CONNECTICUT — *RECLAIMING DEMOCRACY*

The Inaugural Run of the Citizens' Election Program for the 2008 Elections

STATE ELECTIONS ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION

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INTRODUCTION

When the General Assembly passed Public Act 05-5 late in 2005, news coverage of the adoption of this landmark legislation focused on its role as a remedial measure to address corruption in government, but the Campaign Finance Reform Law of 2005 and the Citizens' Election Program represented a much more profound shift in Connecticut government.

The Citizens' Election Program is not merely remedial. It is also a proactive, good government measure, focused on removing the appearance of undue influence of special interests on lawmakers and returning government to the people.

At its heart, the move to public campaign financing and away from traditional means of raising money for elections represents a fundamental alteration in the way government operates.

Ideally, instead of those contributors who made the contributions holding sway in policy debates, with contributions capped at $100 and those from principals of state contractors and lobbyists banned outright, legislators can focus on what is best for the state of Connecticut, not what is best for the biggest campaign contributors.

Rarely do politicians actually engage in "pay-for-play" but the appearance of corruption and purchasing access to lawmakers can prove just as damaging as actual corruption to the public's confidence in its government.

By virtually eliminating special interest contributions to elected officials, the Citizens' Election Program removes any taint that "special interest" money may have on the political process. Freeing politicians from the potential undue influence from certain quarters allows politicians who use the CEP to make decisions without *even the appearance* that a decision is based on political donations instead of merit.

Given the serious circumstances facing Connecticut and the nation now, taking government from the special interests and placing it back in the hands of the people – where it rightfully belongs – offers the kind of change that will ensure that the government works not just for the special interests or the wealthy but for the interests of Connecticut citizens as a whole.

CHAPTER 1

A LANDMARK INAUGURAL YEAR

In its inaugural year, the Citizens' Election Program exceeded the expectations of lawmakers as well as observers throughout the nation.

An astonishing 73% of candidates running for the General Assembly participated in the *voluntary* program, far outstripping the first year participation rates of Maine and Arizona, the only two states in the nation with similar programs. Since their inception, however, the Maine and Arizona programs have seen increased participation in each subsequent election, and we can hope for the same here in Connecticut.

Even more important than the number of candidates who participated in the program is the number of elected legislators who came to office using CEP funding.

A total of 78% of the legislators elected for the 2009-10 term came to office via the public financing program. More than three quarters of the sitting legislators can say they came to office free of special interest money.

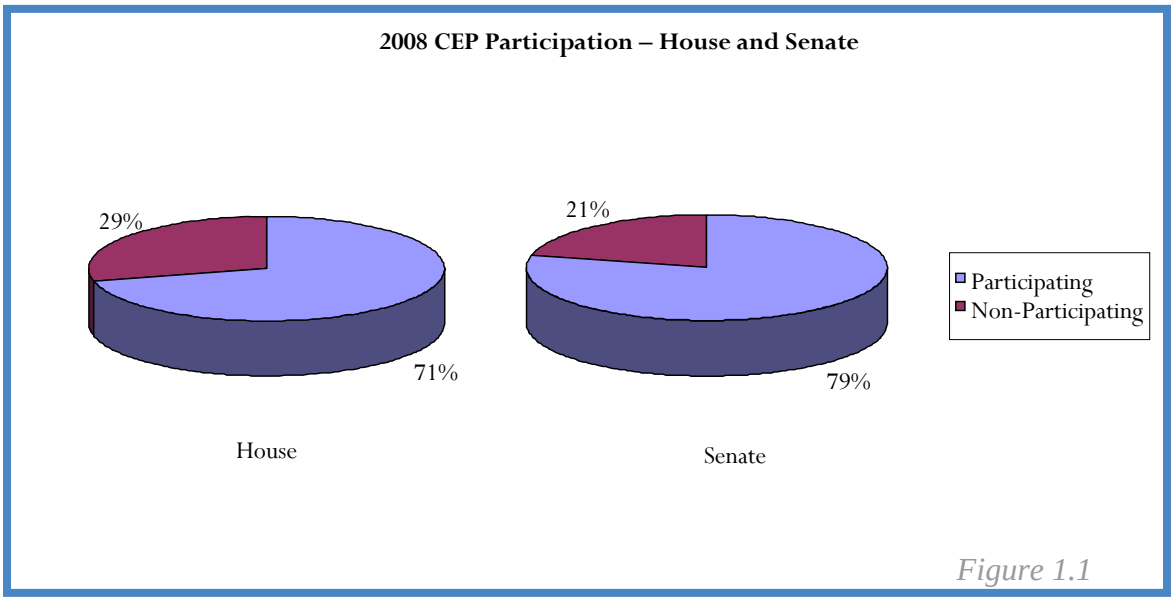


Figure 1.1

The types and sources of campaign contributions changed markedly in the 2008 election cycle because of the high rate of program participation.

In 2006, less than half of the contributions made to political candidates came from individuals. In 2006, nearly half of the $9.3 million raised by candidates came from lobbyists, political committees (PACs), and entities.

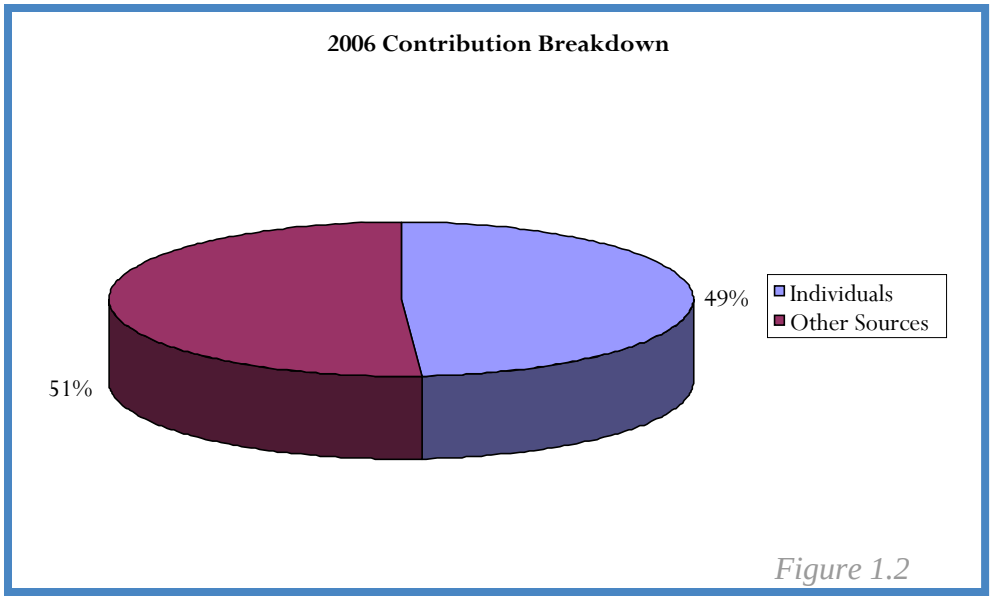


Figure 1.2

Public Act 05-5 changed all of that.

In addition to providing a new source of funding for candidates participating in the CEP, Connecticut's campaign finance reform turned off the spigot of campaign contributions from communicator lobbyists and their families and principals of state contractors to all candidates. The statute also prohibited communicator lobbyists and principals of state contractors from soliciting on behalf of candidates, sometimes called "bundling," where one could gather contributions from others and the present those contributions as a way potentially to influence candidates.

As an added measure to reduce the influence of special interests, those candidates who chose to participate in the Citizens' Election Program were also barred from accepting contributions from political committees and other entities.

The new funding sources as well as the lack of "special interest" money resulted in a very different political landscape in 2008.

"The average contribution [to my campaign] was $29. No lobbyist money. No state contractors. No PAC money. No ad book revenue. This was a marked change from earlier years."

"This year effected truly progressive change to the way campaigns are run in the State."

"I never met with a lobbyist. I never met with a state contractor. And that's different between past years. Obviously, that is how money would have been raised so that was a stark difference."

~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey & Public Hearing Comments

In the 2008 legislative elections, an extraordinary 97% of contributions came from individuals. With the bulk of these contributions arriving as qualifying contributions for candidates participating in the Citizens' Election Program, those contributions did not exceed $100.

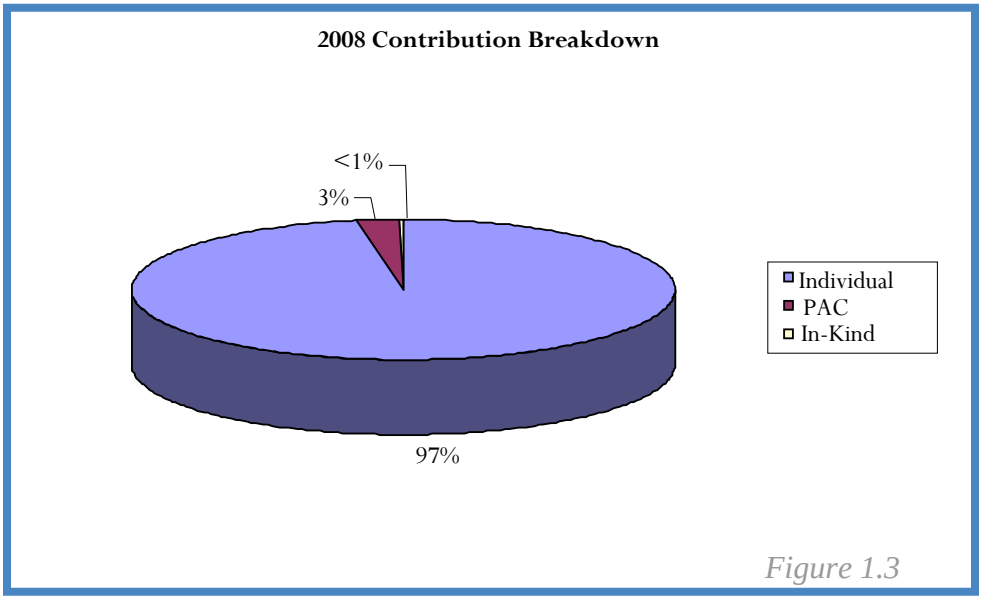


Figure 1.3

The CEP's qualifying criteria, which require candidates to raise a certain amount of money from at least so many "in-district" residents, made small "in-district" $5 contributions from individuals very valuable.

The CEP's reliance on these small contributions transferred political power back from wealthy contributors and businesses to ordinary citizens.

Even those candidates who could still take PAC money because they chose not to participate in the CEP received a total of only $65,500 in special interest money from these political groups.

The power of special interest groups in Connecticut politics was virtually eliminated in the 2008 elections.

Candidates elected in 2008 agreed that the CEP – and the strings-free money it offers to candidates – has reduced even the appearance that politicians are beholden to special interest groups, who typically made large campaign contributions to

"Clearly the new system has helped to eliminate the financial linkage between lobbyists, contractors, special interest PACs and candidates for the legislature, which often became the basis for ongoing legislative relationships. This is exactly what the reforms were intended to do."

"[The CEP required] candidates to be more grass root, to have more involvement with the people that they are supposed to represent in their own area, to go out and meet them face-to-face, to collect money from them in small donations."

~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey & Public Hearing Comments

ensure a candidate's election under the former campaign financing framework.

The Nutmeg State has felt the first inklings of fundamental change.

Among candidates, then, the program has been a hit. But the goal of the CEP is not simply to pay for individuals to run for office. Instead, the aptly named Citizens' Election Program should serve the citizens. By eliminating reliance on perpetual fundraising, candidates can focus more on the concerns of Connecticut citizens instead of worrying about how to pay for campaign expenses.

Getting the grants from the state, however, was not easy and the existence of public money for use in private campaigns meant that compliance requirements were intensified.

To help alleviate any campaign anxiety associated with this new program, the SEEC assigned an elections officer to each campaign, who worked with candidates, their treasurers, and campaign volunteers to walk them through the process from start to finish. These dedicated staffers worked tirelessly to support their candidates' compliance and ensure that their experience with the program was positive. These elections officers proved invaluable resources for the candidates and their campaigns. In fact, 85% of candidates said that having these elections officers assigned to their campaigns was helpful.

"CORRUPTICUT"

With the resignation of Governor John Rowland in June of 2004, one of the worst episodes in Connecticut's political history closed. For someone whose political fortunes appeared limitless, Rowland's demise came quickly. In 2002 – the same year voters elected Rowland to a third term – federal investigators began their investigation into potential corruption in his administration. Two years later, Rowland resigned from office amid allegations of bribery, contract steering, and tax evasion by state officials and private contractors, including charges that the Governor and his family had accepted lavish gifts from contractors.

What Cost Political Corruption?

Estimating the cost that political corruption exacts on the state budget and economy in general is not an exact science.

But a 2004 report from an economist at the University of Connecticut's Center for Economic Analysis attempted to quantify the cost associated with political corruption.

According to the report, each additional conviction per 100 elected officials cuts job growth in the state by 1.1 percentage points. Of the factors cited in the report, including increased taxes, higher education levels, increased wages, population growth, and expanding per capita Gross State Product, political corruption represented the single biggest factor influencing job growth.

Source: Lanza, Stephen P. "The Economics of Ethics: The Cost of Political Corruption" CONN. ECONOMIC QUARTERLY (Winter 2004).

Coming on the heels of other scandals involving politicians from both major parties – corruption in the Bridgeport and Waterbury

mayors' offices, kickbacks from investment firms for the state treasurer, and bribery of a state senator – the Rowland scandal cemented the state's reputation for political malfeasance, deserving of the nickname "Corrupticut."

Seizing upon the public's demands for significant reforms to clean up Connecticut politics, Connecticut's new Governor, M. Jodi Rell, called for the enactment of campaign finance reform just one month after taking office.

After the General Assembly could not agree on a proposal in the 2005 legislative session, Governor Rell called the legislature in to special session. Legislative leaders worked cooperatively to craft a comprehensive bill that garnered majority support in the House and Senate.

On December 7, 2005, Governor Rell signed Public Act 05-5, thereby enacting sweeping legislation that banned campaign contributions from lobbyists and state contractors and created the Citizens' Election Program, a voluntary public financing program that provides grants to eligible candidates who agreed to accept only small contributions from individuals and abide by expenditure limits.

Creating the CEP, however, was merely the first step in reforming "politics as usual" in Connecticut; creating a successful program was the second. (*See* Chapter 2).

With its inaugural run in 2008, the overwhelming success of the Citizens' Election Program proved that this program can work and, that it is already starting to reform democracy in the Nutmeg State.

"Something Old, Something New . . ." Campaign Financing Overhaul Drastically Changes Who Gives & How Much

Before Public Act 05-5 and the advent of the Citizens' Election Program, financing a campaign in Connecticut was quite different.

In 2006, for example, the maximum contribution an individual could give to a candidate running for state senate was $500. A gubernatorial candidate could receive up to $5,000 from a political committee established by a corporation, or a " corporate PAC," as such committees are commonly called. And party committees – town and

state central committees – could make *unlimited* contributions to and expenditures on behalf of candidates.

Likewise, individuals could establish an unlimited number of political committees, affording more avenues to sidestep the contribution limits by collecting contributions for multiple committees. Under the old political financing system, candidates could receive unlimited contributions from political committees established by two or more individuals, provided the political committees were not connected to a corporation or labor union.

Technically banned from making political contributions directly to candidates, businesses could still purchase ads in program guides for fundraising events of up to $250, thereby channeling monetary support to candidates without making contributions *per se*.

This money from PACs, businesses, and other sources other than individuals totaled $4.8 million in 2006, the last state legislative cycle.

The advent of the Citizens' Election Program in 2008 dramatically cut the level of giving from sources other than individuals to a scant 1% of the 2006 amount: in 2008, a total of $65,500 in contributions came from sources other than individuals.

Two factors likely combined to create this drastic turnaround in sources of campaign giving – the high program participation rate among legislative candidates and the limited, permissible contribution sources available to participating candidates.

The first year of the CEP saw an astronomical participation level: nearly three-quarters of the candidates running for a General Assembly seat in 2008 participated in the Citizens' Election Program.

Participation in the program meant that instead of relying on contributions from political committees, party committees, and ad book purchases from businesses, participating candidates could only collect "qualifying contributions" of between $5 and $100 from individuals, a certain percentage of whom must live in the candidate's district.

In exchange for limiting their fundraising efforts to these small contributions from individual donors, participating candidates were able to apply for grants from the Citizens' Election Fund, which along with the qualifying contributions that the

candidate raised constituted all of the money the candidate committee had to spend for the election.

These program restrictions created an atmosphere where the most important contributors for a candidate were individuals who lived in the candidate's district.

Academic studies of the effect of small donors on the political process indicate that state efforts fostering contributions from small donors tend to encourage less affluent donors to give to a political candidate, thereby increase lower income individuals' participation in the electoral process.[i]

POLITICS IN CONNECTICUT: NEW CENTURY, NEW RULES – NEW ERA?

Because the Citizens' Election Program has been in operation for a single election cycle, it is too early to identify what effect the CEP may have on reforming democracy in Connecticut over time.

But several facts bear repeating.

Seventy-eight percent of the sitting legislature came to office using funds provided through the Citizens' Election Program.

Candidates received a total of $65,500 from special interest groups – 1% of the amount they received in 2006.

Ninety-seven percent of contributions made to candidates in the 2008 cycle came from individuals.

Even if politicians never engaged in actual influence peddling, in the wake of the political scandals, the public perceives that influence at the Capitol is for sale.

According to a survey commissioned in June 2005 by two good government groups and conducted by the Zogby International polling firm, 88% of the state's voters (across party lines) who were surveyed "indicate that they believe Governor Rell must work with legislators to enact a campaign finance reform bill so that future scandals like those of Governor Rowland's administration might be prevented…" 75% of the voters surveyed said "…they are less likely to vote for a candidate who failed to support clean elections."

Politicians also feel the need to battle this public perception. One elected official, who participated in the CEP, gave voice to this sentiment in a post-election survey conducted by the Commission:

> I never felt obligated to a special interest group, yet I know it's there. I still work and support the same initiatives now. But I do think public perception of the process is vital. Let's face it there is special interest influence in the process. Public financing is very important to restore and maintain the public trust.

One snapshot from the General Assembly's 2009 regular session might illustrate a significant change in the way business gets done in the General Assembly.

After several tries, the legislature finally passed a bill regarding deposits on plastic water bottles. Rep. Chris Caruso wrote about the influence of public financing on the consideration of expanding the bottle deposit:

> Some people think it's impossible to blunt the influence of lobbyists and big donors, but that's exactly what happened here in Connecticut this year. For many years, environmentalists have tried to expand the bottle bill recycling program to include 5-cent deposits on plastic water bottles, but the powerful beverage industry and its paid lobbyists were able to stop every effort at reform because they gave thousands of dollars to legislators.
>
> This year, the legislature — with three-quarters of its members having participated in the Citizens' Election Program — voted to expand the bottle bill. We also voted to reclaim millions of dollars worth of unclaimed bottle deposits, which takes approximately $25 million a year out of the pockets of the beverage industry and puts that money into the general fund where it belongs. This alone recoups more money than the Citizens' Election Program costs. This is just the beginning.[ii]

Another member of the General Assembly commented on the bottle bill, noting a prominent lobbying firm's newfound irrelevance.

> Watching [prominent lobbyists] be ignored on the bottle bill extension for the first time proved that *getting the special interest money out of campaigns got special interest influence out of bills*. Wow! Voting on the merits! (Emphasis added)

During debate on a proposed repeal of the CEP, Rep. Caruso again spoke passionately about the change that had come with public financing, and what the legislators' choices between continuing the CEP or repealing it could mean for Connecticut.

> So it's a clear choice. We've seen more women get involved in the process because of [public financing]. Ladies and gentlemen, democracy . . . is not owned by the people in this building or in the state Senate or in the Governor's office. It is owned by the people of this state and any time that they wish to run for office, they should have the opportunity to do that and this fund helps in doing that.[iii]

As these comments from members of the General Assembly seem to indicate, the Citizens' Election Program has already started fulfilling its ultimate goal—reclaiming democracy from the special interests and restoring it to Connecticut citizens.

NOTES

[i] *See* Minnesota's $50 Political Contribution Refunds Ended On July 1: The Refunds Helped Stimulate Unparalleled Participation By Small Donors, Campaign Finance Institute (July 8, 2009), http://www.cfinst.org/pr/prRelease.aspx?ReleaseID=233 (last visited September 29, 2009).

[ii] Chris Caruso, "Election Fund Is Keeping Government Honest" HARTFORD COURANT (May 8, 2009).

[iii] Transcript, House of Representatives (June 26, 2009).

CHAPTER 2

UNCHARTED TERRITORY

As 2008 began, Connecticut entered a new chapter in its history. The 2008 legislative elections marked the first time that General Assembly candidates running during a regular election cycle would have the opportunity to receive grants through the state's landmark Citizens' Election Program.[i]

Following the November 2008 elections, political activists and observers – from candidates and treasurers, incumbents and challengers, winners and losers – agreed that the Citizens' Election Program had been an unqualified success. Most participating candidates had been able to meet the qualifying thresholds. The grant amounts had been sufficient to fund viable campaigns. Candidates spoke warmly of meeting with voters to discuss issues instead of "dialing for dollars" during the days before the election. And, most importantly, the extraordinary candidate participation rate in the *voluntary* program meant that special interest contributions had been virtually eliminated from 2008 General Assembly campaigns.

Looking back on the election cycle, the majority of candidates and their treasurers gave high marks to the Program. Candidates who participated in the Citizens' Election Program during the 2008 elections felt that accepting only small contributions from individuals involved more Connecticut citizens in politics (65%), that participation in the Citizens' Election Program reduced the appearance that they, as candidates, are beholden to large donors or "special interests" (65%), that candidates seeking traditional private financing must spend too much time raising money (58%), and that public financing provided the opportunity to compete for elected office without relying on personal wealth or large donors (64%).

"It's just a tremendous experience because you really feel that the power is being given back to the people within these campaigns, so that they know that a candidate who's running a clean campaign is focused on discussion with the people and with their opponent."

"The process itself and the concept of public campaign financing made the run possible and allowed the candidate to devote time to meeting voters and discussing the issues. The common set of guidelines engendered a sense of 'fairness'".

"I think the greatest benefit is the ability to spend more time meeting and speaking with a broad base of citizens."

"I like the idea of the election process going back into the hands of the people where it is supposed to be."

~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey & Public Hearing Comments

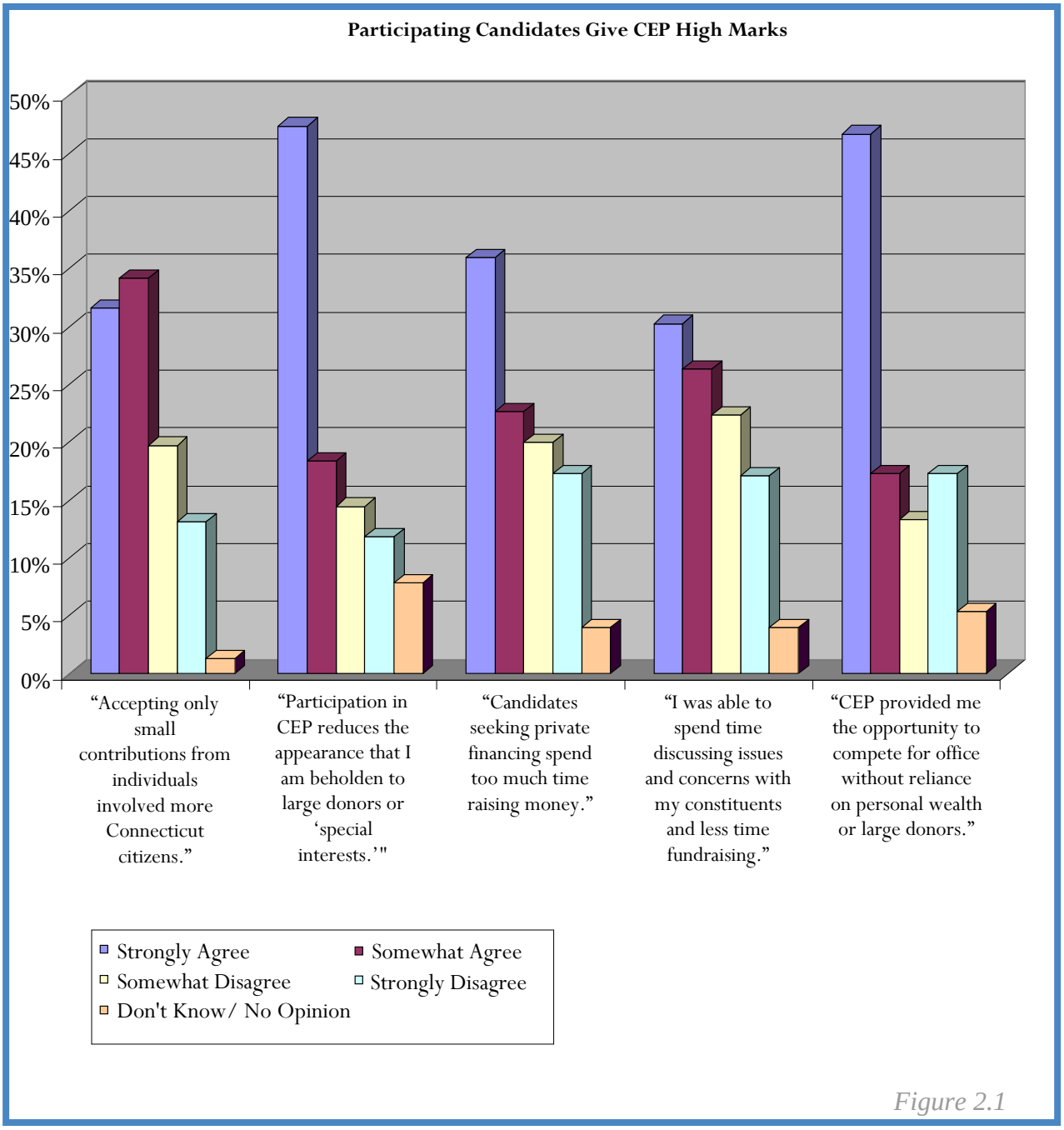

Participating Candidates Give CEP High Marks
50%
45%
40%
35%
30%
25%
20%
15%
10%
5%
0%
"Accepting only small contributions from individuals involved more Connecticut citizens."
"Participation in CEP reduces the appearance that I am beholden to large donors or 'special interests.'"
"Candidates seeking private financing spend too much time raising money."
"I was able to spend time discussing issues and concerns with my constituents and less time fundraising."
"CEP provided me the opportunity to compete for office without reliance on personal wealth or large donors."
Strongly Agree
Somewhat Agree
Somewhat Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't Know/ No Opinion

Figure 2.1

HIGH MARKS FOR THE CEP

Overall, even in its infancy, candidate satisfaction and treasurer satisfaction with the Citizens' Election Program in 2008 ran high; 71% of candidates and 76% of treasurers were pleased with the operation and results of the program. Most significantly, however, a majority of candidates have already indicated that they are likely to participate in the Citizens' Election Program if they run for office in 2010.

Overall, please rate your satisfaction with your experience with the Citizens' Election Program in 2008

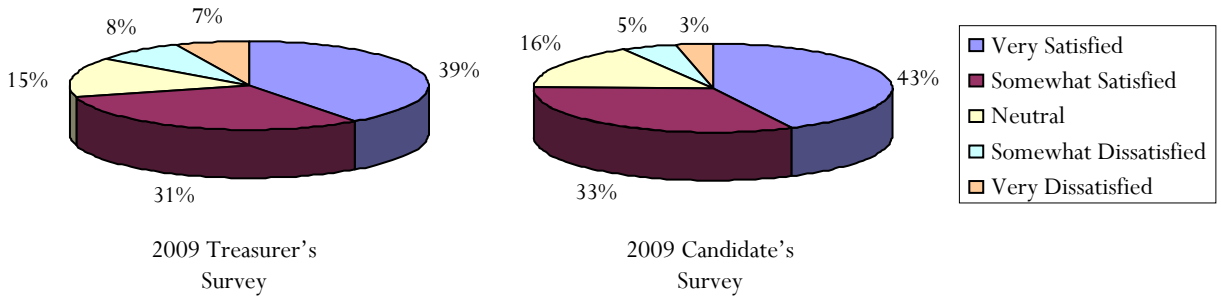


Figure 2.2

In the interim, the Commission continues to review the grant application process and the administration of the Program in response to feedback that it received from candidates and their treasurers. We are working to make the Program easier for candidates and treasurers to manage with streamlined administrative procedures and legislative proposals aimed at easing the burden on campaign treasurers. Our goal is to ensure continued high participation rates and customer satisfaction levels with the CEP and with Connecticut's innovative measures to reform campaign financing.

ADEQUACY OF PUBLIC GRANT AMOUNTS

The Citizens' Election Program represents primarily a "good government" initiative. But for candidates the CEP and the potential to receive grant monies offer a more basic advantage – the ability to run a campaign, communicate with voters, and get ideas across to the electorate without engaging in perpetual fundraising. Political campaigns rely on communication, and

> *"I would not have been able to run without public financing. The incumbent I challenged ran unopposed two years ago."*
>
> *"The public financing program let us run a viable campaign."*
>
> *~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey*

communication requires money. Lacking enough money to communicate with voters, under-funded campaigns face an uphill battle to reach potential supporters. The Citizens' Election Program offers participating candidates access to sufficient financial resources to hire staff, develop a campaign strategy, and run a comprehensive campaign.

After qualifying for public funds, however, participating candidate committees may no longer engage in fundraising activities to get additional funds. To encourage candidates to sign up for the voluntary Program, grant amounts must be established at a level sufficient to finance a viable, competitive campaign. Only if candidates are confident that they can compete with a political rival will they agree to the limitations imposed under the CEP. According to a post-election survey conducted by the SEEC, the grant amounts for the 2008 legislative races provided that security. Of the candidates that responded, 86 percent agreed that the grant amounts were sufficient to finance their campaigns

Statistics showing participating candidates' expenditures support this conclusion.[ii] In races between two major party candidates, both of whom participated in the program and received public funds, incumbents in the House of Representatives spent an average of $26,232.50. Challengers spent an average of $27,852.43.

In the Senate, incumbents spent an average of $95,828.83 and challengers spent an average of $97,919.89.

Candidates for the House of Representatives had a total spending budget of $30,000 ($5,000 in qualifying contributions plus $25,000 in grant funds) while their Senate colleagues had a total of $100,000 to spend ($15,000 in qualifying contributions plus $85,000 in grant money).

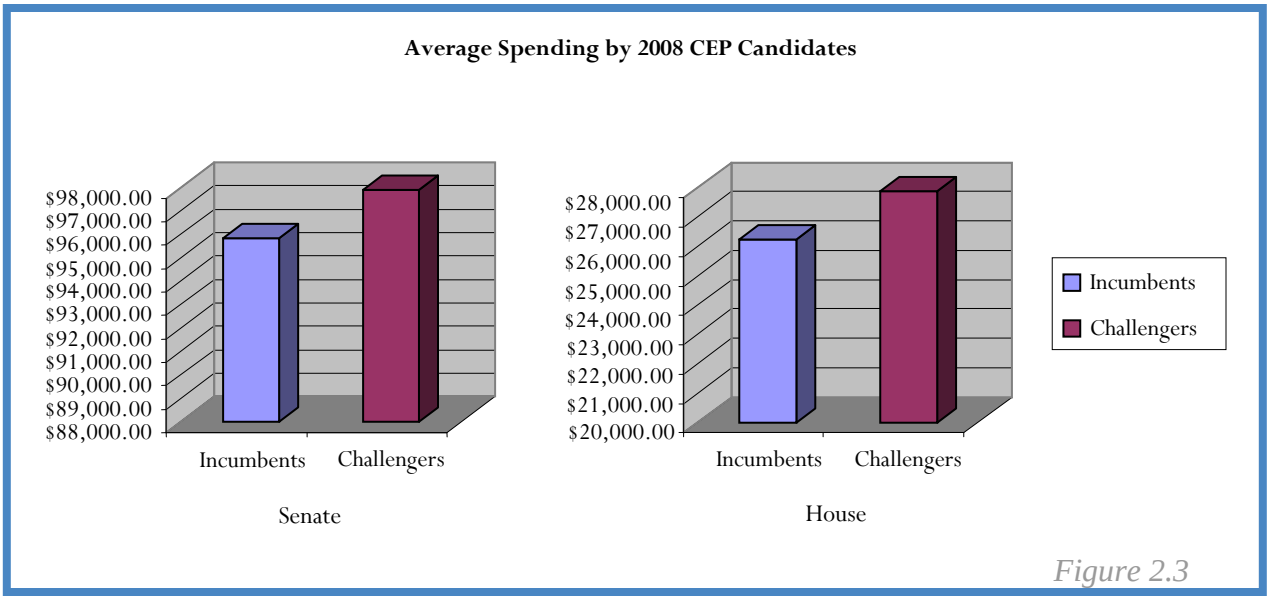


Figure 2.3

The majority of candidates and treasurers who responded to the SEEC post election survey believed that raising qualifying contributions was achievable and that the application process was manageable. Given the great success that challengers had in meeting the qualifying criteria, applying for, and receiving public grants, qualifying thresholds seem to be set at an appropriate level to ensure participation without opening the floodgates of the fund.

In fact, in 2008 challengers, not incumbents, represent the largest block of publicly funded candidates, edging out incumbents 37 percent to 35 percent. Only 18 percent of challenging candidates did not receive public funds.

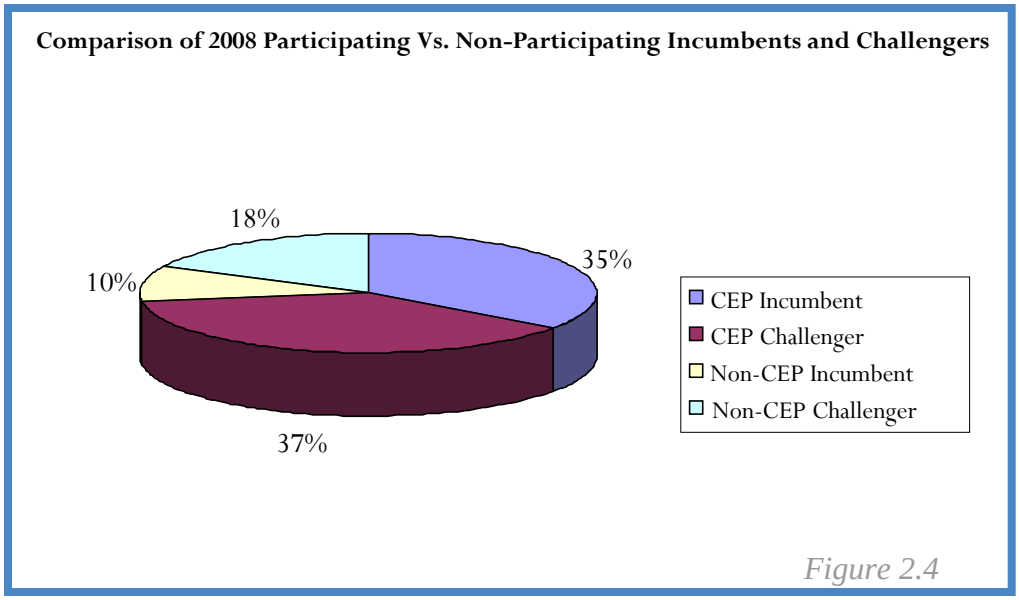


Figure 2.4

QUALIFYING FOR PUBLIC FINANCING

The rate at which candidates qualified for public funds speaks to the candidate committees' hard work and organization as well as the appropriateness of the qualifying thresholds. After all, while most candidates were able to meet the thresholds, to do so successfully required organization, an efficient fundraising plan, and a dedicated treasurer.

Candidates seeking public funds agreed to abide by the requirements of the Program and follow laws and regulations that were more stringent than those applied to non-participating candidates.

To qualify for a CEP grant, candidates had to meet two distinct thresholds. First, candidates had to raise a specific amount of money in qualifying contributions from individuals, which had to be between $5 and $100. Second, candidates had to collect a specific number of contributions from "in-district" contributors. Those criteria measured a candidates' overall support in financial terms as well as a candidate's support among voters in the district the candidate hoped to represent. House of Representative candidates had to raise at least $5,000 from no fewer than 150 individuals within their district; Senate candidates needed to collect $15,000 from at least 300 individuals within their district.

Candidates exceeded these targets in 2008. Candidates for a General Assembly seat who were participating in the Citizens' Election Program raised an average of $5,632 in qualifying contributions from an average of 193 individuals. Senate candidates averaged a total of $16,519 from 420 individuals.

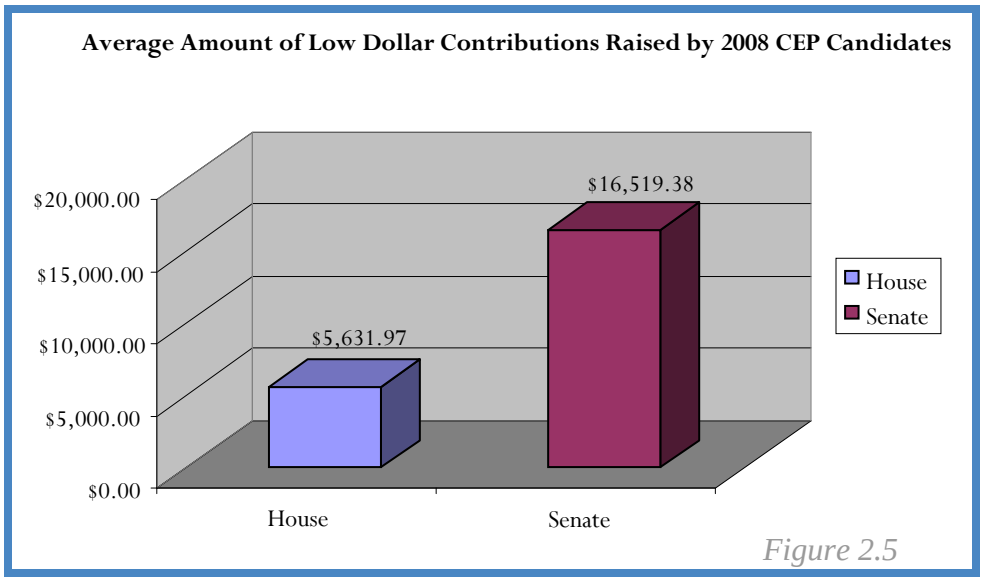


Figure 2.5

Significantly, 93% of candidates participating in the program applied for and received grants.

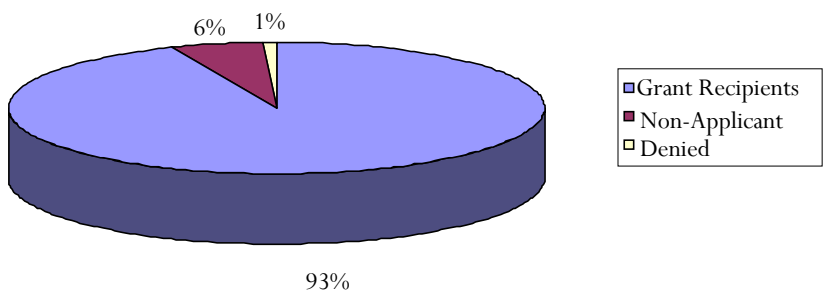


Figure 2.6

ENSURING OVERALL SUCCESS BY GIVING "HANDS ON" HELP

Vital to the success of the Citizens' Election Program in this first year was training candidates, campaign treasurers, campaign volunteers, and other individuals and groups active in the political process about how the Program worked. To assist candidates with all aspects of compliance in this innovative financing regime, the Commission's newly minted Public Financing Unit created two subdivisions – the Legal and Compliance Unit and the Candidate Services Unit. These two groups worked closely with the Campaign Disclosure and Audit Unit, the Information Technology Unit, and the Legal Enforcement Unit, to answer questions from candidate committees and the public and respond to concerns that participating candidates raised as they navigated the new campaign finance landscape.

"Since this was my first time involved in a political campaign, having someone available to answer questions made my job much less stressful."

"Our contact [with our elections officer liaison] became our lifeline and means to clarifying and resolving issues as they arose. The personal rapport that was built over time was an invaluable resource."

~ 2009 Treasurer's Survey

The elections officers, or candidate services liaisons, assigned to each participating candidate committee, were available to

> *"The State Elections Enforcement Commission was readily available and as necessary returned phone calls in a most responsible and expedient manner."*
>
> *"I was very pleased with their level of commitment and professionalism."*
>
> *~2009 Treasurer's Survey*

answer questions, listen to suggestions, and help candidates and their treasurers comply with all aspects of the Program. The liaison was the first point of contact for candidates, treasurers and campaign staff with questions about the Program.

The elections officers maintained regular contact with each candidate committee they were assigned to provide information and updates regarding training sessions, disclosure filing reminders, and updates on emerging issues that might have been identified by other campaigns. Nearly all of the campaign representatives who responded to the Commission's survey felt that having an elections officer assigned to their campaign was a valuable resource.

Nearly all of the campaign representatives who responded to the Commission's survey felt that having an elections officer assigned to their campaign was a valuable resource: 96% of participating candidates and 95% of campaign treasurers agreed that assigned elections officers aided their campaigns.

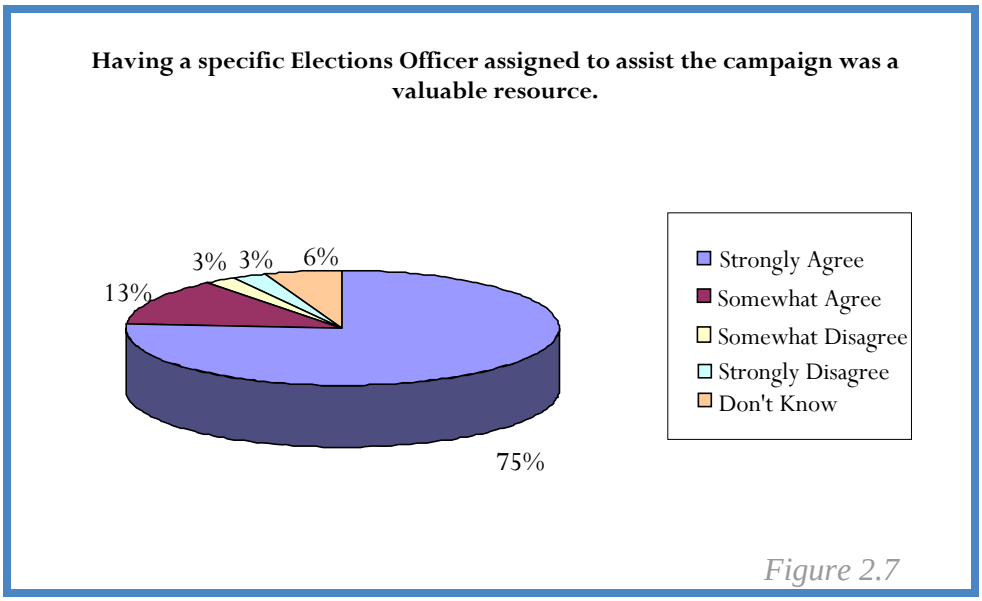


Figure 2.7

Additionally, in preparation for the 2008 campaign cycle, the Commission hired attorneys to complement the work of the elections officers by handling complex legal issues and policy questions that arose during the CEP's maiden run. When the Commission staff encountered novel issues under the CEP, the Commission's compliance attorneys researched prior SEEC precedent, legal opinions from other

jurisdictions, and relevant court and administrative decisions to render consistent, well-reasoned advice to committees, legislators, potential contributors, and the public. Careful to combine the new public financing regime with existing campaign finance laws, the attorneys attempted to blend two statutory regimes seamlessly by bridging the previous campaign finance structure and laws and the creation of the new public financing program. Similarly, the Commission's enforcement attorneys are navigating complaints filed against participating campaigns while attempting to blend Commission precedent with the creation of the entirely new program.

Commission staff from all units in the Commission – Compliance, Legal and Enforcement, Candidate Services, Information Technology and Campaign Disclosure and Audit – worked tirelessly to guarantee that the first year of the Citizens' Election Program was a success. The units created training materials, handbooks, and guidebooks, presented educational and outreach sessions for participating candidates and their treasurers, and developed online and electronic resources to explain Connecticut election law.

The Commission held 22 public training sessions during 2007 and 2008 on weekdays, weeknights as well as weekends across the state to provide a convenient venue for all interested candidates and citizens to learn about the twists and turns of this ground-breaking program. Approximately 350 people attended the public training sessions during the course of the year, and staff members responded to approximately 700 questions raised by training session attendees. Overall, 88% of candidates and 96% of campaign treasurer and deputy treasurers who attended a training session remarked that the session helped them to gain a more thorough understanding of the basic requirements of the Citizens' Election Program.

> *"I attended several training sessions and all sessions were helpful. All of the presenters knew their material and presented it well. They also answered questions clearly.*
>
> *~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey*

Harnessing 21st century technology to promote clean elections, Connecticut Network (CT-N) taped a training session that the Commission made available through its website for participants to access at their convenience.

Given the uniqueness and novelty of the Citizens' Election Program, the Commission published a comprehensive guidebook for participating campaigns. The guidebook provided candidates, treasurers, deputy treasurers, and campaign staff with a clear picture of the law and requirements of the Program, as well as detailed checklists and examples of all aspects of qualifying for a grant.

The 2008 election cycle also marked the first widespread use of Connecticut's electronic campaign finance reporting system, known as eCRIS. One-hundred seven candidate committees opted to use the voluntary system in 2008, including 96 that were participating in the Citizens' Election Program.[iii] The Information Technology Unit facilitated the filing of financial disclosure forms via eCRIS, answered questions from a help desk, and held training sessions in the Commission's hands-on computer lab.

The Campaign Disclosure and Audit Unit played a central role in reviewing participating candidate committees' financial disclosure statements and grant application forms. Program participants must provide detailed documentation of every campaign contribution in order to qualify for a grant. Commission auditors and auditing management staff reviewed the grant applications in the 2008 cycle stemming from both primaries and general elections – 247 reviews for candidates for General Assembly and 76 reviews for candidates for Senate. To ensure a quick turnaround on grant applications, the statute requires that the Commission review a grant application and approve, reject or continue the application for amendment by the applicant within four business days.

Following the election, the unit's staff began auditing all expenditures of all candidate committees to confirm that they complied with Program regulations and state law. The Audit Unit, the Compliance Unit, and the Legal Enforcement Unit are currently working together to ensure consistent application of campaign finance laws across 2008 campaigns.

NOTES

[i] All candidates for five special elections between 2007 and 2009 participated in the Citizens' Election Program. The Commission awarded grants totaling $239,845 for these special elections. The special elections provided the Commission with a "test run" of the Program before the 2008 General Assembly election, and feedback from campaigns participating in these special election iterations of the CEP helped the Commission refine key Program policies and rework procedures.

[ii] These figures were derived by subtracting the amount of post-election surplus returned by each campaign from their applicable expenditure limit ($30,000 for House of Representatives candidates or $100,000 for Senate candidates).

[iii] In its first year of existence, eCRIS had twice as many registered users as its predecessor Campaign Finance Information System (CFIS).

CHAPTER 3

COMPETITION AND CANDIDATE EMERGENCE

Along with removing the influence of special interest money from the electoral process and returning power to the electorate, commentators and students of public campaign financing often cite "increased competition" as one of the benefits of creating a "clean election" system, where the bulk of funding for campaigns comes from the government instead of private donors. Under this hypothesis, individuals without access to private wealth or funding sources are more likely to run for public office given the promise of public grants to finance their campaigns.

Indeed, by eliminating the need for a campaign "war chest" and the perpetual fundraising to build it,[i] access to a ready-made funding source plays a role in a potential candidate's assessment of whether to run for public office.[ii] Fifty-six percent of first-time candidates for the Connecticut legislature in 2008 who responded to a post-election survey conducted by the SEEC reported that the potential to tap the Citizens' Election Fund for a public grant to finance their campaigns played a "very important" role in their decision to seek public office. Another 22 percent of first-time candidates replied that public financing was "somewhat important" in their decision to run for office. In contrast, only 19 percent of first-time-candidate respondents gave no weight to the potential for public grants when deciding whether to enter a race.

> *"The hope of getting the grant gave me the courage to run."*
>
> *"I would not have been able to run without public financing. The incumbent I challenged ran unopposed two years ago."*
>
> *"Public financing let us run a viable campaign."*
>
> *"The CEP was key to persuading me to run."*
>
> *"One of the reasons I decided to run was the attractiveness of public financing."*
>
> *~ 2009 Participating Candidate Survey & Public Hearing Comments*

According to these survey results, the availability of public funds played at least some role in most new candidates' evaluations of whether to run for office. And the grants offered under the CEP allowed many candidates – incumbents, challengers, and novice politicians – to run their campaigns free from dependence on large donors or their own resources.[iii] Moreover, most participating campaigns found the qualifying thresholds to be achievable.

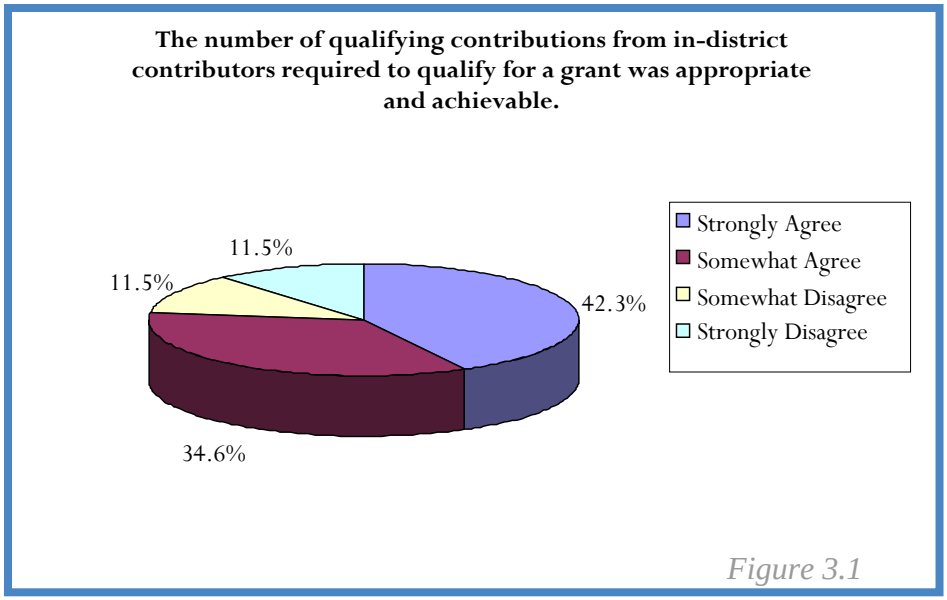


Figure 3.1

Even though it is still early in the history of our nascent public campaign financing regime,[iv] we can already point to some results of this ongoing democratic experiment to support the inference that the program has increased political competition in the Constitution State.

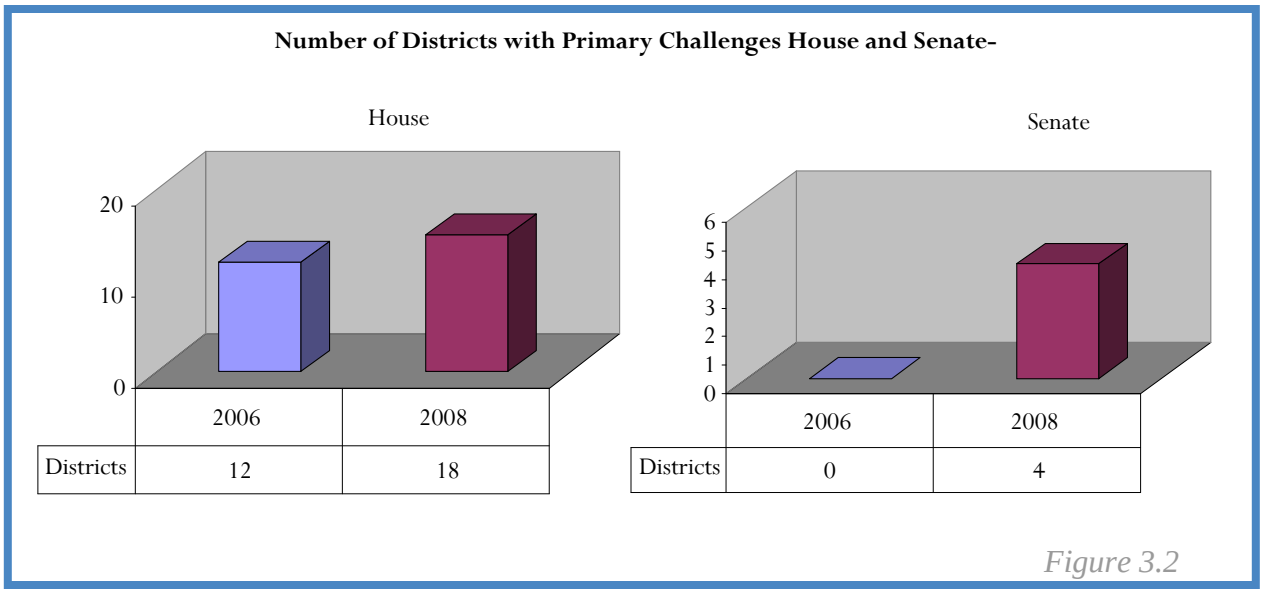


Figure 3.2

For instance, consider the dramatic increase in the number of primaries in 2008. In 2006, there were 12 primaries for General Assembly seats but none for the senate. The 2008 legislative elections, by contrast, saw a total of 18 primaries, including four in the Senate. In a published report, the Hartford Courant attributed this increase in primaries to the funding available under the Citizens' Election Program coupled with a large number of open seats.[v] Of the 42 candidates running in the 2008 primaries, 80

percent received public financing to run their campaigns.[vi]

While the total number of candidates competing in the 2008 elections (343) dropped slightly from the 2006 numbers (350) – made largely by a drop in minor party candidates in 2008 from 45 in 2006 to 39 in '08 – those candidates that did run in 2008 largely took advantage of public financing and as a group were much more successful.

Number of House and Senate Candidates in 2006 & 2008

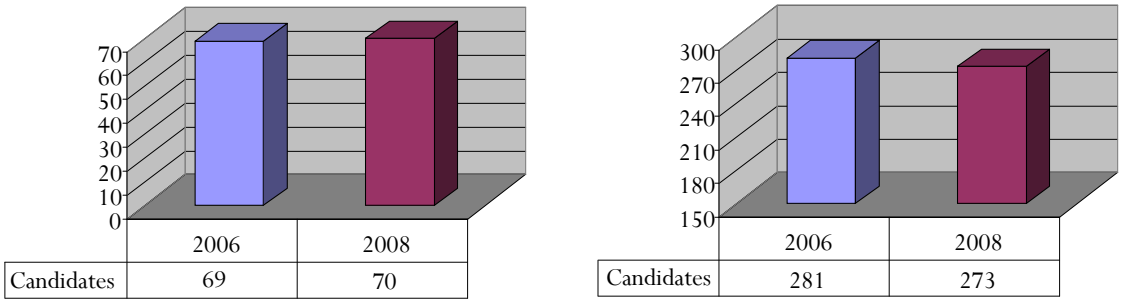


Figure 3.3

Challengers were very successful in 2008. Of 131 challengers facing incumbent legislators, more than 5 percent won, up a percentage point from the '06 numbers.[vii] And *all* of the successful challengers participated in the Citizens' Election Program and won using grants provided by the Citizens' Election Fund.

As the *New York Times* pointed out in an August 8, 2008 editorial, public campaign financing should help "invigorat[e] democracy" in Connecticut, as it has done in other jurisdictions, including Maine and Arizona. In Maine, according to the Times' editorial, where 1 in 5 legislative races was uncontested in the 1990s, now only 1 in 25 legislative races involves a single candidate.

This result has come over time. To co-opt a common truism, democracy is a journey not a destination.

MARGINS OF VICTORY NARROW IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY RACES WITH CEP FUNDING

Challengers in legislative races who received grants through the Citizens' Election Program fared better than challengers in previous legislative elections, according to preliminary data.

Comparing races between two major-party candidates in 2006 with races between two major-party candidates in 2008, where both candidates received public financing, indicates that equal resources may result in closer races.[viii] In 2008, major-party challengers who received CEP funding parlayed those grants into better showings at the ballot box, with closer races than in 2006.

Races between major party candidates showed an average vote disparity of 33 percent in the House of Representatives and 32.48 percent in the Senate during the 2006 cycle.

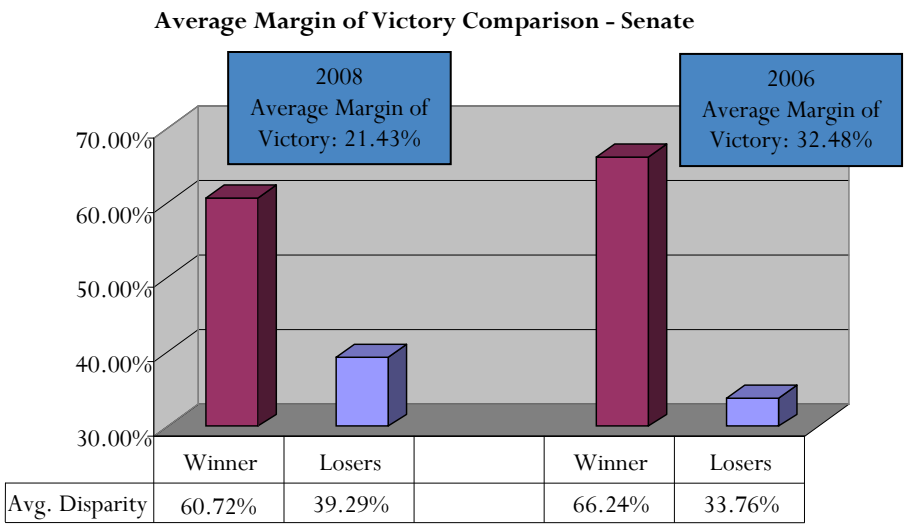
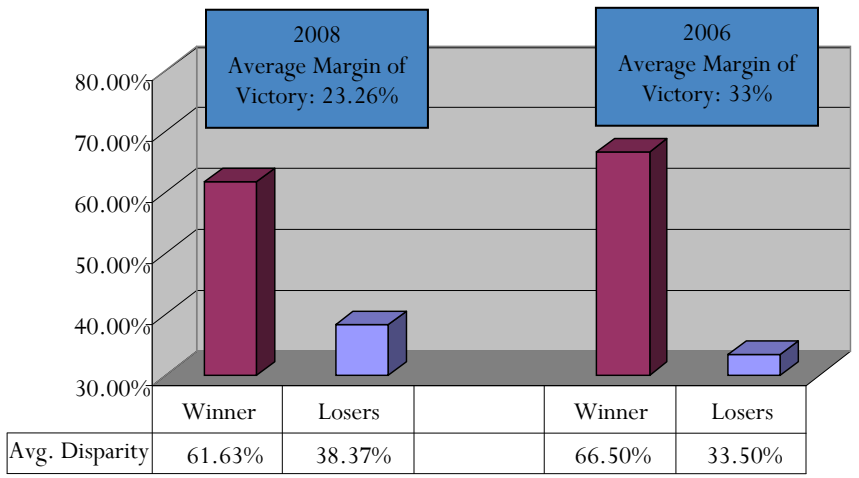


Figure 3.4

By contrast, in the 2008 races, CEF-funded challengers in the House narrowed the margin of victory by nearly 10 points, to 23.26 percent in the House, and by more than 11 points in the Senate, to a difference of 21.43 percent.



	Winner	Losers		Winner	Losers
Avg. Disparity	61.63%	38.37%		66.50%	33.50%

Figure 3.5

These differences represent a reduction in the margin of victory by 29 percent for House candidates and a whopping 34 percent among those vying for Senate seats.

Assessing the impact of the Citizens' Election Program on Connecticut's political landscape after a single year is a tenuous endeavor given the relatively few reference points and scarce data.

But placing challengers on equal financial footing with incumbents appears to have afforded those challengers a chance to run viable campaigns and turn their financial capital into more votes in November.

UNIQUE CANDIDATE NEARLY KNOCKS OFF INCUMBENT IN CONTENTIOUS PRIMARY

By most definitions, Karen Houghtaling is not your run-of-the-mill politician.

The 41-year-old grandmother with two jobs – as a receptionist and waitress –while raising her young granddaughter, has a lot on her plate, but last year she took on a new role.

Enter Karen Houghtaling, General Assembly candidate.

In this new guise, she nearly pulled off a huge upset in one of the state's closest primaries in 2008.

Seeking the Democratic nomination for the 80th General Assembly district, Houghtaling came within 80 votes of beating incumbent John "Corky" Mazurek for the General Assembly seat he has occupied since 2003.

Speaking in a public hearing on the Citizens' Election Program, Houghtaling stated that without the Citizens' Election Program she would never have considered running for office.

"Today what I can tell you is [that] I would not have run for State Representative this past August if it were not for the new Citizens' Election Program," Houghtaling stated in December 2008 at the outset of her testimony.

The CEP may have provided the means, but her granddaughter provided the motivation.

"I wanted to run because I recently became a grandmother and became worried about her future," Houghtaling said. "I want to be as proactive as possible to ensure that she has the same opportunities that I was given.

"The Citizens' Election Program is what actually made it a reality for me – not only to run for office, but to run a competitive campaign. The old [campaign financing] system would not have allowed someone like me, who was working two jobs to make ends meet, while helping to raise my

"The Citizens' Election Program is what actually made it a reality for me – not only to run for office, but to run a competitive campaign. The old [campaign financing] system would not have allowed someone like me, who was working two jobs to make ends meet, while helping to raise my granddaughter, to wage a competitive campaign against an incumbent."

~ Karen Houghtaling

granddaughter, to wage a competitive campaign against an incumbent."

Later in her testimony, Houghtaling pointed out that although she was a newcomer to politics, she was not naïve about how elections worked.

"I might have been a new kid on the block when it comes to running for public office, but I knew I could never be competitive in a system where someone was essentially encouraged to rely on big, private money contributions," Hougtaling stated.

The CEP changed that for her and for future candidates who lack personal wealth or deep-pocketed donors but possess a desire to make Connecticut better for their children and grandchildren.

"No doubt there will be other people like me in the future who have thought about running and will actually do so now that there is a new system that encourages people who aren't connected to big money to run for office," she remarked.

'Year of the Woman' Sees Women Increase General Assembly Share

The 2008 General Assembly elections saw women increase their share of seats in the Senate and House of Representatives.

In what Secretary of the State Susan Bysiewicz called the "Year of the Woman," the total number of female candidates reached 102, more than any previous year.

The percentage of women serving in Connecticut's legislative branch has also reached a record high, with 31.8 percent of seats in the 2009 legislature held by women.

Connecticut ranks eighth among the states in the percentage of women in state legislature.

One reason some scholars have given for the increased number of female candidates has been public financing, which provides access to funds for candidates without access to sources of private funds.

"I did not want to feel obligated to lobbyist or special interest groups and wanted to be able to focus all of my efforts on my constituents… I was new to politics and had no connections to raise money for my campaign."

~Rep. Patricia Billie Miller

Patricia Billie Miller, who won the 145th Assembly District seat representing her native Stamford, cited two reasons for her participation in the Citizens' Election Program, which she said was an important factor in her decision to run for office.

"Firstly, I did not want to feel obligated to lobbyist or special interest groups and wanted to be able to focus all of my efforts on my constituents," the former Stamford Housing Authority official noted. "Secondly, I was new to politics and had no connections to raise money for my campaign."

Newly elected representative for the 103rd Assembly District Elizabeth Esty of Cheshire told the Meriden *Record-Journal* that women will thrive under the public campaign financing system.[ix]

Women can tap the expansive networks they develop in their communities to raise the seed money needed under the CEP financing regime, Esty told the *Record-Journal* in September of 2008.

But even without public campaign financing, Connecticut has long, rich history of women in politics.

In 1920 – the year the 19th Amendment guaranteeing women the right to vote was added to the U.S. Constitution – the *New York Times* reported that the Nutmeg State led the nation in women legislators.[x] That year, Connecticut elected five women to serve in its General Assembly.

Connecticut is one of two states in the union where women of both major parties have served as governor.

Democrat Ella Grasso became the first woman elected governor in her own right when in 1975 she was the first woman elected to the office who was not the wife or widow of a former governor. Republican M. Jodi Rell became governor in 2005 following a corruption scandal. Rell then became the second woman elected governor in 2006.

Younger Candidates Use CEP Grants To Upset Long-Term Incumbents

Be they Republicans or Democrats, younger politicians seem to have recognized that the route to a seat in the General Assembly might be easier using the Citizens' Election Program.

The public grants that the CEP offers allow a General Assembly candidate to raise a threshold amount of money from both in- and out-of-district contributors and then parlay that seed money into state grants to run their campaigns.

Republican Chris Coutu, 32, and Democrat Matthew Lesser, 25, did just that when they successfully undertook the "David" role by challenging experienced lawmakers in the 2008 general election.

Coutu defeated Democrat Jack Malone, who had represented southeast Connecticut's 47th District since 1995, to become, as the *New London Day* wrote in a Nov. 7, 2008 editorial, "the poster boy of public financing."[xi]

A sitting alderman on the Norwich City Council, Coutu relied on public funds to finance his campaign.

"In my view the 2008 Citizens' Election Program was a success," Coutu wrote in hearing testimony submitted to the SEEC in December 2008. "This program empowered everyday people to run for office. It also enabled tens of thousands of voters to contribute donations that were critical for each campaign."

"This program empowered everyday people to run for office. It also enabled tens of thousands of voters to contribute donations that were critical for each campaign."

~Rep. Christopher Coutu

Coutu also credited the program for reducing at least one perk of incumbency – access to campaign capital.

"Along with empowering people, this program enabled me to focus on the issues and voters instead of fundraising. Although the incumbent still has an advantage, this program removes the special interests and provides level funding for the two candidates."

Quoted in an October 22, 2008 *New York Times* article, Coutu was unqualified in his support of the public financing program, saying that the public financing program had created a more level playing field.[xii]

"It lets the candidates focus on the issues," the *Times* quoted Coutu as saying, continuing, "In the past, you'd be out begging for money in the final days. Chances are, if you were close, an incumbent could get out multiple mailers in the homestretch and pound home his message while you had run dry. Now you've both got money, and you can focus on the issues and the voters instead of being out begging for money."

"The result of public financing is a more in touch, a more competitive, and more independent legislature in which our General Assembly finds itself accountable to our voters and to the voters alone."

~Rep. Matt Lesser

Candidate and now Representative Matthew Lesser also credited the Citizens' Election Program with helping him to focus on issues instead of finances as the campaign reached the home stretch.

"After I qualified for public financing in June, I was able to spend all of my time on the campaign, meeting voters directly and understanding more fully the range of their concerns. That made me a better candidate, one more responsive to the needs and priorities of my prospective constituents," Lesser testified before the SEEC in December 2008.

The Middletown resident and Wesleyan University student defeated Republican Raymond Kalinowski of Durham, who occupied the 100th district seat for three consecutive terms.

Lesser credited the CEP with making him and his colleagues in the legislature more responsive to voters.

"I also believe that having had the chance to meet so many of my constituents will make me a better legislator," Lesser remarked, before applying the same logic to his legislative colleagues.

"The result of public financing is a more in touch, a more competitive, and more independent legislature in which our General Assembly finds itself accountable to our voters and to the voters alone."

"As we prepare to enter a challenging session in which we will be asked to make difficult choices regarding the budget, it is a comfort to know that in part thanks to the CEP, our General Assembly is more independent of special interests than it has ever been," the freshman representative observed.

"It's simple: I was a first-time candidate for state office, and [the Citizens' Election Program] gave me an opportunity to engage in the electoral process and allowed me to compete against an incumbent while getting away from the money race,"

~Rep. Tony Hwang

USING CEP FUNDS TO RUN A SUCCESSFUL GENERAL ASSEMBLY CAMPAIGN

Tony Hwang is no newcomer to politics.

The two-term member of Fairfield's Representative Town Meeting had run for office before.

In 2008, however, Hwang set his eyes on a bigger prize and challenged Democratic freshman incumbent Tom Christiano for the 134th District seat.

By November, 2008, Hwang, whose family immigrated to the United States from Taiwan when he was 9 years old, was the 134ths newly elected representative, becoming only the second member of the Connecticut General Assembly of Asian descent.

While Hwang planned to run even without public campaign financing, the CEP grant was a "big plus" for him.

"It's simple: I was a first-time candidate for state office, and [the Citizens' Election Program] gave me an opportunity to engage in the electoral process and allowed me to compete against an incumbent while getting away from the money race," Hwang said about participating in Connecticut's landmark public financing program.

Hwang's campaign focused on the voters, and the Citizens' Election Program likely played to his campaign style by encouraging "retail politics."

"We approached campaigning very actively and did lots of work communicating with the electorate," Hwang said. "The Program did free us from the constant non-campaign-related issue of fundraising."

The ultimate and overall impact of public campaign financing on electoral competitiveness in this Land of Steady Habits remains uncertain, but the initial signs regarding new candidates and the successes of program participants certainly provide reasons for optimism.

NOTES

[i] *See generally* Chris Murphy, "I Didn't Get Elected To Be A Fundraiser" HARTFORD COURANT, Feb. 3, 2008 (recounting freshman U.S. representative's experience with political fundraising, which occupies more of his time than he desires and reduces Congress's ability to find solutions to national issues).

[ii] *See* Raymond J. La Raja, "Candidate Emergence in State Legislative Elections: Does Public Funding Make a Difference?" Presented at 2007 American Political Science Ass'n Annual Meeting, at 14, 15 (reporting results of 2007 survey that revealed that 82 percent of candidates and potential candidates considering running for legislative office in Connecticut in 2008 identified "raising money" as the primary factor that might discourage them from entering a race).

[iii] Participating Candidate Survey (SEEC, 2009) (reflecting that 47 percent of survey respondents (35 of 75 respondents) strongly agreed with the sentiment that public campaign financing provided them ability to compete in an election "without reliance on personal wealth or large donors"). An additional 17 percent agreed somewhat with that statement. *Id.*

[iv] *See* General Accounting Office, "CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM: Early Experiences of Two States That Offer Full Public Funding for Political Candidates" (GAO, 2003) (categorizing results from review of elections in Maine and Arizona, both of which instituted public campaign financing in 2000, as "inconclusive" at least in part because data gathered from two relevant election cycles was sparse).

[v] Mark Pazniokas, "Public Financing Boosts Primaries," HARTFORD COURANT, July 25, 2008.

[vi] *Id.*

[vii] *See* OLR RESEARCH REPORT 2009-R-0099, "The Citizens' Election Program: A Comparison of the 2006 Legislative Races with the 2008 Races," Feb. 9, 2009.

[viii] In order to determine whether bringing parity to candidates' financial resources played a role in 2008 races, Commission staff calculated the average margins of victory in races between two major-party candidates in 2006 and compared that result to the average margin of victory in races between two major-party candidates in 2008, where both candidates received public financing. The results of that comparison showed that placing candidates on equal financial footing may narrow margins of victory.

[ix] *See* George Moore, "Record number of women run for GA seats," RECORD-JOURNAL (Sept. 24, 2008).

[x] *See* NEW YORK TIMES "Has 5 Women Legislators: Connecticut Leads the Country in This Respect" (Nov. 25, 1920).

[xi] "Public Financing Matters," NEW LONDON DAY, Nov. 7, 2008.

[xii] Peter Applebome, "Connecticut Hopefuls Flock to Public Financing," NEW YORK TIMES, Oct. 22, 2008.

CONCLUSION

WORKING TOGETHER

Gov. Rell and the General Assembly built the framework of the Citizens' Election Program, setting limits and laying out the ground rules for running a campaign under the program.

Fleshing out the operation of the Program to make it ready for 2008 and beyond fell to the Commission and its staff.

Participating in the program and making it a reality was the responsibility of candidates and the public.

Each of us worked together to make the Citizens' Election Program an unqualified success.

Establishing new protocols, new reporting mechanisms, and new units to navigate the changed landscape of Connecticut's campaign finance laws was a journey that required cooperation by the Commission, candidates, and the regulated community.

Only through collaboration and dedication to the ultimate goal of returning democracy to the people did the elected leaders and people of Connecticut succeed in putting into place the most comprehensive public campaign finance program in the nation in 2008.

Capitalizing on this success and securing the continued existence of the Program, however, remain an ongoing challenge. Indeed, there is work to be done in light of the United States District Court decision finding certain constitutional issues with the current laws. But the advancements are too significant to squander this opportunity.

TABLES

Table 1	2008 General Election Statistics
Total Number of Candidates	**343**
Democrat	169
Republican	135
Minor	29
Petitioning	10
Total Number of Candidates in the House	**273**
Democrat	136
Republican	105
Minor	23
Petitioning	9
Total Number of Candidates in the Senate	**70**
Democrat	33
Republican	30
Minor	6
Petitioning	1
Total Number of Participating Candidates	**250**
Democrat	141
Republican	102
Minor	7
Petitioning	0
Total Number of Participating Candidates in the House	**195**
Democrat	111
Republican	79
Minor	5
Petitioning	0

Total Number of Participating Candidates in the Senate	**55**
Democrat	30
Republican	23
Minor	2
Petitioning	0
Total Number of Participating Candidates who Received Grants	**235**
Total number of Participating House Candidates who Received Grants	**184**
Democrat	106
Republican	74
Minors	4
Total Number of Participating Senate Candidates who Received Grants	**51**
Democrat	29
Republican	21
Minors	1
Total Number of Participating Candidates who Received Grants and Won	**146**
House	114
Senate	32
Total Number of Participating Candidates who Did Not Apply	**13**
Total Number of Participating Candidates Denied Grants	**2**
Total Number of House and Senate Incumbents	**163**
Participating Incumbents	130
Winning Incumbents	156
Winning Participating Incumbents	123
Total Number of House Incumbents	**131**
Participating Incumbents	101
Participating Winning Incumbents	95

Total Number of Senate Incumbents	**32**
Participating Incumbents	29
Participating Winning Incumbents	28
Total Number of House and Senate Challengers	**180**
Participating Challengers	120
Winning Challengers	31
Participating Winning Challengers	28
Total Number of House Challengers	**142**
Total number of participating challengers House	94
Participating Winning Challengers	24
Total Number of Senate Challengers	**38**
Participating Challengers	26
Participating Winning Challengers	4
Total Number of Candidates by Gender	**244 Male / 99 Female**
House	188 Male / 85 Female
Senate	56 Male / 14 Female
Total Number of Participating Candidates by Gender	**166 Male / 84 Female**
Total Number of Races with Major Party Opposition	**117**
House	90
Senate	27
Total Number of Races with Minor or Petitioning Candidate in Race	**35**
House	28
Senate	7
Total Number of Races with Minor Party Opposition Only	**17**
House	15
Senate	2

Total Number of Unopposed Races	**53**
Total number of races Unopposed House	46
Total number of races Unopposed Senate	7

Table 2	2008 Participating Candidates			
Candidate Name	**Office Sought**	**Party Affiliation**	**District**	**Grant Type**
Abercrombie, Catherine F.	House	Democrat	83	Full
Ackert, Timothy J.	House	Republican	8	Full
Adamsons, Scott A.	House	Republican	32	Full
Adinolfi, Al	House	Republican	103	Full
Adkins, Robert L.	House	Independent	75	No Grant Awarded
Airey-Wilson, Veronica	Senate	Republican	2	Full
Alberts, Mike	House	Republican	50	Full
Aldarondo, David	House	Democrat	75	Full
Allen, Floresia	House	Republican	82	No Grant Awarded
Altobello, Emil	House	Democrat	82	Full
Aman, William	House	Republican	14	Full
Anderson, Janice	Senate	Democrat	21	Full
Andres Ayala, Jr.	House	Democrat	128	Full
Arcuri, Joseph	House	Democrat	76	Full
Arute, Robert D.	House	Republican	53	Full
Avery, Arlene F.	House	Democrat	52	Full
Bacchiochi, Penny	House	Republican	52	Full
Backer, Terry	House	Democrat	121	Reduced - Unopposed
Baker, Eileen D.	House	Democrat	23	Full
Banici, Dan	House	Republican	81	No Grant Awarded
Barry, Ryan P.	House	Democrat	12	Reduced - Unopposed
Bartlett, Jason W.	House	Democrat	2	Full
Bauer, David P.	House	Republican	34	Full
Berger, Jeffrey J.	House	Democrat	73	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Blackwell, David H.	Senate	Republican	4	Full
Blau, Fritz	House	Republican	145	Full
Bochet, Cheryl	House	Democrat	123	Full
Booker, Cicero B.	Senate	Working Families	15	Full
Boucher, Antonietta "Toni"	Senate	Republican	26	Full
Boukus, Elizabeth A.	House	Democrat	22	Full
Bowley, Ralph	House	Republican	132	Full
Bozek, Thomas A.	Senate	Republican	6	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Bruschi, Susan A.	House	Republican	143	Full
Burgio, Frank A.	House	Independent	74	Partial - 1/3 Grant
Butler, Larry B.	House	Democrat	72	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Bye, Beth	House	Democrat	19	Full
Cafero, Lawrence F.	House	Republican	142	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Caligiuri, Sam S.F.	Senate	Republican	16	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Camillo, Alfred F.	House	Republican	151	Full
Capenera, Ralph	Senate	Republican	9	Full
Carson, Mary Ann	House	Republican	108	Full
Caruso, Christopher L.	House	Democrat	126	Full
Catala, Jason L.	House	Republican	39	No Grant Awarded
Cavanaugh, Kurt	House	Republican	31	Full
Christiano, Tom F.	House	Democrat	134	Full
Clemons, Charles D.	House	Democrat	124	Full
Cohen, Nitzy	House	Republican	136	Full
Colapietro, Thomas A.	Senate	Democrat	31	Reduced - Unopposed
Coleman, Eric D.	Senate	Democrat	2	Full
Colli, George A.	Senate	Democrat	7	Full
Conroy, Theresa W.	House	Democrat	105	Full
Conway, Matt	House	Democrat	61	Full
Cook, Michelle	House	Democrat	65	Full
Corcoran, Matthew J.	House	Republican	88	Full
Coutu, Christopher D.	House	Republican	47	Full
Creed, Nicholas K.	House	Democrat	66	Full
Cusano, John	House	Republican	28	No Grant Awarded
D Amelio, Anthony J.	House	Republican	71	Full
Daily, Eileen M.	Senate	Democrat	33	Full
Davis, Christopher	House	Republican	57	Full
Davis, Paul	House	Democrat	117	Full
De Rosa, S. Michael	Senate	Green	1	No Grant Awarded
Debicella, Dan	Senate	Republican	21	Full
DeFronzo, Donald J.	Senate	Democrat	6	Full
Denski, Jacqui D.	House	Democrat	78	Full
Denze, Arthur J. Sr.	House	Independent	71	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Dillon, Patricia A.	House	Democrat	92	Full
Donovan, Christopher G.	House	Democrat	84	Full
Doyle, Paul R.	Senate	Democrat	9	Full
Drew, Thomas J.	House	Democrat	132	Full
Duff, Bob	Senate	Democrat	25	Full
Eisenlohr, Brett F.	House	Democrat	17	Full
Ellis, Gregory	House	Republican	37	Full
Esty, Elizabeth H.	House	Democrat	103	Full
Farah, Ted	House	Republican	109	Full
Fasano, Leonard A.	Senate	Republican	34	Reduced - Unopposed
Fawcett, Kim	House	Democrat	133	Full
Ferrari, Richard F.	House	Republican	62	Full
Ferrucci, Stephen R.	House	Democrat	71	Full
Fitzgerald, Jill T.	House	Republican	77	Full
Fleischmann, Andrew M.	House	Democrat	18	Full
Flexer, Mae	House	Democrat	44	Full
Fonfara, John	Senate	Democrat	1	Full
Fontana, Steve	House	Democrat	87	Full
Frank, Rocco J.	House	Independent	118	Partial - 2/3 Grant
Frey, John H.	House	Republican	111	Full
Fritz, Mary G.	House	Democrat	90	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Gaffey, Thomas P.	Senate	Democrat	13	Full
Garofalo, Marc J.	House	Democrat	114	Full
Genga, Henry	House	Democrat	10	Reduced - Unopposed
Gentile, Linda	House	Democrat	104	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Geragosian, John C.	House	Democrat	25	Full
Giannaros, Demetrios S.	House	Democrat	21	Reduced - Unopposed
Giegler, Janice R.	House	Republican	138	Full
Giuliano, Marilyn	House	Republican	23	Full
Godfrey, Bob	House	Democrat	110	Full
Goldberg, Martin A.	Senate	Democrat	28	Full
Gomes, Edwin A.	Senate	Democrat	23	Full
Graziani, Ted C.	House	Democrat	57	Full
Grogins, Auden	House	Democrat	129	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Guerrera, Antonio	House	Democrat	29	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Hale, Kathy	House	Democrat	14	Full
Hamm, Gail K.	House	Democrat	34	Full
Hamzy, William A.	House	Republican	78	Full
Handley, Mary Ann	Senate	Democrat	4	Full
Harkins, John A.	House	Republican	120	Full
Harp, Toni Nathaniel	Senate	Democrat	10	Full
Harris, Jonathan A.	Senate	Democrat	5	Full
Hartley, Joan V.	Senate	Democrat	15	Full
Hartwell, John T.	Senate	Democrat	26	Full
Hatfield, Anne	Senate	Republican	18	No Grant Awarded
Heagney, Robert	House	Republican	16	Full
Heinrich, Deborah W.	House	Democrat	101	Full
Hennessy, Jack F.	House	Democrat	127	Reduced - Unopposed
Hetherington, John W.	House	Republican	125	Reduced - Unopposed
Hornish, Annie	House	Democrat	62	Full
House, Arthur H.	Senate	Democrat	8	Full
Hovey, DebraLee	House	Republican	112	Full
Hurlburt, Bryan	House	Democrat	53	Full
Hwang, Anthony	House	Republican	134	Full
Janowski, Claire L.	House	Democrat	56	Reduced - Unopposed
Jansen, Cheryl	House	Democrat	122	Full
Jarmoc, Karen	House	Democrat	59	Full
Johnson, Catherine M.	House	Republican	33	Full
Johnson, Susan M.	House	Democrat	49	Full
Jutila, Ed	House	Democrat	37	Full
Kalinowski, Raymond C.	House	Republican	100	Full
Kane, Robert J.	Senate	Republican	32	Full
Kehoe, Thomas J.	House	Democrat	31	Full
Kirkley-Bey, Marie Lopez	House	Democrat	5	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Kissel, John A.	Senate	Republican	7	Full
Kivela, Veronica H.	House	Republican	87	Full
Klarides, Themis	House	Republican	114	Full
Kluberdanz, Brian E.	House	Republican	43	Full
Knox, Thomas I.	House	Republican	18	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Koskelowski, Brian	House	Republican	105	Full
Krumeich, Edward	House	Democrat	151	Full
Lambert, Barbara L.	House	Democrat	118	Full
Lavelli-Hozempa, Susan	House	Republican	58	Full
Lawlor, Michael P.	House	Democrat	99	Full
LeBeau, Gary D.	Senate	Democrat	3	Reduced - Unopposed
LeGeyt, Timothy B.	House	Republican	17	Full
Lein, Daniel	House	Republican	49	Full
Lesser, Matthew L.	House	Democrat	100	Full
Lewis, Joan A.	House	Democrat	8	Full
Liddy, Kevin G.	House	Republican	119	Full
Life, Lauren K.	House	Republican	61	Full
Looney, Martin M.	Senate	Democrat	11	Reduced - Unopposed
Lyddy, Christopher B.	House	Democrat	106	Full
Malone, Jack	House	Democrat	47	Full
Marino, Vincent M.	Senate	Republican	14	Full
Masters, Di	House	Democrat	111	Full
Maynard, Andrew M.	Senate	Democrat	18	Full
Mazurek, John	House	Democrat	80	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
McCarthy, John T.	Senate	Democrat	32	Full
McCluskey, David D.	House	Democrat	20	Full
McCrory, Douglas	House	Democrat	7	Reduced - Unopposed
McDonald, Andrew J.	Senate	Democrat	27	No Grant Awarded
McGrath, Theresa B.	House	Republican	19	Full
McKinney, John	Senate	Republican	28	Full
McLachlan, Michael	Senate	Republican	24	Full
Melillo, William R.	House	Democrat	138	Full
Merrill, Denise W.	House	Democrat	54	No Grant Awarded
Meyer, Edward	Senate	Democrat	12	Full
Miller, Lawrence G.	House	Republican	122	Full
Miller, Patricia Billie	House	Democrat	145	Full
Miner, Craig A.	House	Republican	66	Full
Mioli, Joseph S.	House	Democrat	136	Full
Morin, Russell A.	House	Democrat	28	Full
Morris, Bruce V.	House	Democrat	140	Reduced - Unopposed
Mount, Michele C.	House	Democrat	112	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Musco, Lori G.	House	Republican	99	Full
Mushinsky, Mary M.	House	Democrat	85	Full
Musto, Anthony J.	Senate	Democrat	22	Full
Nafis, Sandy H.	House	Democrat	27	Full
Nardello, Vickie Orsini	House	Democrat	89	Full
Nicastro, Frank N.	House	Democrat	79	Full
Noble, Deborah B.	House	Working Families	16	Partial - 2/3 Grant
Noujaim, Selim G.	House	Republican	74	Full
O'Brien, Melanie P.	House	Republican	2	Full
O'Brien, Tim	House	Democrat	24	Full
Orange, Linda A.	House	Democrat	48	Reduced - Unopposed
O'Rourke, James A.	House	Democrat	32	Full
Pacileo, Vincent A. III	Senate	Republican	33	Full
Palanzo, Roger A.	House	Republican	110	Full
Paonessa, Nicholas J.	House	Republican	26	No Grant Awarded
Papadakos, Steve	Senate	Republican	25	Full
Pappa, Mark	House	Republican	27	Full
Pelletier, Cheri Ann	House	Republican	13	Full
Perillo, Jason	House	Republican	113	Reduced - Unopposed
Perkins, Duane E.	Senate	Democrat	24	Full
Perone, Chris	House	Democrat	137	Full
Peruzzotti, Deborah L.	House	Republican	41	Full
Piscopo, John E.	House	Republican	76	Full
Potter, Scott R.	House	Democrat	120	Full
Reed, Lonnie	House	Democrat	102	Reduced - Unopposed
Reeves, Peggy A.	House	Democrat	143	Full
Renzullo, Michael J.	Senate	Democrat	30	No Grant Awarded
Rhue, Barbara J.	Senate	Republican	1	No Grant Awarded
Rigby, John	House	Republican	63	Full
Robles, Hector L.	House	Democrat	6	Reduced - Unopposed
Rodgers, William Ford L.	House	Republican	106	Full
Rojas, Jason	House	Democrat	9	Full
Roldan, Kelvin	House	Democrat	4	Full
Roraback, Andrew W.	Senate	Republican	30	Full
Rossi, Tamath	Senate	Republican	17	Full
Rowe, T.R.	House	Republican	123	Full

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District	Grant Type
Roy, Richard	House	Democrat	119	Full
Royston, Michael	House	Republican	60	Full
Russo, Robert D, III.	Senate	Republican	22	Full
Ruwet, Anne L.	House	Republican	65	Full
Santiago, Ezequiel	House	Democrat	130	Full
Saunders, Scott D.	House	Republican	22	Full
Sawyer, Pamela Z.	House	Republican	55	Reduced - Unopposed
Sayers, Peggy	House	Democrat	60	Full
Schofield, Linda	House	Democrat	16	Full
Scribner, David A.	House	Republican	107	Full
Seltzer, Nanci A.	House	Republican	118	Full
Serra, Joseph C.	House	Democrat	33	Full
Sharkey, J. Brendan	House	Democrat	88	Full
Simones, Thomas C.	Senate	Republican	20	Full
Slossberg, Gayle S.	Senate	Democrat	14	Full
Spallone, James Field	House	Democrat	36	Full
Stevens, Jeanne W.	House	Republican	101	Full
Stevenson, David A.	House	Democrat	107	Full
Stillman, Andrea L.	Senate	Democrat	20	Full
Stripp, John E.	House	Republican	135	Reduced - Minor Opposition Only
Suerth, Ryan	Senate	Republican	12	Full
Taborsak, Joseph	House	Democrat	109	Full
Tallarita, Kathleen M.	House	Democrat	58	Full
Tercyak, Peter A.	House	Democrat	26	Full
Thompson, Clifton E.	House	Republican	9	Full
Thompson, John W.	House	Democrat	13	Full
Urban, Diana S.	House	Democrat	43	Full
Velez, Lisa A.	House	Republican	75	Full
Villano, Peter F.	House	Democrat	91	No Grant Awarded
Vitali, Michael T.	House	Republican	85	Full
Vogt, Sherri L.	House	Democrat	50	Full
Walker, Toni E.	House	Democrat	93	No Grant Awarded
Widlitz, Patricia M.	House	Democrat	98	Reduced - Unopposed
Williams, Donald E.	Senate	Democrat	29	Full
Williams, Stephanie A.	House	Republican	117	Full
Willis, Roberta B.	House	Democrat	64	Reduced - Unopposed

Winfield, Gary A.	House	Democrat	94	No Grant Awarded
Wink, Ellen G.	House	Republican	137	Full
Witkos, Kevin D.	Senate	Republican	8	Full
Wright, Alphonse	House	Republican	24	Full
Wright, Christopher A.	House	Democrat	77	Full
Wright, Elissa T.	House	Democrat	41	Full
Zalaski, Bruce	House	Democrat	81	Full

Table 3	2008 Non-Participating Candidates		
Candidate Name	**Office Sought**	**Party Affiliation**	**District**
Aaron, David P.	House	Petitioning	91
Aresimowicz, Joe	House	Democrat	30
Atkins, Martin A.	House	Republican	89
Ballard, William	House	Republican	59
Bataguas, Manuel A.	Senate	Petitioning	24
Bennett, Colin D.	Senate	Minor	33
Berdick, Ed C.	House	Republican	45
Candelaria, Juan R.	House	Democrat	95
Candelora, Vincent J.	House	Republican	86
Carboni, Harry R.	Senate	Republican	29
Chapin, Clark J.	House	Republican	67
Charles, Larry	House	Petitioning	5
Chaves, Zachary A.	Senate	Minor	36
Chevalier, Remy G.	House	Minor	135
Crisco, Joseph J.	Senate	Democrat	17
Dargan, Stephen D.	House	Democrat	115
DelGobbo, Kevin M.	House	Republican	70
Diamond, Mark	Senate	Democrat	36
Esposito, Louis P.	House	Democrat	116
Farrell, James A., Jr.	House	Minor	80
Fischer, Ronald E.	House	Minor	70
Floren, Livvy R.	House	Republican	149
Fox, Gerald M.	House	Democrat	146
Frantz, L. Scott	Senate	Republican	36
Friedman, Mark A.	House	Minor	1
Gibbons, Lile R.	House	Republican	150
Gonzalez, Joel	House	Republican	130
Gonzalez, Minnie	House	Democrat	3
Gorgoglione, Robert D.	House	Minor	49
Green, Kenneth P.	House	Democrat	1
Greene, Willie	House	Petitioning	94
Guglielmo, Anthony	Senate	Republican	35
Guttman, Marc L.	Senate	Minor	20
Hanson, Kenric	House	Minor	39

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District
Hewett, Ernest	House	Democrat	39
Johnson, Milton L.	Senate	Republican	23
Johnston, Shawn T.	House	Democrat	51
Jubrey, Aaron T.	House	Republican	15
Kalechman, Robert H.	House	Petitioning	16
Knibbs, Timothy A.	House	Minor	81
Krajewski, Barbara D.	House	Republican	25
Kwasny, Angeline F.	House	Republican	44
Labriola, David K.	House	Republican	131
Larson, Timothy D.	House	Democrat	11
Lenox, Tim	Senate	Republican	13
Leone, Carlo	House	Democrat	148
Marquez, Ramona	House	Republican	128
McMahon, Faith	House	Democrat	15
Megna, Robert W.	House	Democrat	97
Merritt, Joseph P.	Senate	Republican	5
Mertens, John	House	Minor	20
Mikutel, Steven T.	House	Democrat	45
Minutolo, Joseph	House	Republican	126
Mojica, Rafael A.	House	Petitioning	130
Moller, Joseph	House	Republican	84
Moukawsher, Edward E.	House	Democrat	40
Norton, David L.	House	Republican	79
O'Connor, Brian J.	House	Democrat	35
Olson, Melissa M.	House	Democrat	46
O'Neill, Arthur J.	House	Republican	69
Orsini, Mark A.	Senate	Minor	16
Ortiz, Paul	House	Republican	92
Papantones, Melissa J.	Senate	Republican	10
Pappalardo, Ellen	House	Minor	24
Parks, Amanda J.	House	Republican	133
Perugini, Joseph	House	Minor	72
Petronella, A. Brian	House	Minor	142
Plouffe, Edward	House	Minor	75
Porter, Mary E.	House	Petitioning	104
Prague, Edith G.	Senate	Democrat	19

Candidate Name	Office Sought	Party Affiliation	District
Reynolds, Tom	House	Democrat	42
Riiska, William O.	House	Democrat	63
Ritter, Elizabeth B.	House	Democrat	38
Ryan, Kevin	House	Democrat	139
Sachdev, Manmohan	House	Petitioning	60
Scarpati, Kevin	House	Republican	83
Schuley, Richard S.	House	Minor	66
Shapiro, Jim	House	Democrat	144
Snarski-Pierce, Bryce	House	Minor	4
Stallings, Craig	House	Petitioning	5
Staples, Cameron C.	House	Democrat	96
Struck, Nelson J.	House	Republican	36
Telesca, Michael J.	House	Minor	73
Thompson, Chad	House	Republican	20
Tong, William	House	Democrat	147
Traceski, John M.	House	Minor	52
Votto, Peter	House	Minor	90
Wakamatsu, Tomoyo	House	Minor	29
Williams, Sean J.	House	Republican	68
Wood, Terri E.	House	Democrat	141
Young, Cecil	House	Republican	124
Young, Phillip H.	House	Republican	129
Zotto, Samuel	House	Petitioning	80

APPENDIX

STATE ELECTIONS ENFORCEMENT COMMISSION
CITIZENS' ELECTION PROGRAM

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Basic Requirements – 2010 Overview

Chapter 157 of the Connecticut General Statutes establishes the Citizens' Election Program (the "Program"), a voluntary program which provides public financing to qualified candidates for statewide offices and the General Assembly. The Program is financed by the Citizens' Election Fund, which receives funds from the proceeds of sale of abandoned property in the State of Connecticut's custody.

Candidates running for statewide office or the office of State Senator or State Representative may join the Program. Additionally, candidates running for the office of State Senator or State Representative in any special election may join the Program.

Although participation in the Program is voluntary, certain requirements apply to *all* candidates for statewide offices and the General Assembly. For example, all candidates must file an affidavit of intent to abide by Program requirements (SEEC Form CEP 10) *or* an affidavit of intent not to abide by Program requirements (SEEC Form CEP 11). Additionally, all candidates must be aware of additional disclosure requirements, including mandatory supplemental campaign finance disclosure reports.

The State Elections Enforcement Commission (the "Commission") is the filing repository for all campaign forms and disclosure statements. The Commission is also responsible for administering the Program and monitoring compliance with Program requirements.

Program Goals

The voluntary public financing program was designed with various goals, including:

(1) to allow candidates to compete without reliance on special interest money;

(2) to give candidates without access to sources of wealth a meaningful opportunity to seek elective office in the State of Connecticut;

(3) to curtail excessive spending in the State of Connecticut's political process; and

(4) to provide the public with meaningful and timely disclosure of campaign finances.

To participate, candidates must agree to abide by certain requirements, including contribution and expenditure limits and mandatory disclosure.

Qualifying Threshold

To qualify for public financing, candidates must demonstrate they have adequate support from the public. Candidates may accomplish this by meeting a two-part "threshold" that sets requirements for the aggregate amount of money which the candidate must raise and the minimum number of individuals who must have contributed between five dollars to one hundred dollars to the candidate. Qualifying contributions are small monetary contributions from individuals, and do not include in-kind contributions, personal funds or loans. Qualifying contributions must be fully disclosed and adequately documented. Communicator lobbyists and their immediate family members, as well as principals of current and prospective state contractors, may not make qualifying contributions. Additionally, principals of investment services firms "doing business" with the State Treasurer may not contribute to or solicit on behalf of candidates for State Treasurer.

Qualification Thresholds for Statewide Offices			
Office Sought	**Aggregate Contribution Requirement – Individuals Only**	**Minimum Amount of In-State Contributions**	**Contribution Limits**
Governor	$250,000	$225,000	$5 to $100
Lieutenant Governor	$75,000	$67,500	$5 to $100
Attorney General	$75,000	$67,500	$5 to $100
State Comptroller	$75,000	$67,500	$5 to $100
State Treasurer	$75,000	$67,500	$5 to $100
Secretary of State	$75,000	$67,500	$5 to $100

Qualification Thresholds for General Assembly Offices		
Office Sought	**Aggregate Contribution Requirement – Individuals Only**	**Minimum Individual Resident Contributions Between $5 - $100**
State Senator	$15,000	300 residents of municipalities included, in whole or in part, in the district
State Representative	$5,000	150 residents of municipalities included, in whole or in part, in the district

Candidate's Personal Funds

The Program permits candidates to provide a limited amount of personal funds to their candidate committees. Candidates may only provide such personal funds to their candidate committees before applying for initial grants. Any allowable personal funds reduce the grant by a corresponding amount. Personal funds do not constitute qualifying contributions**.** The maximum allowable amount of personal funds varies depending on the office being sought.

Office Sought	Maximum Allowable Personal Funds
Governor	$20,000
Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, State Comptroller, State Treasurer, Secretary of State	$10,000
State Senator	$2,000
State Representative	$1,000

Loans to the Candidate Committee

The Program expressly limits the aggregate amount and permissible sources of any loans provided to the candidate committees of candidates intending to participate in the Program to an aggregate of one thousand dollars from financial institutions. The term "financial institution" includes "a bank, Connecticut credit union, federal credit union, an out-of-state bank that maintains a branch in this state and an out-of-state credit union that maintains an office in this state." CONN. GEN. STAT. § 36a-41. No person, political committee, or party committee can endorse or guarantee a loan or aggregate loans exceeding five hundred dollars, except the candidate, or, in a general election, a state central committee.

The one thousand dollar loan limit applies to candidate committees of candidates seeking any statewide or legislative office covered by the Program. Program requirements further provide that any such borrowed funds do not constitute qualifying contributions. A participating candidate must repay all outstanding loans before applying for a grant from the Citizens' Election Fund.

Ballot Requirement

In addition to raising the required amount of qualifying contributions, candidates must also qualify for the ballot to be eligible to receive public funds. This ballot requirement applies in any primary, general or special election. The Office of the Secretary of the State administers the ballot qualification process. Further, if a candidate raises the required qualifying contributions and qualifies for the ballot as a minor party or petitioning candidate, such candidate must meet additional requirements to receive a grant, as discussed below.

Primary Campaign Grants

Major Party Candidates

Eligible major party candidates who qualify for the ballot in a primary may qualify to receive a grant. The amount of the primary grant is reduced by the allowable amount of personal funds, if any, provided by the candidate during the qualifying period. Additionally, all General Assembly grant amounts are subject to a Consumer Price Index adjustment in 2010.

Nomination Sought	Grant Amount
Governor	$1,250,000
Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, State Comptroller, State Treasurer, and Secretary of State	$375,000
State Senator	$35,000
State Representative	$10,000

General Assembly Candidates in "Party-Dominant" Districts

- Candidates in "party-dominant" districts are eligible for larger grants in primary campaigns.
- A "party-dominant" district is one in which the percentage of active electors (registered voters) in the district who are enrolled in a major party exceeds the percentage of active electors in the district who are enrolled in the other major party by at least 20 percentage points.

"Party Dominant" Districts	Grant Amount
State Senator	$75,000
State Representative	$25,000

General Election Grant

The qualified committee of a candidate who received a primary grant and then won the party nomination through a primary election does not have to re-apply for a grant for the general election campaign. But any unspent primary grant funds that remain in the candidate's account will be subtracted from the general election grant. Additionally, all General Assembly grant amounts are subject to a Consumer Price Index adjustment in 2010.

General Election Campaign Grants
Major Party Candidates

- Reduced by the amount of unspent primary grant funds if the candidate received a primary grant.
- Reduced by any allowable personal funds if the candidate did not have a primary.
- Reduced to 30% of the full amount if the candidate is unopposed in the general election.
- Reduced by 60% of the full amount if the candidate faces only a minor party or petitioning opponent who has not raised an amount equal to the qualifying contribution threshold level for that office.

Grants for Major Party Candidates			
Office Sought	**General Election** ***Nominated Candidate with Major Party Opponent***	**General Election** ***Nominated Candidate with No Opposition***	**General Election** ***Nominated Candidate With Limited Minor or Petitioning Party Opponents***
Governor	$3,000,000	$900,000	$1,800,000
Lieutenant Governor	NA	NA	NA
Attorney General	$750,000	$225,000	$450,000
State Comptroller	$750,000	$225,000	$450,000
State Treasurer	$750,000	$225,000	$450,000
Secretary of State	$750,000	$225,000	$450,000
State Senator	$85,000	$25,500	$51,000
State Representative	$25,000	$7,500	$15,000

General Election Campaign Grants

Minor Party Candidates

- If a candidate for the same office representing the same minor party in the prior regular election received 20% or more of the votes cast for that office, the eligible minor party candidate in the current election may receive the full grant amount.
- If a candidate for the same office representing the same minor party in the prior regular election received at least 15% of the votes cast for that office, the eligible minor party candidate in the current election may receive 2/3 of the full grant.
- If a candidate for the same office representing the same minor party in the prior regular election received at least 10% of the votes cast for that office, the eligible minor party candidate in the current election may receive 1/3 of the full grant.
- If a candidate for the same office representing the same minor party in the prior regular election received less than 10% of the votes cast for that office, the eligible minor party candidate in the current election may qualify for a grant by gathering signatures on nominating petitions approved by the Secretary of the State.
- Minor party candidates who receive less than the full grant amount may raise additional contributions that meet the criteria for qualifying contributions to make up the difference between the grant received and the amount of the full grant.
- Minor party candidates who receive a grant and report a deficit in post-election disclosure statements may be eligible to receive supplemental grant money depending on the percentage of votes they received.

Grants for Minor Party Candidates			
Office Sought	***Candidate for Minor Party Where Party's Prior Candidate for Same Office Received 10% of Vote***	***Candidate for Minor Party Where Party's Prior Candidate for Same Office Received 15% of Vote***	***Candidate for Minor Party Where Party's Prior Candidate for Same Office Received 20% of Vote***
Governor	$1,000,000	$2,000,000	$3,000,000
Lieutenant Governor	NA	NA	NA
Attorney General	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
State Comptroller	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
State Treasurer	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
Secretary of State	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
State Senator	$28,333	$55,667	$85,000
State Representative	$8,333	$16,667	$25,000

General Election Campaign Grants

Petitioning Candidates

- If a petitioning candidate's nominating petition is signed by electors equaling at least 20% of the votes cast for that office in the prior regular election, the eligible petitioning party candidate in the current election may receive the full grant.
- If a petitioning candidate's nominating petition is signed by electors equaling at least 15% of the votes cast for that office in the prior regular election, the eligible petitioning party candidate in the current election may receive 2/3 of the full grant.
- If a petitioning candidate's nominating petition is signed by electors equaling at least 10% of the votes cast for that office in the prior regular election, the eligible petitioning party candidate in the current election may receive 1/3 of the full grant.
- Petitioning candidates who receive less than the full grant amount may raise additional contributions that meet the criteria for qualifying contributions to make up the difference between the grant amount received by such candidate and the full grant amount.
- Petitioning candidates who receive a grant and report a deficit in post-election disclosure statements may be eligible to receive supplemental grant money depending on the percentage of votes they received.

Grants for Petitioning Candidates			
Office Sought	***Petitioning Candidates Whose Nominating Petition has Signatures Equaling 10% of Votes Cast***	***Petitioning Candidates Whose Nominating Petition has Signatures Equaling 15% of Votes Cast***	***Petitioning Candidates Whose Nominating Petition has Signatures Equaling 20% of Votes Cast***
Governor	$1,000,000	$2,000,000	$3,000,000
Lieutenant Governor	NA	NA	NA
Attorney General	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
State Comptroller	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
State Treasurer	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
Secretary of State	$250,000	$500,000	$750,000
Senator	$28,333	$55,667	$85,000
Representative	$8,333	$16,667	$25,000

Expenditure Limits

- Expenditures during the pre-primary campaign or pre-general election campaign period (the ***"qualifying period"***) are limited to the required amount of qualifying contributions, plus any allowable personal funds the candidate provides to the candidate committee. The "qualifying period" ends with the commencement of the primary campaign period or the general election campaign period, as discussed below.

- For candidates for statewide office or the district office of State Senator or State Representative, the ***primary campaign period*** begins the day after the close of the state or district convention held to endorse such candidate. For candidates for the municipal office of State Senator or State Representative, the primary campaign period begins the day after the close of the caucus, convention, or town committee meeting held to endorse such candidate. The primary campaign period ends on the day of the primary election.

- The ***primary campaign period*** limit is calculated by adding the amount of the primary grant, and any unspent qualifying contributions or unspent personal funds provided by the candidate.

- If a primary election is held, the ***general election campaign period*** for the candidate nominated at the primary begins the day after the primary election. If there is no primary election, the general election campaign period begins the day after the candidate is nominated without a primary. The general election campaign period ends the day the campaign treasurer files the final required campaign finance disclosure statement.

- The ***general election campaign period*** limit is calculated by adding the amount of the general election grant, and any unspent qualifying contributions or unspent personal funds provided by the candidate.

Expenditure Limits during "Qualifying Period"			
Office Sought	**Qualifying Amount**	**Maximum Amount of Candidate's Personal Funds**	**Maximum Expenditures during Qualifying Period**
Governor	$250,000	$20,000	$250,000 - $270,000
Lieutenant Governor	$75,000	$10,000	$75,000 - $85,000
Attorney General	$75,000	$10,000	$75,000 - $85,000
State Comptroller	$75,000	$10,000	$75,000 - $85,000
State Treasurer	$75,000	$10,000	$75,000 - $85,000
Secretary of State	$75,000	$10,000	$75,000 - $85,000
State Senator	$15,000	$2,000	$15,000 - $17,000
State Representative	$5,000	$1,000	$5,000 - $6,000

Permissible and Impermissible Expenditures

- Public funds may be used only for campaign-related expenditures made to directly further the participating candidate's nomination for election or election.
- Campaigns must maintain detailed documentation indicating that campaign expenditures were made to directly further the participating candidate's campaign. Such documentation should be created at the time of the transaction.
- Campaign records are subject to comprehensive audits to ensure compliance with Program requirements.
- For detailed guidelines about permissible expenditures, please review the Citizens' Election Program regulations which can be found on the commission's web site.

Examples of Permissible Expenditures Include:

- **Political Campaign Advertising Expenses**, such as advertisements in any communications medium; production or postage costs related to customary campaign paraphernalia, such as flyers, signs stickers, t-shirts, hats, buttons, etc.;
- **Campaign Promotional Events**, including expenditures for food, space rental, staff and entertainment at such events;
- **Polling or Get-Out–the-Vote Activities** in furtherance of the participating candidates campaign;
- **Food and Beverages for Campaign Workers** not to exceed $15 per person for breakfast, $20 per person for lunch, or $30 per person for dinner;
- **Salaries for Campaign Staff or Consultants,** provided the campaign treasurer maintains a written agreement signed before the performance of any work or services, and contemporaneous records documenting the work performed or services rendered; and
- **Campaign Office Expenses,** including office rent and office supplies.

Examples of Impermissible Expenditures Include:

- **Personal Use** of any candidate or individual;
- **Payments to the Candidate or Candidate's Family Members** or the businesses of the participating candidate or any of the candidate's family members;
- **Contributions, Loans or Expenditures to other Candidates or Committees**;
- **Payments Above the Fair Market Value for the Goods or Services Received**; and
- **Expenditures Lacking Sufficient Contemporaneous Documentation**.

Excess Receipts or Expenditures

- Excess receipts or expenditures are contributions, loans, or other funds received, or expenditures made, or obligated to be made, by a candidate that in the aggregate exceed the applicable expenditure limit for a participating candidate. For the purposes of triggering a supplemental grant, a participating candidate's applicable expenditure limit is the sum of the amount of required qualifying contributions plus the amount of the full grant for the applicable primary or general election period.

- If a participating candidate is opposed by a candidate who receives funds or makes or incurs expenditures that exceed the participating candidate's applicable expenditure limit, the participating candidate may be eligible to receive supplemental grant funds.

- Nonparticipating candidates are not required to follow the Program's expenditure limits; however, participating candidates are required to follow the Program's expenditure limits. Accordingly, participating candidates should not make excess expenditures. A participating candidate and campaign treasurer of a candidate committee which has received public funds are subject to various penalties if the participating candidate makes or incurs an obligation to make an obligation to make an excess expenditure.

Excess Receipt or Expenditure Reporting within 24 to 48 Hours

- If a candidate committee receives funds or makes or incurs an excess expenditure exceeding the participating candidate's applicable expenditure limit more than 20 days before a primary or election, the campaign treasurer must file a declaration of excess receipts or expenditures within 48 hours of receiving the excess funds or making or incurring the expenditure;

- If a candidate committee receives funds or makes or incurs an excess expenditure exceeding the participating candidate's applicable expenditure limit 20 days or less before a primary or election, the campaign treasurer must file a declaration of excess receipts or expenditures within 24 hours of receiving the excess funds or making or incurring the expenditure.

Independent Expenditures

- An independent expenditure is an expenditure that is made without the consent, knowing participation, or consultation of, a candidate or agent of a candidate committee, and is not a coordinated expenditure.

- Independent expenditures in excess of $1000, in the aggregate, must be reported to the Commission by the person or entity who makes the independent expenditure.

- Independent expenditures made with the intent to promote the *defeat* of a participating candidate who has received a grant from the Program may trigger a supplemental payment or supplemental payments to the participating candidate.

Independent Expenditure Reporting Requirements

- If any person or entity makes or incurs an independent expenditure more than 20 days before a primary or election, such person or entity must report such expenditure within 48 hours of making or incurring the expenditure;
- If any person or entity makes or incurs an independent expenditure 20 days or less before a primary or election, such person or entity must report such expenditure within 24 hours of making or incurring the expenditure.

Supplemental Payments to Participating Candidates Targeted by Independent Expenditures

- A participating candidate is eligible for a supplemental payment only if the opposing non-participating candidate's campaign expenditures, plus the amount of the independent expenditure, exceeds the applicable initial grant amount;
- An eligible participating candidate can receive a supplemental grant matching the amount of the independent expenditure, up to the applicable primary or general election grant amount.

Supplemental Reporting

Candidates in Campaigns with any Participating Candidates – 90% Initial Threshold

- If ***any*** candidate in a primary or general election campaign with at least one participating candidate receives contributions, loans or other funds **or** makes or incurs an expenditure exceeding 90% of the applicable expenditure limit for that campaign, the campaign treasurer must file a supplemental campaign finance statement within 48 hours;
- After the initial report, ALL candidates in the campaign for that office must file additional periodic supplemental campaign finance statements with the Commission regardless of the committee's level of expenditures; and
- The Commission may impose penalties of up to $5000 for the failure to timely file supplemental campaign finance statements.

Purpose of Overview Materials

The purpose of this overview is to provide general information about the various rules and requirements of the Program. This document however, is not a substitute for the law, which can be found on the Commission's web site.

Last revised March 1, 2009