

Following the Money

An Analysis of the Campaign Expenditures of Utah State Legislators

Should legislative candidates be restricted in how they can spend their campaign funds?

This was the central thesis of Common Cause of Utah and Utah Students for Clean Elections in conducting this study of Utah State Legislators' campaign expenditures for the previous election cycle.

This study, however, does not pretend to answer the question. What may seem a legitimate expense to one individual may not seem so to another— this study remains neutral on the question of what types of, or even if, campaign expenditures ought to be prohibited.

Rather, the purpose of this study is to delineate categories of potentially questionable expenditure types. It is the further goal of

the study to provide the public with data as the extent of overall spending in each of these categories so as to facilitate the formation of public opinion as to what if any categories should be prohibited.

The goal of this study is NOT to call into question in anyway the integrity of any legislator. For this reason only categories are provided, rather than a "laundry list" of potentially questionable individual expenses.

We maintain that nearly any given individual expense may be justified; it is the types and quantities that concern us.

The expenditures as classified by this study indicate a substantial amount of total campaign expenses were spent on "potentially questionable expenditures."
[See "Methodology"]

Some facts worth noting:

Of the 99 Utah Legislators studied, only two made no expenditures which qualified as "questionable."

38 legislators spent less than 25% of their campaign funds on "questionable expenditures."

34 legislators spent more than 50% of their campaign funds on "questionable expenditures."

**Each Category of "Questionable Expenditures" is prohibited by at least one other state in the union.
[Federal Elections Commission]**

Utah is one of only 15 states with no restrictions on how candidates can spend their campaign funds.

Utah Students
for Clean Elections

"Turning Apathy into Action"

"The Purpose of this study is to delineate categories of potentially questionable expenditures - it is NOT to call into question the integrity of any legislator."

Utah
 COMMON CAUSE
Holding Power Accountable

2002-2004 Candidate Expenditures *(Jan. 25 Corrected)*

Candidate	#	Total Expenses	Personal Items	Travel	Meals	Gifts/ charitable	Political Contrib.	Loan	Professional	Payment to Family	Other	Questionable Total	
House													
Aagard, Doug	15	3,614.27	4.00						250.00			254.00	
Adams, Stuart	16	12,299.07			20.00	950.00	3,600.00				10.16	4,580.16	
Alexander, Jeff	62	39,765.02		218.50		2,031.61	21,313.86				1,111.13	24,675.10	
Allen, Sheryl L.	19	10,257.05	200.00	200.00	1,000.50	157.65	2,400.00		550.00		1,485.51	5,993.66	
Barrus, Roger	18	7,991.57										-	
Becker, Ralph	24	21,776.52	863.67	193.52	1,321.90	545.23	3,200.00				143.24	6,267.56	
Bigelow, Ron	32	22,634.52					5,100.00					5,100.00	
Biskupski, Jackie	30	32,616.49	453.51				16,750.00		90.00		12,209.71	29,503.22	
Bourdeaux, Duane	23	5,615.98	671.28		959.40	93.00					303.40	2,027.08	
Bowman, DeMar	72	8,713.90	456.00	921.40		3,632.99	1,673.80		996.82		648.71	8,329.72	
Buttars, Craig	3	33,556.81	1,464.64	1,418.95	220.35	229.99	80.00			641.00	15.00	4,069.93	
Buxton, David	12	774.25				627.25	60.00					687.25	
Christensen, LaVar	48	20,831.24	318.27		450.00							768.27	
Clark, David	74	14,857.68		2,706.34	45.00	6,338.87	3,160.00			300.00	330.00	12,880.21	
Clark, Stephen	63	10,151.00		355.00			600.00				4,638.00	5,593.00	
Cosgrove, Tim	44	26,884.99	170.00	150.00	12.35			450.00			61.14	843.49	
Cox, David	56	10,267.41	829.69	73.00	150.88	60.00	450.00		50.00	1,432.58	275.00	3,321.15	
Curtis, Greg	49	67,482.21	1,252.55	2,701.80	666.96	750.00	29,089.96		340.00	20.00	1,064.09	35,885.36	
Daw, Bradley	60	11,452.98	120.00	212.20	6.50	460.00	550.00	1,000.00				2,348.70	
Dayton, Margaret	61	18,773.00	1,100.00		963.00	513.00	1,303.00		1,259.00	675.00	1,286.00	7,099.00	
Dee, Brad	11											2,766.96	

		17,114.20		267.96		1,320.98	200.00			918.02	60.00	
Donnelson, Glenn	7	10,574.49				21.07	85.00				42.24	148.31
Dougall, John	27	15,917.96	850.00	27.00	74.50	6,574.90	3,100.00		390.00			11,016.40
Duckworth, Carl	22	11,523.64	319.79	66.37		369.01	700.00			900.00	38.50	2,393.67
Dunnigan, Jim	39	21,008.84	648.40		11.30	125.00	4,550.00				43.53	5,378.23
Ferrin, Jim	58	14,249.54	25.50				831.25	8,600.00	50.00		128.00	9,634.75
Ferry, Ben	2	13,624.64	115.55	2,905.03	761.38	901.60	2,550.50		657.65	886.48	266.93	9,045.12
Fisher, Julie	17	6,290.60	207.63	60.64	47.29	572.40	300.00		15.00		1,645.00	2,847.96
Fowlke, Lorie	59	27,180.23			300.00		1,000.00		194.38	47.00	12,658.71	14,200.09
Frank, Craig	57	5,670.40				50.00	2,500.00		660.72		50.03	3,260.75
Gibson, Kerry	6	14,095.85										-
Gowans, James	21	4,305.21				1,451.80	1,325.00		250.00			3,026.80
Hansen, Neil	9	11,904.49	1,412.12	890.54	363.13	47.00	120.00		251.65	613.59		3,698.03
Hardy, Ann	20	9,539.25	16.63	109.00			125.00		812.00		125.00	1,187.63
Harper, Wayne	43	12,240.14	730.87		159.36	349.50	2,700.00		181.00		191.92	4,312.65
Hendrickson, Neal	33	4,665.09	1,281.49	177.00		80.00	160.00		441.50		47.94	2,187.93
Hogue, David	52	19,514.92	2,280.97	502.50	423.69	700.00	100.00	3,410.00	1,352.00		225.00	8,994.16
Holdaway, Kory	34	12,069.97	215.20			275.00	150.00		1,417.34	1,217.71		3,275.25
Hughes, Greg	51	12,736.16	237.14				1,800.00			182.76	1,194.26	3,414.16
Hunsaker, Fred	4	9,799.70	130.95	290.43	36.42						200.00	657.80
Hutchings, Eric	38	15,986.15		210.05	842.27	36.46	2,575.00				884.96	4,548.74
Johnson, Brad	70	9,487.57	2,590.65	1,113.48	120.00	67.00	290.00		247.64		1,325.00	5,753.77
Jones, Patricia	40	25,773.14					500.00	75.00				575.00
King, Brad	69	15,990.82	717.20	1,241.73	15.00	4,439.99	5,260.00		274.00			11,947.92
Kiser, Todd	41	8,412.40	1,526.26	60.14	960.01	363.91	2,096.49		1,630.40	200.00	129.96	6,967.17
Last, Bradley	71	7,038.32			161.86	700.00	1,395.00		24.00			2,280.86
Lawrence, Susan	36	16,271.26				30.00			255.00			285.00

Litvack, David	26	24,942.08	2,497.12	3.00	584.38	190.00	2,260.00		125.00		1,053.44	6,712.94	
Lockhart, Becky	64	23,882.80	1,909.37	98.17	155.78	340.83	13,200.00		609.16		952.47	17,265.78	
Mascaro, Steven	47	16,505.21	2,114.77	1,606.67	358.00	1,484.90	2,700.00		400.00	490.66	150.00	9,305.00	
Mathis, John	55	595.57		127.12	20.00							147.12	
McGee, Roz	28	34,709.87	69.82	301.20	220.00	80.00	4,965.00		1,744.56		277.48	7,658.06	
Menlove, Ronda	1	15,475.76		112.69		24.99					34.03	171.71	
Morgan, Karen	46	9,935.15	1,324.71		233.00	300.00	200.00		325.00			2,382.71	
Morley, Michael	66	11,388.55	227.05	196.31	105.00	1,456.00	3,365.00			254.15	79.34	5,682.85	
Moss, Carol	37	23,084.75	867.78		12.00		150.00		542.70			1,572.48	
Murray, Joseph	8	10,939.64	63.88			25.00	160.00		125.00		330.00	703.88	
Newbold, Merlynn	50	11,031.78			123.00		6,100.00		50.00		295.05	6,568.05	
Noel, Mike	73	9,610.60		7,031.00		125.00	645.00	1,500.00			100.00	9,401.00	
Oda, Curtis	14	17,052.99	271.74			150.00	1,100.00		25.00		413.59	1,960.33	
Painter, Patrick	67	16,178.27		363.11		300.00	1,750.00					2,413.11	
Ray, Paul	13	15,062.40	1,123.24	77.40	709.02	159.65				150.00	1,153.92	3,373.23	
Romero, Ross	25	29,846.22	968.88	930.36	667.22		1,300.00	4,478.40	145.62		221.82	8,712.30	
Shurtliff, LaWanna	10	8,074.07	61.76		57.00	603.24	985.00		65.00			1,772.00	
Snow, Gordon	54	8,738.36		874.14	22.62	1,050.00	1,530.00		265.00	1,296.05	50.00	5,087.81	
Tilton, Aaron	65	5,367.54					720.00				279.00	999.00	
Ure, David	53	38,208.14	2,518.04	583.42	86.63	4,207.60	16,688.31		440.18	430.00	680.00	25,634.18	
Uruquhart, Stephen	75	22,171.50	173.13	2,681.50		3,135.37	2,820.00		91.00		25.47	8,926.47	
Walker, Mark	45	14,704.52	642.84		172.41				17.50			832.75	
Wallace, Peggy	42	7,902.21	207.85	36.00	189.68	296.31	300.00		827.57		35.00	1,892.41	
Wheatley, Mark	35	17,089.44	85.61				30.00	1,065.00			2,596.00	3,776.61	
Wyatt, Scott	5	22,031.10						2,500.00				2,500.00	
Senate													
Arent, Patrice	4	112,280.31	3,050.80	2,347.53	1,804.92	1,323.79	9,505.00		5,218.98		5,050.03	28,301.05	

Bell, Greg	22	8,212.06			25.86						505.43	531.29	
Bramble, Curtis	16	39,083.91	7,127.23		745.08	474.00	12,082.12		1,203.22	3,235.22	4,038.27	28,905.14	
Buttars, Chris	10	76,061.73	4,350.68	1,686.45	2,615.74	1,100.00	31,121.26			2,293.25	5,182.19	4,324.97	52,674.54
Christensen, Allen	19	65,079.54		614.04		1,795.19		24,000.00					26,409.23
Davis, Gene	3	62,252.00	10,107.29	701.07	327.00	1,685.00	3,510.00	1,300.00		605.42		2,995.34	21,231.12
Dmitrich, Mike	27	60,702.17	3,148.59	1,550.08		2,790.00	3,750.00			1,813.00		1,590.00	14,641.67
Eastman, Dan	23	28,651.87	20.00			200.00	1,500.00			215.25		61.00	1,996.25
Evans, Beverly	26	39,347.64	915.58	6,072.90	1,825.39	4,087.67	560.00			3,810.68		1,154.42	18,426.64
Fife, III, Fred	1	33,250.23				50.00	4,050.00					100.00	4,200.00
Hale, Karen	7	43,227.94	111.84	2,185.71	156.66	839.38	1,473.79	1,264.20		2,908.53		1,190.77	10,130.88
Hatch, Thomas	28	41,539.28	1,040.99	3,439.14	4,483.00	75.00	16,645.26			183.25		1,190.00	27,056.64
Hellewell, Parley	15	32,384.50	3,820.86	140.00	5,056.43	499.23	2,910.00	1,200.00		1,425.68		1,754.72	16,806.92
Hickman, John	29	21,394.66	1,566.17	3,701.49		841.00	1,250.00					351.69	7,710.35
Hillyard, Lyle	25	16,054.27		1,651.87	50.00	2,600.00	2,821.25			898.29	393.20	2,435.14	10,849.75
Jenkins, Scott	20	19,723.90	180.00				600.00			1,280.25	120.00		2,180.25
Killpack, Sheldon	21	19,212.15	874.52	1,573.36	40.00	469.98	1,000.00	1,859.76		800.00		161.00	6,778.62
Knudson, Peter	17	15,627.33	725.15	922.80	541.63	1,722.95		2,000.00		392.20		5,157.60	11,462.33
Madsen, Mark	13	67,605.16	7,571.96	5,295.02	5,288.71	2,302.60	3,152.50			261.00	11,384.72	3,185.16	38,441.67
Mansell, Al	9	46,904.96	5,335.00	1,248.93		6,003.51	9,171.58			4,132.00	1,430.41	500.00	27,821.43
Mayne, Ed	5	67,192.65	1,839.87			24,143.15	2,800.00			1,387.07	973.22		31,143.31
Peterson, Darin	24	26,310.32	1,102.58			157.50						30.00	1,290.08
Stephenson, Howard	11	31,038.06	2,296.52	3,941.73	2,220.44	1,171.28	7,085.50			836.81		3,227.41	20,779.69
Thomas, David	18	19,789.55						2,670.00	2,076.00				4,746.00
Valentine, John	14	46,276.13	1,796.38	6,510.39	2,221.10	1,661.81	7,150.00			928.02		2,942.56	23,210.26
Waddoups, Michael	6	41,822.03	3,993.47	5,231.61	348.67	1,064.66	8,223.34			2,066.01	1,250.00	863.00	23,040.76
Walker, Carlene	8	72,627.18	8,911.39	192.55	581.21		33,745.00			1,477.16			44,907.31

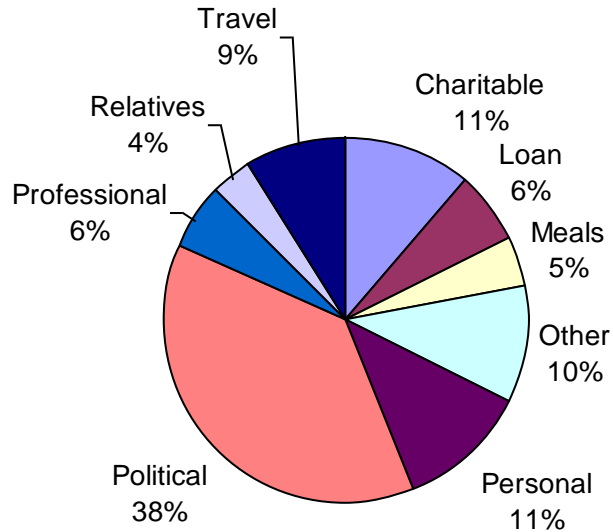
House Subtotals	<u>Total Exp.</u>	<u>Personal</u>	<u>Travel</u>	<u>Meals</u>	<u>Charitable</u>	<u>Political</u>	<u>Loan</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Relatives</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total Questionable</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	\$1,147,829	\$ 36,338	\$32,095	\$13,809	\$ 48,794	\$184,712	\$ 23,078	\$ 18,438	\$ 10,655	\$ 51,565	\$ 419,484	36.5%

Senate Subtotals	<u>Total Exp.</u>	<u>Personal</u>	<u>Travel</u>	<u>Meals</u>	<u>Charitable</u>	<u>Political</u>	<u>Loan</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Relatives</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total Questionable</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	\$1,153,652	\$ 69,887	\$49,007	\$28,332	\$ 57,058	\$164,107	\$ 34,294	\$ 36,212	\$ 23,969	\$ 42,809	\$ 505,673	43.8%

TOTAL	<u>Total Exp.</u>	<u>Personal</u>	<u>Travel</u>	<u>Meals</u>	<u>Charitable</u>	<u>Political</u>	<u>Loan</u>	<u>Professional</u>	<u>Relatives</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total Questionable</u>	<u>Percent</u>
	\$2,301,481	\$106,224	\$81,101	\$42,141	\$105,852	\$348,819	\$ 57,372	\$54,650	\$ 34,624	\$94,373	\$ 925,157	40.2%

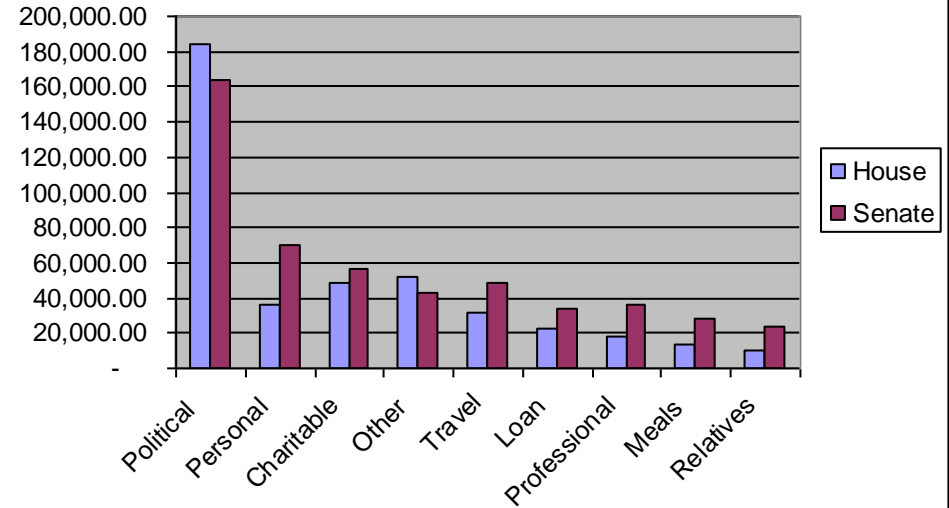
Data Analysis

Breakdown of Total Potentially Questionable Expenditures

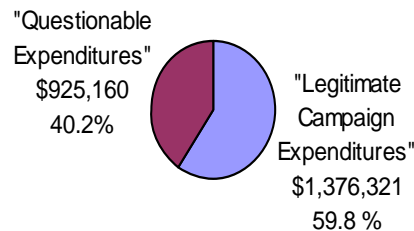


Questionable Expenditure Total: \$ 925,160.00

"Questionable" Spending House vs. Senate



Total Campaign Expenditures VS. "questionable Expenditures"



Analysis & Policy Suggestions

Disclosure Quality

As is explained in the methodology, studying campaign expenditures is a very imprecise science. Categorizing campaign expenditures is made extremely difficult by the fact that no two legislators report their expenses in the same way.

Some legislators list their expenses in great detail, while other may refer to every expense as a “miscellaneous expenditure.” Some legislators are careful to record each item, while others combine dozens of diverse expenditures as a single entry. This lack of uniformity makes the creation of a fair cataloging methodology virtually impossible. The methodology as currently constituted, is unavoidably biased against legislators who carefully catalog their expenses.

More importantly, this lack of uniformity and clarity in disclosure makes it difficult for average citizens to read an expenditure report and make a determination about what qualifies as a legitimate campaign expenditure.

To promote greater clarity, we offer here 3 possible adjustments in the policy requirements.

Provide basic language on each campaign expenditure report, explaining that expenditures should be itemized and clearly explained, perhaps providing examples of how this is to be done.

Create a “purpose” category on the disclosure form, after the description section. This would naturally eliminate the grouping of disparate expenditures in a single entry, and overly simplistic descriptions.

3. Require candidates to include itemized receipts for each entry on the disclosure report.

Legislative Expenses

While maintaining that nearly any expenditure categorized as “questionable” on this report may be justified based on circumstances, we were disturbed by the reoccurring use of campaign funds for legislative purposes. It is true that several other states specifically permit the use of campaign funds for legislative purposes, in many states and on the federal level such expenditures are absolutely prohibited.

The use of campaign funds for legislative duty related expenses creates a dangerous blurring of the line between candidate and legislator. We strongly believe that there should be a clear distinction between candidate and legislator.

Many legislators use campaign funds for seemingly benign, or even laudatory legislative expenses; such as providing a bonus to an intern, or taking the office staff out to lunch. Yet the concern of both Common Cause of Utah and Utah Students for Clean Elections is that this may bleed over in the other direction, the utilization of legislative office trappings for political campaigning.

In order to stop further blurring of the line between candidate and legislator we make the following 2 policy suggestions.

The Legislature should investigate the option of purchasing cell-phones for the legislators with a reduced rate plan for calls to other legislators to be used for legislative purposes only. The legislature should also explore the option of reimbursing legislative duty related phone calls up to a certain capped amount.

2. The Legislature should create a fund for reimbursement of legislative expenses that are NOT accrued during the legislative session. Such a system should include a flexible per-legislator cap, to be adjusted according to the individual legislators distance from the capitol.

Methodology

The task of formulating a methodology that would accurately and fairly categorize each campaign expenditure proved extremely difficult. As no two legislators report their campaign expenses in the same way, it proved impossible to create any rule that work accurately in every situation. For this reason, all numbers in the report should be considered “soft.” For this reason, emphasis should be placed on trends rather than amounts. The amounts listed should be considered more a barometer of spending for each legislator and legislative body than hard numbers.

Legitimate Campaign Expenditures: Any item that is clearly linked to educating or mobilizing voters to vote for a candidate, that does not also fall into one of the “questionable expenditure categories. Any advertisement, yard-sign, t-shirt, brochure printing, parade fees, etc.

Questionable Expenditures: Should be considered just that, expenditures that can be questioned. The label of questionable is in no way intended to mark expenses as illegitimate, but rather to bring focus on them as an area that might be considered as such either in policy or personal/public opinion.

Personal Items: Any one item that exceeds \$50.00 in value that could clearly be used outside of a part time campaign for the personal purposes of the candidate. Example: Digital Camera.

Travel: Any expenditure clearly made to cover the cost of travel; this includes airfare, gasoline, lodging, etc.

Meals: Any expenditure used to cover the cost of a meal, excluding small food items bought for event tables, and meals as compensation to volunteers and campaign workers.

Gifts: Any expenditure that is clearly indicated as a gift, other than those given as compensation for campaign work.

Political Contributions: Contributions made to political committees, other candidates, political party events, and organizations with a singular political focus such as the NRA, or Sierra Club.

Payments to Relatives: Expenditures that constitute compensation to an immediate family member of the candidate for any purpose other than reimbursement of legitimate campaign expenditures as defined above.

Other: Any other expenditure that does not clearly fall into one of the above categories, usually due to an unclear or confusing description on the expenditure report.

Campaign Expense Disclosures can be accessed at: <https://ucrs.state.ut.us/>

For More Information Please Contact:

Utah Students for Clean Elections

Luke Peterson, Director
308 N. 400 E.
Payson, UT 84651

801.356.9141
cleanelectionsutah@yahoo.com

Common Cause of Utah

Anthony Musci, Chair
455 E. 400 S. #212
Salt Lake City, UT 84111

801.533.0876
ccause@qwest.net
www.commoncause.org