# Campaign Finance Activity by Candidates for Statewide Office 2001 - 2002



Commonwealth of Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance One Ashburton Place Boston, MA 02108 Candidates for statewide office spent a record \$47.1 million in the two-year period leading up to the Nov. 5 general election, with record spending for three offices, according to figures compiled by the Office of Campaign and Political Finance.

This study is a compilation of fundraising and spending totals for 30 candidates who were on the primary and/or general election ballot for the six offices, based on statements filed by the committees and their depository banks.

According to candidates' reports, a total of \$45,970,764 was raised and \$47,099,531 was spent for all races from Jan. 1, 2001, through Nov. 15, 2002. (The imbalance is due to the fact that several candidates had funds on hand at the start of 2001.) Those two totals exceed the previous highs of \$25 million raised and \$27.9 million spent, both reported in the 1998 campaign, and are more than three times the amounts reported in the 1994 campaign. In fact, the 1998 records had already been exceeded by the end of the 2002 primary campaign, when the receipts were \$36.4 million and expenditures stood at \$35.4 million.

The 2002 totals show record receipts and expenditures in the races for Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Treasurer. All three seats were open, and the races featured several candidates with significant campaign finance activity.

The relatively high aggregate figures were caused mainly by a greater number of candidates and substantial activity in the primary campaign period. The 30 candidates in this study is the most ever recorded in such an OCPF report. The primary spending total of \$35.4 million represented an increase over the old record of about 75 percent. The general election spending figure of \$11.7 million was an increase over the old record from 1998 of about 45 percent.

The greatest activity was once again reported in the race for Governor, where nine candidates reported raising \$28,026,089 and spending \$30,601,910. Those two figures are the highest gubernatorial totals ever reported by OCPF and the highest figures for any single statewide race. The figures far exceed the previous gubernatorial records of \$16 million raised and \$18.6 million spent, both from the 1998 campaign.

Governor-elect Mitt Romney set individual records for both fundraising and spending by a statewide candidate in 2002. Romney, who won a race for an open seat, reported raising \$9,830,177 and spending \$9,361,004. Both figures are the highest candidate totals ever recorded in an OCPF study of statewide races, which was first issued after the 1990 election.

Romney's totals exceed those of the previous record holder, Paul Cellucci, who raised \$5.5 million and spent \$7 million in a successful campaign in 1998. Cellucci, however, posted his totals over a two-year period, while Romney's figures represented only about nine months of activity.

Record totals were also posted in the race for lieutenant governor, where eight candidates reported raising \$11,597,890 and spending \$11,450,417. Both those figures are more than four

times the previous records for the office, which were both set in 1990. Christopher Gabrieli, who won the Democratic nomination but lost in the general election in 2002, recorded the highest receipt and expenditure totals ever for a candidate for that office: \$5,487,294 raised and \$5,434,046 spent.

The third race with a record level of aggregate activity was the contest for the third open statewide seat, Treasurer. In that contest, seven candidates reported an aggregate of \$4,263,009 in receipts and \$4,216,362 in expenditures. The previous records were \$3.2 million raised and \$3.8 million spent, both posted in 1990.

The top fundraiser and spender in the 2002 treasurer's race was the winner, Timothy Cahill, who posted fundraising and spending figures of \$1,062,562 and \$1,209,782, respectively. Those figures were not the highest ever posted for the seat; the records of \$3.2 million raised and \$3.8 million spent were set in 1990.

The other three statewide races showed relatively little activity.

In the race for Secretary of the Commonwealth, the two candidates reported receipts of \$843,570 and expenditures of \$265,304. The winner, incumbent William Galvin, accounted for 70 percent of the spending in the race.

Similar results were reported in the contest for Auditor, where three candidates reported \$307,896 in receipts and \$297,460 in expenditures. Incumbent and winner Joseph DeNucci accounted for the bulk of the activity, including 99.8 percent of the spending. One candidate, John Xenakis, reported no financial activity.

In the sixth race, Attorney General Thomas Reilly was re-elected with no opposition. Reilly reported receipts of \$932,310 and expenditures of \$267,978.

The top spender was also the winner in five of the six contests. In the race for Lieutenant Governor, Gabrieli spent more than any of the other seven candidates, but lost in the general election.

The figures do not include independent expenditures made on behalf of a candidate, which must be reported to OCPF only by the individual or entity making the expenditure. Seven entities reported independent expenditures on behalf of a total of four statewide candidates, for a total of \$897,560. (A breakdown of these expenditures is included in this report for the first time.) The candidates' figures also do not include in-kind contributions, which are made in cooperation or consultation with a campaign and are reported by a campaign committee in their year-end reports, and liabilities paid after Nov. 15 or still outstanding at the end of the year. The later liabilities are reported in committees' year-end reports, which are due Jan. 21, 2003.

The figures for each candidate follow.

## Campaign Finance Activity by Statewide Candidates in the 2002 Election

Aggregate receipts and expenditures 2001 - 2002

The following figures are based on information contained in reports filed regularly by financial institutions designated by candidates and committees. The reports are filed on the  $5^{th}$  day of each month and also, in the last six months of an election year, on the  $20^{th}$  day of each month.

- o *Periods Covered:* Starting date for activity in this report is Jan. 1, 2001, or the date on which a candidate first took action to seek statewide office, such as organizing a committee or designating a depository bank to report activity to OCPF. Primary campaign activity runs from the starting date through Sept. 15, 2002. General campaign activity covers Sept. 16 through Nov. 15, 2002. The dates of the primary and general elections were Sept. 17 and Nov. 5, respectively.
- o *Party Designations*: R = Republican; D = Democrat; L = Libertarian; G = Green. The party nominees/primary winners for each race are listed first. Candidates who lost in their party primaries follow.
- o I = Incumbent. Candidates who won the seat are listed first.
- o The figures for each campaign list all activity for the relevant period and may include receipts and expenditures that are not directly related to a campaign, especially in the case of expenditures by incumbents. Total spending may exceed fundraising because of funds already on hand at the start of the period. The figures do not include any independent expenditures by individuals and entities on behalf of candidates, in-kind contributions and campaign liabilities still outstanding as of Nov. 15, 2002. Statewide candidates report in-kind contributions and liabilities in their year-end summary reports, due on Jan. 21, 2003. Independent expenditures are reported only by the individual or organization making the expenditure.

Figures in this study are taken from the original campaign finance reports filed with the Office of Campaign and Political Finance by December 2002. This study does not take into account corrections, additions, or deletions that may occur in subsequent amendments by committees or based on reviews conducted by the Office.

#### Governor

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
Mitt Romney (R)	\$ 0	\$ 5,521,570.55	\$ 3,336,495.29	\$ 4,308,606.55	\$ 6,024,508.23	\$ 9,830,177.10	\$ 9,361,003.52
Shannon O'Brien (D)	669,766.31	3,651,166.34	4,477,849.05	1,836,730.37	1,783,339.30	5,487,896.71	6,261,188.35
Carla Howell (L)	0	227,825.29	215,252.11	51,191.11	52,470.88	279,016.40	267,722.99
Jill Stein (G)	0	105,008.34	102,433.11	19,144.95	15,875.94	124,153.29	118,309.05
Barbara Johnson (U)	0			37,568.41	36,314.18	37,568.41	36,314.18
Thomas Birmingham (D)	2,684,775.61	2,056,336.59	4,581,356.35			2,056,336.59	4,581,356.35
Steven Grossman (D)	828,834.75	4,195,015.72	4,241,116.00			4,195,015.72	4,241,116.00
Robert Reich (D)	0	1,743,183.11	1,726,161.42			1,743,183.11	1,726,161.42
Warren Tolman (D)	72,041.42	4,272,741.75	4,008,738.26			4,272,741.75	4,008,738.26
TOTAL	\$4,255,418.09	\$21,772,847.69	\$22,689,401.59	\$6,253,241.39	\$7,912,508.53	\$28,026,089.08	\$30,601,910.12

The Romney Committee organized in March 2002. The Birmingham Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in October 2001. The Reich Committee organized in December 2001. The Howell Committee organized in July 2001. The Stein Committee organized in July 2001. The Johnson Committee organized in July 2002.

## **Lieutenant Governor**

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
Kerry Murphy Healey (R)	\$ 0	\$2,056,341.84	\$1,677,716.25	\$ 487,281.45	\$ 807,289.02	\$2,543,623.29	\$2,485,005.27
Christopher Gabrieli (D)	0	3,719,098.61	3,598,749.40	1,768,195.48	1,835,296.51	5,487,294.09	5,434,045.91
Richard Aucoin (L)	0	10,038.00	8,785.32	20.00	1,224.00	10,058.00	10,009.32
Anthony Lorenzen (G)	0	4,954.24	3,825.53	985.00	1,883.35	5,939.24	5,708.88
Joseph Schebel (U)	0			*	*	*	*
Lois Pines (D)	4,602.25	452,466.33	418,375.13			452,466.33	418,375.13
James Rappaport (R)	0	2,759,091.60	2,737,941.04			2,759,091.60	2,737,941.04
John Slattery (D)	62,511.05	339,417.37	359,331.10			339,417.37	359,331.10
TOTAL	\$67,113.30	\$9,341,407.99	\$8,804,723.77	\$2,256,481.93	\$2,645,692.88	\$11,597,889.92	\$11,450,416.65

\* Schebel did not file any campaign finance reports with OCPF.

The Gabrieli Committee organized in February 2002.

The Rappaport Committee organized in September 2001. The Slattery Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in June 2001.

The Lorenzen Committee organized in March 2002.

The Aucoin Committee organized in January 2002.

### **Attorney General**

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
Thomas Reilly (D) *	\$146,181.11	\$860,936.69	\$240,938.78	\$71,373.37	\$27,039.34	\$932,310.06	\$267,978.12
TOTAL	\$146,181.11	\$860,936.69	\$240,938.78	\$71,373.37	\$27,039.34	\$932,310.06	\$267,978.12

#### Treasurer

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
Timothy Cahill (D)	\$201,587.19	\$ 447,613.00	\$ 636,557.28	\$614,949.25	\$573,225.01	\$1,062,562.25	\$1,209,782.29
Daniel Grabauskas (R)	0	418,917.74	300,142.52	226,282.00	325,022.87	645,199.74	625,165.39
James O'Keefe (G)	0	38,815.71	35,777.64	3,813.86	5,080.03	42,629.57	40,857.67
Michael Cahill (D)	176.96	329,334.58	290,194.54			329,334.58	290,194.54
Bruce Herzfelder (R)	0	828,083.31	809,189.69			828,083.31	809,189.69
Steven Murphy (D)	1,769.78	624,314.52	597,696.51			624,314.52	597,696.51
James Segel (D)	0	730,885.07	643,476.17			730,885.07	643,476.17
TOTAL	\$203,533.93	\$3,417,963.93	\$3,313,034.35	\$845,045.11	\$903,327.91	\$4,263,009.04	\$4,216,362.26

The Segal Committee organized in November 2001. The Grabauskas Committee organized in January 2002.

The Timothy Cahill Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in December 2001.

The Michael Cahill Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in July 2001. The Murphy Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in March 2002.

The Herzfelder Committee organized in December 2001.

The O'Keefe Committee organized in July 2001.

## Secretary

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
William Galvin (D) *	\$545,984.39	696,354.24	128,618.03	\$67,695.00	\$57,479.90	\$764,049.24	\$186,097.93
Jack E. Robinson (R)	0	79,350.01	78,982.19	171.00	224.00	79,521.01	79,206.19
TOTAL	\$545,984.39	\$775,704.25	\$207,600.22	\$67,866.00	\$57,703.90	\$843,570.25	\$265,304.12

The Robinson Committee organized in March 2002.

## Auditor

		Primary		General Election		Total campaign	
Candidate	Start balance	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures	Receipts	Expenditures
Joseph DeNucci (D) *	\$225,901.57	\$244,615.83	\$146,006.71	\$42,310.00	\$130,557.30	\$286,925.83	\$276,564.01
Kamal Jain (L)	1,073.64	20,969.84	20,719.91	0	276.08	20,969.84	20,995.99
John Xenakis (U)	0			0	0	0	0
TOTAL	\$226,975.21	\$265,585.67	\$166,726.62	\$42,310.00	\$130,833.38	\$307,895.67	\$297,560.00

The Jain Committee changed its official purpose to statewide office in March 2002.

# Aggregate Campaign Finance activity by Election Period 2001-2002

	Primo	ıry	General		Tota	l
Office	Raised	Spent	Raised	Spent	Raised	Spent
Governor	\$21,772,847.69	\$22,689,401.59	\$6,253,241.39	\$ 7,912,508.53	\$28,026,089.08	\$30,601,910.12
Lt. Governor	9,341,407.99	8,804,723.77	2,256,481.93	2,645,692.88	11,597,889.92	11,450,416.65
Attorney General	860,936.69	240,938.78	71,373.37	27,039.34	932,310.06	267,978.12
Treasurer	3,417,963.93	3,313,034.35	845,045.11	903,327.91	4,263,009.04	4,216,362.26
Secretary	775,704.25	207,600.22	67,866.00	57,703.90	843,570.25	265,304.12
Auditor	265,585.67	166,726.62	42,310.00	130,833.38	307,895.67	297,560.00
Total	\$36,434,446.22	\$35,422,425.33	\$9,536,317.80	\$11,677,105.94	\$45,970,764.02	\$47,099,531.27

### Total Receipts by Office Sought 1990-2002 Election Cycles

Office	1990	1994	1998	2002
Governor	\$14,422,420.88	\$ 5,778,640.93	\$16,054,590.78	\$28,026,089.08
Lt. Governor	2,398,243.94	2,031,461.98	2,093,533.60	11,597,889.92
Attorney General	2,656,275.53	1,878,346.31	3,552,257.66	932,310.06
Treasurer	3,217,153.67	2,537,696.79	2,012,151.98	4,263,009.04
Secretary	237,842.28	1,080,800.90	423,867.59	843,570.25
Auditor	409,360.08	484,816.36	913,179.64	307,895.67
TOTAL	\$23,341,296.38	\$13,791,763.27	\$25,049,581.25	\$45,970,764.02

#### **Total Spending by Office Sought** 1990-2002 Election Cycles

Office	1990	1994	1998	2002
Governor	\$14,769,375.38	\$ 6,126,317.54	\$18,621,409.18	\$30,601,910.12
Lt. Governor	2,475,692.98	1,781,620.68	1,984,226.37	11,450,416.65
Attorney General	2,908,779.42	1,858,904.36	3,880,457.66	267,978.12
Treasurer	3,846,058.90	2,763,434.40	1,894,583.69	4,216,362.26
Secretary	191,890.42	1,028,551.53	376,918.02	265,304.12
Auditor	471,812.62	461,457.12	1,119,384.14	297,560.00
TOTAL	\$24,663,609.72	\$14,020,285.63	\$27,876,979.06	\$47,099,531.27

## Independent Expenditures Concerning Candidates for Statewide Office in 2002

Candidate	Office Sought	Organization Making Expenditure	Amount	Candidate Total		
Shannon O'Brien (D)	Governor	Mass. Teachers Association, Boston	\$791,206.95			
	Governor	Mass. Nurses Association, Canton	\$30,000.00			
		Neighbor to Neighbor Massachusetts, Boston	\$7,816.00			
		Coalition for Social Justice, Fall River	\$4,630.90			
		Hampshire/Franklin Labor Council, Northampton	\$504.39			
				\$834,158.24		
Mitt Romney (R)	Governor	Citizens for Good Government Inc., Washington	\$50,000			
				\$50,000.00		
Thomas Birmingham (D)	Governor	Mass. Nurses Association, Canton	\$7,787.73			
		Utility Workers of America, Washington	\$5,339.77			
				\$13,127.50		
Robert Reich (D)	Governor	Coalition for Social Justice, Fall River	\$274.00			
				\$274.00		
GRAND TOTAL						

= Winner

M.G.L. c. 55, s. 18A defines an independent expenditure as an expenditure by an individual, group, or association not defined as a political committee expressly advocating the election or defeat of a clearly identified candidate which is made without cooperation or consultation with any candidate, or a nonelected political committee organized on behalf of a candidate, or any agent of a candidate and which is not made in concert with, or at the request or suggestion of, any candidate, or any nonelected political committee organized on behalf of a candidate or agent of such candidate."

This definition excludes 1) in-kind contributions, which are reported by the candidate(s) receiving such contributions; 2) any communication made solely between an organization and its members, which is not considered an expenditure under C. 55 and is therefore not subject to disclosure; and 3) "issue advocacy" expenditures that do not "expressly advocate" the election or defeat of a candidate and also are not required to be disclosed.