

Massachusetts Office of Campaign and Political Finance

Campaign Finance Activity by Candidates for the Massachusetts General Court

2018



INTRODUCTION

This study examines campaign finance activity undertaken by candidates for the Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives (known collectively as The General Court) in calendar year 2018. The Office of Campaign and Political Finance has issued a report of this type after every state election since 1990.

The information contained in this legislative study is based on data compiled from campaign finance reports electronically filed by candidates and treasurers of political committees organized on behalf of candidates for the Massachusetts Senate and House. In 2018, 377 candidates sought legislative office and filed disclosure reports with OCPF: 76 running for 40 Senate seats, and 301 seeking one of 160 House seats.

Legislative candidates and their committees are required to file three campaign finance reports disclosing election year financial activity. The reports are due with OCPF eight days prior to the state primary election; eight days prior to the November general election; and in January of the year immediately following. Reports were due from the candidates in this study on Aug. 27, 2018, Oct. 29, 2018, and Jan. 21, 2019.

Candidates and committee treasurers are required to disclose their account balances at the beginning of each reporting period; receipts and expenditures for the reporting period; in-kind contributions for the reporting period; and all liabilities.

OCPF has taken steps to ensure that the information contained in this study is accurate as of the time of its compilation in 2019. This study takes into account many corrections, additions or deletions made by candidates as a result of any review conducted by OCPF or amendments filed by candidates or political committees.

The Office of Campaign and Political Finance (OCPF) is an independent state agency that administers Massachusetts General Law Chapter 55, the campaign finance law. The law provides for disclosure and regulation of campaign finance activity on the state, county and municipal levels. The reports filed by state and county candidates and committees are available on the office's web site at ocpf.us.

This study was compiled and written based on information filed by candidates and committees. Those seeking further information on the study or any other facet of the Massachusetts campaign finance law may contact the Office of Campaign and Political Finance by calling (617) 979-8300. This study and other data are also available on the office's website.

June 2019

OVERVIEW

Receipts and expenditures for legislative candidates increased in 2018 compared to the previous state election in 2016.

Total fundraising for the 377 legislative candidates in 2018 reached \$14.8 million (\$39,361 per candidate). The 2018 figure is \$1.9 million more than in 2016 when 337 candidates ran (\$38,278 per candidate). The record for total receipts was set in 2004, when 390 candidates reported raising \$17,275,537.

Expenditure totals in 2018 increased to \$14.7 million (\$39,071 per candidate), up by \$2.5 million from 2016 (\$36,235 per candidate). The record for total expenditures was set in 2004, when 390 candidates reported spending \$17,640,644.

AGGREGATE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES 2006 – 2018

	<i>2006</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>2018</i>
Number of candidates	339	311	433	346	372	337	377
Receipts	\$12,398,381	\$12,462,676	\$14,994,001	\$11,533,612	\$12,185,713	\$12,899,777	\$14,839,395
Expenditures	\$11,877,068	\$12,550,335	\$16,873,190	\$11,902,207	\$12,425,073	\$12,211,196	\$14,729,770

Of the 377 legislative candidates in 2018, 76 were seeking one of 40 Senate seats and 301 were running for the 160-seat House.

Of the 200 legislative races, 99, or 49.5 percent, were not contested in either the primary or the general elections. There were 118 uncontested races in 2016.

The 377 legislative candidates comprised 175 incumbents, or 46 percent. There were 187 incumbents in 2016, making up 55 percent of the field.

One record was reached in 2018:

- Candidates for state representative had a total of \$6,838,559 on hand at the start of 2018. The previous record of \$6,703,525 was recorded in 2008.

The number of candidates increased from 337 in 2016 to 377 in 2018. The lowest total ever recorded in OCPF studies, which have been compiled after each election since

1990, was 311 in 2008. The highest number of legislative candidates recorded in an OCPF study was 507 in 1990.

All but six incumbents were re-elected – five in the House and one in the senate. In 2016, two House incumbents were unsuccessful.

Twenty-eight new legislators were elected in 2018, up from 15 in 2016. The new legislators include four in the Senate, not including Diana DiZoglio, who was an incumbent state representative, and 24 in the House.

The findings for each of the two chambers of the Legislature are broken down in each of the two sections that follow this introduction.

A list of all legislative candidates, with receipt and expenditure totals, is available by [clicking here.](#)

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SECTION I: THE SENATE

Average receipt totals increased compared to the 2016 election. Senate candidates on average raised \$69,085 in 2018, up from \$67,364 in 2016. The record receipts average for Senate candidates is \$93,370, set in 2004.

Average expenditures increased to \$66,319 in 2018, up from \$64,820 in 2016. The highest expenditure average was \$94,082, set in 2004.

Nineteen incumbents were unopposed in 2018, down from 20 unopposed incumbents in 2016. The highest number of unopposed incumbents was 27 in 2008.

Of 36 incumbents on the ballot, all but one returned to office (Richard Ross of Wrentham). Four new senators were elected to fill open seats.

OVERVIEW OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE ACTIVITY FOR SENATE CANDIDATES

	<i>2010</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2014</i>	<i>2016</i>	<i>2018</i>
<i>Number of candidates</i>	95	72	75	69	76
<i>Total on hand at start</i>	\$4,157,359	\$3,325,868	\$3,182,657	\$3,723,734	\$4,189,902
<i>Total receipts</i>	\$6,067,005	\$4,387,418	\$4,272,990	\$4,648,172	\$5,250,469
<i>Average receipts per candidate</i>	\$63,863	\$60,936	\$56,973	\$67,364	\$69,085
<i>Total expenditures</i>	\$7,322,783	\$4,561,438	\$4,347,182	\$4,472,623	\$5,040,313
<i>Average expenditures per candidate</i>	\$77,081	\$63,353	\$57,962	\$64,820	\$66,319
<i>Total on hand at end</i>	\$2,871,752	\$3,151,043	\$3,113,278	\$3,916,553	\$4,399,221

Expenditures do not include debts incurred that had not been paid at the end of 2018.

Total receipts do not include in-kind contributions, which are things of value other than money.

Senate candidates reported receiving \$512,092 in in-kind contributions. The total was \$335,509 in 2016.

Candidates receiving the five highest in-kind contribution totals in 2018 include Margaret Woolley Busse of Acton (\$70,375); Dean Tran of Fitchburg (\$64,310); Susan Chalifoux Zephir of Leominster (\$40,237); Patrick Michael O'Connor of Weymouth (\$39,585); and Diana DiZoglio of Methuen (\$38,810). Busse, Tran and O'Connor are Republicans. Zephir and DiZoglio are Democrats.

Overall totals in both receipts and expenditures increased in 2018. The 2018 fundraising total of \$5.25 million was a 13 percent increase from 2016. The expenditure total of \$5.04 million in 2018 was an increase of 12.7 percent from 2016.

A total of 76 candidates ran for the Senate in 2018, an increase of seven from 2016. The Senate that was seated in January 2019 was made up of 34 Democrats and six Republicans (the same balance as two years earlier).

The findings in greater detail:

I. Success of Campaigns

Winning candidates spent more money than their opponents. On average, Senate winners outspent unsuccessful candidates \$93,445 to \$36,180. The winners outspent unsuccessful candidates \$87,212 to \$33,935 in 2016.

The candidate who spent the most and lost was Margaret Woolley Busse of Acton, who reported \$195,029 in expenditures.

The winning candidate who spent the least amount of money was Sen. Sonia Chang-Diaz of Boston, who reported \$8,593 in expenditures.

SENATE CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY SUCCESS OF CAMPAIGNS 2018

	<i>Successful (40)</i>	<i>Unsuccessful (36)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$4,088,457	\$1,162,012
<i>Average Receipts</i>	\$102,211	\$32,278
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$3,737,816	\$1,302,498
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$93,445	\$36,180

II. Incumbency

Senators seeking to return to office accounted for the majority of the total receipts and expenditures.

Averages for expenditures were up for incumbents compared to 2016. The 36 incumbent senators on the ballot spent \$83,438, up from \$73,818 in 2016. The 40 non-incumbents in 2018 reported expenditures of \$51,706, down from \$54,416 in 2016.

SENATE INCUMBENT EXPENDITURE AVERAGES BY YEAR

2018	\$83,438
2016	\$73,818
2014	\$64,473
2012	\$80,822
2010	\$102,936
2008	\$79,729

**SENATE CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
BY INCUMBENCY
2018**

	<i>Incumbents (36)</i>	<i>Non-Incumbents (40)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$3,139,920	\$2,110,548
<i>Average Receipts</i>	\$89,712	\$51,476
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$2,920,339	\$2,119,974
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$83,438	\$51,706

The incumbents with the lowest reported expenditures were Sonia Chang-Diaz of Boston (\$8,593); Patricia Jehlen of Somerville (\$9,725); and John Keenan of Quincy (\$12,166).

Historically, some expenditures by incumbents are not necessarily related directly to their election campaigns (such as bumper stickers or advertisements), but were geared toward constituent or legislative expenses. The campaign finance law allows campaign funds to be used for expenditures such as maintaining a district office, charitable contributions and official or political travel.

III. Party Affiliation

Democrats, who accounted for the majority of Senate candidates in 2018, had higher average receipt and expenditure totals than Republican candidates.

There were 55 Democrats on the ballot in 2018, accounting for 72 percent of all Senate candidates. There were 44 Democrats in 2016.

Democrats accounted for 82 percent of expenditures in 2018, down from 83 percent in 2016. Democrats also accounted for 83 percent of all receipts in 2018, up from 82 percent in 2016.

There were 17 Republicans on the ballot in 2018, one fewer than in 2016.

**SENATE CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
BY PARTY AFFILIATION
2018**

	<i>Democrats (55)</i>	<i>Republicans (17)</i>	<i>Unenrolled or Other (4)</i>
<i>Total receipts</i>	\$4,368,829	\$877,145	\$4,494
<i>Average receipts</i>	\$79,433	\$51,596	\$1,123
<i>Total expenditures</i>	\$4,133,146	\$903,309	\$3,858
<i>Average expenditures</i>	\$75,148	\$53,135	\$964

IV. Contested and Uncontested Races

The 57 opposed candidates reported higher expenditures on average, but a lower receipts average, than the 19 unopposed candidates.¹

In the 21 contested Senate races, the candidate who spent the most money won in 16 races.

The average amount spent by an opposed candidate in 2018 was \$66,935, down from \$73,816 in 2016.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY SENATE CANDIDATES
OPPOSED AND UNOPPOSED
2018**

	<i>Opposed (57)</i>	<i>Unopposed (19)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$3,642,208	\$1,608,260
<i>Average receipts</i>	\$63,898	\$84,645
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$3,815,329	\$1,224,984
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$66,935	\$64,472

¹ This study considered a race “contested” if there were two or more candidates for the seat, regardless of the outcome or the level of campaign finance activity.

Of the 21 contested races in 2018, four were for seats being vacated by outgoing senators. The **four open seats** in 2018:

<i>District</i>	<i>Previous Incumbent</i>	<i>Winner</i>
<i>2nd Essex & Middlesex</i>	Barbara L'Italien	Barry Finegold
<i>1st Essex</i>	Kathleen O'Connor Ives	Diana DiZoglio
<i>Hampshire, Franklin & Worcester</i>	Stanley Rosenberg	Jo Comerford
<i>1st Middlesex</i>	Eileen Donoghue	Edward Kennedy

V. Starting Balances

Candidates for the Senate reported having a total of \$4,189,902 on hand at the start of 2018, up from \$3.2 million at the start of 2016.

Incumbents accounted for most of the money on hand at the start of 2018, \$3,915,343, or 93.4 percent. The total was \$3.9 million, or 92.6 percent, in 2016.

The average amount on hand in an incumbent's account at the start of 2018 was \$111,866, up from \$93,251 in 2016. The average starting balance by a non-incumbent in 2018 was \$6,696.

The starting balance figures have traditionally favored incumbents because many challengers are first-time candidates who begin their campaign with a zero balance and start their campaigns during the election year.

A total of 18 candidates, all non-incumbents, reported having no campaign funds on hand at the start of the year. Of the 18, one was elected (Joanne Comerford of Florence). The 168 Senate candidates who have started an election year with a zero balance since 2004 have had limited success – only seven winners.

STARTING AN ELECTION YEAR WITH A ZERO BALANCE

Year	Candidates with zero starting balance	Winners
2018	18	1 (Joanne Comerford)
2016	19	1 (Adam Hinds)
2014	16	1 (Eric Lesser)
2012	16	1 (Kathleen O'Connor-Ives)
2010	32	1 (Daniel Wolf)
2008	12	0
2006	25	1 (Benjamin Downing)
2004	29	1 (Edward Augustus)

The Senate candidate with the highest starting balance was Mark Montigny of New Bedford, who reported a total of \$919,782. Montigny was also first in 2016 with \$982,368. Only two Senate candidates have reported election-year starting balances of more than \$1 million (Montigny and Senate President Thomas Birmingham, who started 2000 with \$1.1 million).

SENATE CANDIDATES WITH THE HIGHEST STARTING BALANCES: 2018

	Candidate	District	Balance	Opposed	Elected
1.	Mark Montigny, New Bedford	2 nd Bristol & Plymouth	\$919,782	No	Yes
2.	Bruce Tarr, Gloucester	1 st Essex & Middlesex	\$356,627	No	Yes
3.	Karen Spilka, Ashland	2 nd Middlesex & Norfolk	\$294,763	No	Yes
4.	Eric Phillip Lesser, Longmeadow	1 st Hampden & Hampshire	\$209,354	No	Yes
5.	Harriette Chandler, Worcester	1 st Worcester	\$188,039	No	Yes
6.	Ryan Fattman, Sutton	Worcester & Norfolk	\$182,204	Yes	Yes
7.	Michael Rodrigues, Westport	1 st Bristol & Plymouth	\$173,943	No	Yes
8.	Nicholas Collins, S. Boston**	1 st Suffolk	\$159,830	Yes	Yes
9.	Michael Barrett, Lexington	3 rd Middlesex	\$154,447	No	Yes
10.	Sonia Chang-Diaz, Boston	2 nd Suffolk	\$153,405	Yes	Yes

Note: All 10 are incumbents

**Collins ran for the seat in a special election in early 2018, starting the calendar year with \$130,920. The \$159,830 figure was his starting balance as of May 21, 2018, after the special election.

Fourteen of 76 Senate candidates reported starting balances of more than \$100,000.

The incumbents with the smallest starting balances in 2018 were Joseph Angelo Boncore of Winthrop (\$7,158); Adam Gray Hinds of Pittsfield (\$10,223); and Dean Tran on Fitchburg (\$10,708).

VI. Most Active Candidates and Races

SENATE RACES WITH THE HIGHEST EXPENDITURES IN 2018

	<i>District</i>	<i>Total spent</i>	<i>Number of candidates</i>	<i>Winner</i>
1.	2 nd Essex and Middlesex (O)	\$424,833	4	Barry Finegold
2.	1 st Middlesex (O)	\$396,725	6	Edward Kennedy
3.	Cape and Islands	\$383,247	2	Julian Andre Cyr
4.	Middlesex and Worcester	\$351,423	3	James Eldridge
5.	5 th Middlesex	\$283,578	3	Jason Lewis
6.	1 st Suffolk*	\$247,876	2	Nicholas Collins*
7.	2 nd Middlesex and Norfolk	\$245,300	1	Karen Spilka
8.	Hampshire, Franklin and Worcester (O)	\$244,266	6	Joanne Comerford
9.	Worcester and Middlesex	\$207,788	2	Dean Tran
10.	Bristol and Norfolk	\$200,897	2	Paul Feeny

O=Open seat

*A special election for this seat took place in early 2018. Financial activity for the special election is not included in this report.

The highest amount ever spent for a Senate race was \$809,637 in 2002, when three candidates were vying for an open seat in the Middlesex, Suffolk and Essex District. The winner was Jarrett Barrios of Cambridge.

The least expensive contested Senate race in 2018 was in the 2nd Suffolk District, where incumbent and winner Sonia Chang-Diaz of Boston reported \$8,593 in expenditures. A challenger, Claudette Joseph, reported \$770 in expenditures.

TOP FUNDRAISERS

The top fundraiser in 2018 was Barry Finegold of Andover, who reported \$458,009 in receipts. He had three opponents for the open seat. Finegold was not an incumbent, but had previously been a senator.

TOP FUNDRAISERS BY YEAR

2018	Barry Finegold of Andover	\$458,009
2016	Stanley Rosenberg of Amherst	\$427,811
2014	Eric Lesser of Longmeadow	\$416,894
2012	Therese Murray of Plymouth	\$475,095
2010	Daniel Wolf of Harwich	\$363,856
2008	Therese Murray of Plymouth	\$360,158
2006	Robert Travaglini of East Boston	\$337,658

The highest amount ever raised by any Senate candidate in an election year was \$1.358 million in 2000 by Thomas Birmingham, who ran unopposed. Murray raised \$475,095 in 2012, the highest amount ever raised by an opposed Senate candidate in an election year.

SENATE CANDIDATES RAISING THE MOST MONEY IN 2018

	Candidate	City or Town	Receipts	Opposed	Winner
1.	Barry Finegold	Andover	\$458,009	Yes	Yes
2.	Karen Spilka (I)	Ashland	\$349,555	No	Yes
3.	Julian Andre Cyr (I)	Truro	\$276,648	Yes	Yes
4.	Eric Phillip Lesser (I)	Longmeadow	\$203,198	No	Yes
5.	James Eldridge (I)	Acton	\$178,000	Yes	Yes
6.	Joseph Angelo Boncore (I)	Winthrop	\$159,074	No	Yes
7.	Joanne Comerford	Florence	\$146,074	Yes	Yes
8.	Paul Feeney (I)	Foxborough	\$145,748	Yes	Yes
9.	Diana Dizoglio	Methuen	\$139,796	Yes	Yes
10.	Rebecca Lynne Rausch	Needham	\$122,902	Yes	Yes

I = Incumbent

Note: All are Democrats

The winning candidate who raised the least in 2018 was Cynthia Creem of Quincy, who reported \$6,085 in receipts. She was unopposed in 2018.

The winning candidate who raised the least in 2016 was opposed incumbent Richard Ross with \$11,555 in receipts. In 2014 the winning candidate who raised the least was unopposed incumbent Cynthia Creem, who reported \$736 in receipts.

TOP EXPENDITURE TOTALS

Barry Finegold of Andover topped the expenditure list in 2018 with \$357,469. Finegold was not an incumbent, but was a previous senator who returned to the Senate in 2018.

TOP EXPENDITURE TOTALS BY YEAR

2018	Barry Finegold of Andover	\$357,469
2016	Walter Timilty of Milton	\$354,137
2014	Eric Lesser of Longmeadow	\$405,573
2012	Therese Murray of Plymouth	\$513,164*
2010	Therese Murray of Plymouth	\$451,582
2008	Therese Murray of Plymouth	\$397,331

*Record

Senate President Therese Murray of Plymouth topped the expenditure list in 2012 with \$513,164, the highest total ever recorded for a Senate candidate.

Expenditures were reported by all but one Senate candidate, Jesus Rosa of Dorchester. He was unsuccessful.

The opposed candidate who spent the least and won was incumbent Sonia Chang Diaz of Boston, who reported \$8,593 in expenditures in 2018. Chang Diaz also reported the fewest expenditures in 2016, \$9,351.

SENATE CANDIDATES WITH THE HIGHEST EXPENDITURE TOTALS IN 2018

	Candidate	City or Town	Expenditures	Opposed	Elected
1.	Barry Finegold	Andover	\$357,469	Yes	Yes
2.	Julian Andre Cyr (I)	Truro	\$290,493	Yes	Yes
3.	Nicholas Collins (I)	Boston	\$247,876	Yes	Yes
4.	Karen Spilka (I)	Ashland	\$245,300	No	Yes
5.	Jason Lewis (I)	Winchester	\$203,267	Yes	Yes
6.	Margaret Woolley Busse	Acton	\$195,029	Yes	No
7.	Paul Feeney (I)	Foxborough	\$156,742	Yes	Yes
8.	James Eldridge (I)	Acton	\$156,267	Yes	Yes
9.	Rebecca Lynne Rausch	Needham	\$146,051	Yes	Yes
10.	Joanne Comerford	Florence	\$133,861	Yes	Yes

I = Incumbent

Note: All candidates are Democrats, except Busse, who is a Republican.

Note: Collins also appeared in a special election in 2018. Activity from the special election is not included in this report.

The record amount spent by all Senate candidates was \$7,620,649 in 2004. The 2018 total was \$5,040,313.

VII. Ending Balances

Candidates for the Senate reported ending 2018 with \$4,399,221.² The record high of \$4.9 million was posted in 2000.

² This ending balance may not correspond exactly with the aggregate starting balance, total receipts and total expenditures due to inconsistencies or errors in candidates' reports that are addressed during the OCPF audit process.

The candidate with the greatest amount of money on hand at the end of 2018 was Mark Montigny of New Bedford with a total of \$890,085. He also led in 2016 with \$948,957. The record of \$2.2 million was held by Senate President Thomas Birmingham in 2000.

As was the case in every election year since 1998, the candidates with the ten highest ending balances in 2018 were all incumbents.

**SENATE CANDIDATES WITH
THE HIGHEST ENDING BALANCES
2018**

	Candidate*	District	Balance	Opposed	Winner
1.	Mark Montigny – D	2 nd Bristol and Plymouth	\$890,085	No	Yes
2.	Bruce Tarr – R	1 st Essex and Middlesex	\$403,319	No	Yes
3.	Karen Spilka – D	2 nd Middlesex and Norfolk	\$399,019	No	Yes
4.	Eric Phillip Lesser – D	1 st Hampden and Hampshire	\$313,767	No	Yes
5.	Ryan Fattman – R	Worcester and Norfolk	\$238,550	Yes	Yes
6.	Michael Rodrigues – D	1 st Bristol and Plymouth	\$199,812	No	Yes
7.	Harriette Chandler – D	1 st Worcester	\$199,656	No	Yes
8.	Sonia Chang-Diaz – D	2 nd Suffolk	\$185,419	Yes	Yes
9.	Michael Barrett – D	3 rd Middlesex	\$145,442	No	Yes
10.	William Brownsberger - D	2 nd Suffolk and Middlesex	\$141,695	No	Yes

*All 10 are incumbents

Eleven Senate candidates reported having no money (or negative balances) at the end of the election year, an increase of two from 2016.

A table of campaign finance activity by all Senate candidates is available on the OCPF website by clicking this link: [click here](#).

SECTION II: THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The number of state representative candidates increased from 268 in 2016 to 301 in 2018, an increase of 33.

One record was broken in 2018. Candidates for state representative had a total of \$6,838,559 on hand at the start of 2018. The previous record of \$6,703,525 was recorded in 2008.

A total of 301 candidates sought election to the House in 2018 – 217 Democrats, 66 Republicans and 18 unenrolled or another party. The largest number of House candidates recorded in an OCPF study was 401 in 1990.

A total of 140 incumbents ran for re-election in 2018, down from 150 in 2016. Incumbents reported spending, on average, \$38,966 in 2018 compared to \$26,308 for non-incumbents.

The new House that took office in January 2019 was composed of 24 new representatives.

OVERVIEW OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE ACTIVITY FOR HOUSE CANDIDATES

	2012	2014	2016	2018
<i>Number of candidates</i>	274	297	268	301
<i>Total cash on hand at start</i>	\$5,631,363	\$4,943,309	\$6,145,532	\$6,838,559
<i>Total receipts</i>	\$7,146,193	\$7,912,723	\$8,251,605	\$9,588,925
<i>Average receipts per candidate</i>	\$26,080	\$26,642	\$30,789	\$31,856
<i>Total expenditures</i>	\$7,340,769	\$8,077,891	\$7,738,573	\$9,689,456
<i>Average expenditures per candidate</i>	\$26,791	\$27,198	\$28,875	\$32,190
<i>Total on hand at end</i>	\$5,428,552	\$4,763,029	\$6,658,564	\$6,744,387

Expenditures do not include debts incurred that had not been paid.

Total receipts increased in 2018, from \$8.3 million in 2016 to \$9.6 million. Expenditures also increased, from \$7.7 million in 2016 to \$9.7 million in 2018.

The findings in greater detail:

I. Winners vs. Losers

Winning candidates comprised 53 percent of the field and accounted for 68 percent of spending.

**HOUSE CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
BY SUCCESS OF CAMPAIGNS
2018**

	<i>Successful (160)</i>	<i>Unsuccessful (141)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$6,659,507	\$2,929,418
<i>Average Receipts</i>	\$41,621	\$20,776
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$6,585,492	\$3,103,964
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$41,159	\$22,013

The average expenditure totals for winning candidates, \$41,159, was a 10 percent increase from the \$36,972 average in 2016.

Average Election-Year Expenditures for Winning House Candidates

2018	\$41,159
2016	\$36,972
2014	\$36,545
2012	\$33,583
2010	\$39,621
2008	\$40,233
2006	\$35,038
2004	\$45,133

Twenty-four new state representatives took office in January, 2019:

Candidate	City/Town
Blais, Natalie	Sunderland
Capano, Pete	Lynn
Carey, Daniel	Easthampton
Ciccolo, Michelle	Lexington
Devers, Marcos	Lawrence
Domb, Mindy	Amherst
Elugardo, Nika Carlene	Jamaica Plain
Gouveia, Tami	Acton
Haggerty, Richard	Woburn
Hendricks, Christopher	New Bedford
Kearney, Patrick	Scituate
LaNatra, Kathleen	Kingston
LeBoeuf, David Henry Argosky	Worcester
Minicucci, Christina	North Andover
Miranda, Elizabeth	Dorchester
Nguyen, Tram	Andover

Orrall, Norman	Lakeville
Robertson, David	Tewksbury
Robinson, Maria	Framingham
Sabadosa, Lindsay	Florence
Santiago, Jon	Boston
Soter, Michael	Bellingham
Sullivan, Alyson	Abington
Vitolo, Thomas	Brookline

As of Dec. 31, 2018, the average ending balance for the 160 winners was \$40,723, nearly the same as two years earlier (\$40,848). The average ending balance for unsuccessful candidates was \$1,621 in 2018.

Fifteen candidates were outspent in 2018 but still won their races. The total was nine in 2016.

Winning candidates who were outspent by at least one other candidate in 2018

<i>Michelle Dubois</i>	<i>Brockton</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Angelo Scaccia</i>	<i>Readville</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Nika Carlene Elugardo</i>	<i>Jamaica Plain</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Non-Incumbent</i>
<i>Rady Mom</i>	<i>Lowell</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>William Crocker</i>	<i>Centerville</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>James Hawkins</i>	<i>Attleboro</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Incumbent*</i>
<i>Leonard Mirra</i>	<i>W. Newbury</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Brian Ashe</i>	<i>Longmeadow</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Daniel Carey</i>	<i>Easthampton</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Non-Incumbent</i>
<i>Susan Gifford</i>	<i>Wareham</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Brad Hill</i>	<i>Ipswich</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>David DeCoste</i>	<i>Norwell</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Donald Berthiaume</i>	<i>Spencer</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Incumbent</i>
<i>Alyson Sullivan</i>	<i>Abington</i>	<i>Republican</i>	<i>Non-Incumbent</i>
<i>Jon Santiago</i>	<i>Boston</i>	<i>Democrat</i>	<i>Non-Incumbent</i>

**Hawkins initially won the seat in a special election in April, 2018.*

II. Incumbents vs. Challengers

The 140 incumbents seeking re-election made up 57 percent of receipts and 56 percent of expenditures in 2018. In 2016, 150 incumbents seeking re-election made up 72 percent of receipts and 70 percent of expenditures. In 2014, 142 incumbents made up 62 percent of receipts and 63 percent of expenditures.

Incumbents, on average, reported expenditures of \$38,956 in 2018, an increase from the 2016 average of \$35,877. It was \$35,985 in 2014.

For non-incumbents, the expenditure average was \$26,308 in 2018, up from \$19,974 in 2016.

**HOUSE CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES
BY INCUMBENCY
2018**

	<i>Incumbents (140)</i>	<i>Non-Incumbents (161)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$5,438,445	\$4,150,480
<i>Average Receipts</i>	\$38,846	\$25,779
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$5,453,857	\$4,235,599
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$38,956	\$26,308

On average, incumbents started the 2018 election year with \$46,189, compared to \$2,310 for non-incumbents.

The 2018 election saw four incumbent representatives lose their bids for re-election, (Robert Koczera of New Bedford, James Lyons of Andover, Byron Rushing of Boston and Jeffrey Sanchez of Boston). Two incumbent representatives lost their bids for re-election in 2016.

One House incumbent, Solomon Goldstein-Rose, dropped out of the race prior to the election but his name still appeared on the ballot.

Historically, many expenditures made by incumbents, both unopposed and opposed, are not necessarily related *directly* to their campaigns (such as bumper stickers or advertisements), but were geared toward constituent or legislative expenses. The campaign finance law allows campaign funds to be used for expenditures such as maintaining a district office, charitable contributions and official or political travel.

III. Party Affiliation

Democrats were the dominant party in terms of receipts and expenditures in 2018. The 217 Democrats represented 72 percent of the candidates and 80 percent of all expenditures. In 2016, 187 Democrats represented 70 percent of the candidates and 78 percent of all expenditures.

The 66 Republicans running in 2018 (55 in 2016) made up 22 percent of the candidate roster and 16.6 percent of the total expenditures.

Average expenditures for Democrats in 2018 increased to \$35,921 from the 2016 average of \$32,189. Republicans spent \$27,491 on average, down from \$28,421 in 2016.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY PARTY AFFILIATION 2018

	<i>Democrats (217)</i>	<i>Republicans (66)</i>	<i>Unenrolled or minor party (18)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$7,892,588	\$1,616,496	\$79,840
<i>Average Receipts</i>	\$36,371	\$24,492	\$4,435
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$7,794,884	\$1,814,436	\$80,136
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$35,921	\$27,491	\$4,452

On average, Democrats started the 2018 election year with a balance of \$25,963. Republicans started with \$18,077, on average.

Of the 18 unenrolled or minor party candidates, one won her election – Susannah Whipps of Athol.

IV. Contested and Uncontested Races

There were 80 House races in 2018 that featured unopposed candidates, down from 98 in 2016. The 102 unopposed races in 2008 was the highest number recorded since OCPF began studying legislative campaign finance activity in 1990.

The remaining 80 races in 2018 were contested, featuring two or more candidates.¹

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY HOUSE CANDIDATES OPPOSED AND UNOPPOSED 2018

	<i>Opposed (221)</i>	<i>Unopposed (80)</i>
<i>Total Receipts</i>	\$6,816,189	\$2,772,736
<i>Average receipts</i>	\$30,842	\$34,659
<i>Total Expenditures</i>	\$7,315,504	\$2,373,952
<i>Average Expenditures</i>	\$33,101	\$29,674

¹ This study considered a race contested if there were two or more candidates for the seat, regardless of the outcome or the level of campaign finance activity.

CONTESTED SEATS

Candidates who were opposed in 2018 outspent unopposed candidates as a group.

In the 80 contested House races in 2018, the candidate who spent the most money won 65 times, a success rate of 81 percent. In 2016, there were 62 contested House races and the candidate who spent the most money won 53 times, a success rate of 85 percent.

***OPEN SEATS IN 2018**

In 2018, 20 house seats were open (no incumbent). In 2016, there were 10 open seats.

The most expensive race for an open seat was in the 15th Middlesex District, where five candidates reported \$237,117 in spending, an average of \$47,423. The winner, Michelle Ciccolo of Lexington, reported \$124,211 in expenditures.

<i>District</i>	<i>Previous incumbent</i>	<i>Winner</i>
1 st Franklin	Stephen Kulik	Natalie Blais, Sunderland
11 th Essex	Brendan Crighton**	Pete Capano, Lynn
2 nd Hampshire	John Scibak	Daniel Carey, Easthampton
15 th Middlesex	Jay Kaufman	Michelle Ciccolo, Lexington
16 th Essex	Juana Matias	Marcos Devers, Lawrence
3 rd Hampshire	Solomon Goldstein Rose***	Mindy Domb, Amherst
14 th Middlesex	Cory Atkins	Tami Gouveia, Acton
30 th Middlesex	James Dwyer	Richard Haggerty, Woburn
4 th Plymouth	James Cantwell	Patrick Kearney, Scituate
12 th Plymouth	Thomas Calter	Kathleen LaNatra, Kingston
17 th Worcester	Kate Campanale	David Argosky LeBoeuf, Worcester
14 th Essex	Diana DiZoglio**	Christina Minicucci, North Andover
5 th Suffolk	Evandro Carvalho	Elizabeth Miranda, Dorchester
12 th Bristol	Keiko Orrall	Norman Orrall, Lakeville
19 th Middlesex	James Miceli	David Robertson, Tewksbury
6 th Middlesex	Chris Walsh	Maria Robinson, Framingham
1 st Hampshire	Peter Kocot	Lindsay Sabadosa, Florence
8 th Worcester	Kevin Kuros	Michael Soter, Bellingham
7 th Plymouth	Geoff Diehl	Alyson Sullivan, Abington
15 th Norfolk	Frank Smizik	Thomas Vitolo, Brookline

*An open seat is when there's no incumbent

**Moved to the Senate

***Goldstein Rose dropped from the race, but his name still appeared on the ballot.

V. Starting Balances

Candidates for state representative had a total of \$6,838,559 on hand at the start of 2018, a new record. The previous record of \$6,703,525 was recorded in 2008.

A head start in fundraising is often accompanied by success at the polls – of the total amount on hand at the start of 2018, 94 percent was held by eventual winners.

Starting Balances

Total amount of money held by eventual winners at the start of an election year:

2018:	94 percent held by winners
2016:	98 percent held by winners
2014:	94 percent held by winners
2012:	95 percent held by winners
2010:	94 percent held by winners

The largest starting balance in 2018 belonged to House Speaker Robert DeLeo of Winthrop, with \$550,684. Brian Dempsey of Haverhill started 2016 with the highest balance, \$419,648. The largest starting balances in 2008, 2010, 2012 and 2014 belonged to incumbent Thomas Petrolati of Ludlow.

HOUSE CANDIDATES WITH HIGHEST STARTING BALANCES 2018

	Candidate	Balance	Opposed	Elected
1.	Robert DeLeo, Winthrop	\$550,684	No	Yes
2.	Thomas Petrolati, Ludlow	\$405,123	No	Yes
3.	Ronald Mariano, Quincy	\$354,519	Yes	Yes
4.	Aaron Michlewitz, Boston	\$283,711	No	Yes
5.	Angelo Puppolo, Springfield	\$210,323	Yes	Yes
6.	Bradley Jones, North Reading	\$193,221	No	Yes
7.	Tackey Chan, Quincy	\$170,768	Yes	Yes
8.	Paul Schmid, Westport	\$137,531	No	Yes
9.	Thomas Golden, Lowell	\$132,583	No	Yes
10.	Bruce Ayers, Quincy	\$117,653	No	Yes

Note: All 10 are incumbents

Note: All are Democrats, except Bradley Jones, a Republican

Fifteen candidates started 2018 with \$100,000 or more, and all were incumbents.

The average starting balance for all 301 House candidates was \$22,719. The average was \$22,931 in 2016.

A total of 94 candidates started the year with no money on hand. Thirteen of those candidates won their races.

House Candidates Who Started the Election Year with a Zero Balance and Won

<i>Year</i>	<i>Zero Balance</i>	<i>Won</i>
2018:	94	13
2016:	74	7
2014:	82	7
2012:	76	10
2010:	131	20
2008:	67	1

VI. Most Active Candidates and Races

While 80 of the 160 seats in the House were contested in the 2018 election, each election varied in factors such as the level of competition and campaign finance activity.

Thirty-one races featured total expenditures that exceeded \$100,000, 14 more than in 2016.

The most expensive House race was in the 15th Suffolk District, where challenger Nika Carlene Elugardo defeated the incumbent, Jeffrey Sanchez.

**HOUSE RACES WITH THE HIGHEST EXPENDITURE TOTALS
2018**

	District	Total spent	Number of candidates	Winner
1.	15 th Suffolk	\$522,482	2	Nika Carlene Elugardo*
2.	19 th Suffolk	\$386,834	1	Robert DeLeo (I)
3.	18 th Essex	\$298,678	2	Tram Nguyen*
4.	15 th Middlesex	\$237,117	5	Michelle Ciccolo (O)
5.	2 nd Barnstable	\$230,335	2	William Crocker (I)
6.	4 th Plymouth	\$212,108	6	Patrick Kearney (O)
7.	4 th Essex	\$176,685	2	Bradford Hill (I)
8.	11 th Essex	\$161,251	3	Pete Capano (O)
9.	15 th Norfolk	\$146,999	2	Thomas Vitolo (O)
10.	13 th Norfolk	\$144,444	2	Denise Garlick (I)

O=Open seat. I = Incumbent. *Defeated an incumbent

Least Expensive Contested Elections

Year	District	Winner	Race Total
2018	1 st Worcester	Kimberly Ferguson, Holden	\$14,305
2016	2 nd Hampden	Brian Ashe, Longmeadow	\$7,451
2014	2 nd Essex	Leonard Mirra, W. Newbury	\$10,790
2012	9 th Hampden	Sean Curran, Springfield	\$5,395

In 2018, the least expensive contested election was in the 1st Worcester District, where two candidates reported expenditures of \$14,305 (incumbent Kimberly Ferguson was the winner).

TOP FUNDRAISERS AND SPENDERS

House Speaker Robert DeLeo of Winthrop topped the fundraising list, raising \$510,814 in 2018. DeLeo set the fundraising record in 2016, with \$569,200.

Three House candidates reported no receipts in 2018.

HOUSE CANDIDATES RAISING THE MOST MONEY IN 2018

	Candidate	City/Town	Total	Opposed	Elected
1.	Robert DeLeo (I)	Winthrop	\$510,814	No	Yes
2.	Jeffrey Sanchez (I)	Jamaica Plain	\$285,479	Yes	No
3.	Aaron Michlewitz (I)	Boston	\$192,627	No	Yes
4.	Tram Nguyen	Andover	\$173,477	Yes	Yes
5.	Ronald Mariano (I)	Quincy	\$170,110	Yes	Yes
6.	Nika Carlene Elugardo	Jamaica Plain	\$130,161	Yes	Yes
7.	Patrick Kearney	Scituate	\$127,877	Yes	Yes
8.	Paul Cusack	Osterville	\$121,108	No	No
9.	Joseph Wagner (I)	Chicopee	\$109,631	No	Yes
10.	Adrian Madaro (I)	East Boston	\$108,455	No	Yes

I = Incumbent.

Note: All 10 are Democrats

TOP FUNDRAISERS BY YEAR

2018	Robert DeLeo of Winthrop	\$510,814
2016	Robert DeLeo of Winthrop	\$569,200*
2014	Robert DeLeo of Winthrop	\$465,281
2012	Robert DeLeo of Winthrop	\$383,340
2010	Robert DeLeo of Winthrop	\$462,596
2008	Salvatore DiMasi of Boston	\$312,174
2006	Salvatore DiMasi of Boston	\$353,202

*Record

Total receipts do not include in-kind contributions, which are things of value other than money. House candidates reported a total of \$1,200,143 in in-kind receipts in 2018, up from \$653,852 in 2016. The 2014 total was \$802,882.

HIGHEST IN-KIND TOTALS: 2018

James Lyons, Andover (R)	\$110,317	Lost
William Croker, Centerville (R)	\$47,031	Won
Paul Cusack, Osterville (D)	\$46,706	Lost
Susan Williams Gifford, Wareham (R)	\$42,859	Won
Sandra Slattery Biagetti, Hopedale (R)	\$42,358	Lost
Mathew Muratore, Plymouth (R)	\$42,095	Won
Patrick Casey, Franklin (R)	\$39,811	Lost
Alyson Sullivan, Abington (R)	\$38,690	Won
Kristen Gail Arute, Accord (R)	\$38,393	Lost
Allison Werder, Longmeadow (R)	\$36,592	Lost

**HOUSE CANDIDATES WITH THE HIGHEST EXPENDITURE
TOTALS IN 2018**

	Candidate	City/Town	Total	Opposed	Elected
1.	Robert DeLeo (I) (D)	Winthrop	\$386,834	No	Yes
2.	Jeffrey Sanchez (I) (D)	Jamaica Plain	\$375,812	Yes	No
3.	Tram Nguyen (D)	Andover	\$171,513	Yes	Yes
4.	Nika Carlene Elugardo (D)	Jamaica Plain	\$146,669	Yes	Yes
5.	Denise Garlick (I) (D)	Needham	\$131,905	Yes	Yes
6.	Allison Gustavson (D)	Manchester	\$129,557	Yes	No
7.	James Lyons (I) (R)	Andover	\$127,164	Yes	No
8.	Ronald Mariano (I) (D)	Quincy	\$125,899	Yes	Yes
9.	Aaron Michlewitz (I) (D)	Boston	\$124,738	No	Yes
10.	Michelle Ciccolo (D)	Lexington	\$124,211	Yes	Yes

I = Incumbent

D=Democrat R=Republican

House Speaker Robert DeLeo reported the highest expenditure total in 2018 at \$386,834. The second highest expenditure total in 2018 was reported by Jeffrey Sanchez, an incumbent who lost to his challenger.

DeLeo holds the spending record, \$537,357, set in 2014. The previous record of \$526,808 was set in 2012 by DeLeo.

Three candidates reported no expenditures in 2018, and none were successful.

VII. Ending Balances

Candidates for the House in 2018 reported a total ending balance of \$6,744,387, and increase from 2016's \$6,643,984.

House Speaker Robert DeLeo of Winthrop posted the highest ending balance in 2018, \$674,665. In 2016, the highest ending balance was reported by Brian Dempsey of Haverhill, with \$528,168.

A total of 32 candidates reported no money on hand or negative account balances at the end of 2018. Of those, there were two incumbents – one of whom won her election, Danielle Gregoire of Marlborough.

HOUSE CANDIDATES WITH THE HIGHEST ENDING BALANCES (2018)

	Candidate	City/Town	Balance	Opposed	Elected
1.	Robert DeLeo (D)	Winthrop	\$674,665	No	Yes
2.	Ronald Mariano (D)	Quincy	\$398,730	Yes	Yes
3.	Thomas Petrolati (D)	Ludlow	\$388,661	No	Yes
4.	Aaron Michlewitz (D)	Boston	\$351,599	No	Yes
5.	Angelo Puppolo (D)	Springfield	\$207,988	Yes	Yes
6.	Bradley Jones (R)	North Reading	\$203,353	No	Yes
7.	Tackey Chan (D)	Quincy	\$191,249	Yes	Yes
8.	Paul Schmid (D)	Westport	\$147,480	No	Yes
9.	Paul Donato (D)	Medford	\$132,954	No	Yes
10.	Thomas Golden (D)	Lowell	\$129,505	No	Yes

D = Democrat R = Republican

Note: All are incumbents

A table of campaign finance activity by all House candidates is available by [clicking here](#).