine candidates may forgo public funding and instead turn to private contributors. Their fundraising activity is a matter of public record, revealing a great deal about the candidates and their approach to campaigns. The top fundraisers in this report engaged in a variety of fundraising styles, from self-funded wealthy candidates, to those who relied heavily on commercial sources and PACs, to those who relied on a broad base of individual contribu-

tions. Some of them received very substantial financial support from special interests with specific legislative agendas vital to those interests. This is a matter of public concern.

Many privately funded candidates deny that their official actions can be bought or even influenced by the contributors who bankroll their election ambitions. And with low contribution limits, that may be true. But a candidate’s choice to seek out private funds is itself an important factor in assessing the qualities of that candidate — something the public should know and understand. Information about these financial supporters is necessary before a citizen can fully appreciate the candidates, their views on the issues, and whose interests they represent.

A better understanding about how private money influences public elections leads to a better-informed electorate. And that leads to a healthier democracy in Maine.

¹ *Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices, 2007 Report on the Maine Clean Election Act, p. 27.*

² *Ethics Commission 2007 Report, Maine Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices, 2007 Report on the Maine Clean Election Act, p. 24.*

Top 50 Privately Funded Legislative Candidates

Ranked by Funds Raised 2002-2012*

TABLE 2-3

Rank	Candidate	Amount
1	Linnehan, John D.	\$225,566
2	Tessier, Paul L.	\$111,998
3	Hall, Christopher G.	\$106,415
4	Diamond, Bill	\$100,599
5	Sullivan, Nancy	\$99,601
6	Dow, Dana L.	\$83,250
7	Damon, Dennis S.	\$74,713
8	Plowman, Debra D.	\$70,616
9	Farrington, Frank J.	\$63,632
10	Davis, Gerald M.	\$59,592
11	Cushing, Andre E.	\$55,584
12	Bruno, Joseph	\$55,486
13	Strang Burgess, Meredith N.	\$52,435
14	Tardy, Joshua A.	\$49,631
15	Fossel, Leslie T.	\$46,317
16	Duprey, Brian M.	\$44,591
17	Sawyer, W. Tom	\$41,568
18	Newman, F. Douglas	\$40,884
19	Hastings, David R.	\$40,604
20	Lewin, Sarah O.	\$40,260
21	Holman, Abigail	\$40,060
22	Smith, Douglas M.	\$38,435
23	Elowitch, David	\$37,870
24	Richardson, Earl	\$35,670
25	Fisher, Charles D.	\$35,341

Rank	Candidate	Amount
26	Cebra, Richard M.	\$33,573
27	Chase, Kathleen D.	\$31,293
28	Raye, Kevin L.	\$30,676
29	Simpson, John I.	\$30,150
30	Suslovic, Edward J.	\$28,222
31	Cameron, Robert A.	\$26,972
32	Austin, Susan M.	\$26,818
33	Knight, L. Gary	\$26,811
34	Brannigan, Joseph C.	\$25,815
35	Cressey, Jr., Philip A.	\$25,767
36	Boyle, James A.	\$25,735
37	Crosthwaite, Robert H.	\$25,405
38	Millett, H. Sawin	\$25,195
39	Mayo III, Arthur F.	\$23,160
40	Nutting, Robert W.	\$22,805
41	Collins, Ronald F.	\$22,730
42	Nutting, John M.	\$21,560
43	Quint, Colleen J.	\$21,433
44	Robinson, John C.	\$21,137
45	McLean, Andrew J.	\$21,034
46	Espling, Eleanor M.	\$19,269
47	Rogers, William T.	\$19,046
48	Glynn, Kevin J.	\$18,430
49	Tyll, Christopher M.	\$18,150
50	Brown, Richard B.	\$18,025

* Does not include transfers from previous campaigns or any Seed Money raised while running as a publicly funded candidate.

How did MCCE Produce this Report?

This report refers to classifications of contributions by various types, following rules established by the Ethics Commission. The Ethics Commission requires candidates to file reports periodically during the election cycle. In those reports the candidate is requested to disclose certain information about their fundraising activities. Specifically, the candidate is required to classify the source of each contribution as one of the following:

1. The candidate him/herself (or spouse/domestic partner)
2. Another individual
3. A commercial source (corporations, etc.)
4. A political action committee
5. A political party committee
6. Another candidate or committee
7. A Maine Clean Election Act payment (not applicable to privately funded candidates)
8. A contributor giving \$50 or less (for whom the name and address need not be reported)
9. A transfer from a previous campaign.

Under state law a loan is classified as a contribution. The candidate's classifications under this system are included in the online database maintained by the Ethics Commission. We rely on that data in this report.

Under Maine law candidates are not required to report the name of contributors making contributions of \$50 or less. For purposes of this report, "small contributions" consists of contributions from individuals in the amount of \$50 or less whether or not the contributor was specifically named in the reports filed by the candidates.

Some of the listed candidates have alternated between private funding and the Maine Clean Election Act public funding program. This report only looks at the funding those candidates received while using the private funding option.

This report includes funding raised in the current election cycle as of June, 2012. Two of the candidates listed in this report have been candidates during the 2012 cycle. Nancy Sullivan was a candidate in the House of Representatives primary in June 2012, but did

not advance to the general election. Debra Plowman registered as a legislative candidate with the Maine Secretary of State in January 2012 but withdrew from that race before any campaign finance activity had been reported. Plowman was an unsuccessful candidate in the Republican primary for the U.S. Senate in 2012, and her fundraising in that race is not considered in this report.

Special election data is included when relevant, such as the race run by Dana Dow in 2012.

The data regarding "Dollars per general election vote" does not attempt to separate out funding that was raised and spent in any primary election the candidate might have faced. Regardless of whether there was a competitive primary, this metric is useful for gauging the cost-effectiveness of the candidate's campaign financing practices.

Finally, most figures include loans from a candidate (or third party) to a campaign, but do not include balances carried forward from a previous campaign.

UPCOMING REPORTS

This is the first in a series of monthly reports on the role of money in Maine politics. Future reports will be released on the following topics:

Gubernatorial fundraising

BPA legislation and the role of political money

Independent spending in recent Maine elections

And many more...

PREVIOUS REPORTS

REPORT #1

PACs Unlimited: How Legislator
PACs Distort Maine Politics



Maine Citizens for Clean Elections

P.O. Box 18187
Portland, ME 04112

www.maineclipselections.org