

- In 1911 Congress banned corporate contributions and mandated disclosure of expenditures and contributions.
- Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA). Passed in 1971 and significantly amended in 1974.
- More recently amended with the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (BCRA, and commonly referred to as McCain-Fiengold Law).

Table 2-1. *Summary of Campaign Finance Law, 2005*

<i>Contributors</i>	<i>Federal candidates</i>	<i>National and state party committees</i>	<i>Independent expenditures and express advocacy (not coordinated)</i>	<i>Electioneering communications</i>
Individuals (excluding foreign nationals without U.S. residency permit)	\$2,100 per election (subject to aggregate limit) <sup>a</sup>	\$26,700 per year and \$61,400 per cycle to national committees; \$10,000 per year and an aggregate \$37,500 per cycle to state party federal accounts (and federal PACs)	Unlimited but must be disclosed to the FEC	Unlimited but must be disclosed to the FEC
Corporations and unions	Prohibited	Prohibited in the case of national committees; prohibited to state party federal accounts	Prohibited	Prohibited
PACs	\$5,000 per year	\$15,000 per year to national committees; \$5,000 per year to state committee federal accounts	Unlimited but must be disclosed	Unlimited but must be disclosed
National party committees	\$37,300 to Senate candidates per cycle; \$5,000 to presidential and House candidates	Unlimited transfers to other party committees	Unlimited but must be disclosed <sup>b</sup>	Unlimited but must be disclosed
Section 527 organizations not registered with the FEC	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited if incorporated	Prohibited if incorporated. If not incorporated, unlimited <sup>c</sup>
501(c)(4)s and 501(c)(6)s	Prohibited	Prohibited	Prohibited except for qualifying 501(c)(4) MCFL corporations	

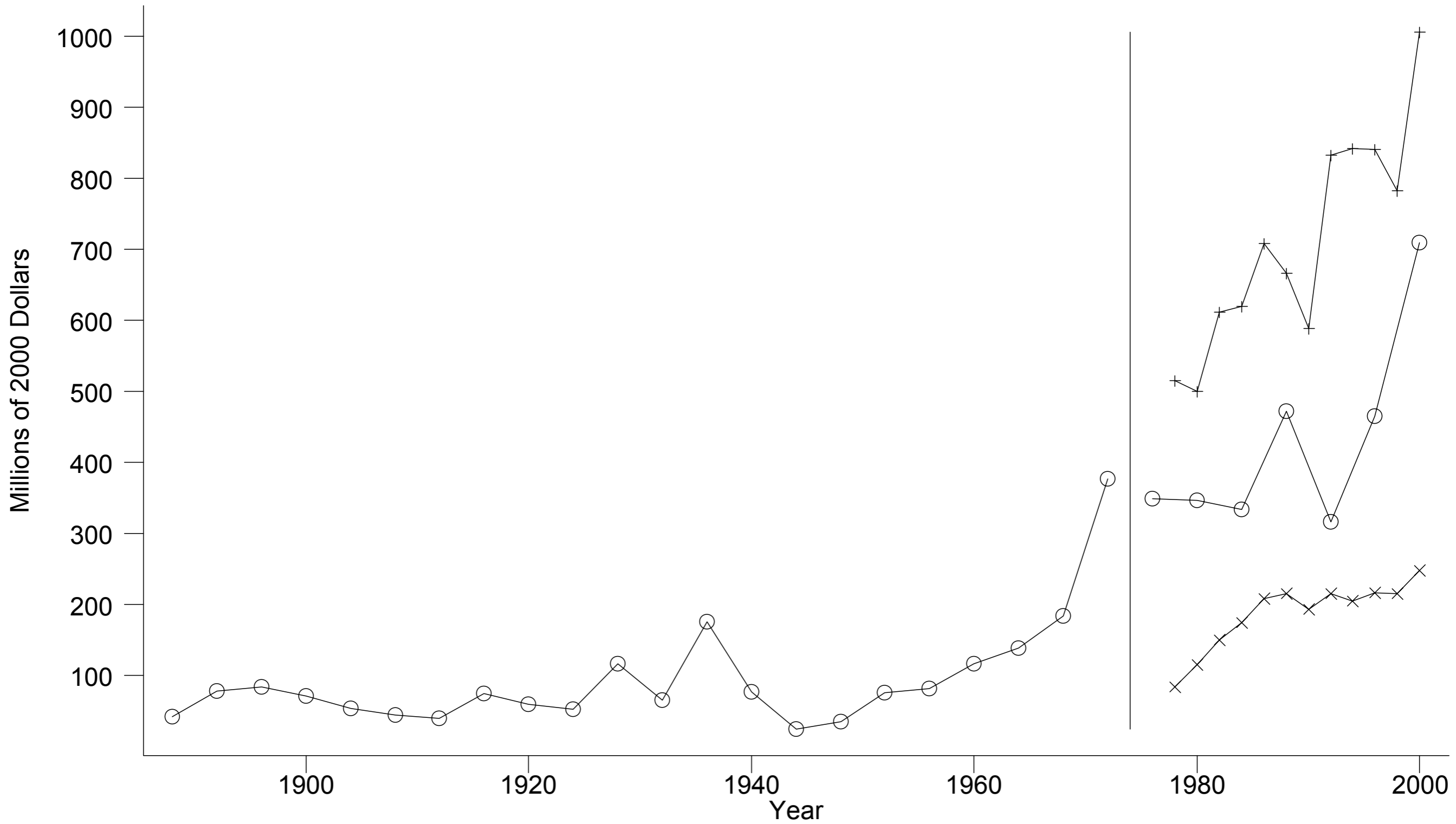
a. (All figures are indexed for inflation for 2005.) Individuals are subject to an aggregate limit of \$101,400 per two-year election cycle. Of that limit, there is a \$61,400 limit on federal noncandidate contributions, including no more than \$37,500 to PACs and to state/local parties' federal accounts, and a \$40,000 limit on federal candidate contributions.

b. The national party can make unlimited independent expenditures for the party's candidate if the national party committee is *not* the designated campaign committee.

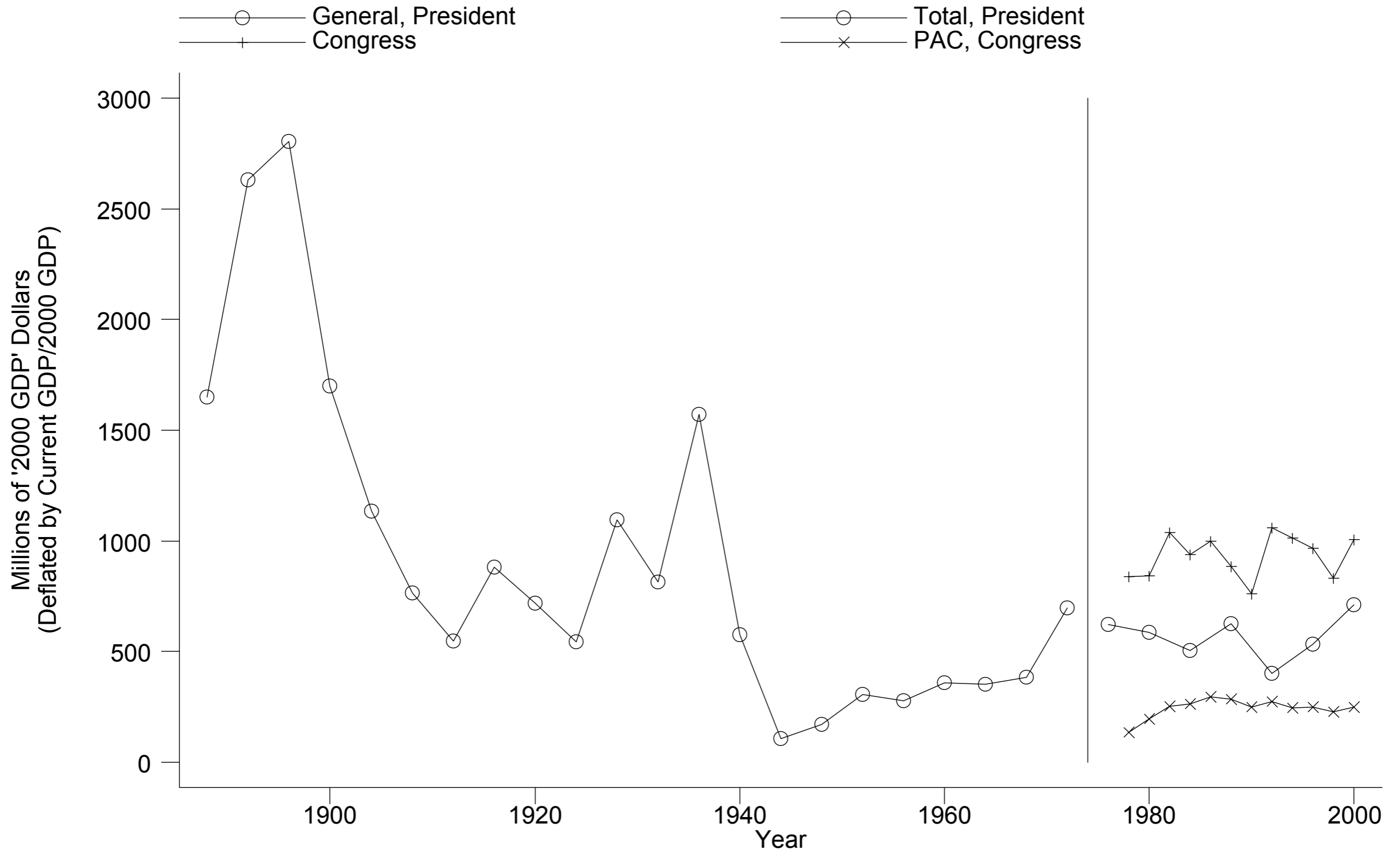
c. If not incorporated, unlimited so long as the only funds used are those contributed by individuals and disclosed to the FEC if more than \$10,000.

○ General, President  
+ Congress

○ President  
× PAC, Congress



Spending Over Time in Real 2000 Dollars



Spending Over Time Deflated by GDP



**Table 4**  
**House General Election Candidates: Net Receipts 2000-2006**  
*Through September 30 of Election Year in 2006 Dollars*

	Net Receipts Through Sept. 30					Net Receipts Through Sept. 30				
	2006 Election Cycle					2004 Election Cycle				
	(n)	Avg.	(% chg.)	Median	(% chg.)	(n)	Avg.	(% chg.)	Median	(% chg.)
Incumbents										
Dem	190	919,352	-2%	783,449	2%	189	940,693	12%	766,683	6%
Rep	212	1,252,694	15%	1,021,919	9%	208	1,090,521	23%	933,760	22%
All	402	1,095,144	7%	919,635	10%	397	1,019,192	18%	835,508	11%
Challengers										
Dem	188	419,550	55%	107,310	61%	152	270,556	-16%	66,725	58%
Rep	90	303,437	7%	61,425	-14%	125	282,576	35%	71,823	21%
All	278	381,392	38%	86,444	28%	277	275,980	4%	67,348	32%
Open Seat										
Dem	31	1,161,489	33%	1,099,730	46%	30	872,997	-3%	753,596	3%
Rep	28	1,140,520	11%	926,712	10%	35	1,026,789	11%	844,069	-4%
All	59	1,151,538	20%	1,064,369	31%	65	955,808	5%	810,045	-2%

	2002 Election Cycle					2000 Election Cycle		
Incumbents								
Dem	187	839,485	3%	721,310	8%	202	815,381	668,001
Rep	195	886,865	-5%	767,779	0%	198	935,341	765,109
All	382	863,671	-1%	752,492	4%	400	874,761	724,157
Challengers								
Dem	111	320,225	-25%	42,267	-66%	130	425,685	124,842
Rep	108	209,217	-21%	59,467	-1%	134	265,427	59,856
All	219	265,481	-23%	51,101	-44%	264	344,342	90,682
Open Seat								
Dem	49	899,651	-4%	729,037	10%	35	932,420	660,848
Rep	47	921,384	-19%	881,803	-10%	33	1,139,247	983,079
All	96	910,291	-12%	829,661	-2%	68	1,032,792	842,966

Source: CFI Analysis of Federal Election Commission Data.

Notes: This analysis includes all candidates running in the general election who reported to the Federal Election Commission having raised at least \$1. Figures for Independent Incumbents are included with the party with which they caucused. All amounts adjusted for inflation.



**Table 6: Open Seat Winners and Losers, Senate and House, 2000-2006\***

	2006		2004		2002		2000	
	<i>Average Receipts</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Average Receipts</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Average Receipts</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Average Receipts</i>	<i>n</i>
<b>SENATE</b>								
All Winners	8,796,279	4	8,427,624	8	6,685,699	7	18,797,398	5
Democrats**	7,346,510	3	10,765,959	2	1,336,381	1	22,376,635	4
Republicans	13,145,585	1	7,648,179	6	7,577,252	6	4,480,449	1
All Losers	8,213,867	4	5,433,169	8	7,077,242	7	9,790,921	5
Democrats	9,886,998	1	5,922,066	6	6,746,007	6	2,353,873	1
Republicans	7,656,156	3	3,966,480	2	9,064,649	1	11,650,183	4
<b>HOUSE</b>								
All Winners	1,485,776	32	1,288,145	34	1,127,444	49	1,140,464	36
Democrats	1,507,472	20	1,218,131	14	1,103,053	18	1,030,128	10
Republicans	1,449,616	12	1,337,155	20	1,141,606	31	1,182,901	26
All Losers	863,327	30	584,875	28	733,559	47	829,792	32
Democrats	892,389	12	541,453	15	827,049	31	844,163	25
Republicans	843,952	18	634,979	13	552,423	16	778,470	7

\*All receipt figures are based on total net receipts through the pre-election period of each cycle.

\*\* Sanders (VT) caucuses with the Democrats.

\*\*\* FL-13 is excluded due to a recount.

Table 3-1 The Cost of Winning an Election, 1986-2004 (in nominal and 2004 dollars)

	<i>House Winners</i>		<i>Senate Winners</i>	
	<i>Nominal</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>Nominal</i>	<i>2004</i>
	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>	<i>Dollars</i>
2004	1,038,391	1,038,391	7,183,825	7,183,825
2002	911,644	955,079	3,728,644	3,906,293
2000	845,907	920,691	7,198,423	7,834,811
1998	677,807	770,741	4,655,806	5,294,162
1996	686,198	802,441	3,921,653	4,585,988
1994	541,121	657,710	4,488,195	5,455,212
1992	556,475	699,644	3,353,115	4,215,801
1990	423,245	553,647	3,298,324	4,314,536
1988	400,386	550,027	3,746,225	5,146,349
1986	359,577	510,527	3,067,559	4,355,317

a. Jon Corzine (D-N.J.) spent \$63,209,506. Hillary Rodham Clinton (D-N.Y.) spent \$29,941,194. The remaining Senate winners in 2000 spent an average of \$4,737,365.



**Table 1: House and Senate Winners' Receipts, 1998-2006\***

	House-Receipts			Senate-Receipts		
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>Total</i>
2006**	1,132,849	997,836	480,327,771	8,160,298	6,087,052	269,289,834
2004	1,024,918	848,933	442,764,387	6,580,722	6,015,232	223,744,542
2002	869,386	734,823	378,182,807	4,484,053	4,385,022	152,457,806
2000	852,470	673,897	359,079,476	6,378,129	3,578,544	216,856,402
1998	650,087	532,740	282,787,992	4,179,154	3,420,916	137,912,085

\* All receipt figures are based on total net receipts through the pre-election period of each cycle.

\*\* Excludes nine House seats that are undecided as of Nov. 9th and two seats that will be decided by a run-off, LA-3 and TX-23.

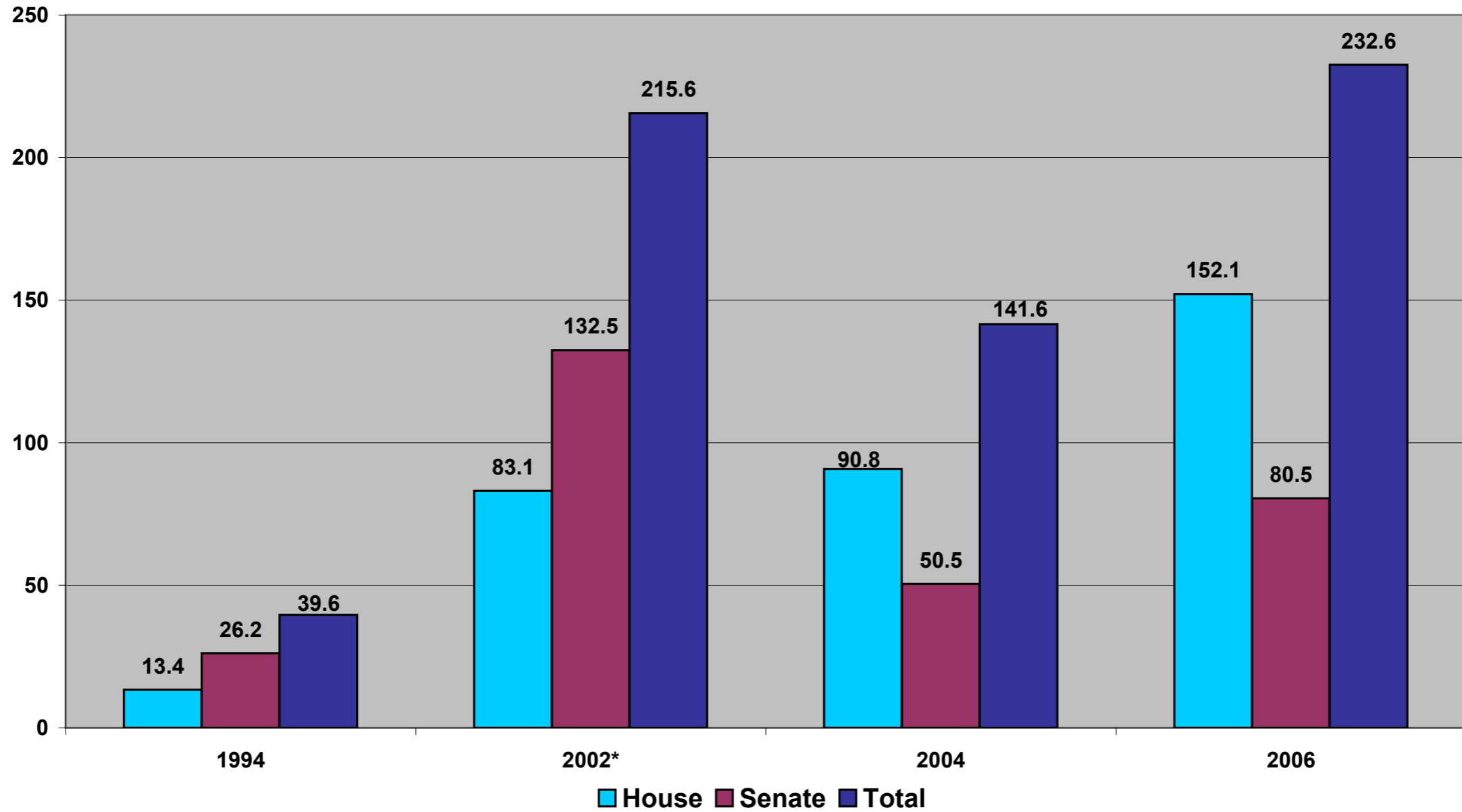
**TABLE 6.1**  
**National Major-Party Fund-Raising, 1991–2000**

	<i>1999–2000</i>	<i>1997–98</i>	<i>1995–96</i>	<i>1993–94</i>	<i>1991–92</i>
<b>Democrats</b>					
Hard Money	\$275.2 (52.9%)	\$160.0 (63.3%)	\$221.6 (64.1%)	\$139.1 (73.9%)	\$177.7 (83.0%)
Soft Money	\$245.2 (47.1%)	\$92.8 (36.7%)	\$123.9 (36.9%)	\$49.1 (26.1%)	\$36.3 (17.0%)
Total	\$520.4	\$252.8	\$345.5	\$188.2	\$214.0
<b>Republicans</b>					
Hard Money	\$465.8 (65.0%)	\$285.0 (68.4%)	\$416.5 (75.1%)	\$245.6 (82.4%)	\$267.3 (84.3%)
Soft Money	\$249.9 (35.0%)	\$131.6 (31.6%)	\$138.2 (24.9%)	\$52.5 (17.6%)	\$49.8 (15.7%)
Total	\$715.7	\$416.6	\$554.7	\$298.1	\$317.1
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>\$1,236.1</b>	<b>\$669.4</b>	<b>\$900.2</b>	<b>\$486.3</b>	<b>\$531.1</b>

Source: Federal Election Commission, May 15, 2001.

Note: Amounts are in millions of dollars. Percentages appear below dollar amounts.

**Figure 1: Direct Party Support for House and Senate Candidates**  
(\$ millions)



\* 2002 figures include national party funds (soft and hard money) transferred by the House and Senate campaign committees to state parties.

Table 3-9 Number of Registered Political Action Committees, 1974-2004

<i>Committee Type</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1974</i>
Corporate	1,756	1,741	1,725	1,821	1,836	1,875	1,930	1,972	1,816	1,682	1,204	784	433	89
Labor	328	337	350	353	358	371	372	372	354	394	297	217	224	201
Trade/membership/health	986	956	900	921	896	852	835	801	786	698	574	451	489	318
Nonconnected	1,650	1,401	1,362	1,326	1,259	1,318	1,376	1,321	1,115	1,053	378	165	-	-
Cooperative	38	41	41	45	45	56	61	60	59	52	42	12	-	-
Corporation without stock	109	118	121	133	134	149	153	151	138	130	56	24	-	-
Total	4,867	4,594	4,499	4,599	4,528	4,621	4,727	4,677	4,268	4,009	2,551	1,653	1,146	608

*Note* : The data are as of December 31 for every year.

Table 3-10

PAC Contributions to Congressional Candidates 1978-2004 (in \$ millions)

<i>Type of PAC</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>1996</i>	<i>1994</i>	<i>1992</i>	<i>1990</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>1986</i>	<i>1984</i>	<i>1982</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1978</i>	<i>1976</i>	<i>1974</i>	<i>1972</i>
Labor	50.3	51.9	50.2	43.4	46.5	40.7	39.7	33.6	33.9	29.9	24.8	20.3	13.2	9.9	8.2	6.3	3.6
Corporate	104.3	91.6	84.2	71.1	69.7	64.1	64.3	53.5	50.4	46.2	35.5	27.5	19.2	9.5	10	4.4	2.7
Trade/membership/health	78.2	71.5	68.3	59.0	56.2	50.1	51.4	42.5	38.9	32.9	26.7	21.9	15.9	11.2			
Nonconnected	49.8	44.6	35.6	27.1	22.0	17.3	17.5	14.3	19.2	18.8	14.5	10.7	4.9	2.5	1.5	0.7	
Other	6.5	6.5	7.1	6.2	6.8	6.6	6.6	5.9	5.4	4.9	3.8	3.2	2.0	1.0	2.8	1	2.2
Total	289.1	266.1	245.4	206.8	201.2	178.8	179.4	149.7	147.8	132.7	105.3	83.6	55.2	34.1	22.6	12.5	8.5

*Note* : The data are for contributions to all candidates for election in the year indicated that were made during the two-year cycle.

1972 - 1976 data listed in the corporate section are for all business related PAC contributions. This encompasses the Common Cause categories for business, health, and, in 1976, lawyers. This is before the specific breakdowns were devised by the FEC for the corporate and other categories, and it is based on the assumption that the majority of PACs it includes have a basically probusiness orientation. It is only roughly comparable to the combined corporate and trade/membership/health groups in later years, but most of the business-related PACs would fall into those two FEC categories.

**Figure 1**  
**Federal 527s: Dollars Raised through 20 Days**  
**Prior to General Election, 2002 and 2006 Cycles**

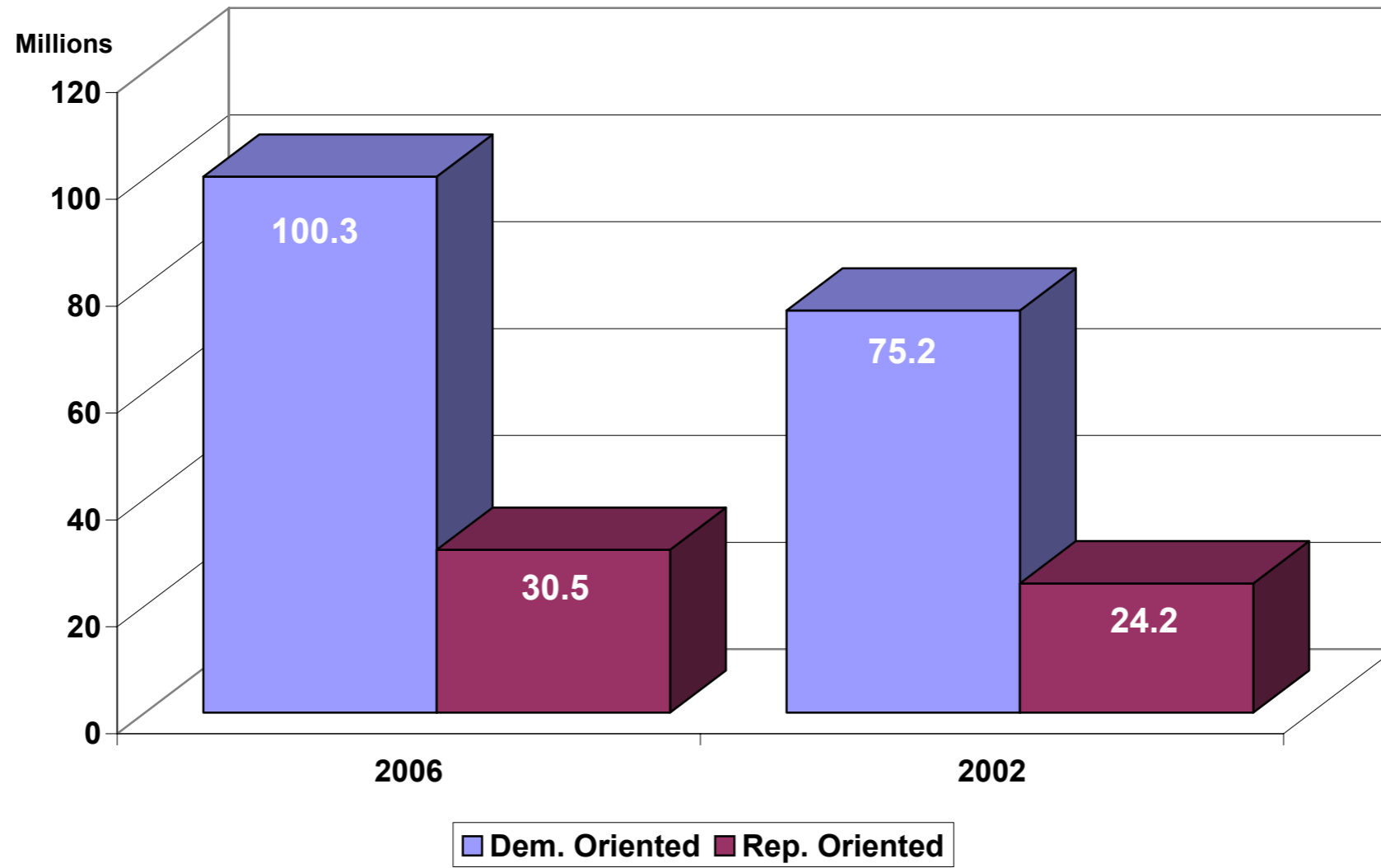


Table 3-14 Non-Party Independent Expenditures in House and Senate Elections, 1978-2004 (in dollars)

	<i>For Democrats</i>	<i>Against Democrats</i>	<i>For Republicans</i>	<i>Against Republicans</i>	<i>Total</i>
<b>2004</b>					
House	1,346,007	66,693	3,898,440	545,190	5,856,330
Senate	415,371	311,123	7,740,022	364,568	8,831,084
<b>2002</b>					
House	2,664,722	261,922	2,522,441	538,808	5,987,893
Senate	5,275,291	181,233	3,547,488	1,173,796	10,177,808
<b>2000</b>					
House	4,112,071	234,237	2,893,836	1,665,755	8,905,899
Senate	1,481,901	607,809	4,378,023	2,729,069	9,196,802
<b>1998</b>					
House	1,787,439	258,276	3,778,331	601,976	6,426,022
Senate	869,191	146,564	1,440,075	1,011,575	3,467,405
<b>1996</b>					
House	679,312	127,706	2,624,887	1,401,101	4,833,006
Senate	291,109	832,161	2,872,325	833,208	4,828,803
<b>1994</b>					
House	502,621	488,479	1,088,356	50,815	2,130,271
Senate	204,212	433,947	1,309,572	537,531	2,485,262
<b>1992</b>					
House	1,485,768	430,902	1,586,017	452,942	3,955,629
Senate	1,137,321	164,358	864,493	210,490	2,376,662
<b>1990</b>					
House	709,292	130,695	669,726	74,444	1,584,157
Senate	780,832	266,230	1,436,553	584,429	3,068,044
<b>1988</b>					
House	1,465,554	278,723	919,929	148,705	2,812,911
Senate	831,064	617,066	2,809,517	143,441	4,401,088
<b>1986</b>					
House	2,385,685	227,286	1,313,578	120,032	4,046,581
Senate	988,382	632,412	3,342,790	348,006	5,311,590
<b>1984</b>					
House	560,727	118,171	633,646	26,847	1,339,391
Senate	326,031	410,428	1,807,981	2,082,207	4,626,647
<b>1982</b>					
House	241,442	862,654	492,404	66,296	1,662,796
Senate	127,451	3,182,986	298,410	483,750	4,092,597
<b>1980</b>					
House	190,615	38,023	410,478	45,132	684,248
Senate	127,381	1,282,613	261,678	12,430	1,684,102
<b>1978</b>					
House	28,725	31,034	70,701	5,298	135,758
Senate	102,508	36,717	26,065	1,985	167,275

**Table 3**  
**Illustrative and Non-Comprehensive List of 501(c) Organizations**  
**Attempting to Influence 2006 Congressional Elections**

Name and Type of 501(c) Org.	Related PAC	Related 527	Summary of Reported 501(c) Activity
<p align="center"><b>AFL-CIO 501(c)(5)</b></p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p>* Plans to spend close to \$40M on voter turnout, focusing on 56 key House and 10 key Senate races.</p> <p>* Mobilizing 12.4 million voters through neighborhood walks, phone contacts, work and internet, mainly union members and their families but also 1.5 million non-union households, half of which are in Ohio.</p>
<p align="center"><b>Americans for Job Security 501(c)(6)</b></p>			<p>* Has run \$1.5M in ads on behalf of Santorum in Pennsylvania Senate race, praising past votes for anti-tax stance and late 2005 social security initiative.</p> <p>* Paid for calls in 2006 Oklahoma Republican Congressional primary.</p> <p>* Ran 2005 ad against Frist in New Hampshire for not moving on estate taxes (an issue ad with political ramifications for Frist, a 2008 presidential candidate).</p>
<p align="center"><b>American United for Change 501(c)(4)</b></p>			<p>* Reported a budget of \$5-10M to run ads in 25 battleground states, focused on broader economic, corruption and health issues similar to Democratic appeals. Congressional Democrats involved in planning and former Congressional staff in operation.</p> <p>* In Pennsylvania, where there is a hot Senate race, it sponsored a non-express advocacy ad that warned against private accounts for Social Security. The ad never mentions a candidate but in a press conference, the group "slammed Santorum" and then showed the ad.</p> <p>* \$1 million issue ad campaign in early 2006 assailed Republican leadership broadly on a number of issues and repeatedly said it was "time for a change"</p>
<p align="center"><b>Chamber of Commerce of the USA 501(c)(6) (three)</b></p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>		<p>* Expected to spend \$40 m on state/federal elections this year, about "three or four-fold" previous off-year election efforts, according to the Chamber's Bill Miller. Plans to spend at least \$10 million on ads TV for 30+ pro-business members of Congress -- many Republicans, some Democrats -- through August and September.</p> <p>* Operating a ground war with phone calls and mailings to potential voters as well as a bus to 15 states to push voter registration.</p> <p>* More than 1,000 member companies also sponsor web sites to give members and their employees information about registering and issues important to business.</p>
<p align="center"><b>Communities United to Strengthen America 501(c)(4)</b></p>			<p>*Led by officials of the labor union AFSCME, this issue-oriented group has set up 12 "resource centers" to supply "middle class voters" with information and enlist them in grass roots lobbying. All 12 centers are located in a relatively small number of congressional districts specially targeted by Democratic Party, and in 11 cases the Democratic candidate had been funded by AFSCME PAC. Tactics included phone calls complaining about the issue stance of vulnerable Republicans.</p>
<p align="center"><b>Focus on the Family Action 501(c)(4)</b></p>			<p>* Affiliates distributing voter guides ("nonpartisan") in eight states: PA, MD, MI, OH, NH, MN, MT and TN (described by Focus as places where "candidates are favored by religious conservatives"). Guides in PA clearly favor Santorum as did group's previous mailings in key 2004 Senate races.</p> <p>* Held pre-election rallies in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Pittsburgh and Nashville, states where there are competitive Senate races. Although no candidates spoke, FOFA head James Dobson reportedly told crowds that it would be a "sin" not to vote for a politician who understands issues re family, gay marriage, terrorism, etc. Dobson also said that although he has been disappointed in Republicans, "the alternatives are downright frightening."</p>

**Table 3**  
**Illustrative and Non-Comprehensive List of 501(c) Organizations**  
**Attempting to Influence 2006 Congressional Elections**

Name and Type of 501(c) Org.	Related PAC	Related 527	Summary of Reported 501(c) Activity
<p align="center"><b>FreedomWorks</b> 501(c)(4)</p>			<p>* Dick Armeley-led group spending on both federal and state races, has talked about putting \$4 million into Congressional contests this fall.</p> <p>* Targeting 16 Congressional races. Focusing on grassroots campaigns to educate voters re candidates' views. Will publicize candidate surveys and make educational materials available. Using volunteers for phone banks, get-out-the-vote efforts, canvasses, calls to local radio shows.</p>
<p align="center"><b>League of Conservation Voters</b> 501(c)(4)</p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p>* LCV is a so-called "Massachusetts Citizens for Life" (MCFL) nonprofit corporation that is able to make unlimited "independent expenditures" in support or opposition to political candidates because it does not accept outside corporate or union donations. As an MCFL, it does not have to disclose its donors' identities.</p> <p>* Active in in a broad variety of U.S. House and Senate races, engaging in both media and non-media activities such as canvassing, phone banking and direct mailing.</p>
<p align="center"><b>National Rifle Association</b> 501(c)(4)</p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>		<p>* Campaign war chest (including PAC) is reportedly \$20 million; it is endorsing mainly Republicans but also many Democrats.</p> <p>* Plans to send direct mail to members and "associates," place ads on web sites, and run radio and television ads.</p>
<p align="center"><b>Planned Parenthood Action Fund</b> 501(c)(4)</p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p>*Microtargeting: Says one fundraising appeal, "We've located people who support reproductive freedom in places you'd expect to find them — and in many places where you might not. Now we need your immediate help to get the hundreds of thousands of pro-choice voters we've identified to the polls in critical states like Michigan, Ohio, and Wisconsin. Over the next 18 days, in a flood of phone calls, door-to-door visits, e-mails, and other mailings, we'll deliver a clear, compelling message to pro-choice voters: If you want to protect women's health and reproductive freedom, show up on Election Day."</p> <p>*Also plans TV ads.</p>
<p align="center"><b>Progress for America</b> 501(c)(4)</p>		<p align="center"><b>X</b></p>	<p>*Running ads in key Senate swing states of Missouri and Ohio and nationwide, supporting the war in Iraq and war on terror, echoing national Republican themes. Ads do not feature or discuss candidates, but say "They[terrorists] want to kill us, and before 9/11 when attacked "we" took little action, and "they" [implies Democrats] want to "cut and run."</p> <p>* In pending advisory opinion request to Federal Election Commission says wants to run ads that focus on terror and defense and name candidates, wants to use 527 account for electioneering communications "window" for tv and radio and 501c4 corporate and other funds to deliver same ads via mail phone and internet.</p> <p>* Distributing a million DVDs, "United 93," a film focusing on the 9/11 terrorist attacks, particularly the flight that crashed in Shankstown, PA before reaching its suspected target in Washington, D.C.</p>

Sources: Publicly made self-declarations by groups, selected group solicitations, National Journal ad database and press reports.

**Federal 527 Organizations Raising > \$100,000 or Spending > \$200,000  
in 2005-06 Cycle Through 20 Days Prior to the General Election**

ORNAME	Contributions Received	Expenditures	Associated PAC
<b>Democratic Oriented</b>			
Service Employees International Union Political Ed & Action Fund	22,105,120	24,555,335	x
AFSCME Special Account	16,131,415	14,284,877	x
EMILYS List Non Federal	10,109,275	8,088,793	x
America Votes, Inc.	7,362,358	7,291,468	
America Votes 2006	4,533,250	2,281,627	
America Coming Together - Nonfederal Account	4,494,107	6,994,119	x
Laborers Political League - Ed Fd	3,150,960	3,222,310	x
September Fund	3,000,000	1,528,213	x
New Democrat Network-Non-Federal Account	2,271,104	1,607,250	x
1199 SEIU NonFederal Committee	2,217,793	2,247,117	x
UFCW Active Ballot Club Education Fund	2,085,000	1,669,324	
SMWIA Political Ed. League	1,952,623	1,824,083	
Citizens to End Corruption	1,951,830	1,951,840	
League of Conservation Voters Inc 527	1,923,000	925,428	x
Grassroots Democrats	1,863,083	2,178,816	
Majority Action	1,795,200	1,289,122	
The Lantern Project	1,670,550	1,548,070	
AFL-CIO COPE - Treasury Fund	1,391,187	1,347,866	x
Coloradans For Life	1,323,021	1,318,492	
Young Democrats of America	1,295,269	882,920	
The Senate Accountability Project	990,526	987,173	
Campaign Money Watch	729,528	588,636	
Americans For Conservation	670,000	647,372	
Change America Now	610,917	400,416	
Voices For Working Families	511,281	809,999	x
Democracy for America - Non-federal	504,700	812,579	x
One America Committee	468,600	459,402	
The Senate Majority Project	447,169	447,581	
21st Century Democrats	434,456	359,789	x
The Media Fund	425,000	1,550,469	
Fresh Start for America Project	266,000	250,836	
The National Security Project	265,000	258,541	
Roofers Political Ed And Legislative Fd	257,212	144,236	
New Leadership for America, NonFederal AcCnt	231,000	178,028	x
TOO EXTREME FOR COLORADO	180,000	178,730	
Bring Ohio Back	167,696	131,736	
Defenders of Wildlife Action Fund 527 Account	125,000	27,545	
VoteVets	115,000	0	
Planned Parenthood Votes	100,000	27,000	x
PFAW Action Fund	100,000	15,000	x
Democrats for Americas Future	64,216	500,370	x
<b>Total (n=41)</b>	<b>100,289,446</b>	<b>95,812,508</b>	
<b>Net Total After Transfers Among Groups</b>	<b>88,681,445</b>	<b>84,204,507</b>	

**Federal 527 Organizations Raising > \$100,000 or Spending > \$200,000  
in 2005-06 Cycle Through 20 Days Prior to the General Election**

ORNAME	Contributions Received	Expenditures	Associated PAC
<b>Republican Oriented</b>			
Club for Growth	6,192,289	6,799,956	x
Progress For America Voter Fund	6,175,025	12,199,869	
Economic Freedom Fund	5,050,250	4,781,206	
College Republican National Committee, Inc.	3,037,581	8,592,957	
AMERICANS FOR HONESTY ON ISSUES*	2,000,000	1,427,964	
National Federation Of Republican Women	1,482,408	2,667,155	x
Softer Voices	1,203,300	1,179,842	
FREE ENTERPRISE FUND*	1,185,000	491,975	x
Americas PAC	932,500	923,497	
Club for Growth.net	770,800	73,178	x
The Presidential Coalition, LLC	498,582	4,927,484	x
Republicans Who Care Individual Fund	443,300	227,266	
WISH List Non Federal	343,456	379,124	x
Black Republican Freedom Fund	333,403	460,732	
Republican National Lawyers	284,770	170,457	
YCOP Political Action	136,105	128,157	
Coalition For Accessible Physicians	131,811	131,810	
Stop Her Now	106,012	164,268	
Americans United to Preserve Marriage	101,000	153,667	
Citizen Leader Coalition	53,671	500,839	
 Total (n=20)	 30,461,263	 46,381,403	
Net Total After Transfers Among Groups	30,456,263	46,376,403	
 <b>No Democratic or Republican Orientation</b>			
Ocean Champions Voter Fund	309,407	228,437	
Vets for Freedom Action Fund	174,000	154,416	
 Total (n=2)	 483,407	 382,853	
 <b>Republican and Democratic Oriented Committees</b>			
<b>Total (n=61)</b>	<b>130,750,709</b>	<b>142,193,911</b>	
Transfers Among Groups	11,613,001	11,613,001	
<b>Net Total After Transfers Among Groups</b>	<b>119,137,708</b>	<b>130,580,910</b>	

\* Some financial data from these groups, which did not provide financial reports to the IRS, reflect FEC-reported electioneering communications.

Source: IRS 527 disclosure reports for 2006 cycle, downloaded 10/29/06. Citizens to End Corruption 527 data were reported to the State of Ohio under a legal exemption and are available at [PoliticalMoneyline.com](http://PoliticalMoneyline.com).

**TABLE 3-5 Campaign Spending and Challenger Victories, 1986-2002  
(in Percentages)**

	<b>CHALLENGER'S SPENDING<sup>a</sup></b>					<b>Row Average</b>
	<b>&lt; 200</b>	<b>200-400</b>	<b>400-600</b>	<b>600-800</b>	<b>&gt; 800</b>	
<i>Incumbent's Spending<sup>a</sup></i>						
<b>&lt; 200</b>	0.0 (152)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (2)	0.0 (3)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (164)
<b>200-400</b>	0.0 (491)	0.0 (20)	0.0 (5)	0.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (572)
<b>400-600</b>	0.0 (461)	6.2 (65)	8.7 (23)	0.0 (1)	0.0 (5)	0.9 (636)
<b>600-800</b>	0.0 (317)	3.1 (98)	11.6 (43)	35.7 (14)	18.2 (11)	2.7 (559)
<b>&gt; 800</b>	0.4 (281)	7.1 (170)	10.5 (124)	17.0 (100)	30.3 (155)	9.6 (981)
<b>Column average</b>	0.1 (1,699)	5.4 (355)	10.1 (197)	18.0 (122)	28.5 (172)	4.6 (2,545)

<sup>a</sup>In thousands of dollars, adjusted for inflation (2002 = 1.00); the number of case appears in parentheses.

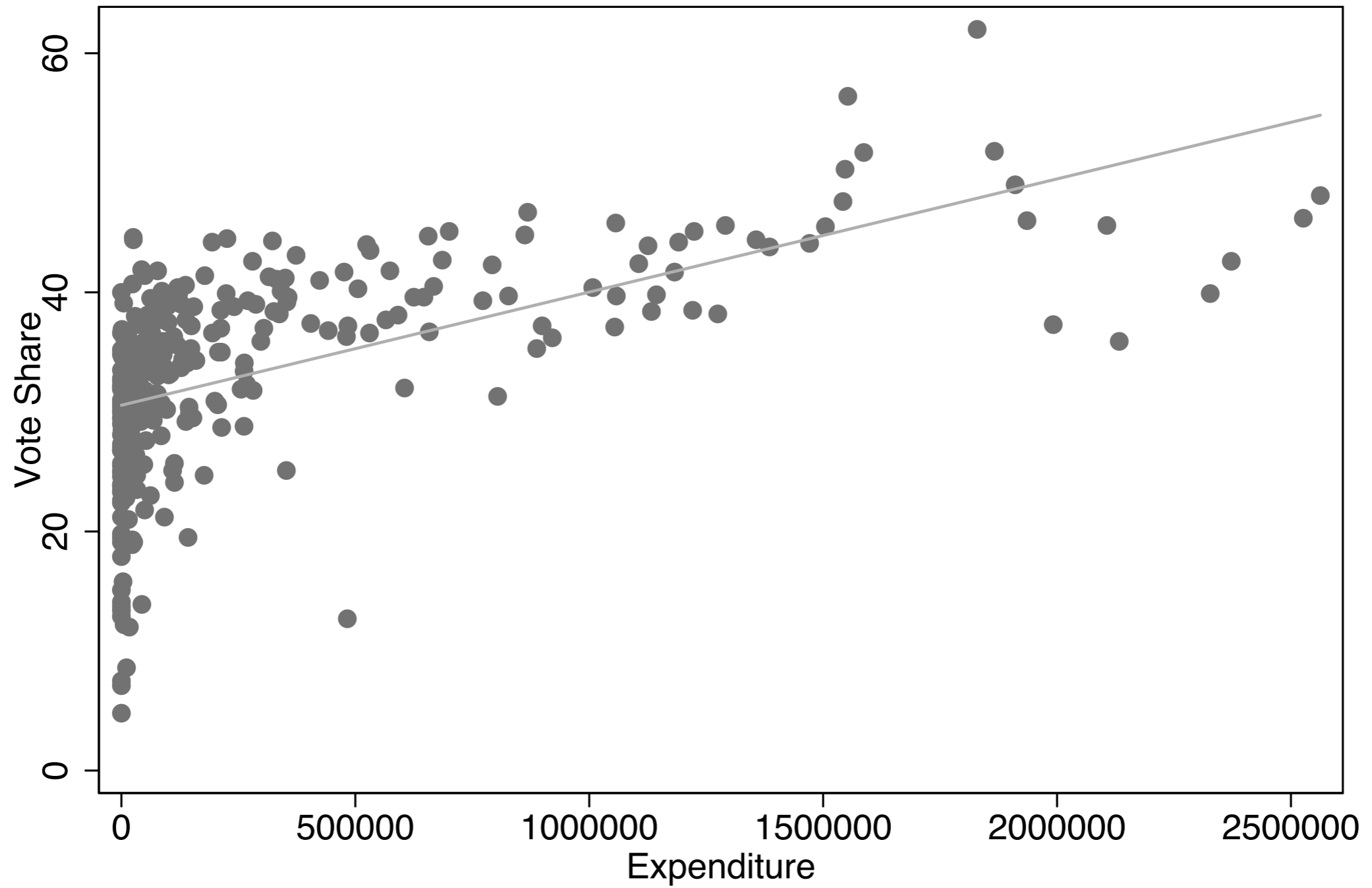
**TABLE 6.4**

**Incumbent's Share of the Vote in Congressional Elections,  
by Challenger's Campaign Spending, 2000**

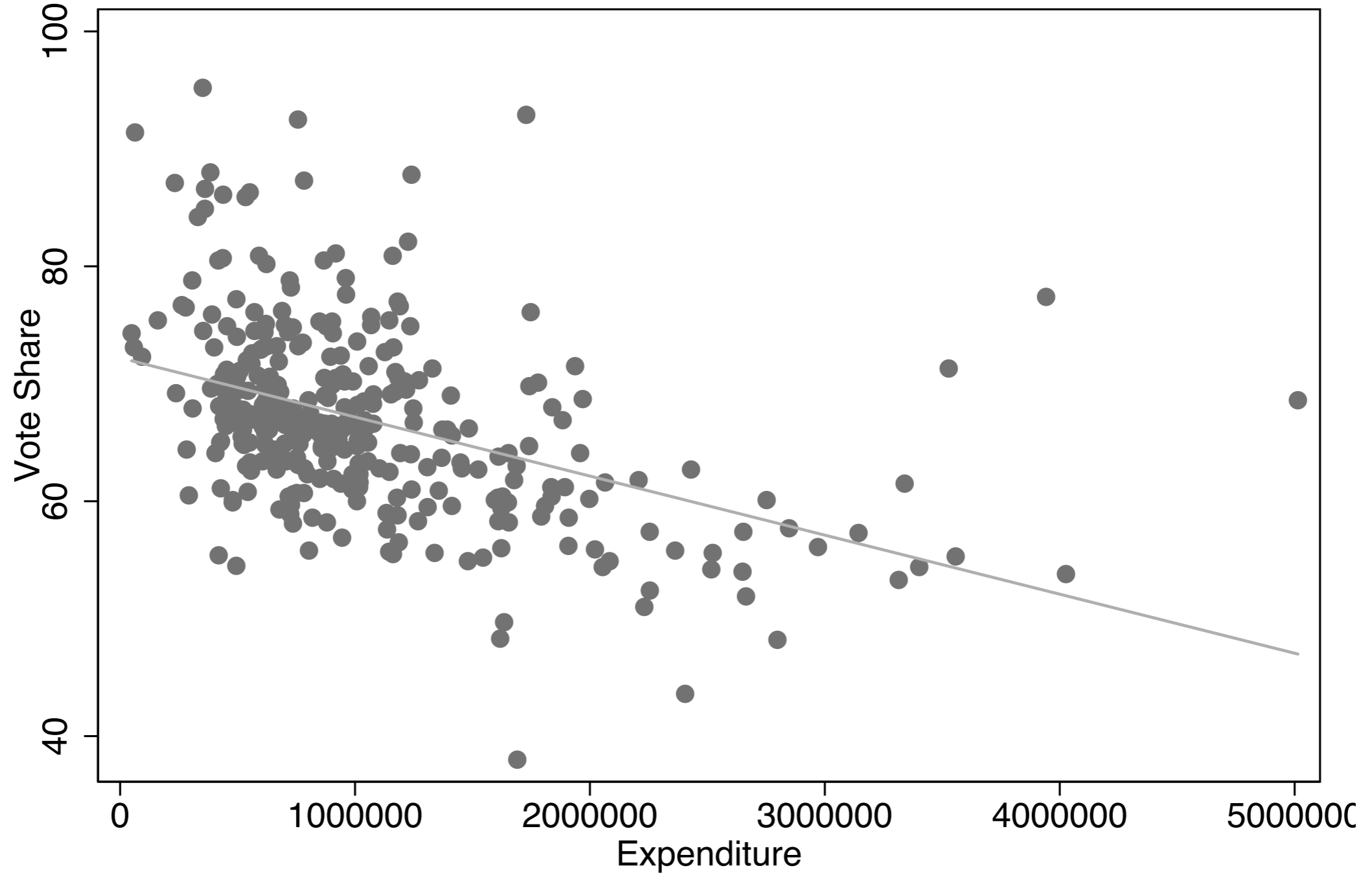
<i>Challenger's Spending (thousands of dollars)</i>	<i>Incumbent's Share of the Two Major Parties' Vote (%)</i>				<i>Total</i>
	<i>70% or more</i>	<i>60–69%</i>	<i>55–59%</i>	<i>Less than 55%</i>	
25 or less	53.0	45.5	1.5	0.0	100
26–75	19.0	79.3	0.0	1.7	100
76–199	8.6	57.1	31.4	2.9	100
200–399	7.5	45.0	42.5	5.0	100
400 or more	1.4	19.7	26.8	52.1	100
All spending	26.3	47.0	14.5	12.1	100

Source: Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (2003, p. 216).

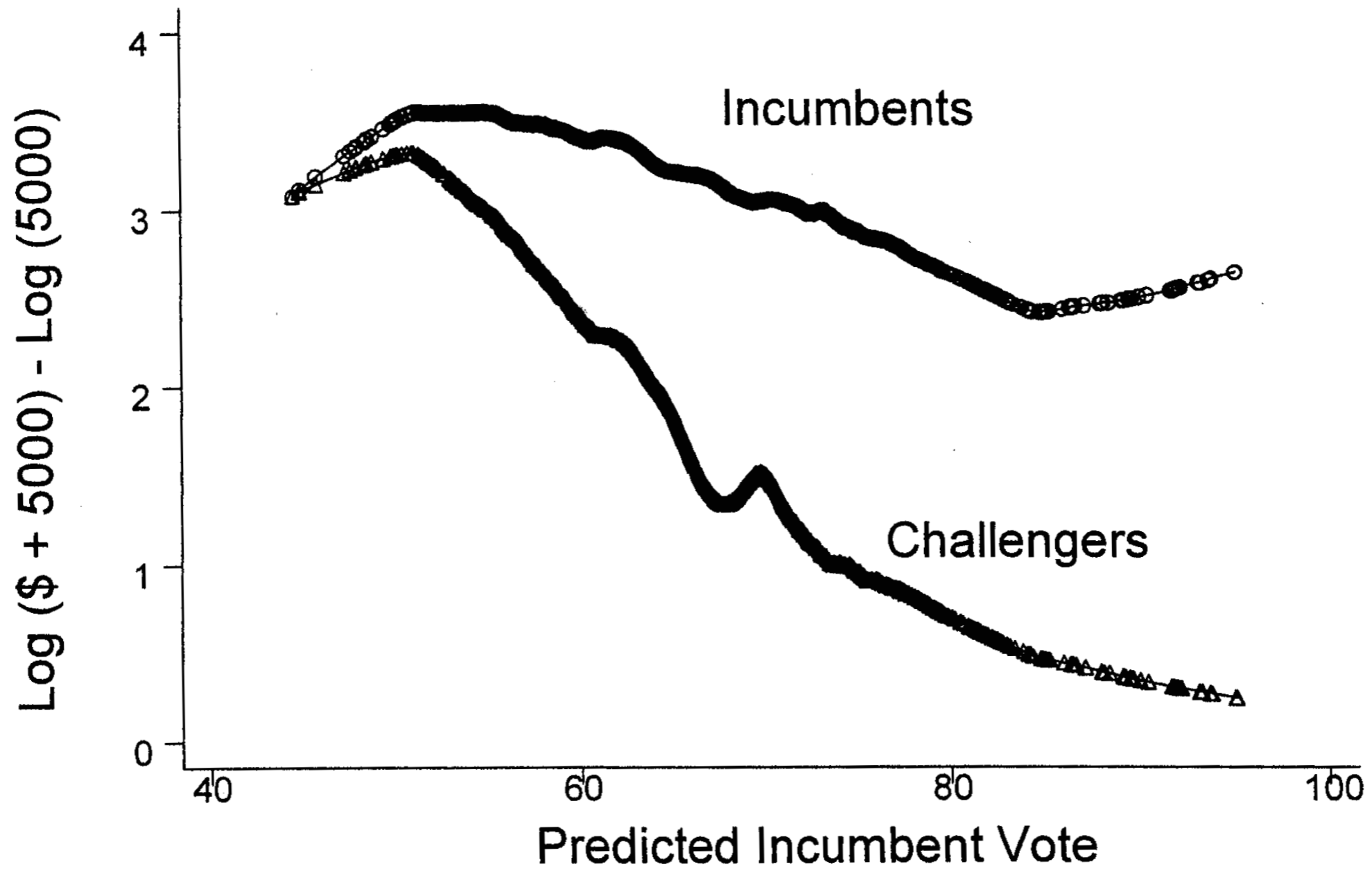
Challenger Vote Share by Expenditure, 2004 House Election



Incumbent Vote Share by Expenditure, 2004 House Elections



**FIGURE 3. Spending by Predicted Incumbent Vote: Smoothed Regression Lines (LOWESS)**



**TABLE 1. OLS Regression of Incumbent Vote on Spending by Expected Incumbent Vote**

	Expected Incumbent Vote				All Cases
	<52%	52-55%	55-58%	>58%	
Constant	50.55 (2.23)	16.72 (0.48)	34.21 (1.10)	54.10 (17.52)	53.92 (19.56)
Log (I)	4.04 (2.21)	3.06 (3.64)	0.86 (1.59)	-0.10 (-0.56)	0.07 (0.38)
Log (C)	-4.11 (-3.49)	-4.37 (-7.80)	-2.94 (-6.47)	-3.41 (-26.34)	-3.36 (-27.83)
Expected vote	0.00 (0.00)	0.95 (0.62)	0.86 (0.59)	0.73 (31.46)	0.70 (36.07)
Adj. $R^2$	.193	.457	.291	.675	.722
SEE	5.23	4.55	4.99	5.26	5.24
N	40	77	119	1,556	1,792

Note: T-statistics are given in parentheses.

**TABLE 2. OLS Regression of Incumbent Vote on Spending by CQ Categories of Competitiveness**

	CQ Forecast			
	Close	Leaning	Safe	All Cases
Constant	41.02 (3.59)	51.98 (7.74)	48.92 (16.26)	50.98 (18.54)
Log (I)	2.66 (2.33)	2.24 (4.56)	-0.27 (-1.48)	0.09 (0.55)
Log (C)	-2.31 (-1.96)	-3.84 (-8.88)	-2.64 (-18.51)	-2.80 (-20.33)
Expected vote	0.07 (0.70)	0.38 (7.49)	0.73 (35.06)	0.66 (34.67)
Close (CQ)				-6.01 (-9.12)
Leaning to incumbent (CQ)				-2.27 (-5.00)
Adj. $R^2$	.048	.296	.643	.735
SEE	4.80	5.20	4.92	5.12
<i>N</i>	83	340	1,369	1,792

Note: T-statistics are given in parentheses.

<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Table 3</b>  <b>Roll Call Voting in the U.S. House, 1978-1994</b>  Dep. Var. = CCUS Roll-Call Voting Score (N = 3400)</p>							
	Least Squares			Instrumental Variables			
	Spec. 1	Spec. 2	Spec. 3	Spec. 1	Spec. 2	Spec. 3	Mean, SD
Corporate Contributions (in \$10,000)	0.32** (0.04)	0.07 (0.07)	0.02 (0.06)	-0.30** (0.12)	-0.05 (0.17)	-0.14 (0.26)	6.53, 5.99
Labor Union Contributions (in \$10,000)	-1.14** (0.06)	-0.44** (0.08)	-0.13 (0.08)	-0.18 (0.17)	-0.02** (0.23)	0.41 (0.36)	4.48, 5.39
Member is Republican	32.6** (0.67)	40.6** (1.36)	—	40.5** (1.34)	44.2** (2.87)	—	0.39, 0.49
District Partisanship	58.4** (2.48)	—	—	59.5** (2.71)	—	—	0.00, 0.11
District in South	10.2** (0.56)	—	—	14.1** (0.84)	—	—	0.26, 0.44

All specifications include year fixed-effects. Specification 2 includes district fixed-effects. Specification 3 include member fixed-effects.

Standard errors in parentheses.

\*\* = significant at the .01 level; \* = significant at the .05 level.