



## AN APPLE FROM THE TEACHERS

### TEACHERS' UNIONS GIVE LESSONS ON CONTRIBUTING AT THE STATE LEVEL

By

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## OVERVIEW

Teachers' unions went to the head of the class when making political contributions in some states. From 2003 through 2007, teachers' unions across the country gave over \$55 million to state-level candidate and political party committees. They gave an additional \$112.5 million to 107 committees that organized to defeat or promote the passage of 88 ballot measures in 22 states.

Teachers' union donations accounted for 19 percent of the money given by all organized labor, but it wasn't enough to move them to the head of the entire campaign-contribution class. Across the board, teachers' unions made up only 1 percent of the more than \$4 billion given to all candidates from all sources between 2003 and 2007; and 2 percent of what was given to political party committees.<sup>1</sup> A closer look at those contributions reveals that:

- More than one-third of the \$55 million came from teachers' unions in California and Illinois, at \$10.5 million and \$8 million respectively.
- The two international unions — National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT) — and their affiliates gave 96 percent or almost \$53 million. NEA unions gave \$37.7 million, \$12.6 million came from AFT unions, and \$2.6 million came from unions affiliated with both national organizations.
- California candidates and party committees got almost one-fifth (\$10.4 million) of the \$55 million, with \$7.3 million of that coming from the California Teachers Association, an NEA affiliate.<sup>2</sup>
- Nearly 8 of every 10 dollars was given in 13 states that received \$1 million or more.
- Nearly 97 percent of the money given — \$53 million — came from the home state of that union. Only \$25,300 came from out of state and almost \$1.8 million from the international unions located in the District of Columbia.
- Almost \$36 million went to candidate committees, with the lion's share going to legislative candidates who received \$29.7 million — 83 percent of the \$36 million.
- The top 10 of the more than 600 contributing unions accounted for 55 percent of the total. They gave \$30 million: \$19 million to candidates and \$11 million to political party committees.
- Incumbent legislators received \$21 million of the \$29.7 million given to legislative candidate committees.

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A for a complete listing of state-by-state contributions by teachers' unions as a part of the total contributions in that state.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B for a complete state-by-state listing of all teachers' union contributions to candidate committees, political party committees and ballot measure committees.

## METHODOLOGY

The National Institute on Money in State Politics analyzed campaign contributions made between 2003 and 2007 by local, state and national teachers' unions in each of the 50 states. Included in the study are contributions to legislative, statewide, and gubernatorial candidate committees, as well as political party committees and ballot measures committees.

In Maryland and New Jersey, candidates join together to form "slate committees." Contributions to those committees totaled \$38.6 million between 2003 and 2007; teachers' unions accounted for only \$112,875 of the \$1.8 million given by all organized labor. These figures are included in the legislative committee analysis.

Contributions from individuals were not included.

## TEACHERS' UNIONS AND BALLOT MEASURES

Between 2003 and 2007, teachers' unions gave \$112.5 million to 107 ballot measure committees to influence the outcome of ballot measures in 22 states. California unions outpaced all others, accounting for 74 percent (\$83 million) of the money given to ballot measure committees across the country.

While the 88 ballot measures of interest to teachers' unions covered a wide spectrum of issues, the largest portion, \$40 million, went to ballot measures directly related to education issues. Nearly one-half of that went to measures advocating for K-12 funding. \$24 million was given to committees to support measures related to health care. \$20 million was spent to oppose tax and spend limits, and another \$15 million went to oppose government regulations on the use of public employees' union dues in political campaigns.

How does the money measure up to the ultimate outcome of the ballot measures? Where the teachers' unions opposed measures that failed, they spent \$50 million. Compare that to \$3.7 million spent to oppose measures that passed. They gave \$17.8 million to support a measure that passed; measures they supported that failed cost \$39 million.

The two international unions, National Education Association (NEA) and American Federation of Teachers (AFT), gave a combined \$14.6 million, with the bulk (\$13 million) given by NEA.

Teachers' unions giving across state lines to influence the outcome of ballot measures in other states gave \$362,885 representing 28 states — \$150,000 came from California. The beneficiaries of the \$362,885 were in four states: California \$104,628; Idaho \$98,750; Nevada \$50,000; and Utah \$109,507.

California unions accounted for 74 percent (\$83 million) of the money given to ballot measure committees across the country

**TOP CONTRIBUTING TEACHERS' UNIONS TO BALLOT  
MEASURE COMMITTEES, 2003-2007**

<b>TEACHERS' UNION</b>	<b>INTERNATIONAL</b>	<b>BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES</b>
California Teachers Association	NEA	\$73,620,721
National Education Association*	NEA	\$13,264,797
Utah Education Association	NEA	\$3,080,540
California Federation of Teachers	AFT	\$6,331,511
Education Minnesota	NEA, AFT	\$2,510,121
Washington Education Association	NEA	\$2,331,878
Oregon Education Association	NEA	\$1,502,164
American Federation of Teachers*	AFT	\$1,335,500
California Faculty Association	SEIU, AAUP, NEA	\$1,164,815
Idaho Education Association	NEA	\$1,072,163
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$106,214,210</b>

\* International teachers' union headquartered in Washington, D.C.

## TOP CONTRIBUTING STATE-LEVEL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS

Thirteen state-level teachers' associations in 11 states account for 62 percent (\$34 million) of the money attributed to teachers' unions. The NEA, AFT, the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) or the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) favored legislative candidates with \$17.5 million; \$13.1 million of that went to incumbent legislators.

### TOP CONTRIBUTING STATE LEVEL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS 2003-2007

ASSOCIATION	INT'L	CANDIDATES	POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
California Teachers Association	NEA	\$1,825,080	\$5,436,500	\$7,261,580
Illinois Education Association	NEA	\$3,828,513	\$1,968	\$3,830,481
New York State United Teachers	AFT, NEA	\$1,228,308	\$2,403,750	\$3,632,058
Alabama Education Association	NEA	\$2,599,912	\$869,929	\$3,469,841
Pennsylvania State Education Association	NEA	\$1,967,113	\$599,771	\$2,566,884
Illinois Federation of Teachers	AFT	\$2,230,361	\$154,000	\$2,384,361
Indiana State Teachers Association	NEA	\$2,049,000	\$35,700	\$2,084,700
Oregon Education Association	NEA	\$1,696,056	\$76,000	\$1,772,056
Michigan Education Association	NEA	\$637,461	\$1,088,958	\$1,726,419
Ohio Education Association	NEA	\$815,100	\$797,000	\$1,612,100
New Jersey Education Association	NEA	\$1,058,955	\$326,952	\$1,385,907
California Faculty Association	SEIU AAUP, NEA	\$911,130	\$349,850	\$1,260,980
Education Minnesota	NEA, AFT	\$90,717	\$990,625	\$1,081,342
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$20,937,706</b>	<b>\$13,131,003</b>	<b>\$34,068,709</b>

## TEACHERS' UNIONS AND CANDIDATE AND PARTY COMMITTEES

Legislative races garnered the most money from teachers' unions in every election cycle. Legislative candidates received 54 percent of the contributions given between 2003 and 2007, but showed a modest increase from 2004 to 2006 of 37 percent.

Political party committees received 35 percent of the \$55 million given between 2003 and 2007. Far and away, the largest portion went to the California Democratic Party that got \$6.5 million. The California Teachers Association accounts for \$5.4 million of the \$6.5 million. The next largest sum went to the Michigan Democratic Party at \$894,083. The contributions to party committees in 2006 increased by one and on-half times the 2004 total, or increased to two and one-half times the 2004 total.

Campaign contributions to gubernatorial campaigns took a big jump in 2006 — a non-presidential election year when typically there is more money available because no presidential campaigns are competing for the funds. In a handful of states, where odd-year elections<sup>3</sup> are held, the totals remained relatively constant. In 2003, California held a special recall election and teachers' unions gave \$80,210 to Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante's unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign.

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**TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS BY RECIPIENT  
2003-2007**

YEAR	LEGISLATIVE	GOV/LT GOV	STATEWIDE	PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
2003	\$555,875	\$135,960	\$23,250	\$303,918	\$1,019,003
2004	\$11,763,356	\$529,025	\$619,856	\$5,138,682	\$18,050,919
2005	\$531,008	\$51,659	\$34,225	\$271,671	\$888,563
2006	\$16,139,004	\$2,878,770	\$1,754,052	\$13,316,384	\$34,088,210
2007	\$736,505	\$35,500	\$25,450	\$320,725	\$1,118,180
	<b>\$29,725,748</b>	<b>\$3,630,914</b>	<b>\$2,456,833</b>	<b>\$19,351,380</b>	<b>\$55,164,875</b>

<sup>3</sup> Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia hold all elections in odd-numbered years with the exception of Kentucky, where the legislature is elected in even years.

The teachers' international unions headquartered in Washington D.C. and their state and local affiliates gave nearly \$53 million to candidates and party committees between 2003 and 2007 — \$34 million of which went to candidate committees. These unions are responsible for 96 percent of the \$55 million given by all teachers' unions.

The internationals gave for \$1.8 million — \$1.4 million went to political party committees and \$327,850 to candidate committees. The bulk of the \$1.8 million came from the NEA that gave \$1 million — the rest came from AFT. Only \$5,000 (from NEA) went to Republicans — \$2,500 each to the state Republican parties in Delaware and Maine.

**NATIONAL, STATE AND LOCAL AFFILIATES, 2003-2007**

<b>UNION</b>	<b>CANDIDATES</b>	<b>PARTY COMMITTEES</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
National Education Association (NEA)	\$24,711,288	\$13,032,489	\$37,743,777
American Federation of Teachers (AFT)	\$8,599,049	\$4,044,999	\$12,644,048
NEA-AFT *	\$644,702	\$1,946,683	\$2,591,385
	<b>\$33,955,039</b>	<b>\$19,024,171</b>	<b>\$52,979,210</b>

A number of state and local NEA and AFT unions have joined forces and are affiliates of both organizations.



## A CLOSER LOOK AT THE \$1 MILLION-PLUS STATES

Across the board, teachers' union contributions represent a small percentage of all money given to candidates or political party committees — their contributions account for 3 percent or less of campaign contributions in every state. In fact, 40 states received only 1 percent or less of their overall total from teachers. Alabama, Illinois and Oregon are the only states in which teachers' contributions account for 3 percent of the overall total contributions and each received in excess of \$1 million.<sup>4</sup>

Nearly four out of every five dollars was given in just 13 states that received \$1 million or more

The major portion — nearly four out of every five dollars given — was given in just 13 states that received \$1 million or more.

### RECIPIENT STATES RECEIVING MORE THAN \$1 MILLION 2003-2007

STATE	PERCENT OF TOTAL*	CANDIDATES	PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
California	2%	\$3,944,879	\$6,540,020	\$10,484,899
Illinois	3%	\$7,642,389	\$315,368	\$7,957,757
New York	1%	\$1,317,219	\$2,618,767	\$3,935,986
Alabama	3%	\$2,601,792	\$871,179	\$3,472,971
Pennsylvania	1%	\$2,694,957	\$742,921	\$3,437,878
Indiana	2%	\$2,273,842	\$66,125	\$2,339,967
Oregon	3%	\$2,008,260	\$105,350	\$2,113,610
Ohio	1%	\$1,205,357	\$878,925	\$2,084,282
Michigan	1%	\$813,756	\$1,160,433	\$1,974,189
New Jersey	1%	\$1,151,420	\$466,607	\$1,618,027
Texas	1%	\$1,530,657	\$86,751	\$1,617,408
Minnesota	2 %	\$176,347	\$1,217,675	\$1,394,022
Florida	>1%	\$246,034	\$764,250	\$1,010,284
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1.5%</b>	<b>\$27,606,909</b>	<b>\$15,834,371</b>	<b>\$43,441,280</b>

\* from Appendix A — percent of total contributions that teachers' union contributions represent.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix A for a complete listing of state-by-state contributions by teachers' unions as a part of the total contributions in that state.

## CALIFORNIA

California Democrats were strongly favored by teachers' unions. Of the 167 legislative candidates running in California, 148 Democrats received 98 percent of the money the unions gave to legislative campaign committees.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN CALIFORNIA 2003-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Political Party Committees	\$6,519,020	\$21,000	\$6,540,020
Legislature	\$3,072,692	\$47,950	\$3,120,642
Statewide	\$387,850	\$22,200	\$410,050
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$373,321	\$0	\$373,321
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$10,352,883</b>	<b>\$91,150</b>	<b>\$10,444,033</b>

Topping the teachers' unions list of candidates were two state level campaigns. Receiving nearly a quarter of a million dollars was Democratic State Treasurer Phil Angelides. In spite of the millions of dollars Angelides poured into his own campaigns, teachers gave his state treasurer campaign and his unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign a combined \$248,961. He received more from the teachers than any other candidate during the 2004 and 2006 election cycles.

Lt. Gov. Cruz Bustamante got \$132,210. Lt. Gov. Bustamante lost his elections for state insurance commissioner in 2006 and for governor in the 2003-Gov. Gray Davis-recall election.

## ILLINOIS

Teachers' unions gave \$8 million to candidates and party committees in Illinois between 2003 and 2006 — \$6.4 million to legislative candidates. Of the \$8 million \$6.2 million came from the two state organizations — \$3.8 million from NEA affiliate, Illinois Education Association and \$2.4 million from AFT affiliation, Illinois Federation of Teachers. No money came from out-of-state sources.

Illinois Democrats got more than twice as much as Republicans — \$5.7 million compared to \$2.3 million.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN ILLINOIS, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$4,194,017	\$2,165,803	\$6,359,820
Statewide	\$605,466	\$69,110	\$674,576
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$584,494	\$23,500	\$607,994
Political Party Committees	\$275,600	\$39,768	\$315,368
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$5,659,577</b>	<b>\$2,298,181</b>	<b>\$7,957,758</b>

Overall, legislative candidates received more teachers' union money than other candidates in Illinois, but three of the top recipients, including the number one recipient, were Democratic incumbents holding statewide office — Gov. Rod R. Blagojevich, who headed the list, along with Comptroller Daniel W. Hynes and Attorney General Lisa Madigan. Gov. Blagojevich got \$561,744, Hynes got \$246,750 and Madigan received \$224,466.

With one exception, 16 lawmakers and elected officials in key positions received \$100,000 or more from the unions between 2004 and 2006. The lone exception was unsuccessful Democratic candidate, Sharyn I. Elman, who ran two unsuccessful campaigns but raised \$128,655 from Illinois teachers' unions — \$71,463 in 2006 for an open seat and \$57,191 in 2004 as a challenger.

**CANDIDATES RECEIVING MORE THAN \$100,000 FROM TEACHERS' UNION IN ILLINOIS, 2004-2006 (2004 AND 2005 LEGISLATIVE SESSIONS)**

<b>CANDIDATE (PARTY) *</b>	<b>POSITION AND SESSION</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Blagojevich, Rod. R. (D)	Governor 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$561,744
Jones Jr., Emil (D)	Senate President 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$339,650
Cross, Tom (R)	House Republican Leader 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$271,549
Hynes, Daniel W. (D)	Comptroller 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$246,750
Madigan, Lisa (D)	Attorney General 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$224,466
Smith, Michael K. (D)	House Appropriations-Elementary & Secondary Education Cmte Chair & member Elementary & Secondary Education Cmte 2004 and Elem. & Sec. Edu. Cmte Chair & member Approp-Elem. & Sec. Edu. Cmte 2005 & 2006	\$166,571
Demuzio, Deanna (D)	Senate Education Cmte member 2005 & 2006 & Vice Chair 2007-2008	\$141,764
Hassert, Brent (R)	House Deputy Republican Leader 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$141,428
Halvorson, Debbie DeFrancesco (D)	Senate Majority Caucus Chair 2004 & Senate Majority Leader 2005 & 2006	\$139,700
Elman, Sharyn I. (D)	Unsuccessful House candidate in 2004 and 2006	\$128,655
Forby, Gary (D)	Member Senate Labor & Commerce Cmte and Education Cmte 2004; Senate Labor Cmte Chair 2005 & 2006	\$125,950
Granberg, Kurt M. (D)	House Asst. Majority Leader 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$108,114
Franks, Jack D. (D)	House State Govt Administration Cmte Chair 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$107,908
Watson, Frank (R)	Senate Republican Leader 2004, 2005 & 2006	\$105,000
Giles, Calvin (D)	House Elementary & Secondary Education Cmte chair 2005 & 2006	\$104,520
Schock, Aaron (R)	House Appropriations-Elementary & Secondary Education Cmte member 2005 & 2006	\$103,374
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$3,017,143</b>

\* **Elman** is the only loser listed. She ran unsuccessfully twice—as a challenger in 2004 and for an open seat in 2006. **Demuzio** won an open seat in 2004. **Schock** was a successful challenger in 2004. **Giles** lost the 2006 primary. The rest were incumbents in 2004 and 2006.

## NEW YORK

New York teachers' unions favored Democrats by donating two and one-half times more to Democratic Party committees than they gave to the Republican Party's committees, and 36 percent more to legislative candidate committees.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN NEW YORK, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Political Party Committees *	\$1,873,130	\$745,637	\$2,618,767
Legislature	\$677,569	\$494,281	\$1,171,850
Statewide	\$73,250	\$0	\$73,250
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$43,899	\$0	\$43,899
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,667,748</b>	<b>\$1,239,918</b>	<b>\$3,907,766</b>

\* The political party committee money includes contributions to the two accounts maintained by the party committees — one used for political purposes and the other for administrative expenses.

Contributions to 243 legislative candidate committees totaled \$1.2 million — the average donation amounted to \$839.

Teachers' unions stuck with familiar faces when deciding where to spend their money. They gave \$1.1 million to incumbent legislators — eleven times more than they gave to candidates challenging a seated lawmaker or those running for an open seat.

The New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) was the largest single contributing teachers' union in New York accounting for \$1.1 million or 93 percent of the money the teachers' unions gave to legislative candidates.

## ALABAMA

Teachers' unions gave \$3.5 million to candidates and party committees in Alabama between 2003 and 2006. Most of the money — more than \$2.1 million — went to legislative candidates. All but \$4,300 of which came from the Alabama Education Association. And, of the \$871,000 given to party committees, \$854,000 went to the Alabama Democratic Party.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN ALABAMA, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$2,077,139	\$91,785	\$2,168,924
Political Party Committees	\$865,179	\$6,000	\$871,179
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$225,160	\$150	\$225,310
Statewide	\$177,558	\$30,000	\$207,558
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$3,345,036</b>	<b>\$127,935</b>	<b>\$3,472,971</b>

Generally, when looking at campaign giving across the country, Alabama does not rank at or near the top of the list. However, when narrowing the examination to only contributions from teachers' unions during the period of 2004 to 2006 — Alabama is among the top states. Primarily due to one contributor — Milton E. McGregor, the CEO and president of the simulcast-wagering race park, Macon County Greyhound Park.

In April 2008, McGregor was featured in a news article for a \$1 million donation he and his wife gave to Troy University in Montgomery, Ala.<sup>5</sup> Yet it appears his interests may extend well beyond the university for which he is trustee and beyond the campaign coffers of Alabama Democratic candidates or the Alabama Democratic Party.

Following a single contribution by Mr. McGregor as it made its way through the sometimes vague and anonymous political action committees (PACs) of Alabama reveals a pattern of giving commonly seen in Alabama. On Nov. 1, 2006, Mr. McGregor gave \$603,000 to the Alabama Education Association's political action committee — AEA A-VOTE. On that same day, AEA-A-VOTE reported giving a donation in the exact amount to Fund for Alabama's Children and Education. Which in turn gave a \$503,000 contribution to the Alabamians for a Better Plan; and the next day gave \$100,000 to Leaders PAC.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to shed light on the workings of the PACs registered in Alabama

Because of the way PACs are allowed to form in the state of Alabama, it is difficult, if not impossible to shed light on the workings, and in many cases the true nature, of the PACs registered in Alabama. Numerous attempts have been made by members of the Alabama legislature to deny Alabama PACs the ability to transfer money from one PAC to another. Authors of the proposed legislation believe this method of moving money between PACs is just a way of hiding the true source of the money. So far, all efforts to curb this activity have been thwarted.<sup>6</sup>

The PACs McGregor's contribution passed through are self-described as:<sup>7</sup>

- The **Alabama Education Association (AEA)** is a state teachers' union affiliated with the National Education Association. The PAC — A-VOTE — is registered to “Support election of friends of public education. To influence the outcome of public referenda, education related issues. Associated with Alabama Education Association.”
- The **Fund for Alabama's Children and Ed** declares their purpose is “To promote adequate and equitable funding for the public schools and children's programs.”
- The **Leaders PAC's** purpose is to “Support candidates and causes important to economic growth for Alabama.”
- Joe Cottle, AEA's legislative director and lobbyist for the AEA A-VOTE is also listed as the chairman and treasurer of the Fund for Alabama's Children and Ed, as well as the Leaders PAC.
- The **Alabamians for a Better Plan** states their purpose is “To promote a better plan as a resolution to the financial problem which exists in the state of Alabama.”

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<sup>5</sup> David Zaslowsky, “McGregor Donates \$1 Million To Troy University,” *Montgomery Advertiser*, April 22, 2008, available from <http://www.montgomeryadvertiser.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20080422/CABJ/804220309/1132>, accessed May 9, 2008.

<sup>6</sup> Editorial, *The Birmingham News*, Mar. 4, 2008, available from <http://www.al.com/opinion/birminghamnews/index.ssf?/base/opinion/120462213392110.xml&coll=2>, accessed May 9, 2008.

<sup>7</sup> Alabama Secretary of State, Political Action Committees, available from <http://www.sos.state.al.us/vb/election/pacsrch1.aspx>.

## PENNSYLVANIA

Teachers' unions preferred Democratic candidates and party committees nearly 3-to-1 in Pennsylvania — between 2004 and 2006 the teachers gave 74 percent of their total contributions to Democrats. Incumbents fared better than other candidates as well. Like many other states, Pennsylvania's seated lawmakers were favored by a high percentage — 86 percent of the money they gave to legislative campaigns went to seated lawmakers with \$1.3 million coming from an NEA affiliate, the Pennsylvania State Education Association.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$1,224,757	\$695,117	\$1,919,874
Political Party Committees	\$545,171	\$197,750	\$742,921
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$664,782	\$0	\$664,782
Statewide	\$90,300	\$20,000	\$110,300
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,525,010</b>	<b>\$912,867</b>	<b>\$3,437,877</b>

Teachers' unions divided the \$1.9 million among 303 legislative candidates. While the average received was \$772 — spread thin except two incumbent state representatives — Democrat Mike Veon who served as Minority Whip received \$148,597; and Republican John M. Perzel (Speaker of the House from 2003 through 2006) got \$144,172. They were the only lawmakers to get more than \$100,000. However, Veon lost his seat in 2006 to Republican challenger Jim Marshall even with the \$103,747 he received from four of the state's teachers' unions. Veon received some harsh criticism when he was the lone legislator who refused to give up a pay increase.<sup>8</sup> Democratic Rep. Bill DeWeese, Majority Floor Leader and member of the House since 1976, received \$87,200. And there were only nine who received between \$20,000 and \$50,000.

## INDIANA

Indiana Democrats enjoyed an impressive contribution cushion by receiving more than eight times that of their Republican counterparts with 96 percent coming from the NEA affiliate, the Indiana State Teachers Association and its local associations.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN INDIANA, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$1,848,542	\$204,500	\$2,053,042
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$185,800	\$0	\$185,800
Political Party Committees	\$47,150	\$18,975	\$66,125
Statewide	\$10,000	\$25,000	\$35,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$2,091,492</b>	<b>\$248,475</b>	<b>\$2,339,967</b>

<sup>8</sup> "Little Sympathy For Veon In His Former District," *KDKA.com*, available from <http://209.85.141.104/search?q=cache:VC2o5b43O4wJ:kdk.com/politics/Mike.Veon.Bonus.2.768460.html+%22mike+veon%22&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=12&gl=us>, accessed Sept. 4, 2008.

Teachers gave incumbents 76 percent more than they gave to other candidates — those challenging an incumbent or running for open seats.

Interestingly, of the 82 legislative candidates running, the top six (all Democrats) did not always have the incumbency advantage. However, each of them received more than \$100,000 between 2004 and 2006 but a smaller portion of that came while they were incumbents. In other words, they got more money when they were vying for open seats or challenging an incumbent than they did when they were the incumbent.

**Rep. Joe Micon** won an open seat in 2004 and then retained it in 2006. He received \$91,300 in his open seat bid in 2004 and \$60,000 in 2006 while he was the incumbent. Rep. Micon has served as the vice chair of the House Education Committee.

In 2006 **Rep. Nancy Dembowski** (a former senator who lost her senate seat in 2004) challenged and won the seat in House District 17. She received \$47,950 in her unsuccessful attempt to retain her senate seat in 2004, but was successful as a challenger in 2006 when she got \$100,250.

**Larry R. Hile** lost two attempts at securing a house seat. In 2004 he lost his bid for the open seat in house district 31 and received \$73,340. Then in 2006 he received \$46,300 when he challenged, but lost a race for the same seat.

**Rep. Kreg Battles** received the most any candidate received in a single election in Indiana during the period studied, when he successfully challenged an incumbent in 2006 and got \$108,581.

Close behind Rep. Battles, with a one-cycle total of \$105,340, was **Rep. Alan B. Chowning** who lost his House seat to a challenger in 2004 despite the large influx of teacher money he received.

**Rep. Vern Tincher** won an open seat in 2004 and then retained it in 2006. He received \$54,140 in 2004 cycle and \$49,381 in 2006.

## **OREGON**

The Oregon Education Association, an NEA affiliate, gave \$1.8 million — \$1.3 million to legislative candidates. And, nearly all of that went to Democrats.

Incumbents got more than half of the money given to legislative candidates, with the average amount received by all legislative candidates at \$2,056. Of the 123 legislative candidates just nine (all Democrats) received more than \$50,000. The top two were incumbent Democratic senators — Sen. Joanne Verger got \$141,901 in 2004 and Sen. Vicki L. Walker got \$141,603 in 2006. Sen. Walker has been the chair of the Senate Education and Workforce Committee since 2005.

Two Democratic House members received money from teachers as well. Rep. Larry Galizio received a total of \$99,288 for two campaigns — the first was his successful 2004 race for an open seat and then he retained that seat in 2006. Rep. Jean Cowan lost an earlier challenge in 2004 for House District 10 but came back in 2006 to win the seat — she received \$48,937 in 2004 and \$45,438 in 2006.

**Indiana teachers gave incumbents 76 percent more than they gave to other candidates**

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN OREGON, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$1,512,471	\$82,239	\$1,594,710
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$292,600	\$0	\$292,600
Political Party Committees	\$97,850	\$7,500	\$105,350
Statewide	\$54,200	\$0	\$54,200
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,957,121</b>	<b>\$89,739</b>	<b>\$2,046,860</b>

### **OHIO**

Nearly half of the money teachers' unions gave in Ohio was given to 179 legislative candidate committees — 71 percent of that went to Democrats. Incumbents got \$716,002 of the \$1 million given to legislative candidate committees. The average received by legislative candidates for the two election cycles combined was \$1,469. Only 10 committees received \$20,000 or more — the highest amount was \$33,360 to Democratic Sen. Teresa Fedor. Democratic Rep. Brian G. Williams got \$31,805 — \$9,505 of that was given to him during his successful challenge in 2004. Twenty-seven candidates received between \$10,000 and \$20,000, while 40 received \$1,000 or less.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN OHIO, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$733,207	\$305,300	\$1,038,507
Political Party Committees	\$804,425	\$74,500	\$878,925
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$32,500	\$0	\$32,500
Statewide	\$85,250	\$2,500	\$87,750
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,655,382</b>	<b>\$382,300</b>	<b>\$2,037,682</b>

### **MICHIGAN**

Michigan's political party committees received 59 percent of the contributions teachers gave, and, once again Democrats were strongly favored. Nine out of every 10 dollars came from the Michigan Education Association.

During 2004 and 2006, 171 legislative candidate committees received an average of \$1,091. Only 14 received more than \$10,000. Heading the list was Democratic Rep. Alexander C. Lipsey who got \$5,075 during his 2004 race to retain his house seat and \$12,740 when he ran unsuccessfully for Senate District 20 in 2006. In the two cycles studied, Democratic Rep. Aldo Vagnozzi, incumbent in House District 37, received a combined \$17,200.



<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN MICHIGAN, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Political Party Committees	\$1,035,933	\$124,500	\$1,160,433
Legislature	\$572,836	\$111,510	\$684,346
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$63,710	\$0	\$63,710
Statewide	\$65,700	\$0	\$65,700
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,738,179</b>	<b>\$236,010</b>	<b>\$1,974,189</b>

### **NEW JERSEY**

New Jersey legislative candidate committees were the recipients of 71 percent of the money teachers' unions gave in the state. Democratic candidates got \$784,405 — twice as much as their Republican counterparts — but incumbent legislators, no matter their party, got 80 percent of the \$1.1 million the unions gave to legislative candidates.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN NEW JERSEY 2003-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$784,405	\$363,815	\$1,148,220
Political Party Committees	\$400,057	\$66,550	\$466,607
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$500	\$1,450	\$1,950
Statewide	\$0	\$0	\$0
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,184,962</b>	<b>\$431,815</b>	<b>\$1,616,777</b>

Democratic Sen. Richard J. Codey, Senate President since 2004 topped the list of all legislative candidate committees. A member of the Senate since 1982, Sen. Codey got \$23,100 from teachers' unions. Next on the list was Assistant Majority Leader, and a member of the New Jersey Senate since 1986, Democratic Sen. Ronald L. Rice, who got \$20,200.

### **TEXAS**

Candidates running for legislative seats in Texas received 91 percent of the money teachers' unions gave in that state with Democrats favored more than 2-to-1. The average amount received by legislative committees between 2004 and 2006 was \$1,274 by 181 candidates. Twenty-two candidates received more than \$20,000 — six Republicans and 16 Democrats. Democratic Rep. Scott Hochberg tops that list with \$43,000; followed by Democratic Rep. Mark Strama with \$37,772 and Republican Sen. John Carona with \$34,500. Incumbent legislators took in 74 percent of the money the teachers gave.

Four state organizations gave the lion's share of the \$1.6 million — Texas State Teachers Association, Texas Classroom Teachers Association, Association of Texas Professional Educators and the Texas Federation of Teachers gave a combined \$1.5 million.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN TEXAS, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Legislature	\$1,042,354	\$412,666	\$1,455,020
Political Party Committees	\$80,501	\$6,250	\$86,751
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$0	\$34,500	\$34,500
Statewide	\$2,300	\$23,800	\$26,100
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,125,155</b>	<b>\$477,216</b>	<b>\$1,602,371</b>

### **MINNESOTA**

Teachers' union gave only 13 percent on their contributions to candidates and focused primarily on political party committees favoring Democrats by a monetary margin of 20-to-1. \$1 million of the \$1.4 million came from Education Minnesota, the state teachers' association affiliated with both the NEA and AFT.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN MINNESOTA 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Political Party Committees	\$1,161,400	\$56,275	\$1,217,675
Legislature	\$145,955	\$23,900	\$169,855
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$3,731	\$0	\$3,731
Statewide	\$2,111	\$0	\$2,111
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$1,313,197</b>	<b>\$80,175</b>	<b>\$1,393,372</b>

### **FLORIDA**

In Florida, teachers' unions gave three-fourths of their total contributions to four political party committees with 98 percent of it going to the Florida Democratic Party. Of the 105 legislative committees that received money from the unions, that amounts for only one-fifth of the \$1 million with the average amount received for the two cycles studied just \$469.

<b>TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS IN FLORIDA, 2004-2006</b>			
<b>RECIPIENT</b>	<b>DEMOCRAT</b>	<b>REPUBLICAN</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Political Party Committees	\$752,050	\$12,200	\$764,250
Legislature	\$158,350	\$40,684	\$199,034
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$18,500	\$0	\$18,500
Statewide	\$28,500	\$0	\$28,500
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$957,400</b>	<b>\$52,884</b>	<b>\$1,010,284</b>

**APPENDIX A**

**TEACHERS' UNIONS CONTRIBUTIONS AS PART OF TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, 2003–2007 (DOES NOT INCLUDE BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES)**

<b>STATE</b>	<b>TEACHERS' UNIONS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>TEACHERS' UNION % OF TOTAL</b>
California	\$10,484,899	\$646,809,904	2%
Illinois	\$7,957,757	\$264,900,343	3%
New York	\$3,935,986	\$271,048,047	1%
Alabama	\$3,472,971	\$106,090,349	3%
Pennsylvania	\$3,437,878	\$243,689,830	1%
Indiana	\$2,339,967	\$122,036,672	2%
Oregon	\$2,113,610	\$75,736,192	3%
Ohio	\$2,084,282	\$194,479,659	1%
Michigan	\$1,974,189	\$150,655,112	1%
New Jersey	\$1,618,027	\$221,450,574	1%
Texas	\$1,617,408	\$270,867,668	1%
Minnesota	\$1,394,022	\$79,711,592	2%
Florida	\$1,010,284	\$271,585,802	>1%
Nevada	\$898,879	\$67,021,550	1%
North Carolina	\$898,875	\$112,762,007	1%
Iowa	\$704,952	\$78,383,879	1%
Wisconsin	\$649,407	\$50,417,632	1%
Louisiana	\$585,329	\$90,998,472	1%
Virginia	\$562,554	\$126,450,950	>1%
Colorado	\$534,096	\$30,005,327	2%
Washington	\$489,102	\$94,673,178	1%
Georgia	\$488,170	\$153,021,910	>1%
Tennessee	\$415,600	\$48,152,746	1%
Missouri	\$410,710	\$127,668,135	>1%
Kentucky	\$391,400	\$57,465,625	1%
West Virginia	\$383,229	\$30,892,815	1%
Nebraska	\$356,097	\$16,452,408	2%
Connecticut	\$343,285	\$33,350,291	1%
Hawaii	\$335,034	\$21,879,098	2%
Utah	\$324,819	\$21,755,508	1%
Rhode Island	\$307,312	\$20,702,385	1%
Maryland	\$301,636	\$88,467,711	>1%
New Mexico	\$283,070	\$38,932,179	1%
Kansas	\$275,827	\$32,961,161	1%
Massachusetts	\$263,518	\$136,896,096	>1%
Idaho	\$211,850	\$14,210,510	1%
Oklahoma	\$194,700	\$64,201,107	>1%
South Dakota	\$164,875	\$10,868,919	2%
Mississippi	\$128,950	\$46,616,363	>1%
South Carolina	\$125,450	\$57,902,868	>1%

Arizona	\$109,071	\$31,832,829	>1%
North Dakota	\$98,585	\$10,897,105	1%
Arkansas	\$98,097	\$40,238,183	>1%
Maine	\$71,900	\$21,902,130	>1%
Montana	\$71,355	\$12,410,561	1%
New Hampshire	\$68,960	\$20,321,810	>1%
Delaware	\$67,371	\$21,603,719	>1%
Wyoming	\$61,645	\$6,228,647	1%
Alaska	\$42,461	\$18,611,851	>1%
Vermont	\$5,425	\$8,439,765	>1%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$55,164,875</b>	<b>\$2,278,234,487</b>	<b>2%</b>

**APPENDIX B**

**ALL TEACHERS' UNION CONTRIBUTIONS BY STATE, 2003-2007**

<b>STATE</b>	<b>CANDIDATES</b>	<b>POLITICAL PARTY COMMITTEES</b>	<b>BALLOT MEASURE COMMITTEES</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
California	\$3,944,879	\$6,540,020	\$82,799,139	\$93,284,038
Illinois	\$7,642,389	\$315,368	\$0	\$7,957,757
Michigan	\$813,756	\$1,160,433	\$4,378,420	\$6,352,609
Oregon	\$2,008,260	\$105,350	\$2,132,988	\$4,246,598
New York	\$1,317,219	\$2,618,767	\$25,000	\$3,960,986
Minnesota	\$176,347	\$1,217,675	\$2,511,371	\$3,905,393
Alabama	\$2,601,792	\$871,179	\$80,000	\$3,552,971
Pennsylvania	\$2,694,957	\$742,921	\$0	\$3,437,878
Ohio	\$1,205,357	\$878,925	\$1,279,298	\$3,363,580
Washington	\$243,152	\$245,950	\$2,575,529	\$3,064,631
Maine	\$3,750	\$68,150	\$2,444,484	\$2,516,384
Idaho	\$177,650	\$34,200	\$2,140,413	\$2,352,263
Indiana	\$2,273,842	\$66,125	\$0	\$2,339,967
Colorado	\$483,421	\$50,675	\$1,560,200	\$2,094,296
Nebraska	\$289,512	\$66,585	\$1,483,635	\$1,839,732
Nevada	\$830,379	\$68,500	\$755,000	\$1,653,879
New Jersey	\$1,151,420	\$466,607	\$0	\$1,618,027
Texas	\$1,530,657	\$86,751	\$0	\$1,617,408
Florida	\$246,034	\$764,250	\$350,000	\$1,360,284
Arizona	\$23,746	\$85,325	\$995,693	\$1,104,764
Wisconsin	\$421,971	\$227,437	\$351,550	\$1,000,958
North Carolina	\$253,875	\$645,000	\$0	\$898,875
Montana	\$17,032	\$54,323	\$790,129	\$861,484
Iowa	\$224,750	\$480,202	\$0	\$704,952
Missouri	\$187,960	\$222,750	\$275,000	\$685,710
Louisiana	\$333,154	\$252,175	\$0	\$585,329
Virginia	\$392,472	\$170,082	\$0	\$562,554
Georgia	\$428,400	\$59,770	\$0	\$488,170
Oklahoma	\$170,200	\$24,500	\$247,657	\$442,357
Tennessee	\$254,000	\$161,600	\$0	\$415,600
Kentucky	\$368,400	\$23,000	\$0	\$391,400
West Virginia	\$377,329	\$5,900	\$0	\$383,229
Connecticut	\$294,650	\$48,635	\$0	\$343,285
Hawaii	\$307,334	\$27,700	\$0	\$335,034
Utah	\$292,535	\$32,284	\$0	\$324,819
Rhode Island	\$235,962	\$71,350	\$0	\$307,312
Maryland	\$243,311	\$58,325	\$0	\$301,636
New Mexico	\$239,670	\$43,400	\$0	\$283,070
Kansas	\$226,596	\$49,231	\$0	\$275,827
Massachusetts	\$231,192	\$32,325	\$0	\$263,517
South Dakota	\$143,225	\$21,650	\$15,000	\$179,875

Arkansas	\$70,147	\$27,950	\$38,575	\$136,672
Mississippi	\$121,500	\$7,450	\$0	\$128,950
South Carolina	\$88,750	\$36,700	\$0	\$125,450
North Dakota	\$50,200	\$48,385	\$0	\$98,585
New Hampshire	\$40,060	\$28,900	\$0	\$68,960
Delaware	\$39,751	\$27,620	\$0	\$67,371
Wyoming	\$56,065	\$5,580	\$0	\$61,645
Alaska	\$41,961	\$500	\$0	\$42,461
Vermont	\$2,525	\$2,900	\$0	\$5,425
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$35,813,496</b>	<b>\$19,351,380</b>	<b>\$107,229,081</b>	<b>\$162,393,957</b>