The Growing Importance of Campaign Activity by Non-Candidate Groups
Players

- Candidates
- Party Committees (not often active in nomination phase)
- Non-Candidate Groups
Hard Money

**Figure 8.4** Presidential Primary Cumulative Receipts, 2011–2012 (Millions of Dollars)
Non Candidate Groups

- Conventional Independent Expenditures
- Super PACs
  - Candidate Specific
  - Party Centered
  - Ideological/Interest Groups
- Section 501(c) groups
  - 501(c)(4) Social welfare groups
  - 501(c)(5) Labor unions
  - 501(c)(6) Trade associations
Candidates Using All Options

- Rubio: Conservative Solutions PAC (Super PAC)  
  Conservative Solutions Project 501(c)(4)
- Cruz: Three Super PACs  
  Keep the Promise 1, 2 and 3.  
  Different billionaires funding each
  Right to Rise Super PAC (Jan. 2015)  
  Right to Rise Policy Solutions, a 501(c)(4)
## Independent Expenditures and Super PACs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of SuperPAC and Candidate Supported</th>
<th>Total Funds (Millions)</th>
<th>Number of Million Dollar Donors</th>
<th>Percent of Million Dollar Donors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priorities USA (Obama)</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restore Our Future (Romney)</td>
<td>43.2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red White and Blue Fund (Santorum)</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winning Our Future (Gingrich)</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Endorse Liberty (Paul)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 8.5** Super PACs and Million Dollar Donors in 2012 Presidential Election Campaign
Candidate Aligned Super PACs, 2012

- Mitt Romney, Restore Our Future  $153 mil.
- Barack Obama, Priorities USA Action  65 mil.
- Newt Gingrich, Winning Our Future  17 mil.
- Rick Santorum, Red White and Blue  8 mil.
- Ron Paul, Endorse Liberty  4 mil.
- Rick Perry, Make Us Great Again  4 mil.

Source: Center for Responsive Politics
Super Bucks
Money raised by super PACs backing 2016 presidential candidates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidate</th>
<th>Republicans</th>
<th>Democrats</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jeb Bush</td>
<td>$103.0 million</td>
<td>$25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>$16.1</td>
<td>$25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ted Cruz</td>
<td>$38.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marco Rubio</td>
<td>$11.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kasich</td>
<td>$11.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chris Christie</td>
<td>$3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben Carson</td>
<td>$6.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bobby Jindal</td>
<td>$3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carly Fiorina</td>
<td>$3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Some figures cover multiple super PACs. Mrs. Clinton’s super PAC figure has increased since the filings to nearly $50 million and Mr. Carson’s figure has grown to $6.7 million, as the Journal reported.

Source: Federal Election Commission filings from Jan. 1 to June 30

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Non-Candidate Group Controversies

- Timing/Testing the Waters Bush, Kasich
- Disclosure and 501(c) donors
  - Transfers from 501(c) groups to Super PACs
- Coordination
  - Fundraising
  - Strategy
- Function
  - TV
  - Radio, Internet, Mail, Phone
  - GOTV
  - Events