## Regulating Campaign Finance in the United States

American University Election Management Training Institute

Funding and Monitoring Political Campaigns

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- Transparency
- Regulation of Political Finance in the U.S.
- Enforcement
- Trends in Campaign Finance/The Internet
- Role of Media/Civil Society
- Trust

## Transparency

## Striking the Right Balance

- Free expression and association vs. preventing corruption
- Public's right to know vs. politicians' and contributors' privacy rights
- Transparency vs. personal safety
- All-inclusive vs. easy to understand and enforce
- Approach appropriate to culture, history, legal framework

## **Campaign Finance**

- Affects not only who gets elected but what they do once in office
- Risk of undue influence
  - Legislation for benefit of special interests, rather than all citizens
  - Distortion of executive decision-making
- Public trust/Government legitimacy
- Our philosophy:Sunlight is the best disinfectant

## **Transparency in Government**

- Campaign finances (disclosed during campaign and after election)
- Personal finances of officeholders
- Open Government
  - Explains how and why laws are passed, government priorities set, disputes adjudicated, crimes punished, contracts awarded, benefits of citizenship shared, and responsibilities allocated

# Regulation of Political Finance in the U.S.

## Campaign Finance in the U.S.

- Largely privately funded
- Real-time disclosure

### Federal Election Campaign Act

- Mandates registration and reporting by political committees (includes parties and candidates), including disclosure of contributions and expenditures of \$200 or more
- Limits amount of contributions from any one source
- Prohibits certain sources from making donations
  - Corporations
  - Foreign nationals
- Labor unions
- Government contractors
- Bans contributions in the name of another
- Regulates funding of some political advertising
- Prohibits candidates from using campaign funds for personal expenses

## United States Federal Election Commission Who we are

- Independent regulatory agency
- Interpret, administer, enforce and defend the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA)
- Bipartisan
- About 350 employees, including:
  - 110 legal staff
  - 95 auditors and report analysts
  - 50 IT professionals
  - 20 public information and press officers

### FEC: What we do

- Regulate campaign finance at the federal level
- More than 8,000 entities file between 4 and 12 disclosure reports each per year
- During 2007, processed nearly 70,000 campaign finance reports and statements
- Issue Advisory Opinions and regulations
- Investigate violations of campaign finance law
- Conduct desk and field audits
- Administer the Public Funding program for Presidential elections
- Educate the public and the regulated community
- FEC does not administer elections

## Enforcement

### **Overview of FEC Enforcement**

- Anyone may file a complaint
- Respondents have the right to present facts and arguments
- Commission has authority to compel testimony and documents
- FY 2007:
  - 497 cases resolved
  - \$4.37 million in civil penalties negotiated and assessed

### **Case Examples**

- Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp (Freddie Mac)
  - Illegally contributed to political committees using corporate funds and resources
  - \$3.8 million civil penalty
- MZM Inc. and Mitchell Wade
  - Corporation and chief executive officer used corporate funds to reimburse employees and spouses for federal campaign contributions in effort to influence government contracts
  - \$ 1 million civil penalty

## **Administrative Fines Program**

- Designed to keep reporting violations from clogging enforcement system
- "Traffic Ticket" approach
  - Automatic fines for late reports
  - Opportunity for review, although fine will only be overturned under extraordinary circumstances

### **Alternative Dispute Resolution**

- No factual or legal dispute
- No investigation
- Lower penalties
- Focus on compliance

### **Criminal Penalties**

- "Knowing and willful" violations of the FECA may be criminally prosecuted by the Department of Justice
- Penalties may include:
  - Imprisonment for 2 years
  - Fines up to 1000% of the amount in violation

### **Enforcement Tools**

- Leadership/political will
  - Strategic alliances with opinion leaders
  - Political class as stakeholders
- Law that is understood and respected
- Impartial, professional investigatory staff
- Means of compelling testimony and documents
- Means of changing behavior
  - Fair, proportionate penalties as deterrent
  - Education
  - Monitoring
- Timeliness

# Trends in Campaign Finance The Internet

## Public Financing in U.S.

- At Federal level, only available to Presidential candidates
- For Primaries, matching funds program is used
  - First \$250 of individual contribution
  - Encourages small donations
  - Requires agreement to accept expenditure limit (\$56 million in 2008)
- For General Election, \$81.7 million grant

### 2008 U.S. Presidential Election: Total Money Raised (In Millions of U.S. Dollars, as of April 31, 2008)

All Candidates	\$910
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- All Democrats \$569
- All Republicans \$341

### Contributions by individuals

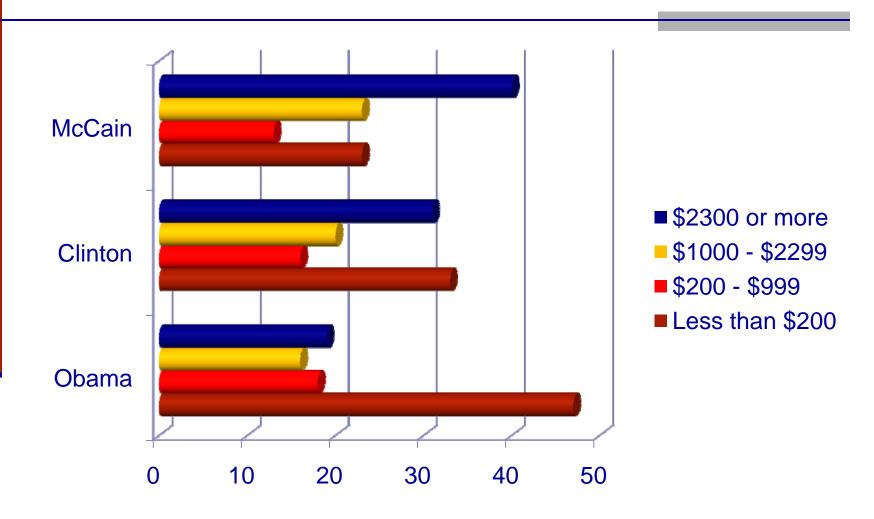


## 2008 U.S. Presidential Election: Small Dollar Contributions In Context

Candidate	Net Individual Contributions (in U.S. Dollars)	\$200 or Less Contributions (in U.S. Dollars)	\$200 or Less as % of Individual Contributions	\$1000 and up as % of Individual Contributions
Obama	255,716,699	120,861,944	47%	34%
Clinton	168,913,448	56,376,903	33%	51%
McCain	88,096,115	20,454,345	23%	63%
All Candidates	784,314,855	277,106,730	35%	49%

Source: Campaign Finance Institute Analysis of FEC Reports through Feb. 29, 2008

## Donor profile for 2008



(As percentage of total collected through April 31, 2008)

# FEC use of internet: www.fec.gov



### Internet and candidates

- Candidates are increasingly relying on the Internet as a tool for fundraising and communication with voters
  - Candidate websites make speeches, merchandise and policy papers available
  - Assists in fundraising from small donors and younger voters
  - Candidates reach out to other sites such as YouTube,
     Second Life and MySpace to disseminate message

### **Public Use of the Internet**

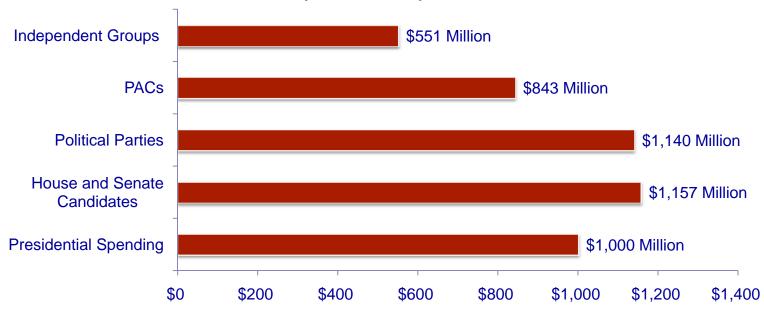
"The internet is living up to its potential as a major source for news about the presidential campaign. Nearly a quarter of Americans (24%) say they regularly learn something about the campaign from the internet, almost double the percentage from a comparable point in the 2004 campaign (13%).

Moreover, the internet has now become a leading source of campaign news for young people and the role of social networking sites such as MySpace and Facebook is a notable part of the story. Fully 42% of those ages 18 to 29 say they regularly learn about the campaign from the internet, the highest percentage for any news source. In January 2004, just 20% of young people said they routinely got campaign news from the internet."

- Pew Internet and American Life Project

## Federal Political Spending for the 2004 Election

### Federal Political Spending for the 2004 Elections (in \$ millions)



Presidential spending includes candidate spending and nominating convention spending

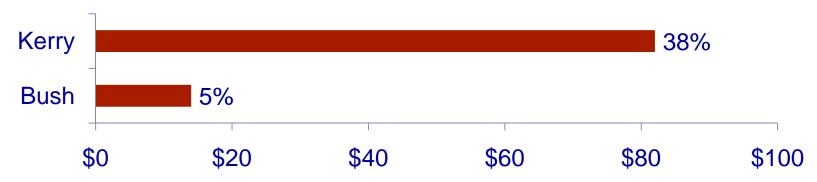
#### Over \$600 Million spent on Presidential ads

- •\$4.2 million spent on presidential ads on the internet (March through October 2004)
- •Compare to \$3.4 million spent by one candidate in January and February, 2008

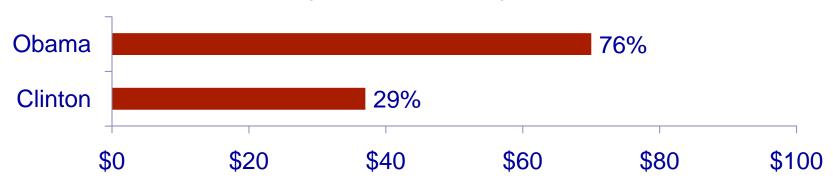
#### **Funds raised via the Internet**

(Amounts in Millions – percentages indicate portion of overall fundraising that were from internet sources)

#### **Entire 2004 Presidential Cycle**



#### **January and February of 2008**



## **Internet Rulemaking**

- Commission rules encourage online political activity, including activities by individuals and media
- Regulations limit only paid public political advertising on other persons' websites.

## Role of Media/Civil Society

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- Publicity
- Analysis
  - Connections to other public information
    - www.opensecrets.org
    - www.politicalmoneyline.com
    - www.cfinst.org
- Agency watchdog/ally
- Participant in process
  - CSOs file complaints
  - Media makes endorsements

## Trust

### **Trust**

- Does transparency enhance trust in electoral institutions and processes?
  - Deterrent
  - Impetus for change
  - Consider the alternative
- Public right to know

#### Thank you!



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