Overview of Expenditures and Sources of Funding for the 2014 Election



Prepared by the Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board April 9, 2015

Executive Summary

The Campaign Finance and Public Disclosure Board is charged with providing the public with information on the money raised and spent to influence elections for state offices in Minnesota. This is accomplished through the registration and reporting requirements of Chapter 10A, which requires candidate committees, political parties, and political committees and funds to file period reports of their financial activity with the Board. When filed, all campaign finance reports are available for inspection on the Board's website. Placing the reports on the website allows members of the public to quickly inspect the disclosure of candidates in their legislative districts and in other races of interest. But the volume of these reports, over 6,900 filed in 2014, can make it difficult for an individual to make comparisons across districts, or to see the bigger picture on how money is raised and spent to influence Minnesota elections. The goal of this overview is to reduce the data from the 2014 election into tables and graphical representations that are more approachable and that provide comparisons and summary information that would be difficult for individuals to generate on their own.

This overview does not replace the Campaign Finance Election Summary, which provides a detailed listing of the money raised and spent by each registered committee. The Campaign Finance Election Summary will be published in the fall of 2015. The data used for this overview is as reported to the Board. The data has not been verified or audited. Amendments filed to 2014 reports may not be reflected in this overview. This document provides information on the following topics.

Total expenditures to influence the 2014 elections, counting both campaign expenditures made by the candidates' campaign committees and independent expenditures made for and against candidates, came to \$33,927,310. Starting on page 3, the overview breaks down the amount spent by office (statewide, judicial, and legislative) and compares that total to independent expenditures. Also provided are bar charts comparing spending by candidate in each statewide office (appendix A) and by house district (appendix B). The overview also provides a relative comparison of the spending on house district elections by listing total spending in descending order from the most expensive to the least expensive election (appendix C).

Independent expenditures in 2014 to influence state elections came to \$17,731,428. Starting on page 5 the overview charts the growing importance of independent expenditures from 1994 to 2014, and lists the political party units and political committees and funds that made independent expenditures in 2014 by amount spent in descending order (appendix E).

The sources of funding for independent expenditure committees and funds, found on page 7, is one of two sections that look at the source of money used to influence the outcome of Minnesota elections. The type of disclosure required for the funding for independent expenditure committees and funds is different than that required for other types of committees and funds. This section provides a graphical comparison of funding sources for this type of committee, and looks at what can, and cannot, be learned from the disclosure provided.

Finally, the overview provides a brief look at the role of large contributions from individuals in funding political committees and funds and political party units in 2014 on page 8, and lists the individuals who contributed over \$50,000 (appendix D).

Total Expenditures to Influence the 2014 Election

Expenditures to directly influence voting at the 2014 election are reported to the Board in two ways. First, candidate committees report campaign expenditures made by those committees. This amount includes the value of in-kind expenditures made with the knowledge and on behalf of a candidate by party units or political committees.

Secondly, political parties, political committees and funds, and independent expenditure committees and funds (party units and political committees) can make independent expenditures either in support of or in opposition to candidates. Independent expenditures are done without the knowledge of candidates, and so are reported only by the party units and political committees¹.

The Board notes that the contributions and expenditures included in this report are those contributions and expenditures reported to the Board. There are other significant expenditures that may also influence elections that are not reported to the Board. Commonly referred to as *electioneering communications* these communications do not explicitly ask that a particular candidate be elected or defeated. But, given the close proximity of electioneering communications to primary and general elections, it is commonly understood that the communications have impact, and are usually intended to influence the outcome of elections. The Board has recommended that the legislature require limited disclosure from the associations that make electioneering communications so that a complete picture of the amount raised and spent to influence the voters at an election is disclosed. The legislature is considering the Board's recommendations.

During 2014, campaign expenditures made by the committees of candidates who filed for office and independent expenditures made by party units and political committees totaled \$33,927,310². As shown in Figure 1, the total amount spent on independent expenditures is nearly equal to the amount spent by all candidates combined. Campaign expenditures by candidate committees totaled \$17,731,428 or 52% of the total reported amount spent to influence the election. Total independent expenditures were \$16, 195,882, or 48% of the total reported amount spent to influence the election.

¹ Candidate committees may also spend funds on non-campaign disbursements, which are defined in statute and not counted as campaign expenditures. Party units and political committees also have general expenditures, typically administrative overhead, which are not on behalf of a particular state candidate. Non-campaign expenditures and general expenditures are not included in this analysis.

² All numbers in this memo are as of March 5, 2015. Amendments to the Year-end Report of Receipts and Expenditures filed by candidates, party units, and political committees may alter the totals presented here.

Figure 1



Independent expenditures are reported with information that identifies the candidate that was the subject of the independent expenditure, and whether the expenditure was in support of or in opposition to the candidate. Total spending on any particular race can be determined by combining campaign expenditures made by the candidate committees in the race with the independent expenditures made for and against the candidates in that race. In Table 1, the ten state House of Representative races with the highest total expenditures are listed.

House District	Independent Expenditures	Candidate Committee Campaign Expenditures	Total Expenditures in 2014
14B	\$784,955	\$176,234	\$961,190
48A	\$782,810	\$116,554	\$899,364
10B	\$692 <i>,</i> 028	\$83,529	\$775,557
27A	\$560,627	\$136,341	\$696,969
44B	\$364,747	\$331,757	\$696,504
12A	\$538,774	\$140,021	\$678,794
17B	\$549,817	\$128,327	\$678,144
56B	\$548,535	\$112,836	\$661,371
43A	\$511,130	\$105,816	\$616,946
2A	\$520,328	\$78,524	\$598,853

Table 1

The range of total expenditures for state House of Representative races varied from the \$961,190 dollars spent on District 14B to \$62 spent on District 47B in support of Representative Joe Hoppe, who was unopposed at the election. A complete listing of expenditures by house district in descending order is found in Appendix C, attached at the end of this document.

Appendix B, also attached to this document, provides information and comparative charts on the campaign expenditures and independent expenditures made for the 134 state House of Representative races. A similar breakdown of 2014 expenditures for the constitutional offices (governor, attorney general, secretary of state, and state auditor) is available in Appendix A.

2014 Independent Expenditures

Comparing the amount of independent expenditures over multiple elections is complicated by the fact that independent expenditures increase or decrease depending on which offices are on the ballot. In particular the presence of the office of governor on the ballot significantly increases the total amount of spending on independent expenditures. In Figure 2, the total amount of independent expenditures spikes in 2006, 2010, and 2014, which are the elections at which the office of governor was up for election. However, a direct comparison between the \$16,252,991 spent in 2014, and the \$16,285,858 spent in 2010, is still problematic because of the state Senate. In 2010 the Senate was on the ballot, while in 2014 only the House of Representatives was up for election. Therefore, while it is possible to say that total spending on independent expenditures was almost the same in 2010 and 2014 it is with the caveat that the number of state offices on the ballot was greater in 2010.



Figure 2

Figure 2 shows independent expenditures by the type of registered committee that made the expenditure: political party units, political committees and funds, and independent expenditure committees and funds. Independent expenditure committees and funds are different from other political committees and funds because they may accept contributions from corporations. The 2010 election is the first year during which independent expenditure committees and funds were recognized under Minnesota law. During the twenty years represented in the chart independent expenditures increased from a little over \$436,000 in 2004, to a little over \$16,252,000 in 2014, an amount about 37 times larger.

In 2014, independent expenditures focused on the gubernatorial race and competitive State Representative races. Figure 3 shows a breakdown of the amount spent on independent expenditures by office.

Figure 3



Political Committees, Political Party Units and Political Funds that made Independent Expenditures

Of the approximately \$16,252,000 in independent expenditures made in 2014, about 66% (\$10,685,512) of the total was made by five committees and political party units. Table 2 lists the top five spenders on independent expenditures. A listing of all 73 registered committees, funds and party units that made independent expenditures in 2014 is found in Appendix E.

Table	2
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Committee	Independent Expenditures
Alliance for a Better Minnesota Action Fund	\$4,548,574
Minn DFL State Central Committee	\$2,866,494
Republican Party of Minn	\$1,306,065
Pro Jobs Majority	\$1,035,563
DFL House Caucus	\$928,817

Sources of Funding for Independent Expenditure Committees and Funds

Independent expenditure committees and funds came into existence in 2010 as a way to accommodate the use of corporate contributions to pay for independent expenditures. However, corporate contributions are not the only, or even the largest, source of funding for independent expenditure committees and funds. As seen in Figure 4, independent expenditure committees receive significant funding from registered political committees, individuals, political parties, and transfers from other independent expenditure committees and funds.





2014 Source of Funding for Independent Committees and Funds

Actual corporate business revenue is included in the \$5,927,463 reported from unregistered associations. However, in 2014, unregistered associations did not use business revenue for the majority of the contributions made to independent expenditure committees and funds, or at least for the majority of contributions that exceeded \$5,000.

The source of funding for independent expenditure committees and funds is disclosed under a different set of statutory requirements than the requirements for political committees and funds or political party units. Independent expenditure committees and funds are required to obtain and forward to the Board underlying disclosure for contributions from unregistered associations if the contribution is more than \$5,000. No disclosure on the source of funding is required if the contribution does not exceed \$5,000.

Unregistered associations that contribute over \$5,000 in aggregate to independent expenditure committees provide a short report that discloses the source of the funds used for the contribution. If the association used business revenue it generated to fund the contribution no further disclosure is required. If the association used membership fees and dues, or contributions received from individuals or other associations to fund the contribution, then the disclosure statement may, under some circumstances, need to list the source of the funds used for the contribution.

The Board recommended to the legislature in 2013 that the statutory formula used to determine if the unregistered association must itemize the source of funds used for a contribution should be changed because the current method of calculation was resulting in little disclosure. The underlying disclosure provided by unregistered associations for \$4,230,689 in contributions to independent expenditure committees appears consistent with that recommendation. Figure 5 shows that unregistered associations used business revenue to fund contributions that exceeded \$5,000 only 2% of the time, and that individuals were itemized as the source of funding for 23% of the money given by unregistered associations. No itemization, which is to say, no disclosure of the source of funding, was required by statute or provided for 65% of the money donated by unregistered associations.



Figure 5

Role of Large Contributions from Individuals in Funding of Registered Political Committees and Political Party Units

Political party units, political committees, and political funds do not have limits on the size of contributions that may be received from individuals. Therefore, individuals who are able to contribute relatively large amounts to party units and political committees become an important funding source. Figure 6 shows the relative importance of individuals who each contributed \$50,000 or more in aggregate in 2014. Those thirty-two individuals contributed more than the other 4,822 individual contributors itemized on reports from political committees and funds and political party units.





Total Itemized Contributions from Individuals to all Party Units and Political Committees and Funds

It should be noted that the total amount of contributions received by political committees, political funds, and political party units from all sources in 2014 was \$61,083,130. When compared to the overall contribution amount, the contributions from contributors who gave \$50,000 or more represents only about 9% of the total amount received. A listing of individuals who gave \$50,000 or more in 2014 is provided in Appendix D.



2014 Attorney General



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2014 State Auditor

2014 Secretary of State



Appendix B 2014 Campaign Expenditures and Independent Expenditures by House District



House Districts 1A and 1B

House Districts 2A and 2B





House Districts 3A and 3B







House Districts 5A and 5B







House Districts 7A and 7B

House Districts 8A and 8B





House Districts 9A and 9B







House Districts 11A and 11B

House Districts 12A and 12B





House Districts 13A and 13B

House Districts 14A and 14B





House Districts 15A and 15B

House Districts 16A and 16B





House Districts 17A and 17B







House Districts 19A and 19B

House Districts 20A and 20B





House Districts 21A and 21B







House Districts 23A and 23B

House Districts 24A and 24B





House Districts 25A and 25B

House Districts 26A and 26B





House Districts 27A and 27B

House Districts 28A and 28B





House Districts 29A and 29B

House Districts 30A and 30B





House Districts 31A and 31B

House Districts 32A and 32B





House Districts 33A and 33B

House Districts 34A and 34B





House Districts 35A and 35B

House Districts 36A and 36B





House Districts 37A and 37B

House Districts 38A and 38B





House Districts 39A and 39B

House Districts 40A and 40B





House Districts 41A and 41B







House Districts 43A and 43B

House Districts 44A and 44B





House Districts 45A and 45B

House Districts 46A and 46B





House Districts 47A and 47B







House Districts 49A and 49B

House Districts 50A and 50B




House Districts 51A and 51B







House Districts 53A and 53B

House Districts 54A and 54B





House Districts 55A and 55B

House Districts 56A and 56B





House Districts 57A and 57B

House Districts 58A and 58B





House Districts 59A and 59B







House Districts 61A and 61B







House Districts 63A and 63B

House Districts 64A and 64B





House Districts 65A and 65B

House Districts 66A and 66B





House Districts 67A and 67B

District	Independent Expenditures	Candidate Committee Campaign Expenditures	Total Expenditures in District - 2014
14B	\$784,955	\$176,234	\$961,190
48A	\$782,810	\$116,554	\$899,364
10B	\$692,028	\$83,954	\$775,982
27A	\$560,627	\$136,341	\$696,969
44B	\$364,747	\$331,757	\$696,504
12A	\$538,774	\$140,021	\$678,794
17B	\$549,817	\$128,327	\$678,144
56B	\$548,535	\$112,836	\$661,371
43A	\$511,130	\$105,816	\$616,946
2A	\$520,328	\$78,524	\$598,853
42A	\$472,541	\$61,983	\$534,524
17A	\$416,397	\$93,670	\$510,066
51A	\$373,077	\$124,309	\$497,386
11B	\$405,498	\$90,663	\$496,160
51B	\$406,503	\$89,213	\$495,716
49B	\$343,657	\$129,355	\$473,012
10A	\$362,704	\$80,714	\$443,418
36B	\$293,284	\$77,070	\$370,353
42B	\$253,761	\$90,773	\$344,535
49A	\$86 <i>,</i> 409	\$188,656	\$275,065
48B	\$132,396	\$109,982	\$242,378
4A	\$98,906	\$85,619	\$184,525
1B	\$46,047	\$112,361	\$158,408
14A	\$59,471	\$82,385	\$141,856
7A	\$1,309	\$139,493	\$140,802
5B	\$89,376	\$43,190	\$132,566
64B	\$1,362	\$123,522	\$124,883
24B	\$80,126	\$44,710	\$124,836
2B	\$49,506	\$73,435	\$122,941
60B	\$7,906	\$110,233	\$118,139
32B	\$38,015	\$76,686	\$114,701
8B	\$36,563	\$77,971	\$114,534
39B	\$13,355	\$95,531	\$108,887
58A	\$13,842	\$84,173	\$98,015
53A	\$40,137	\$52,839	\$92,976
34B	\$0	\$82,956	\$82,956
28B	\$1,012	\$80,434	\$81,447

Appendix C 2014 Total Expenditures by House District in Descending Order

9B	\$7,149	\$69,260	\$76,409
24A	\$9,732	\$65,287	\$75,019
3A	\$384	\$73,448	\$73,832
16A	\$835	\$70,269	\$71,104
37A	\$7,625	\$62,998	\$70,623
53B	\$1,112	\$69,434	\$70,546
36A	\$12,788	\$57,425	\$70,213
37B	\$767	\$67,887	\$68,654
26B	\$266	\$68,145	\$68,411
55A	\$7,237	\$59,848	\$67,085
57B	\$2,212	\$63,327	\$65,538
27B	\$709	\$63,610	\$64,319
52B	\$212	\$62,516	\$62,728
38B	\$344	\$61,647	\$61,991
19A	\$6,012	\$55,150	\$61,163
18B	\$486	\$59,053	\$59,539
44A	\$5,149	\$52,624	\$57,773
19B	\$5,136	\$52,229	\$57,365
47A	\$6,495	\$50,739	\$57,235
32A	\$2,792	\$53,050	\$55,842
30B	\$7,791	\$45,836	\$53,626
12B	\$137	\$52,444	\$52,581
61B	\$381	\$51,234	\$51,614
39A	\$503	\$49,674	\$50,176
26A	\$0	\$49,300	\$49,300
57A	\$2,074	\$44,020	\$46,093
38A	\$25	\$45,105	\$45,129
1A	\$441	\$43,575	\$44,016
35A	\$12	\$42,957	\$42,969
23A	\$12	\$42,641	\$42,653
21B	\$12	\$41,756	\$41,768
45A	\$0	\$40,813	\$40,813
5A	\$24,939	\$15,664	\$40,603
52A	\$246	\$39,801	\$40,047
33A	\$12	\$39,936	\$39,949
50B	\$0	\$39,140	\$39,140
22B	\$1,277	\$37,223	\$38,499
20A	\$813	\$36,816	\$37,629
41B	\$0	\$37,266	\$37,266
54B	\$12	\$37,173	\$37,186
56A	\$504	\$36,119	\$36,623
6B	\$10,000	\$26,435	\$36,435

43B	\$10,000	\$26,217	\$36,217
62A	\$0	\$35,972	\$35,972
55B	\$12	\$35,367	\$35,379
46B	\$431	\$33,326	\$33,757
33B	\$12	\$33,674	\$33,686
64A	\$464	\$32,068	\$32,532
15A	\$1,560	\$30,512	\$32,073
16B	\$12	\$31,649	\$31,662
21A	\$12	\$31,450	\$31,462
6A	\$222	\$30,913	\$31,136
63B	\$611	\$30,353	\$30,963
67A	\$0	\$30,707	\$30,707
61A	\$10,410	\$19,594	\$30,004
18A	\$549	\$28,615	\$29,164
22A	\$12	\$28,716	\$28,728
65A	\$0	\$27,231	\$27,231
13A	\$12	\$26,751	\$26,763
31B	\$12	\$25,834	\$25,846
8A	\$12	\$24,993	\$25,005
28A	\$438	\$24,059	\$24,498
3B	\$0	\$24,312	\$24,312
60A	\$0	\$24,031	\$24,031
41A	\$0	\$23,385	\$23,385
40A	\$264	\$22,594	\$22,858
20B	\$645	\$22,150	\$22,796
66A	\$279	\$22,499	\$22,778
9A	\$12	\$22,386	\$22,398
15B	\$12	\$21,919	\$21,931
11A	\$0	\$21,487	\$21,487
45B	\$270	\$20,766	\$21,037
4B	\$211	\$20,023	\$20,235
66B	\$0	\$20,129	\$20,129
50A	\$0	\$19,636	\$19,636
54A	\$0	\$19,346	\$19,346
67B	\$0	\$18,752	\$18,752
46A	\$290	\$17,679	\$17,969
30A	\$12	\$16,338	\$16,351
40B	\$0	\$15,323	\$15,323
59B	\$0	\$14,992	\$14,992
59A	\$0	\$14,142	\$14,142
7B	\$218	\$13,642	\$13,860
31A	\$0	\$12,919	\$12,919

23B	\$12	\$12,840	\$12,852
58B	\$13	\$12,063	\$12,075
35B	\$12	\$11,666	\$11,679
62B	\$0	\$10,909	\$10,909
63A	\$0	\$10,354	\$10,354
65B	\$0	\$9,480	\$9,480
29A	\$12	\$7,703	\$7,716
25A	\$12	\$7,276	\$7,288
29B	\$12	\$6,769	\$6,781
13B	\$12	\$5,411	\$5,423
34A	\$12	\$5,355	\$5,367
25B	\$243	\$4,555	\$4,798
47B	\$12	\$50	\$62

Appendix D – Individuals Who Contributed \$50,000 or more to Political Committees, Political Party Units, and Political Funds in 2014

Donor Name	Cumulative Donations
Cummins, Joan M	\$1,200,500
Opperman, Vance	\$582,500
Messinger, Alida	\$555,000
Sussman, Donald	\$285,000
Hubbard, Stanley	\$348,500
Gores, Alec	\$200,000
Frauenshuh, David	\$171,150
Austin, William	\$200,000
Haselow, Robert	\$163,500
Anderson, Jeffrey	\$147,365
Ulrich, Robert	\$140,000
Corrigan, Fredric	\$135,000
Leines, Christopher	\$134,000
Koza, John	\$107,288
Gill, Tim	\$100,000
Dayton, Bruce	\$100,000
Lawrence, James	\$100,000
Cummins, Robert	\$75,000
Nelson, Glen	\$75,000
Marliem, Johannes	\$70,000
Dayton, Julia	\$65,000
Hamilton, Harold	\$65,000
Davis, Mark	\$55,000
Forster, Barbara	\$51,600
Priem, Troy	\$50,100
Dayton, Mark	\$50,000
Deal, James	\$50,000
Graves, John	\$50,000
Birkeland, Karin	\$50,000
Sternal, Karen	\$50,000
Huss, Alvin J	\$50,000
Rosen, Tom	\$50,000

Appendix E – 2014 Independent Expenditures by Political Committees, Political Funds, Political Party Units

Committee	Independent Expenditures
Alliance for a Better Minnesota Action Fund	\$4,548,574
Minn DFL State Central Committee	\$2,866,494
Republican Party of Minn	\$1,306,065
Pro Jobs Majority	\$1,035,563
DFL House Caucus	\$928,817
MN Action Network IE PAC	\$656,841
Minn Jobs Coalition Legislative Fund	\$635,323
Housing First	\$549,066
HRCC	\$470,289
Education Minn PAC	\$426,345
Coalition of MN Businesses PAC	\$342,139
Freedom Club State PAC	\$237,092
Working America Minn Political Committee	\$220,969
Minnesota's Future	\$220,817
National Assn of Realtors Fund	\$195,639
Planned Parenthood Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota Action Fund	\$194,511
Public Safety Matters Campaign	\$150,000
AFSCME Minn PEOPLE Committee Council 5 PAC	\$111,514
Minn Nurses Assn Pol Comm (MNA-PC)	\$102,018
Driving MN	\$97,344
SEIU Minn State Council Political Fund	\$95,440
Minnesotans for Responsible Limited Government	\$87,104
Minn AFL-CIO	\$83,192
Everytown for Gun Safety Minnesota	\$80,805
MN Homeowners Alliance Independent Expenditure Fund	\$80,000
Freedom Minnesota PAC Inc	\$79 <i>,</i> 849
Middle Class Majority	\$71,114
CMVC Fund (Conservation MN Voter Center)	\$57,863
TakeAction Political Fund	\$40,393
Minnesotans for Growth	\$32,774
MN FORWARD	\$30,000
Hospitality Jobs Fund	\$29,820
Minn Food Coalition	\$27,336
North Central States Carpenters PAC	\$18,669

Take Action PAC	\$15,000
Women's Victory Fund (Women PAC)	\$13,868
Sierra Club Political Committee	\$12,108
Working Families Fund	\$10,710
MCCL State Pac	\$9,596
NRA Political Victory Fund	\$7,461
OutFront MN Action Independent Expenditure Fund	\$7,239
7th Congressional District RPM	\$5,919
Minn Gun Owners Political Action Committee	\$5,283
17th Senate District DFL	\$4,927
Morrison County DFL	\$4,754
Republican State Leadership Committee	\$4,628
Child Protection League PAC	\$4,290
IFO Political Action Committee Fund (Inter Faculty	\$3,809
Organization)	
57th Senate District DFL	\$3,692
SEIU Healthcare Minn (fka SEIU Local 113)	\$3,116
Mah Mah Wi No Min Fund I	\$3,096
2nd Congressional District RPM	\$2,644
LeSueur County RPM	\$2,528
44th Senate District RPM	\$2,357
MFC Action Fund	\$1,712
Douglas County DFL	\$1,697
Clean Water Action Independent Fund	\$1,582
TwinWest Business PAC	\$1,436
Minn Volunteer Firefighters Political Committee	\$1,329
VOICES of Conservative Women State PAC (VOICESPAC)	\$1,311
Fillmore County RPM	\$1,150
5th Senate District DFL	\$1,006
4th Congressional District RPM	\$1,000
NFIB/MN Save Americas Free Enterprise Trust	\$923
16th Senate District DFL	\$823
64th Senate District DFL	\$645
51st Senate District RPM	\$562
36th Senate District RPM	\$537
Pipestone County RPM	\$374
21st Senate District DFL	\$200
Cass County RPM	\$200
58th Senate District RPM	\$166
Lake County DFL	\$100