



MONEY AND DIVERSITY
2004 STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

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OVERVIEW

Though non-white populations across the country continue to grow, the minority presence in many state legislatures is not representative of the diversity of state populations.

By exploring the experiences of minority candidates and the differences between those of white and non-white legislators, reasons for this gap may become apparent.

In this study, the Institute on Money in State Politics examines fund raising by winning minority and non-minority state legislative candidates elected in the 2004 election cycle, as well as the experiences of both winning and losing Latino and Asian Pacific American candidates who ran on the Democratic and Republican tickets in the 2004 general election. Some findings:

- Of 6,399 legislators elected in 2003 and 2004, 824 were non-white. Just one state, Maine, did not have any minority legislators. African Americans were the most numerous among minority legislators, followed by Latinos, Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans.
- White legislators raised more than minority legislators in 33 of the 42 states where minority candidates were elected to state House seats in 2004. Among Senate winners, whites collected more than minorities in 26 of the 32 states where non-whites were elected in 2004.
- Seventy-five percent of non-white legislators elected in 2004 were incumbents seeking re-election, while 12 percent won open seats and 6 percent were challenging incumbent officeholders. Another 7 percent were incumbents running for a new district or a different legislative chamber.
- Just 23 percent of Asian Pacific American challengers and 16 percent of Latino challengers were successful.
- The vast majority — 91 percent — of minority legislators elected in 2004 were Democrats. In addition, 74 percent of Latino and 61 percent of Asian Pacific American general-election candidates ran as Democrats.

METHODOLOGY

The Institute relied largely on four groups for minority candidate and legislator identifications. The Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies (APAICS) published a list of 2004 Asian Pacific Islander American candidates.¹ The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies shared its Black Elected Officials Roster. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) provided a database of Latino state legislative candidates. Native Americans were identified from a list of Native American legislators available from the National Conference of State Legislatures Web site.²

The primary method these groups utilized for identifying minority candidates was self-identification, realized through perusal of legislative or candidate Web sites or memberships in legislative caucuses or other groups organized around minority issues. Occasionally, the Institute identified additional minority candidates through state political party contacts or news articles. When possible, these individuals were brought to the attention of the appropriate groups for verification.

The availability of candidate identifications dictated the parameters of this study. The first two sections of this report provide in-depth analyses of the experiences of both winning and losing Latino and Asian Pacific American general-election candidates. NALEO and APAICS identified Latino and Asian Pacific American candidates who ran for state legislature on the two major-party tickets during the 2004 general election.

The third section includes an overview of African American, Asian Pacific American, Latino and Native American legislators elected in the 2004 election cycle and state-by-state summaries with information on white and non-white fund raising in each state.

¹ "2004 Asian Pacific Islander American Candidates," *Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies* [on-line]; available from http://www.apaics.org/downloads/2004_APIA4_Candidates.pdf Internet; accessed Jan. 20, 2006, and "2004 Asian Pacific Islander American Candidates," *Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies* [on-line]; available from http://www.apaics.org/downloads/2004_Election_Results.pdf; Internet; accessed Jan. 20, 2006.

² "Native American Legislators, (Updated February 2006)" *National Conference of State Legislatures* [on-line]; available from <http://www.ncsl.org/programs/statetribel/2006triblbg.htm>; Internet; accessed March 7, 2006.

MINORITY LEGISLATORS

In the 2004 election cycle, 6,399 legislators were elected in 48 states.³ Thirteen percent, or 824 winners, belonged to a minority group. The 502 African Americans who were elected in the 2004 election cycle made up the largest group of minority legislators, followed by 199 Latinos, 66 Asian Pacific Americans and 49 Native Americans. In addition, five legislators were identified as both African American and Latino, two as Asian Pacific American and Latino and one as Latino and Native American.

This section looks at the number of winning minority candidates in those 48 states, the offices to which they were elected, their party affiliations and whether they were incumbents already holding office, candidates challenging incumbents or candidates seeking an open seat.

A candidate's incumbency status often plays a significant role in his or her ability and need to raise campaign funds. Incumbents have the benefit of name recognition and, often, a proven fund-raising ability. These factors often allow them to raise more money than lesser-known challengers, who often lack the political capital to raise large war chests. In some cases, especially when an incumbent is unopposed, name recognition is enough to assure re-election and there is little need for the incumbent to raise much money. Open-seat races draw the most money, in general, because neither candidate has a built-in advantage, and political parties see the open field as a good opportunity to gain a seat.

AFRICAN AMERICAN LEGISLATORS

There were 507⁴ African Americans elected in 42 of the 48 states that held legislative elections in the 2004 election cycle. Georgia, with 49, had the most African American state legislators, and six states had one each: Alaska, Arizona, Hawaii, Nebraska, Utah and Vermont. Of these legislators:

- 79 percent won House or Assembly seats, and 21 percent were elected to the Senate.
- 76 percent were incumbents already holding office, 5 percent were challenging an incumbent legislator, 11 percent sought open seats in which no incumbent was seeking re-election, and 8 percent were incumbents in one office who were elected to a different district or office than the one to which they were incumbent.
- 98 percent were Democrats, 2 percent were Republicans and one was elected to Nebraska's nonpartisan legislature.
- 38 percent ran unopposed, compared with 24 percent of whites who faced no opponent.

Of the African Americans elected during the two-year election cycle, 111 were elected in four states that held elections in 2003 — Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia — and the Institute was unable to verify the identification of Latino and Asian Pacific American candidates

³ Alabama and Maryland last elected state legislators in 2002. Figures for these states are not included in the following analysis but are included in the state-by-state summaries beginning on p. 50.

⁴ This number and subsequent numbers for Latino, Asian Pacific American and Native American legislators do not match the above number because they include legislators who count themselves in more than one category.

elected in those states. (Thus comparing the fund-raising experience of African Americans to that of white legislators is not possible for those states, because the funds raised by non-African Americans could include money raised by other minority winners.) However, identifications were complete for states that held elections in 2004.

African Americans raised an average amount that was lower than their white counterparts in 32 of 35 states where they were elected to House seats in 2004. They collected more than white winners, on average, in California, New Hampshire and Rhode Island.

In California, African American House winners received 6 percent more than whites who won House seats. Rhode Island African American state representatives raised an average 93 percent more than whites. However, one of the four African Americans raised the second-highest amount among House winners. When the funds raised by the three other African American winners are considered on their own, the average amount they raised is less than half as much as that raised by white House winners. African Americans elected to the New Hampshire House outraced whites by a ratio of more than 2-to-1. But, as in Rhode Island, one African American raised much more than the others. When that candidate's dollars are excluded, the average for other African Americans is less than half as much as white House winners.

For the Senate, African American winners raised less than whites in all states except Alaska and Illinois. White senators received more money in 23 of 25 states where African Americans won Senate seats in 2004.

One African American senator in Alaska, who raised the fourth-largest amount among Alaska Senate candidates, collected 24 percent more than the average amount the eight white senators raised. In Illinois, the Senate president — who also raised the most among Senate winners — collected almost \$3 million to elevate the average for African American senators there. Without his money, Illinois African American senators raised an average amount that was 65 percent less than white senators.

LATINO LEGISLATORS

There were 207 Latino legislators elected in 32 of the 48 states that held legislative elections in the 2004 election cycle. New Mexico, with 42, had the most Latino legislators, and 12 states had one each. Of these legislators:

- 82 percent were elected to the House or Assembly, and 18 percent won Senate seats.
- 80 percent were incumbents, 5 percent were challengers, 13 percent sought open seats and 1 percent were incumbent to an office different than the one to which they sought election.
- 84 percent were Democrats, 15 percent were Republicans, one was elected to Nebraska's nonpartisan legislature, and one was not affiliated with a political party.
- 34 percent were unopposed, compared with 24 percent of whites.

Of the Latinos elected during the two-year election cycle, at least five were elected in New Jersey, which held its legislative elections in 2003. However, the Institute was unable to verify the

identification of any other Latinos or any Asian Pacific Americans who may have won in New Jersey or the three other states holding elections in 2003: Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia. (Thus comparing the fund-raising experience of Latinos to that of white legislators is not possible for those states, because the funds raised could include money raised by other minority winners.) However, identifications were complete for states that held elections in 2004.

Latino House winners raised more than whites, on average, in nine of 29 states where Latino state representatives were elected in 2004: California, Florida, Idaho, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, Oregon, Utah and Wisconsin.

In some states, Latinos who were among the top House fund-raisers combined with solid showings by other Latinos to give Latinos an edge on white House winners. Six Latinos were among the top 10 House recipients in both California and New Mexico, and three Latinos in Florida were top fund-raisers among that state's House winners.

In North Carolina and Wisconsin, which each had just one Latino House winner, the Latino candidates ranked ninth and third, respectively, among top fund-raisers. And in Idaho, one Latino House winner ranked 13th among the winners in raising funds.

In other states, such as New Hampshire, Oregon and Utah, a couple of Latinos raised modest amounts that placed them in the middle ranks for raising money in those states. Unlike whites, however, Latinos in these states did not have weaker fund-raisers to deflate the overall averages.

In five of the 13 states where Latinos were elected to the Senate — California, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Mexico and Washington — Latinos raised more, on average, than white senators. Massachusetts, Nebraska and Washington elected just one Latino senator each, and all were quite successful incumbent fund-raisers. In California, one Latino senator raised more than \$2.5 million, ranking second among Senate winners in raising money.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN LEGISLATORS

Sixty-eight Asian Pacific American legislators won election in 17 of the 48 states that held legislative elections in the 2004 election cycle. Of these winners:

- 87 percent won House or Assembly seats, and 13 percent were elected to the Senate.
- 73 percent were incumbents, 15 percent were challengers, 9 percent sought open seats and 3 percent were incumbents to an office other than the one to which they were elected.
- 78 percent were Democrats, and 22 percent were Republicans
- Just 9 percent were unopposed, compared with 24 percent of white legislators.

At least one of the Asian Pacific Americans elected in the 2004 election cycle won in New Jersey, which holds its elections in 2003. However, the Institute was unable to verify the identification of any other Asian Pacific Americans or Latinos who may have won election in New Jersey or the three other states holding elections in 2003: Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia. (Thus comparing the fund-raising experience of Asian Pacific Americans to that of white legislators is not possible

for those states, because the funds raised could include money raised by other minority winners.) However, identifications were complete for states that held elections in 2004.

Hawaii was home to 43 Asian Pacific American legislators, or 63 percent of Asian Pacific Americans elected in the 2004 election cycle. Though more numerous than white legislative winners in Hawaii, Asian Pacific Americans elected to both the House and the Senate raised less than whites, on average.

Asian Pacific American House winners raised more than whites, on average, in 10 of 15 states that elected Asian Pacific Americans to the House in 2004: California, Iowa, New Hampshire, New York, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Vermont and West Virginia. Just two states, Hawaii and Pennsylvania, elected Asian Pacific American senators in 2004, but those winners raised average amounts lower than whites in both states.

In California, eight Asian Pacific Americans won Assembly seats, and half of them were among the top one-third of winners in raising funds. In fact, the top Assembly fund-raiser in that state was Asian Pacific American.

There were only one or two Asian Pacific American House winners in the other states where Asian Pacific Americans outraised whites. Texas elected two Asian Pacific Americans, and the other states elected one each. All were solid fund-raisers.

NATIVE AMERICAN LEGISLATORS

Fifty Native American legislators were elected in 12 of 48 states that held legislative elections in the 2004 election cycle. Oklahoma, with 13, had the most Native American legislators; North Carolina, North Dakota, Vermont and Wyoming had one each. Of the Native American legislators:

- 80 percent were elected to the House, and 20 percent won Senate seats.
- 58 percent were incumbents, 10 percent were challengers, 30 percent won open seats and 2 percent were incumbents to an office other than the one to which they were elected.
- 70 percent were Democrats, and 30 percent were Republicans.
- 28 percent did not face opposition, compared with 24 percent of whites.

None of the Native Americans elected during the two-year election cycle won in states that held elections in 2003 — Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia — and the Institute was unable to verify the identification of Latino and Asian Pacific American candidates elected in those states. (Thus comparing the fund-raising experience of Native Americans to that of white legislators is not possible for those states, because the funds raised by non-Native Americans could include money raised by other minority winners.) However, identifications were complete for states that held elections in 2004.

Native Americans elected to the House raised less than whites, on average, in nine of the 11 states that elected Native American House members in 2004. Native Americans elected to the Colorado and Oklahoma state Houses raised more than their white counterparts.

In Colorado, the one Native American House winner ranked 20th among winners in raising funds. Three of the Oklahoma Native Americans elected to the state House were among the top 10 House winners. On average, the 13 Native Americans elected to the Oklahoma House raised 17 percent more than white House winners.

Among the seven states with Native American senators, Colorado was the only state where a Native American senator raised more than the average for white senators. Colorado's Native American senator was the state's third-highest Senate fund-raiser among winners and collected twice as much as the average for white senators.

Click [here](#) to view Appendix A, showing the percentage of the population that whites and minorities make up in each state and state legislature.

SOURCES OF FUNDS

With white legislators raising more money than non-white legislators in many states, it follows that whites received a greater share of the money given by most funding sources. No sector contributed more to minority legislators in more than half of the states. The following summary of contributions to legislators elected in 2004 reveals that:

- **Labor organizations** gave more to minorities than whites, on average, in 21 of the 44 states that elected state legislators in 2004.
- **Ideological** groups contributed more to minorities in 13 of the 44 states.
- **Attorneys** contributed more to non-whites than whites in 10 states and less in 34 states.
- The **communications and electronics** and **health** sectors gave more to non-whites in nine states and less in 35 states.
- **General business** contributors, such as manufacturers, retailers and business organizations, gave more to minorities in eight states and less in 36 states.
- Non-white candidates financed their campaigns with **personal money** at a higher rate than whites in seven of the 44 states.
- **Finance, insurance and real estate** interests gave minorities more than whites in five states and less in 39 states.
- **Party sources**, including political parties and other candidates, and the **construction** sector contributed more to non-whites in four states and less in 40 states.
- The **energy and natural resources** sector gave more to non-whites than whites in three of 44 states.
- **Agricultural** sources contributed more to minorities in just two states and less in 42 states.
- The **transportation** sector gave more to non-whites in one state and less in 43 states.

The figures for legislators who were elected in 2003 in Louisiana, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia are not included in the above analysis of sources of funds, as the Institute was unable to obtain complete identifications for Latino and Asian Pacific American legislators in those states.

The sources of funds raised by legislators elected during the 2004 election cycle are grouped into sectors and shown in detail on each of the state pages that begin on p. 50.

LATINO CANDIDATES

Latinos are the largest racial or ethnic minority population in the United States, but their presence as state legislative candidates falls far below their share of the population. Although Latinos made up a projected 14 percent of the population in 2004,⁵ they accounted for less than 3 percent of state legislative candidates who competed as Democrats or Republicans in the 2004 general election.

The following examination of 2004 general-election Latino candidates for state legislature compares their experiences to that of other candidates. Because the race or ethnicity of many losing candidates could not be determined, comparisons are made between Latinos and non-Latinos, a group that includes African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans, as well as whites.

The Institute received most of the candidate identifications from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), which provided identifications for general-election winners and losers who ran on the Democratic and Republican tickets in states that elected legislators in 2004.

This study of 2004 Latino and non-Latino general-election candidates found:

- Latino candidates ran for state legislature in 32 of the 44 states holding elections in 2004,⁶ and won seats in 31 of the states.
- Latinos ran for House and Senate at nearly the same rate but won House seats more often than Senate seats.
- On average, non-Latino House candidates raised more than Latino counterparts in 20 of the 30 states where Latinos ran for the House or Assembly. Among Senate hopefuls, Latinos raised less than non-Latinos in nine of the 17 states with Latino Senate candidates.
- Latino candidates in New Mexico were the only Latino legislative hopefuls to raise more, on average, than non-Latinos for both House and Senate seats. In addition, winning and losing Latino House candidates and winning Latino Senate candidates raised more than the average raised by non-Latinos in New Mexico.
- In Arizona, Latino candidates who did not participate in the state's public-financing program raised much less than non-Latinos who chose not to participate. Meanwhile, Latino candidates who accepted public financing raised much higher amounts, on average, than those who did not, and those higher averages made them more competitive with non-Latino candidates, whether those candidates accepted public funds or not.

⁵U.S. Census Bureau estimate as of July 1, 2004. "Hispanic Heritage Month 2005: September 15-October 15," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features_special_editions/005338.html; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

⁶ The following states did not elect state legislators in 2004 and are not included in this analysis: Alabama, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey, and Virginia.

- A higher percentage of Latinos were elected than non-Latinos, even though 15 percent of contested races that included Latino candidates pitted Latino against Latino in the general election.
- Incumbent Latinos were almost always re-elected or elected to a new office. Latinos seeking open seats also often won, but those challenging incumbents were far less successful.
- Latinos were more likely to run as Democrats than Republicans, and Democratic Latinos were elected more often than Republican Latinos.
- Nine percent of non-Latinos did not raise any money (or raised money below the threshold for reporting contributions), but only 3 percent of Latinos attempted election without funding.
- Latino candidates received more from labor sources, on average, in six of the 10 states with the highest number of Latino candidates: Arizona, California, Connecticut, Florida, New Mexico and Texas.
- Political party sources, such as party committees and other candidates or elected officials, gave more to Latino candidates in three of the 10 states: California, Florida and New Mexico.
- Latino candidates in New Mexico received higher amounts, on average, from all types of contributors than did non-Latino candidates, but spent less personal money on their campaigns.

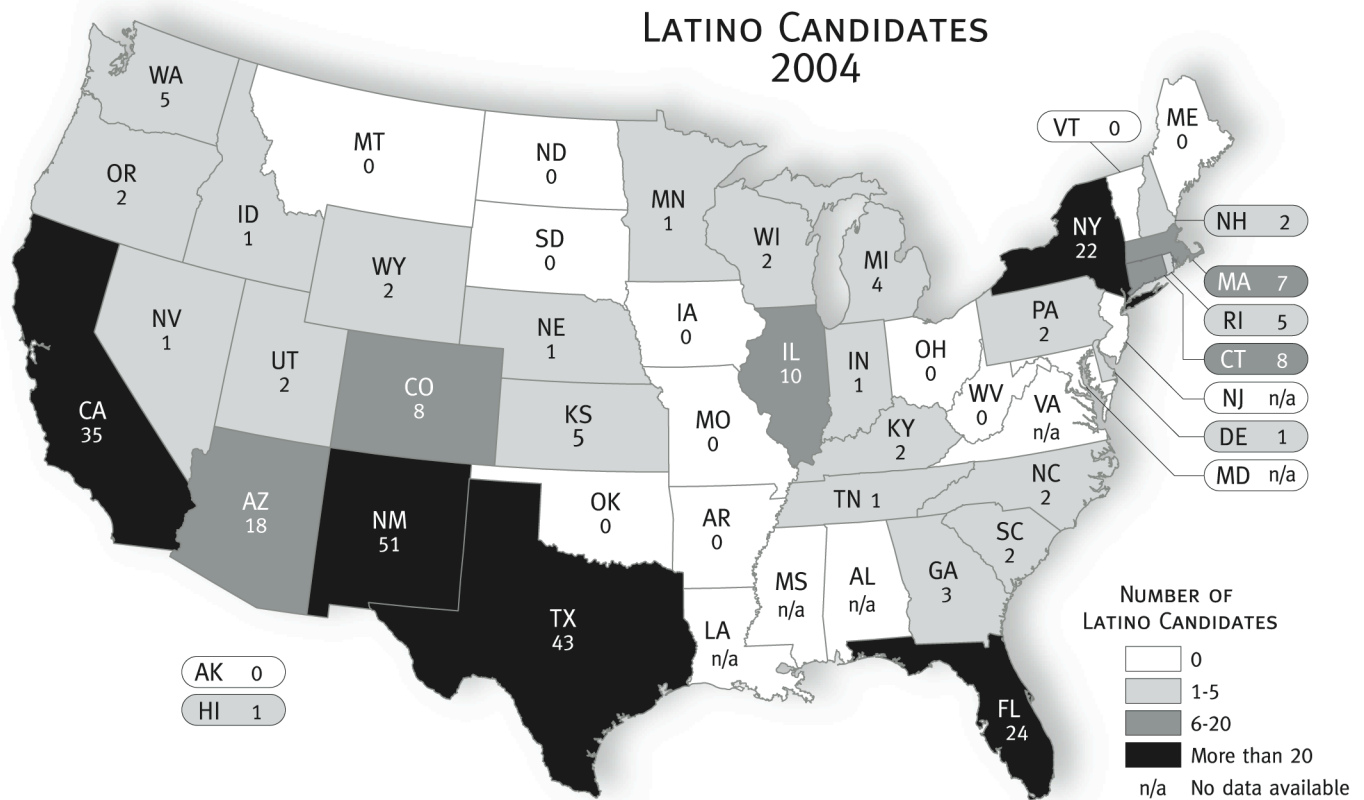
STATES WITH LATINO CANDIDATES

Latinos competed in 32 of the 44 states that elected state legislators in 2004. Many of the states with numerous Latino candidates were in the Southwest: Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas. Florida also had a relatively large pool of Latino candidates. Two other states with Latino candidates numbering in the double digits have large metropolitan areas with diverse populations: Illinois and New York. The Latino presence in these states ranged from 12 percent to 17 percent in Florida, Illinois and New York to upwards of 25 percent in Arizona, California and Texas and 42 percent in New Mexico.⁷

Many of the states that did not have any Latino legislative candidates in the general election were located in the central part of the country — Arkansas, Iowa, Missouri, Montana, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota — or the North — Alaska, Maine, and Vermont. West Virginia also did not have any Latino state legislative candidates in 2004. Only three of the states with no Latino candidates had Latino populations above 3 percent: Alaska (4.1 percent), Arkansas (3.2 percent) and Oklahoma (5.2 percent).⁸

⁷ “Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000,” *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

⁸ *Ibid.*



LATINO VS. NON-LATINO FUND RAISING

On average, non-Latinos collected more than Latinos in 20 of the 30 states with Latino House candidates and in nine of 17 states with Latino Senate candidates. In Colorado, Florida, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Washington and Wisconsin, Latino candidates running for one chamber of the legislature raised more, while non-Latinos received more for the other chamber. Non-Latinos raised higher averages than Latino candidates for both houses in Arizona, Georgia, Illinois, New York, South Carolina and Texas. But in California and New Mexico, Latinos raised more than non-Latinos for both House and Senate races.

In some states, the discrepancies in finances were striking.

Non-Latinos raised more than twice as much as Latinos for House races in Massachusetts, South Carolina and Washington and for Senate races in Arizona, Florida, Illinois and South Carolina. Latino House candidates doubled the amounts raised by non-Latino House candidates in North Carolina and Oregon and raised three times as much in Wisconsin.

In South Carolina, where non-Latinos enjoyed a financial advantage over Latinos in both House and Senate races, there were two Latino candidates, one each for House and Senate. The Latino House candidate was an incumbent who did not face opposition and raised \$11,399, less than half

as much as non-Latino House winners. The Latino Senate candidate unsuccessfully challenged an incumbent and was outraised by non-Latino losers by a ratio of 10-to-1.

Latino House candidates in Washington received 51 percent less than non-Latino House candidates. Two incumbent Latinos, who were re-elected in 2004, raised an average that was 32 percent less than non-Latino House winners. The losing Latino House candidates, both challengers, were outraised by non-Latino losers by a ratio of more than 7-to-1.

The lone North Carolina Latino House candidate, an unopposed incumbent, raised more than twice as much as non-Latino House winners.

Two Latino Republican House candidates in Oregon, one an incumbent and the other vying for an open seat, both won their races and collected more than twice as much as non-Latino House candidates and nearly twice as much as non-Latino House winners.

In Wisconsin, an unopposed incumbent Latino House candidate collected more than three times as much as non-Latino House candidates and twice as much as non-Latino winners. A Latino Senate challenger who lost collected just under half as much as non-Latino Senate candidates, with non-Latino Senate losers receiving more than twice as much.

DIFFERENCE IN FUND-RAISING AVERAGES BY STATE, 2004

STATE	HOUSE			SENATE		
	LATINO	NON-LATINO	%	LATINO	NON-LATINO	%
Arizona	\$25,456	\$35,142	-28%	\$20,965	\$43,102	-51%
California	\$599,807	\$489,837	+22%	\$866,138	\$788,735	+10%
Colorado	\$22,520	\$32,052	-30%	\$115,030	\$61,492	+87%
Connecticut	\$13,830	\$15,274	-10%	—	—	—
Delaware	\$24,055	\$31,356	-23%	—	—	—
Florida	\$117,181	\$103,419	+13%	\$27,437	\$174,956	-84%
Georgia	\$49,769	\$52,870	-6%	\$114,931	\$127,500	-10%
Hawaii	—	—	—	\$82,574	\$66,155	+25%
Idaho	\$27,312	\$17,691	+54%	—	—	—
Illinois	\$121,822	\$200,278	-39%	\$135,554	\$496,673	-73%
Indiana	\$76,890	\$77,184	-0.4%	—	—	—
Kansas	\$14,556	\$19,895	-27%	—	—	—
Kentucky	\$54,939	\$34,880	+58%	—	—	—
Massachusetts	\$24,438	\$60,343	-60%	\$274,560	\$174,564	+57%
Michigan	\$39,815	\$61,158	-35%	No Races	No Races	—
Minnesota	\$16,724	\$29,483	-43%	No Races	No Races	—
North Carolina	\$221,075	\$75,414	+193%	\$150,119	\$156,374	-4%
Nebraska	No Races	No Races	—	\$41,983	\$36,202	+16%
New Hampshire	\$850	\$549	+55%	—	—	—
New Mexico	\$35,373	\$22,338	+58%	\$39,904	\$35,673	+12%
Nevada	\$85,276	\$93,916	-9%	—	—	—
New York	\$78,669	\$86,083	-9%	\$168,434	\$282,122	-40%
Oregon	\$226,624	\$95,232	+138%	—	—	—
Pennsylvania	\$64,295	\$101,737	-37%	—	—	—

STATE	HOUSE			SENATE		
	LATINO	NON-LATINO	%	LATINO	NON-LATINO	%
South Carolina	\$11,399	\$28,198	-60%	\$7,220	\$118,923	-94%
Tennessee	\$32,647	\$53,167	-39%	—	—	—
Texas	\$145,699	\$190,209	-23%	\$360,978	\$472,783	-24%
Utah	\$25,149	\$16,021	+57%	—	—	—
Washington	\$33,298	\$68,430	-51%	\$190,955	\$122,110	+56%
Wisconsin	\$107,623	\$34,894	+208%	\$64,997	\$127,537	-49%
Wyoming	\$3,454	\$6,343	-46%	—	—	—

— No Latino candidates

TYPES OF LATINO CANDIDATES

Latino general-election candidates fared better than their non-Latino counterparts, with 74 percent of Latinos, or 202 of 274, elected to legislative office. Non-Latino general-election candidates, on the other hand, won 61 percent of their races; 5,619 of 9,202 candidates were successful.

Office Sought

Eighty-one percent of Latinos, or 222 candidates, ran for House or Assembly seats while 52 candidates competed for Senate seats. With nearly four times more House seats than Senate seats up for election in 2004, Latinos ran for House and Senate at roughly the same rates. Latinos were elected to the lower chamber of state legislatures slightly more often than to the upper chamber. Seventy-four percent of Latino House candidates were successful, while 71 percent of Latino Senate candidates won their races.

Although Senate candidates tend to raise more than House hopefuls, Latino House and Senate candidates raised remarkably close averages overall, separated by just \$900. In this case, median figures are more useful because fund raising varies considerably from state to state. In addition, the average amount can be skewed when a few candidates raise large amounts of money. The median describes the midpoint of a set of numbers, with an equal number of candidates raising more and less than that amount.

Latino Senate candidates raised a median amount 14 percent higher than Latino House candidates, with Senate winners getting 25 percent more and Senate losers collecting more than twice as much as their House counterparts. Not surprisingly, Latino winners for both legislative bodies were more fruitful fund-raisers than Latino losers. House winners raised a median more than eight times as much as losers, while Senate winners quadrupled the losers' median.

MEDIAN AMOUNTS RAISED BY LATINO CANDIDATES, 2004

	HOUSE	SENATE
Winner	\$66,191	\$82,574
Loser	\$8,110	\$20,551
ALL	\$39,232	\$44,729

Party Affiliation

Latinos were affiliated with the Democratic Party nearly three times as often as with the Republican Party. Of the 274 Latino candidates, 202 ran as Democrats and 70 as Republicans. In addition to being more prevalent, Latino Democrats were also more successful. Eighty-four percent of Democrats, or 170 of 202, were elected to legislative office, but only 43 percent of Republicans ran successful campaigns.

Bucking the general trend of Republicans raising more than Democrats, Latino Democrats raised an average 27 percent more than Latino Republicans overall. Winning Latino Republicans, however, collected more than Democratic Latino winners, but Democratic losers raised more than Latino Republican losers.

When medians are considered, however, both Republican Latino winners and losers raised more than Democrats. Republican Latino winners raised 13 percent more than Democratic Latino winners, and Republican losers collected 34 percent more than Democratic losers.

One Latino winner in Massachusetts who was not affiliated with a political party raised less than the median for both Democratic and Republican winners. A Latino elected to Nebraska's nonpartisan legislature raised more than the Republican median but less than the Democratic median.

LATINO FUND RAISING BY PARTY AFFILIATION, 2004

PARTY	MEDIAN	WINNER MEDIAN	LOSER MEDIAN
Democrat	\$46,356	\$65,256	\$9,454
Republican	\$27,005	\$73,838	\$12,666
Nonpartisan	\$41,983	\$41,983	—
No Party Affiliation	\$46,036	\$46,036	—

Incumbent/Challenger/Open

Whether a candidate is an incumbent, a challenger, or in a race for an open seat often influences that candidate's ability and need to procure campaign funds. The influence of incumbents allows them to raise more money than lesser-known challengers, who often lack the political capital to raise large war chests. In some cases, especially when an incumbent is unopposed, name recognition is enough to assure re-election and little need exists for the incumbent to raise much money. Open-seat races draw the most money, in general, because neither candidate has a built-in advantage, and political parties see the open field as a good opportunity to gain a seat.

Latino candidates were more likely to be incumbents than they were to challenge a seated legislator or run for an open seat. There were 165 incumbents seeking re-election in 2004, or 60 percent of the Latino candidates. The 67 challengers accounted for nearly one-quarter of the Latino candidates, and 14 percent ran in open districts. The remaining three candidates were incumbents running for open seats in a different chamber or district.

All three Latino incumbents running for open seats won their races. Incumbent Latinos were also very successful. Only four of the 165 Latino incumbents lost their seats in 2004, for a 98 percent success rate. Two of the losing Latino incumbents were beaten by fellow Latinos, and two lost to

non-Latinos; all of the losers ran in states with sizable Latino populations.⁹ Latino candidates running for open seats were quite successful, winning 69 percent of the time, or 27 of 39 seats. Challengers of Latino descent lost their races more often than Latino candidates running for re-election or for an open seat. Only 11 of 67 were successful, a rate of just 16 percent.

The most successful types of candidates among Latinos also tended to be the most lucrative fundraisers. Incumbents collected a median amount that was nearly twice as much as Latinos seeking open seats and more than five times as much as candidates who were challenging incumbents.

LATINO MEDIAN AMOUNTS BY TYPE OF CANDIDATE, 2004

	NUMBER	MEDIAN	SUCCESS
Incumbent	165	\$70,300	98%
Challenger	67	\$12,215	16%
Open	39	\$35,316	69%
Incumbent/Open	3	\$55,810	100%
ALL	274	\$40,393	74%

Opposition

Twenty-five percent of Latino general-election candidates ran unopposed in both the primary and general elections, compared with 15 percent of non-Latino candidates. Almost all of the Latino candidates who did not face opposition, 66 of 69, were incumbent to the office to which they were re-elected. One Latino without an opponent was an incumbent in a re-drawn district, and two won open seats.

Unopposed Latinos raised a median 49 percent higher than Latinos with opposition. This is not surprising considering that most unopposed Latinos were incumbents, and incumbents often raised more than other candidates.

LATINO CANDIDATE MEDIANS BY OPPOSITION, 2004

	NUMBER	MEDIAN
Opposed	205	\$39,385
Unopposed	69	\$58,527

LATINO VS. LATINO RACES

Twenty-six of the 179 contested 2004 state legislative races with Latino candidates, or 15 percent, pitted Latino against Latino in the general election. These races with two or more Latino candidates occurred in the 10 states with the highest number of Latino candidates. Nineteen of these races were for House seats and seven for Senate seats. New Mexico had the most races with two Latino contenders: two for House seats and five for Senate seats. New York had four,

⁹ The four losing candidates were in Illinois, New Mexico, New York and Texas. Latinos comprised 12 percent to 32 percent of the populations of these states in 2000. "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

followed by Florida and Texas, each with three such races. Arizona, California and Massachusetts had two apiece, and Colorado, Connecticut and Illinois had one each.

When Latino candidates competed against one another, Democrats emerged victorious more often than did Republicans. Democrats beat Republicans in 20 of the 26 districts, while Republicans won in three Florida districts. In the other Latino vs. Latino races, a Massachusetts House candidate not affiliated with a political party defeated a Democrat in a race for an open seat. And in Arizona, where two House members are elected from a larger pool of candidates, two Latino Democrats beat a non-Latino Republican in one district, and one Latino Democrat and one non-Latino Republican won in the other.

Challengers attempted to unseat incumbents in 20 of the 24 races in which both candidates were Latino. Only one challenger, in New York's Senate District 28, successfully dislodged the incumbent in the general election.

In two districts — New Mexico's House District 68 and House District 35 in Texas — the incumbents lost in the primary election, leaving two Latino challengers to face off in the general election. The Texas race was a big-money affair with both candidates raising well above the average for Texas House candidates. The winner raised \$394,991, which was 94 percent more than the loser's \$203,328. The New Mexico candidates raised more modest amounts, \$81,305 and \$6,371, but the winner collected more than the average for New Mexican House candidates and 12 times as much as the loser.

Latinos competed against one another for open seats in only two districts: Florida's House District 114 and the Sixteenth Essex House District in Massachusetts. In Florida, the Republican winner raised \$181,592, seven times more than the Democrat's \$25,526. The Republican probably needed such a large war chest for the primary battle, where six candidates competed for a slot on the Republican ticket, while the Democrat ran unopposed at the primary level. The Massachusetts race featured a winner not affiliated with a political party and a losing Democrat. In this state, where Democrats dominate the legislature, the lack of a Republican candidate is not surprising. The un-enrolled winner collected 17 times as much as the loser, \$46,036 compared with \$2,790.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE STATES

This section examines in more detail the fund-raising experiences of Latino and non-Latino candidates in the states with the most Latino legislative candidates in 2004.

ARIZONA

Latino state legislative candidates in Arizona's 2004 general election raised lower average amounts than non-Latinos and did not represent their share of the population. In a state where Latinos comprise 25.3 percent of the population,¹⁰ only 13 percent of Arizona's 2004 candidates were Latino. Of the 134 major-party candidates competing for Arizona's 60 House seats and 30 Senate seats, just 18 were Latino.

¹⁰ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

In 2004, 57 percent of Arizona’s Democratic and Republican general-election state legislative candidates participated in the public-funding program. Latinos participated at a higher rate than non-Latinos, 61 percent compared with 57 percent.

Candidates who wish to accept public financing are limited to raising small amounts of private funds only during an exploratory period and only from individuals.¹¹ The amount of funds granted to publicly financed candidates depends upon opponents’ fund raising and other factors affecting the campaign, such as independent expenditures.

Candidates

Arizona Latinos won 83 percent of their races, well above the national Latino success rate of 74 percent.

All of the Latino incumbents won their races, even though they raised less than all other Latino and non-Latino types of candidates. Non-Latino incumbents collected 75 percent more than Latino incumbents. Five Latino incumbents did not face opposition, a factor likely contributing to their meager fund raising. Half of the Latino incumbents did not accept public financing, but of those who did not, only one faced opposition.

Latino challengers in Arizona were more successful than they were nationwide, and they actually raised more on average than incumbents but less than non-Latino challengers. Latino challengers collected 26 percent more than incumbents, while non-Latino challengers received 30 percent more than Latino challengers. Only one Latino challenger did not accept public financing.

The rate at which Arizona’s Latino candidates ran unopposed was slightly higher than the national average: 28 percent compared to 25 percent. Unopposed Latinos in Arizona raised 43 percent less than non-Latinos in uncontested races. Only one unopposed candidate, a non-Latino, participated in the public-funding program, leaving the others free to accept unlimited contributions.

Only one Latino candidate in Arizona was not a Democrat. That Republican challenged an incumbent senator and lost, after being outraised by a ratio of more than 2-to-1. Democratic Latinos raised 21 percent less than Democratic non-Latinos.

ARIZONA CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	12	\$21,611	53	\$37,882
Challenger	5	\$27,318	52	\$35,415
Incumbent/Open	0	—	1	\$128,534
Open	1	\$30,848	10	\$39,306
Unopposed	5	\$12,075	12	\$21,229

Seven of Arizona’s Latino candidates sought Senate seats, and 11 ran for the House. Latino House candidates were more successful than Latino Senate hopefuls.

¹¹ “Citizens Clean Elections Act, Rules and Policies Manual,” *Citizens Clean Elections Commission* [on-line]; available from <http://www.ccec.state.az.us/ccescr/pub/pdf/ActRules.pdf>; Internet; accessed Jan. 3, 2006.

Publicly financed candidates had bigger campaign accounts, on average, than candidates who did not accept public financing. Latino House winners who did not receive public monies raised less than half as much as their peers who received public financing. For the Senate, Latino winners who received public funds raised 89 percent more than Latino Senate winners who did not participate in the program. Only two of the seven Latinos who opted out of the clean elections program faced opposition.

The most notable aspect of public financing, and the reason for its inception, is that it allows candidates of modest means or without the ability to raise large amounts of cash to receive the funds necessary to launch a competitive race. Because of public financing in Arizona, the average amounts raised by winning and losing candidates were more equitable than in other states. In fact, both Latino and non-Latino clean elections House losers collected more money than the winners, on average.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY ARIZONA CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON- LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
PUBLIC FINANCING				
House	\$32,437	\$39,039	\$38,894	\$39,314
Senate	\$28,875	\$21,532	\$48,533	\$47,478
NO PUBLIC FINANCING				
House	\$11,589	—	\$33,481	\$6,384
Senate	\$15,314	—	\$46,064	\$1,169

— No candidates

Sources of Funds

Latino candidates received smaller average amounts than did non-Latinos from most traditional sources of funds and spent less personal money on their campaigns. This may be attributable to a larger percentage of Latinos receiving public monies, since these candidates are only allowed to receive very limited amounts of private money at the beginning of the election cycle.

Business sources contributed more than twice as much to non-Latinos as to Latinos, on average, while labor organizations gave Latinos 86 percent more than non-Latinos. Non-Latinos also received an average of \$204 from party sources while Latinos received just \$18.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR ARIZONA CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$3,804	\$8,853
Non-Business	\$349	\$713
Unidentified	\$1,494	\$4,469
Labor	\$372	\$200
Party	\$18	\$204
Candidate	\$140	\$1,023
Public Funds	\$17,533	\$22,217

CALIFORNIA

In a state where a legislative race is often a pricey endeavor, California Latino candidates raised more, on average, than non-Latinos. Though Latinos account for 32.4 percent of California's population,¹² only 18 percent of 2004 Democratic and Republican general-election candidates for state legislature were Latino. The 35 Latinos ran amongst a group of 193 major-party candidates competing for all 80 Assembly seats and 20 of 40 Senate seats.

Candidates

The success rate for California's Latino candidates was just 57 percent, falling significantly below the national success rate of 74 percent for Latino general-election candidates. Unsuccessful Latino candidates raised far less than Latinos who won their races. The average amount collected by winning Latinos was nearly \$1.1 million while losing Latinos who raised money collected an average of \$10,103.¹³

All of the Latino incumbents won their races, and they raised 47 percent more than non-Latino incumbents, on average. One incumbent seeking an open seat was also successful and collected more than \$2.5 million, twice as much as the average for non-Latino incumbents running for open seats and the average raised by Latino incumbents.

Latinos running for open seats in California won more often than non-Latinos attempting to win open seats, even though they collected 9 percent less than non-Latinos.

All except two of the winning Latinos were Democrats; Republicans won those seats. The losing Latinos were almost equally split: eight ran as Democrats and seven as Republicans. Overall, Latino Democrats collected 45 percent more, on average, than Latino Republicans. Latino Republican winners, however, raised more than twice as much as Democratic winners, and Republican losers raised 45 percent more than Latino Democrats who lost.

CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	12	\$1,018,703	55	\$694,973
Challenger	10	\$5,684	51	\$271,281
Incumbent/Open	1	\$2,585,297	5	\$1,194,996
Open	12	\$577,139	47	\$634,507
Unopposed	0	—	1	\$478,082

Thirty-two of California's Latinos sought Assembly seats, and three ran for Senate. Latino Assembly candidates won more often than Latino Senate candidates.

¹² "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

¹³ Four losing Latino candidates did not file campaign disclosure reports with the state, according to the Political Reform Division, California Secretary of State's Office, March 7, 2006.

Latino Assembly and Senate winners both raised higher averages than non-Latinos. Losing Latinos, however, raised less than non-Latinos. Successful Latino Assembly candidates raised 51 percent more than non-Latino Assembly winners, on average.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON- LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$1,005,043	\$7,540	\$665,524	\$316,984
Senate	\$2,585,297	\$6,558	\$1,015,747	\$519,158

Eight California Latino candidates raised more than \$1 million, with two raising more than \$2 million. All of the Latinos who raised more than \$1 million won their races; both candidates were Latino in one race. In half of the million-dollar races, the non-Latino opponents also raised more than \$1 million.

Sources of Funds

Non-Latino candidates financed their campaigns with personal money at almost 10 times the rate of Latino candidates, but Latinos raised more from all other identified sources, on average. The biggest disparity in sources of funds to Latino and non-Latino candidates was from labor organizations, which contributed 86 percent more to Latinos. Non-business sources, such as ideological groups and retired individuals, followed; they gave Latinos 39 percent more than non-Latinos. Businesses also spent 25 percent more on Latinos and party sources 22 percent more, on average.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$228,222	\$181,861
Non-Business	\$22,386	\$16,131
Unidentified	\$119,018	\$132,928
Labor	\$80,687	\$43,449
Party	\$167,814	\$138,078
Candidate	\$4,509	\$43,601

COLORADO

Latino state legislative candidates in Colorado's 2004 general election raised less than non-Latinos, on average, and did not make up their share of the population. Eight Latinos, of 146 major-party candidates, sought election to the 65 House seats and 18 of 35 Senate seats. Latinos accounted for 5 percent of general-election candidates although they account for 17.1 percent of Colorado's population.¹⁴

¹⁴ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

Candidates

Half of Colorado’s Latinos were incumbents, and the other half were evenly split between challengers and those seeking open seats. All four of the Latino incumbents and one seeking an open seat won their races for a 63 percent success rate — below the 74 percent national average.

Latinos running for open seats raised the highest average among Latino candidates, \$61,754. The two candidates, however, sat on opposite, extreme ends of the fund-raising spectrum. The House candidate raised just \$8,477, while the Senate candidate collected \$115,030. The Latinos vying for open seats raised 30 percent more than non-Latino counterparts, on average.

Colorado’s Latino incumbents and challengers raised 26 percent and 39 percent less than non-Latinos, respectively.

All of the successful Latinos were Democrats, and all of those losing were Republicans. The Republicans collected more, on average, than Democrats, but the open-seat candidate mentioned above, who raised \$115,030, elevated the Republican average.

COLORADO CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	4	\$29,251	54	\$39,687
Challenger	2	\$16,078	40	\$26,503
Incumbent/Open	0	—	4	\$56,632
Open	2	\$61,754	40	\$47,651
Unopposed	1	\$30,677	13	\$16,066

Only one Colorado Latino ran for Senate, and that candidate lost the battle for an open seat despite raising nearly three times as much as non-Latino Senate losers.

Five of the seven Latino House contenders were successful. One of the Latino House losers unsuccessfully challenged a Latino incumbent. Non-Latino House winners raised 49 percent more than Latinos, and the losers received 57 percent more than Latino losers.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY COLORADO CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON- LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$25,097	\$16,078	\$37,411	\$25,210
Senate	—	\$115,030	\$77,283	\$39,627

— No candidates

Sources of Funds

Non-Latinos received more money than Latinos from all identified funding sources except businesses, which gave Latinos just 4 percent more, on average. Party sources gave non-Latinos 27 percent more than Latinos, and labor organizations contributed more than twice as much to non-Latinos. Non-Latinos also used more than twice as much personal money for their campaigns than Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR COLORADO CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$12,764	\$12,271
Non-Business	\$2,149	\$3,714
Unidentified	\$14,762	\$13,345
Labor	\$2,019	\$5,427
Party	\$1,777	\$2,250
Candidate	\$613	\$1,658

CONNECTICUT

Latino House candidates in Connecticut's 2004 general election collected less, on average, than non-Latino counterparts and did not make up their share of the population. Eight Latinos competed among 248 candidates for all 151 House seats. Latinos comprise 9.4 percent of Connecticut's population¹⁵ but represented just 3 percent of 2004 general-election House candidates running on major-party tickets. No Latinos ran for Senate.

Candidates

The 75 percent success rate enjoyed by Connecticut Latinos is on par with the national rate of 74 percent for Latinos.

All of Connecticut's Latino incumbents were re-elected although they raised 27 percent less than non-Latino incumbents, on average.

A Latino open-seat candidate was also successful and raised more than the average for any other type of Latino or non-Latino candidate. The Latino open-seat winner raised 33 percent more than the average for non-Latino candidates who won open seats.

Two Latino challengers were unsuccessful and raised an average 4 percent less than non-Latino challengers.

One unopposed Latino collected 7 percent more than the average for 32 non-Latinos who did not face opposition.

Only one Latino, who was unsuccessful, ran on the Republican ticket. The seven remaining Latinos ran as Democrats, and only one challenger did not win.

¹⁵ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

CONNECTICUT HOUSE CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	5	\$12,732	130	\$17,457
Challenger	2	\$9,198	81	\$9,603
Incumbent/Open	0	—	1	\$17,350
Open	1	\$28,583	28	\$21,474
Unopposed	1	\$12,005	32	\$11,267

Non-Latino House winners and losers both raised higher average amounts than their Latino counterparts. Non-Latino winners had a 19 percent fund-raising advantage, while non-Latino losers collected 16 percent more than Latinos.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY CONNECTICUT CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Winners	\$15,374	\$18,311
Losers	\$9,198	\$10,640

Sources of Funds

Non-Latinos collected more, on average, from business contributors and party sources, but Latinos received more from labor organizations. Businesses gave 35 percent more and party sources 30 percent more to non-Latinos. Non-Latinos also spent 95 percent more of their personal money on their campaigns than Latinos. Labor unions, on the other hand, gave Latinos 85 percent more than non-Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR CONNECTICUT CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$3,517	\$4,731
Non-Business	\$1,323	\$1,531
Unidentified	\$4,958	\$5,138
Labor	\$1,969	\$1,062
Party	\$1,852	\$2,401
Candidate	\$211	\$411

FLORIDA

Florida's Latino candidates collected slightly less, on average, than non-Latino candidates in the 2004 state legislative elections. Latinos account for 16.8 percent of the population.¹⁶ Twenty-four Latino candidates — accounting for 13 percent of Florida's 185 Democratic and Republican state legislative candidates — competed for Florida's 120 House seats and 22 of 40 Senate seats.

Candidates

The 63 percent success rate of Florida Latino candidates is well below the 74 percent success rate nationally for Latinos.

Both Latino incumbents and challengers raised more than non-Latino counterparts, on average. Latino incumbents raised 23 percent more, and challengers collected 15 percent more. All of the Latino incumbents were re-elected, but no Latino challengers were successful.

Non-Latino candidates for open seats raised 59 percent more than Latinos who sought open seats. Only one-third of Latino candidates seeking open seats won their races. Two Latinos competed against one another in one of the open-seat races.

Of 70 candidates running without an opponent in 2004, only eight were Latino. Latinos who won without facing opposition collected an average 20 percent more than the non-Latinos.

In contrast to the national trend of Democratic Latinos enjoying more success, Florida's Republican Latinos won more often than Democratic Latinos, probably owing to Florida's Republican-dominated legislature. Thirteen of the 15 Latinos who won their elections were Republican. All of the Latino losers, save one, were Democrats. The Republican Latinos raised an average amount that was 2.5 times greater than the Democratic Latino average.

FLORIDA CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	13	\$150,268	107	\$122,422
Challenger	5	\$38,337	26	\$33,304
Incumbent/Open	0	—	2	\$315,453
Open	6	\$96,239	26	\$153,309
Unopposed	8	\$96,190	62	\$80,209

Latinos running for House seats raised higher average amounts than non-Latinos, while the sole Latino competing for a Senate seat was out-raised by his opponent by a 16-1 ratio. Latino House winners raised 29 percent more than non-Latinos, on average, while Latino House losers raised 6 percent more than unsuccessful non-Latino House candidates.

¹⁶ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY FLORIDA CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$155,270	\$45,764	\$120,003	\$43,375
Senate	—	\$27,437	\$208,300	\$28,239

— No candidates

Sources of Funds

Florida's Latino candidates collected higher average amounts than non-Latinos from all sources except businesses, which gave non-Latinos 9 percent more. Latinos received an average 30 percent more from labor unions than did non-Latinos. Party sources also gave Latinos 17 percent more than non-Latinos. Non-Latinos did, however, finance their campaigns with personal funds more than six times as much as Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR FLORIDA CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$63,654	\$69,634
Non-Business	\$1,382	\$899
Unidentified	\$29,034	\$26,750
Labor	\$3,452	\$2,658
Party	\$15,592	\$13,284
Candidate	\$327	\$2,190

ILLINOIS

In the 2004 Illinois state legislative elections, 209 candidates competed for all 118 Illinois state House seats and 23 of its Senate seats. Just 10 of the candidates were Latino, and they raised less than their non-Latino counterparts. In a state where Latinos comprise 12.3 percent of the population,¹⁷ Latinos accounted for less than 5 percent of general-election legislative candidates running on the major-party tickets.

Candidates

The 90 percent success rate enjoyed by Illinois Latino legislative candidates in 2004 is well above the national rate of 74 percent. All of the Latino candidates were incumbents, save one challenger who unseated an incumbent Latino under somewhat extraordinary circumstances.

Michelle Chavez, a largely unknown candidate, defeated Frank Aguilar, a Republican incumbent in House District 24. Chavez, who ran as a Democrat even though she had never been in contact with the party,¹⁸ won both the primary and general elections without raising any money or

¹⁷ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

¹⁸ Charles Thomas, "Surprise Win in Cicero," *WSL-TV*, Nov. 4, 2004 [on-line]; available from <http://abclocal.go.com/wls/story?section=News&id=2347649>; Internet; accessed Jan. 9, 2006.

advertising her candidacy. State Sen. Martin Sandoval, a Democrat who represents Chavez's district in the state Senate, alleged that Chavez was planted to draw votes from stronger Democrats in the primary and ease her opponent's re-election.¹⁹ Whether Chavez won by riding the coattails of successful U.S. Senate candidate Barack Obama or was boosted by grassroots campaigning from her family and whatever her reasons for entering the race,²⁰ Chavez beat an incumbent without raising a cent, although Aguilar collected nearly \$68,000. Aguilar was also the only Latino Republican who ran in Illinois in 2004.

Sixty percent of the 2004 Illinois Latino state legislative candidates ran uncontested, compared with the national Latino rate of 25 percent. Only three incumbents faced opposition, which may be why Illinois Latino incumbents raised less than half the average collected by non-Latino incumbents. Unopposed non-Latinos raised 93 percent more than Latinos in uncontested races.

ILLINOIS TYPES OF CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	9	\$138,409	126	\$310,785
Challenger	1	\$0	65	\$133,925
Incumbent/Challenger	0	—	1	\$442,889
Incumbent/Open	0	—	1	\$376,580
Open	0	—	6	\$109,416
Unopposed	6	\$136,381	53	\$262,782

Two Illinois Latinos ran for Senate, and the other eight sought House seats. Only one Latino candidate lost, House incumbent Frank Aguilar, whose unusual race is described above.

Latino House candidates collected an average 39 percent less than non-Latino candidates. The average amount raised by Latino House winners was nearly half the amount that non-Latino House winners collected. The only Latino House loser raised 25 percent less than non-Latinos.

The two Latino Senate candidates were unopposed incumbents who were outraised by their non-Latino peers by a ratio of more than 4-to-1.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY ILLINOIS CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$129,512	\$67,995	\$255,614	\$90,593
Senate	\$135,554	—	\$551,764	\$391,498

— No candidates

¹⁹ Associated Press, "Mystery Candidate Elected to Illinois House," Nov. 4, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://ilcampaign.org/press/news/illinois/2004/2004-11-4CandCicero.html>; Internet; accessed Jan. 9, 2006.

²⁰ Ibid.

Sources of Funds

Because Illinois Latino candidates raised smaller averages than non-Latinos overall, it is not surprising that non-Latinos raised more from all sources than did Latinos. Although candidate money did not count for a sizable amount overall, the largest difference in average amounts raised by Latinos and non-Latinos came from candidates financing their own campaigns. Non-Latinos gave an average six times more than Latinos. Party committees followed, giving non-Latinos nearly five times more than Latinos. Business sources and labor unions gave non-Latinos 78 percent and 39 percent more, respectively.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR ILLINOIS CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$54,614	\$96,948
Non-Business	\$3,378	\$5,264
Unidentified	\$30,253	\$46,267
Labor	\$22,391	\$31,130
Party	\$13,527	\$65,810
Candidate	\$406	\$2,520

MASSACHUSETTS

Latino candidates running in the 2004 general election for state legislative office raised less than non-Latinos, on average, and did not make up their share of the Massachusetts population. Though Latinos account for 6.8 percent of the population,²¹ just seven Latinos ran among the 310 Democratic and Republican candidates for all 200 House and Senate seats. The Latino candidates accounted for 2 percent of all 2004 Massachusetts general-election candidates.

Candidates

Latinos in Massachusetts won 57 percent of their races, below the 74 percent success rate Latinos enjoyed overall.

All of the Latino incumbents were re-elected, and Latino incumbents raised more, on average, than non-Latino incumbents and other Latino candidates. Incumbent Latino fund raising was second only to that of non-Latino incumbents in open seat races who were running for a seat in another district or different chamber. Latino incumbents collected 11 percent more than non-Latino incumbents.

Two Latinos running for an open House seat collected far less than the average for non-Latino open-seat contenders. The winner of that race raised 16 times more than the loser but 5 percent less than the non-Latino average for open-seat House candidates.

Neither of the two Latino challengers were successful, and the average amount they raised was 72 percent less than the average for non-Latino challengers.

²¹ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

Two Latino incumbents did not face opposition, and they raised 65 percent more than non-Latinos who ran unopposed.

Four of the seven Massachusetts Latinos were Democrats, two ran as Republicans and one was not affiliated with a political party. On average, the Democratic Latinos raised more than five times as much as the Republicans, a fact not entirely surprising considering that both Republicans were challengers while three of the Democrats were incumbents. The unaffiliated candidate collected 47 percent less than the average for Latino Democrats but still won an open seat.

MASSACHUSETTS CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	3	\$113,829	177	\$102,423
Challenger	2	\$15,437	95	\$54,400
Incumbent/Open	0	—	2	\$154,273
Open	2	\$24,413	29	\$72,509
Unopposed	2	\$154,312	70	\$93,594

Six of the seven Massachusetts Latinos sought House seats. Latino House winners and losers both raised considerably less than non-Latinos. Among winners, non-Latinos collected 94 percent more than Latino winners. Losing non-Latino House candidates outraised unsuccessful Latinos by a ratio of 3-to-1.

One Latino Senate candidate, an unopposed incumbent, received 29 percent more than non-Latino Senate winners.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY MASSACHUSETTS CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$37,654	\$11,221	\$72,925	\$35,955
Senate	\$274,560	—	\$212,096	\$118,264

— No candidates

Sources of Funds

Non-Latinos received 15 percent more than Latinos from business sources and three times more from party sources, on average. Labor unions gave nearly equal amounts to Latinos and non-Latinos; non-Latinos received an average just 5 percent higher than Latinos. On average, non-Latinos financed their campaigns with nearly seven times as much money as Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR MASSACHUSETTS CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$18,636	\$21,510
Non-Business	\$3,912	\$3,999
Unidentified	\$29,690	\$39,868
Labor	\$4,071	\$4,278
Party	\$3,096	\$9,990
Candidate	\$764	\$5,200

NEW MEXICO

In the state with the most Latino candidates in 2004, Latinos accounted for less than their share of the population but raised more, on average, than non-Latino candidates. Latinos represented 33 percent of New Mexico's 2004 Democratic and Republican general-election candidates for state legislature, but they make up 42.1 percent of the state's population.²² Fifty-one of the 156 candidates seeking New Mexico's 70 House seats and 42 Senate seats in 2004 were Latino.

Candidates

Just nine of 51 New Mexican Latinos lost in the 2004 general election, a success rate of 82 percent compared with the nationwide Latino average of 74 percent.

One incumbent Latino was not successful, and Latino incumbents collected more than non-Latino incumbents and other types of Latino candidates. Latino incumbents raised 72 percent more than non-Latino incumbents. Only non-Latinos competing in open races received more money than Latino incumbents.

Latino open-seat candidates in New Mexico were all successful even though they raised less than non-Latinos seeking open seats. Non-Latino open-seat candidates raised more, on average, than any other type of candidate and 74 percent more than Latino open-seat candidates.

All except one of the Latino challengers lost their races. The winning challenger ousted the incumbent in the primary election. Although Latino challengers raised less than half as much as Latino incumbents, they collected 13 percent more than non-Latino challengers, on average.

More than one-quarter of New Mexican Latinos, 14 of 51, did not face opposition. They raised 41 percent more than non-Latino candidates who were unopposed.

Seventy-eight percent of New Mexican Latinos ran as Democrats, and Democratic Latinos were more successful than Republicans. Latino Democrats collected three times as much as Latino Republicans, on average.

²² "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

NEW MEXICO CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	37	\$41,807	55	\$24,366
Challenger	9	\$20,290	32	\$17,895
Open	5	\$31,226	18	\$54,410
Unopposed	14	\$21,704	38	\$15,420

Overall, New Mexican Latino candidates for both Senate and House collected more than non-Latinos. Thirty-three New Mexican Latinos ran for state House, and 18 sought Senate seats. Latino House candidates were more successful than Latino Senate candidates and, on average, outraised non-Latinos by a larger margin.

For the House, the gap between Latino and non-Latino winners was greater than the one for losers. Latinos who won House seats collected 51 percent more than non-Latino winners. Latino losers received only 20 percent more than unsuccessful non-Latinos.

Latino Senate winners raised the highest average amount among New Mexican state legislative candidates while Latino Senate losers collected the smallest. Latinos elected to Senate seats raised 43 percent more than successful non-Latinos, on average. Losing Latino Senate candidates, however, collected less than half as much as non-Latino counterparts.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY NEW MEXICO CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$37,255	\$21,732	\$24,671	\$18,177
Senate	\$49,700	\$14,434	\$34,726	\$37,961

Sources of Funds

Latinos collected more than non-Latinos from all sources, on average, though non-Latinos contributed almost nine times more personal money to their campaigns than Latinos. While not accounting for a great deal of money, the disparity in labor contributions was the greatest. Labor organizations gave nearly three times more to Latinos than non-Latinos. Business sources favored Latinos with 61 percent more, and party sources gave them 42 percent more, on average. Latinos also received slightly more from non-business sources, such as single-interest groups.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR NEW MEXICO CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$20,075	\$12,492
Non-Business	\$2,500	\$2,166
Unidentified	\$8,413	\$8,067
Labor	\$1,729	\$579
Party	\$4,101	\$2,894
Candidate	\$154	\$1,346

NEW YORK

Latino Democratic and Republican general-election candidates for the New York Legislature represented less than their share of the population and raised less than their non-Latino counterparts, on average. Though accounting for 15.1 percent of New York's population,²³ Latinos made up only 6 percent of state legislative candidates. When New York held elections for all of its 212 Assembly and Senate seats in 2004, 22 of 347 general-election candidates were Latino.

Candidates

The success rate of Latino candidates in New York was 73 percent, just below the national rate of 74 percent for Latinos.

Following the national trend, a majority of New York's Latino candidates were incumbents and most were re-elected. Latino incumbents raised 45 percent less, on average, than non-Latino incumbents.

Just one Latino incumbent lost her re-election bid. In that Senate race, Latino Democrat Jose Serrano, son of U.S. Rep. Jose E. Serrano and a two-term New York City Council member, beat long-time state Sen. Olga A. Mendez, who joined the Republican Party in 2002 because she felt the Democratic Party was not attentive to the needs of Latino communities.²⁴ In the heavily Democratic district, Serrano outraised Mendez by a ratio of nearly 3-to-1 and beat her handily. Serrano raised \$319,180 to Mendez's \$111,575.

Serrano was the only successful Latino challenger, and his above-average fund raising pushed the average raised by Latino challengers to \$59,595, well above the \$45,981 average for non-Latino challengers. Latino challengers collected 30 percent more than non-Latino challengers, although without Serrano's money, the average for Latino challengers was less than \$8,000.

One Latino won an open seat and raised 70 percent more than the average for non-Latinos seeking open seats.

No New York Latinos ran unopposed, though 52 non-Latino New Yorkers were elected without opposition.

Seventeen of the 22 New York Latinos ran as Democrats and five as Republicans. None of the Republicans won their races, and only one Democrat lost. Democratic Latinos collected four times as much as Republican Latinos, on average.

²³ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

²⁴ "Republican and Democratic Feud in East Harlem," *Gotham Gazette*, Oct. 11, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.gothamgazette.com/article/20041011/204/1046>; Internet; accessed Dec. 14, 2005.

NEW YORK CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	15	\$112,105	179	\$202,117
Challenger	6	\$59,595	120	\$45,981
Incumbent/Open	0	—	2	\$1,362,706
Open	1	\$140,401	24	\$82,616
Unopposed	0	—	52	\$164,375

Five Latinos in New York ran for state Senate seats, and 17 sought Assembly seats. Latino Senate candidates were more successful than Latino Assembly candidates. The lone Senate loser was beaten by a fellow Latino. Three unsuccessful Latino Assembly candidates also lost to Latinos.

Both non-Latino Assembly winners and losers collected more, on average, than Latinos. Winning non-Latinos raised 13 percent more than Latinos, and unsuccessful non-Latinos received more than four times as much as Latino Assembly losers.

Though the gap between non-Latino and Latino Assembly winners was not that significant, non-Latino Senate winners more than doubled the average raised by Latino Senate winners. One Latino Senate loser, however, raised 21 percent more than the average for unsuccessful non-Latino Senate candidates.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY NEW YORK CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$108,249	\$7,677	\$122,477	\$32,080
Senate	\$182,649	\$111,575	\$400,168	\$91,937

Sources of Funds

New York Latinos raised less than non-Latinos, on average, from all sources. Party sources and businesses accounted for the biggest differences, giving non-Latinos 65 percent and 59 percent more than Latinos, respectively. Labor organizations gave non-Latinos a less extreme 19 percent more. Non-Latinos also financed their campaigns at a rate six times higher than Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR NEW YORK CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$23,318	\$37,011
Non-Business	\$974	\$1,236
Unidentified	\$45,263	\$60,958
Labor	\$14,908	\$17,744
Party	\$14,234	\$23,523
Candidate	\$374	\$2,312

TEXAS

Although ranking second among states with Latino candidates, Texas Latinos raised average amounts less than non-Latinos and did not account for their share of the population. In 2004, 229 candidates in Texas competed for all 150 House seats and 15 of 31 Senate seats. Forty-three Latinos, or 19 percent of Texas 2004 candidates, ran in a state where Latinos account for 32 percent of the population.²⁵

Candidates

Only nine of the 43 Latinos lost their races, for a success rate of 79 percent, slightly above the 74 percent success rates Latinos experienced on a national scale.

Latino incumbents were more successful than other Latino candidates, though they raised 32 percent less than non-Latino incumbents, on average. Just one Latino incumbent was not re-elected in 2004. The House District 117 incumbent, Republican Ken Mercer, lost to Democrat David Leibowitz in the traditionally Democratic district. Mercer's success in 2002 was somewhat of a fluke attributable to his Democratic opponent's bribery conviction.²⁶

Latino challengers in Texas won more often than did Latino challengers nationwide. They also collected more than both Latino incumbents and non-Latino challengers. One unsuccessful Texas Latino challenger increased the average for Latino challengers by collecting significantly more than other Latino challengers. The Latino challenger average was 54 percent higher than the average raised by non-Latino challengers.

Forty-seven percent of Texas Latinos ran unopposed, compared with 29 percent of non-Latinos and the 25 percent national Latino average. Unopposed Latinos collected 42 percent less than non-Latinos who were not opposed.

All except one of the Latino winners were Democrats, and six of the nine Latino losers were Republicans. Democratic Latinos raised an average 73 percent more than Republican Latinos.

TEXAS CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	LATINO		NON-LATINO	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	31	\$172,194	120	\$253,083
Challenger	11	\$193,784	57	\$125,526
Open	1	\$87,071	9	\$169,726
Unopposed	20	\$117,910	54	\$204,847

Thirty-seven Latinos ran for the House, and six Latinos sought Senate seats. Latino Senate candidates were more successful than House candidates, though winners for both chambers raised

²⁵ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

²⁶ Michael King, "Across the State: House Races to Watch," *The Austin Chronicle*, Oct. 22, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from http://www.austinchronicle.com/issues/dispatch/2004-10-22/pols_feature5.html; Internet; accessed Jan. 25, 2006.

less than non-Latino winners, on average. Latino losing candidates for both houses, however, collected more than non-Latinos.

Non-Latino House winners received 65 percent more than Latinos, on average. On the other hand, Latino House losers collected 56 percent more than non-Latinos who did not win.

For the Senate, non-Latino winners raised 44 percent more than Latinos, while Latino losers collected more than twice as much as non-Latinos.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY TEXAS CANDIDATES, 2004

	LATINO		NON- LATINO	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$132,565	\$193,308	\$218,747	\$123,804
Senate	\$423,950	\$46,116	\$609,394	\$17,414

Sources of Funds

Texan Latino state legislative candidates received more money, on average, than non-Latinos from labor and non-business sources while non-Latinos raised more from businesses and party sources and spent more than twice as much personal money on their campaigns. The biggest disparity in sources of funds came from party sources, which gave non-Latinos more than twice as much as Latinos. Labor unions, on the other hand, were more generous to Latinos than non-Latinos; they contributed 74 percent more to Latinos. Non-business sources, such as single-issue groups, also favored Latinos with 29 percent more, while business contributors gave non-Latinos 18 percent more than Latinos.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR TEXAS CANDIDATES, 2004

SOURCE	LATINO	NON-LATINO
Business	\$104,141	\$123,399
Non-Business	\$14,046	\$10,855
Unidentified	\$41,324	\$50,989
Labor	\$7,817	\$4,497
Party	\$4,501	\$11,054
Candidate	\$3,909	\$9,165

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CANDIDATES

Asian Americans, native Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders number 12.5 million and account for 4.4 percent of the United States population²⁷ but made up just 1 percent of 2004 state legislative candidates.

The following examination of 2004 Asian Pacific American winning and losing general-election candidates for state legislature compares their experiences to that of other candidates. Because the race or ethnicity of many losing candidates could not be determined, comparisons are made between Asian Pacific Americans and non-Asian Pacific Americans, a group that includes African Americans, Latinos and Native Americans, as well as whites.

The Institute received candidate identifications from the Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies (APAICS), which identified general-election winners and losers who ran on the Democratic and Republican tickets in states that elected legislators in 2004.

This study of 2004 Asian Pacific American and non-Asian Pacific American general-election candidates found:

- 109 Asian Pacific Americans competed in 22 of the 44 states that elected legislators in 2004²⁸ but were elected to legislatures in just 16 states.
- On average, Asian Pacific American candidates raised more than non-Asian Pacific Americans in two-thirds of the states where they ran for House seats and in one of five states where they sought Senate seats.
- Asian Pacific Americans won their races at the same rate as non-Asian Pacific Americans, even though Asian Pacific Americans competed against fellow Asian Pacific Americans in 27 percent of the contested races.
- Incumbent Asian Pacific Americans were usually re-elected or elected to a new office, and those seeking open seats also won more often than not. Asian Pacific Americans challenging incumbents, however, were less successful.
- Asian Pacific Americans were more likely to run as Democrats than Republicans, and Democratic Asian Pacific Americans won more often than Republicans.

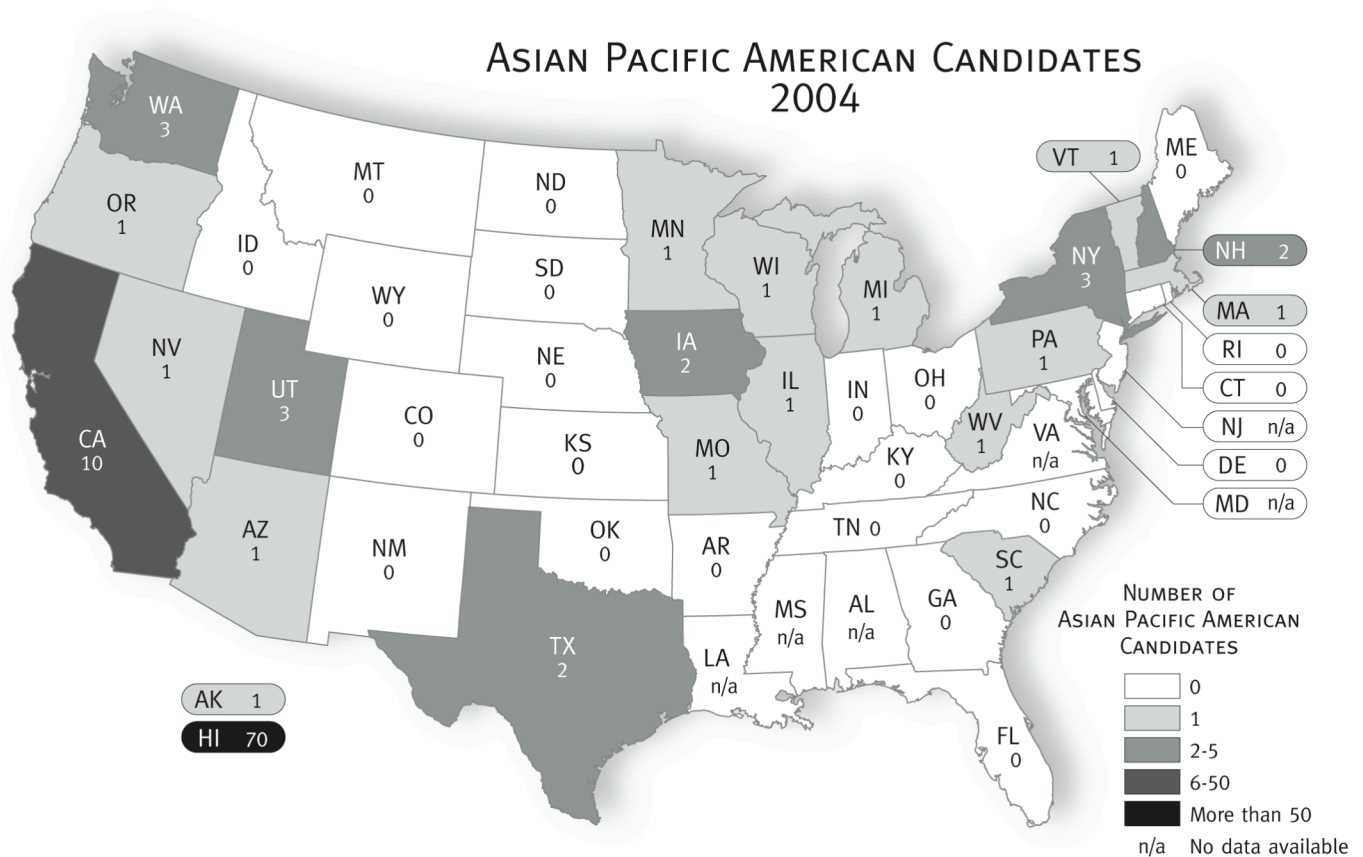
²⁷ Terrence Reeves and Claudette Bennett, "The Asian and Pacific Islander Population in the United States: March 2002," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p20-540.pdf>; Internet; accessed Jan. 13, 2006.

²⁸ Alabama, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, New Jersey and Virginia did not elect state legislators in 2004 and are not included in this analysis.

STATES WITH ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CANDIDATES

Asian Pacific Americans ran in general-election races in 22 of the 44 states that elected legislators in 2004. Hawaii was home to 64 percent of the Asian Pacific American legislative candidates.

The number of Asian Pacific American candidates is reflective of the high proportion of Asian Americans and Hawaiian natives residing in the West. Eighty-three percent of Asian Pacific American candidates ran in Western states, where 51 percent of that population resides.²⁹ There were three Asian Pacific American candidates in New York, home to the city with the most Asian American residents.³⁰



²⁹ The U.S. Census Bureau identifies the following as Western states: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wyoming. Terrence Reeves and Claudette Bennett, "The Asian and Pacific Islander Population in the United States: March 2002," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2003pubs/p20-540.pdf>; Internet; accessed Jan. 13, 2006.

³⁰ "Asian Pacific American Heritage Month: May 2003," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from http://www.census.gov/Press-Release/www/releases/archives/facts_for_features/001627.html; Internet; accessed Jan. 20, 2006.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN FUND RAISING

On average, Asian Pacific Americans raised more than non-Asian Pacific Americans in 14 of 21 states with House candidates, but in just one of five states with Senate candidates.

Non-Asian Pacific American House candidates collected more than twice as much, on average, as Asian Pacific Americans in Minnesota and Missouri, while Asian Pacific Americans seeking House seats raised double the average that non-Asian Pacific American candidates raised in Iowa, Oregon, South Carolina, Texas, Wisconsin and West Virginia. In New Hampshire, Asian Pacific Americans raised an average that was six times greater than non-Asian Pacific Americans. There was usually only one Asian Pacific American in these states, however, and their fund raising was generally either fruitful or poor.

Among Senate candidates, Asian Pacific Americans in California, Iowa and New York did not raise any money or did not file campaign-finance reports. Hawaiian Asian Pacific Americans raised more, on average, than non-Asian Pacific Americans, and the Pennsylvania Asian Pacific American raised less than the average for non-Asian Pacific Americans.

DIFFERENCE IN FUND-RAISING AVERAGES BY STATE, 2004

STATE	HOUSE			SENATE		
	APA	NON-APA	%	APA	NON-APA	%
Alaska	\$60,448	\$53,176	+14%	—	—	—
Arizona	\$30,595	\$33,995	-10%	—	—	—
California	\$767,467	\$496,826	+55%	\$0	\$816,328	-100%
Hawaii	\$39,579	\$30,572	+30%	\$75,372	\$58,580	+29%
Illinois	\$218,317	\$196,567	+11%	—	—	—
Iowa	\$104,531	\$49,092	+113%	\$0	\$139,064	-100%
Massachusetts	\$41,924	\$59,532	-30%	—	—	—
Michigan	\$43,848	\$60,849	-28%	No Races	No Races	—
Minnesota	\$13,739	\$29,494	-53%	No Races	No Races	—
Missouri	\$351	\$39,408	-99%	—	—	—
Nevada	\$104,643	\$93,665	+12%	—	—	—
New Hampshire	\$3,540	\$542	+553%	—	—	—
New York	\$165,025	\$84,929	+94%	\$0	\$279,200	-100%
Oregon	\$234,314	\$96,421	+143%	—	--	--
Pennsylvania	—	—	—	\$246,527	\$281,523	-12%
South Carolina	\$79,301	\$27,751	+186%	—	—	—
Texas	\$394,268	\$180,330	+119%	—	—	—
Utah	\$14,748	\$16,210	-9%	—	—	—
Vermont	\$4,248	\$2,973	+43%	—	—	—
Washington	\$40,131	\$68,111	-41%	—	—	—
Wisconsin	\$78,979	\$35,080	+125%	—	—	—
West Virginia	\$39,275	\$16,650	+136%	—	—	—

— No Asian Pacific American candidates

TYPES OF ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CANDIDATES

Asian Pacific American general-election candidates won at the same rate as did non-Asian Pacific Americans; both enjoyed a 61 percent success rate.

Office Sought

Eighty-seven percent of Asian Pacific American candidates ran for the lower chamber of their respective legislatures. Just 14 Asian Pacific Americans in five states — California, Hawaii, Iowa, New York and Pennsylvania — sought Senate seats. One factor contributing to the small number of Asian Pacific American Senate candidates may be that only 12 Senate seats were up for election in Hawaii, the state with the largest number of Asian Pacific American candidates. In Hawaii, Asian Pacific American candidates ran in nine of the 12 Senate races.

Senate candidates enjoyed a slightly higher success rate than House candidates: 64 percent compared with 61 percent.

Asian Pacific American candidates seeking House seats collected an average amount that was 71 percent higher than those running for Senate. In this case, median figures are more useful, because fund raising varies considerably from state to state and a few large amounts skew the average. The median describes the midpoint of a set of numbers, with an equal number of candidates raising more and less than that amount. When medians are considered, the Senate fund-raising advantage increases to 91 percent more than the median for Asian Pacific American House candidates.

Asian Pacific American House winners collected a median amount that was 63 percent more than Asian Pacific American House losers. For the Senate, successful Asian Pacific Americans raised a median of \$91,264, and the median for Asian Pacific American losers was \$0. Only two of the five Senate losers reported raising money; one collected \$163,199, and the other raised slightly more than \$1,000.

MEDIAN AMOUNTS RAISED BY ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CANDIDATES, 2004

	HOUSE	SENATE
Winners	\$45,956	\$91,264
Losers	\$28,203	\$0
ALL	\$39,519	\$75,492

Party Affiliation

More Asian Pacific Americans ran as Democrats than as Republicans, and Democrats won more often than Republicans. Of the 109 Asian Pacific American general-election candidates in 2004, 67 ran as Democrats and 41 as Republicans. In addition, one Asian Pacific American candidate ran for Hawaii's House as a nonpartisan candidate.

Overall, Republican Asian Pacific American general-election candidates raised 62 percent more, on average, than Democratic Asian Pacific American candidates. When considering medians and success, Republicans received more as both winners and losers. The median amount for winning Republicans was 80 percent higher than for Democrats. Unsuccessful Republicans also collected a median amount more than twice as much as that of losing Democrats.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN FUND RAISING BY PARTY AFFILIATION, 2004

PARTY	MEDIAN	WINNER MEDIAN	LOSER MEDIAN
Democrat	\$41,821	\$45,956	\$15,067
Republican	\$40,653	\$82,669	\$31,921
Nonpartisan	\$1,818	—	\$1,818
— No candidates			

Incumbent/Challenger/Open

Asian Pacific American candidates were incumbents and challengers at nearly the same rates: 49 percent compared with 40 percent. This is due in large part to the multitude of challengers in races with two Asian Pacific American candidates. Nearly half of Asian Pacific American challengers, 21 of 44, ran against fellow Asian Pacific Americans. Nineteen of those ran in Hawaii, where Asian Pacific Americans comprise 51 percent of the population.³¹

Ten Asian Pacific American candidates for open seats accounted for another 9 percent, and two Asian Pacific Americans who were incumbents in one office sought election to another. In New Hampshire, an incumbent ran for re-election in a redrawn district, and a former Oregon state senator was appointed to fill a vacant Senate seat in early 2004 and then ran for a House seat.

Whether a candidate is an incumbent, a challenger, or in a race for an open seat often influences that candidate's ability to raise funds. Incumbents have gained name recognition and influence, typically enabling them to raise more money than lesser-known challengers. In some cases, especially when an incumbent is unopposed, little need exists for the incumbent to raise much money. Open-seat races draw the most money, in general, because neither candidate has a built-in advantage, and political parties see the open field as a good opportunity to gain a seat.

Although Asian Pacific American challengers were nearly as numerous as incumbents, they did not fare nearly as well. Incumbents enjoyed a 92 percent success rate; just four of the incumbents lost their races, all in Hawaii and three to Asian Pacific American challengers. Candidates challenging incumbents, on the other hand, won just 23 percent of the time.

The two Asian Pacific American incumbents seeking open seats raised the highest median amount of the four types of candidates, but one raised more than \$234,000 and the other just \$5,150. Asian Pacific Americans seeking open seats collected a median amount that was 56 percent higher than incumbents, and incumbents received 53 percent more than challengers.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN MEDIAN AMOUNTS BY TYPE OF CANDIDATE, 2004

	NUMBER	MEDIAN	SUCCESS
Incumbent	53	\$46,768	92%
Challenger	44	\$30,522	23%
Open	10	\$72,761	60%
Incumbent/Open	2	\$119,732	100%
ALL	109	\$40,653	61%

³¹ Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

Opposition

Asian Pacific American candidates ran unopposed less often than non-Asian Pacific Americans. Just 6 percent of Asian Pacific Americans ran in uncontested races, compared with 15 percent of non-Asian Pacific Americans.

Unopposed Asian Pacific American candidates collected a median amount 69 percent higher than Asian Pacific Americans who faced competition.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN CANDIDATE MEDIANS BY OPPOSITION, 2004

	NUMBER	MEDIAN RAISED
Opposed	103	\$39,519
Unopposed	6	\$66,837

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN VS. ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN RACES

Asian Pacific Americans competed against one another in the general election for 22 seats in three states. As the state with the most Asian Pacific American candidates, Hawaii had more of these types of races than other states: 19 for the House and one for the Senate. New York and Utah each had one such race, both for the lower chambers of their legislatures.

Only two of the races with multiple Asian Pacific American candidates were for open seats: one for a Hawaii House seat and the other in Utah. The Hawaii race included two Asian Pacific Americans — a Democrat and a nonpartisan candidate — and a non-Asian Pacific American Republican. The winning Asian Pacific American Democrat raised 59 percent more than the Republican and 40 times more than the nonpartisan candidate.

In a somewhat exceptional Utah House race, two Asian Pacific Americans squared off in the general election after the 14-year incumbent retired.³² In Utah’s House District 14, two Japanese Americans vied for a chance to represent a constituency where Asian Americans comprise less than 4 percent of the population.³³ The Republican raised 66 percent more than the Democrat and won the race.

In a New York Assembly race, Jimmy Meng, an Asian Pacific American Democrat, upset Barry Grodenchik, the non-Asian Pacific American incumbent, in the primary election and ultimately won the race. He faced two other Asian Pacific American candidates in the general election, as well as Grodenchik, who switched parties after his primary loss and ran as a Working Families candidate in the general election.³⁴ Following the 2000 census, Assembly District 22 was reconfigured to encompass a significant number of Asian Americans³⁵ and eased the election four years later of the first Asian Pacific American to the state’s legislature.³⁶ The Republican general-

³² Deborah Bulkeley, “Davis race is ‘extraordinary,’” *Deseret News*, Aug. 16, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://deseretnews.com/dn/view/0,1249,595084411,00.html>; Internet; accessed Jan. 19, 2006.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “Campaign Trail,” *Gotham Gazette*, Oct. 13, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.gothamgazette.com/print/1144>; Internet; accessed Jan. 19, 2006.

³⁵ Han Ou, “First Asian American in the State Assembly,” *Columbia Journalism* [on-line]; available from http://www.jrn.columbia.edu/studentwork/election/2004/ny_state_ou01.asp; Internet; accessed Jan. 20, 2006.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

election candidate, Meilin Tan, and Evergreen Chou, a candidate on the Greens No to War ticket, were also Asian Pacific American. With three candidates of Chinese heritage, one debate was held in which the Chinese dialect Mandarin was spoken, rather than English.³⁷ Meng's victory was a costly one. He collected \$328,551, more than twice the average received by other New York Assembly winners and 36 percent more than Grodenchik. Meng also outraised Tan and Chou by a ratio of more than 179-to-1; each raised less than \$2,000.

All other races with two Asian Pacific American candidates were characterized by a general-election challenge to a seated incumbent. Asian Pacific American challengers facing fellow Asian Pacific Americans fared better than challengers who ran against non-Asian Pacific Americans. Sixteen percent of Asian Pacific American challengers in races against Asian Pacific American incumbents won, compared with 6 percent of Asian Pacific American challengers facing non-Asian Pacific American incumbents.

In races with two Asian Pacific American candidates, Democrats won more often than Republicans. Just five Republicans were successful, four in Hawaii and one in Utah, compared with 17 Democrats. In these races, Democratic winners raised 21 percent more than Republican winners, but losing Republicans collected 16 percent more than unsuccessful Democrats.

ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN GAINS

Asian Pacific Americans made inroads into seven states in 2004, increasing their presence in California and Texas and carving out new niches in Nevada, New York, Oregon, South Carolina and Utah. The New York and Utah gains, described above, not only produced increases in Asian Pacific American winners in those states, but also reinforced the Asian Pacific American presence in state politics as both major-party candidates were of Asian ancestry.

In California, the six incumbent Asian Pacific Americans were re-elected, and two Asian Pacific Americans won open races for the Assembly, increasing the number of Asian Pacific American legislators from seven in 2003³⁸ to eight following the 2004 races. The longest-serving Asian Pacific American, who was unable to seek re-election because of term limits, was not replaced by an Asian Pacific American.³⁹

In the Texas Legislature, a successful Asian Pacific American challenger joined an Asian Pacific American incumbent, who was re-elected in 2004. The contentious race for the District 149 House seat included voter fraud charges by the ousted incumbent.⁴⁰ House member Talmadge Heflin, a 22-year veteran legislator, leveled charges of illegal votes following Vietnamese immigrant Hubert Vo's narrow general-election win. Though a preliminary report disqualified some votes for Vo, he still maintained a 16-vote lead, and Heflin ceded the seat without further inquiry. Heflin, a Republican, raised more than three-quarters of a million dollars and more than twice as much as the Democratic Vo.

³⁷ "Campaign Trail," *Gotham Gazette*, Oct. 13, 2004 [newspaper on-line]; available from <http://www.gothamgazette.com/print/1144>; Internet; accessed Jan. 19, 2006.

³⁸ "Asian Pacific Islander American Heritage Month Celebrated At State Capitol – Honoring Past Asian American Legislators," *California Asian Pacific American Islander Legislative Caucus*, May 10, 2004 [on-line]; available from: http://democrats.assembly.ca.gov/apilegcaucus/press/p_api2004003.htm; Internet; accessed March 8, 2006.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Jay Root, "Republican Gives Up State Election Dispute," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, Feb. 8, 2005, sec. B, p. 5.

Nevada's Asian Pacific American winner, Francis Allen, beat two challengers in the Republican primary and went on to defeat an Independent in the general election. Allen raised 64 percent more than her closest primary challenger and three times as much as the Independent candidate.

Oregon's John Lim, a former two-term state senator and 1998 U.S. Senate candidate, ran for a House seat in 2004 after a second stint in the state Senate, when he was appointed to fill a vacancy in January 2004.⁴¹ A Republican Asian Pacific American, Lim raised 22 percent more than his Democratic opponent.

An Asian Pacific American won a seat in South Carolina after coming in a close second in the Republican primary race and going on to win a run-off election, affirming her election in a race with no Democratic opponent. South Asian Nikki Haley beat South Carolina's longest-serving House member, Larry Koon, in a fierce race where Koon's ads focused on Haley's ancestry and used her clearly Indian maiden name.⁴² Haley's win was well financed; she raised 84 percent more than Koon.

A CLOSER LOOK AT THE STATES

This analysis examines in more detail the fund-raising experience of Asian Pacific American and non-Asian Pacific American candidates in Hawaii and California, the two states with the largest number of Asian Pacific American candidates in 2004.

CALIFORNIA

Although Asian Pacific Americans are the second-largest minority population in California, accounting for 11.2 percent of California's population,⁴³ only 5.2 percent of the state's 2004 Democratic and Republican general-election candidates were Asian Pacific American. Ten sought office in 2004, when all 80 Assembly seats and 20 of the 40 Senate seats were up for election. These 10 candidates raised more, on average, than non-Asian Pacific Americans.

Candidates

Asian Pacific American candidates in California won 80 percent of their races, compared with the 61 percent national average for Asian Pacific Americans. All incumbent Asian Pacific American candidates in California, as well as two candidates running for open seats, won their races. The two unsuccessful Asian Pacific American candidates were challengers.

Asian Pacific American incumbents raised 24 percent more than non-Asian Pacific American incumbents, on average. Among candidates for open seats, Asian Pacific Americans received 14 percent more than non-Asian Pacific American candidates.

Sixty percent of California's Asian Pacific American candidates were Democrats. Among winners, the three Republicans raised twice as much, on average, as the five Democrats.

⁴¹ Member Biography, *Oregon House of Representatives* [on-line]; available from <http://www.leg.state.or.us/lim/>; Internet; accessed March 6, 2006.

⁴² Tim Flach, "Haley Overcomes Koon in GOP Runoff," *The State*, June 23, 2004, sec. A, p. 5.

⁴³ "Table 2: Percent of Population by Race and Hispanic or Latino Origin, for the United States, Regions, Divisions, and States, and for Puerto Rico: 2000," *U.S. Census Bureau* [on-line]; available from <http://www.census.gov/population/cen2000/phc-t6/tab02.pdf>; Internet; accessed Dec. 12, 2005.

CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN		NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	6	\$916,360	61	\$736,882
Challenger	2	\$0	59	\$235,461
Incumbent/Open	0	—	6	\$1,426,713
Open	2	\$704,521	57	\$619,973
Unopposed	0	—	1	\$478,082

Eight of the nine Asian Pacific American candidates for California Assembly won their races, collecting an average 18 percent more in campaign funds than non-Asian Pacific American Assembly winners.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES, 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN		NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$863,400	\$0	\$733,133	\$266,906
Senate	—	\$0	\$1,094,224	\$489,391

— No candidates

Sources of Funds

Asian Pacific Americans raised more, on average, from all sources than did non-Asian Pacific Americans, although they did not finance their campaign with as much personal money. Business sources contributed 44 percent more, on average, to Asian Pacific Americans, and labor organizations gave them 41 percent more. Political party sources also contributed 16 percent more to Asian Pacific Americans than non-Asian Pacific Americans.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR CALIFORNIA CANDIDATES, 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN
Business	\$267,172	\$186,066
Non-Business	\$18,210	\$17,214
Unidentified	\$184,323	\$127,459
Labor	\$69,517	\$49,147
Party	\$165,230	\$142,281
Candidate	\$5,068	\$39,257

HAWAII

Asian Pacific American legislative candidates in Hawaii made up more than their share of the population and raised more than their non-Asian Pacific American counterparts, on average. The 70 Asian Pacific American candidates in Hawaii accounted for 59 percent of the Democratic and Republican general-election candidates, while Asian Pacific Americans make up only 51 percent of the Hawaiian population. With all 51 House seats and 12 of the 25 Senate seats up for grabs in 2004, 68 percent of those elected were Asian Pacific Americans.

Candidates

Sixty-one percent of Asian Pacific American candidates in Hawaii won their races. Incumbents were the most successful, and of the four incumbents who were not re-elected, three lost to fellow Asian Pacific Americans.

Incumbent Asian Pacific Americans raised more than other types of Asian Pacific American candidates but slightly less than non-Asian Pacific American incumbents. The average for Asian Pacific American incumbents was about 2 percent less than the non-Asian Pacific American incumbent average.

Although Asian Pacific American challengers raised less than the incumbents, they collected 46 percent more than non-Asian Pacific American challengers, on average.

Six unopposed Asian Pacific American incumbents raised an average amount that was 10 percent higher than incumbents who faced opposition.

HAWAII CANDIDATES BY TYPE, 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN		NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	
	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$	NUMBER	AVERAGE \$
Incumbent	39	\$50,920	20	\$51,782
Challenger	29	\$36,831	30	\$25,260
Open	2	\$37,236	1	\$45,794
Unopposed	6	\$56,229	0	—

Asian Pacific American House candidates raised more than non-Asian Pacific Americans as both winners and losers. Asian Pacific American winners collected just 3 percent more than successful non-Asian Pacific Americans, on average, while Asian Pacific American losers received 44 percent more than non-Asian Pacific Americans who did not win.

Among Senate winners, Asian Pacific Americans raised 22 percent less than non-Asian Pacific American winners. Asian Pacific American losers, on the other hand, collected an average that was more than twice as much as non-Asian Pacific American Senate losers. The average amount raised by the two Asian Pacific American losers, however, does not accurately reflect what either candidate raised, as one collected \$163,199 and the other just \$1,065.

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED BY HAWAII CANDIDATES, 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN		NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	
	WINNERS	LOSERS	WINNERS	LOSERS
House	\$44,921	\$32,100	\$43,523	\$22,283
Senate	\$73,682	\$82,132	\$94,561	\$34,593

Sources of Funds

Asian Pacific Americans received more money, on average, from businesses, labor organizations and unidentified contributors while non-Asian Pacific Americans raised more from non-business and political sources. Businesses contributed 49 percent more to Asian Pacific Americans, and labor unions gave them 38 percent more.

Non-Asian Pacific Americans received more than twice as much from non-businesses, such as single-issue organizations, and 18 percent more from political party sources. Non-Asian Pacific Americans also spent more than twice as much personal money on their campaigns.

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR HAWAII CANDIDATES 2004

	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NON-ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN
Business	\$15,568	\$10,474
Non-Business	\$682	\$1,766
Unidentified	\$22,906	\$17,125
Labor	\$3,579	\$2,583
Party	\$987	\$1,161
Candidate	\$934	\$2,637
Public Funds	\$37	\$318

STATE-BY-STATE SUMMARIES

The following section takes a state-by-state look at trends among minority and non-minority state legislators elected in the 2004 election cycle, with tables showing:

- The number of white, African American, Latino, Asian Pacific American and Native American legislators elected in each state in 2004, except for Alabama and Maryland. The sections for these two states use data from 2002, when they last elected legislators.
- The average amounts raised by white and minority legislators.
- The types of candidates who won their races. An incumbent is a winner who has held that office or another state office since the previous election. Legislators who switch from House to Senate or run for a seat in a new district as the result of redistricting are considered incumbents, because they enjoy the name recognition or fund-raising advantages that come with holding office. A challenger is a candidate facing an incumbent. Open races involve no incumbents. Unopposed means the candidate had no opposition in both the primary and general elections.
- The sources that contributed to white and minority legislators. Business sources include companies, as well as individuals and employees associated with them, from the following sectors: agriculture, construction, energy/natural resources, finance/insurance/real estate, health, and transportation. Non-business contributions come from ideological or single-issue groups, clergy, government employees, military personnel or retirees.

Labor contributions came from labor unions or their employees. Party contributions are from national, state or local political party committees, as well as party officers, officeholders or candidates. Candidate contributions are those funds spent by candidates on their own campaigns. Public funds are made available by law in several states to candidates who accept public funding rather than private contributions. The amounts provided are determined by state law and can be increased if a publicly funded candidate faces a privately funded candidate.

Unidentified contributions include unitemized contributions below the reporting threshold for which identifying information is required, as well as contributions for which a business sector was not indicated and could not be determined through research. The rates of identification vary from state to state, depending on the quality and extent of the data collected by the state. Many states do not require candidates to supply the employer or occupation information for contributors, making identification by Institute staff difficult, especially for individual contributors.

For a more detailed breakdown of the sources of funds for a particular candidate or state, see our Web site at www.followthemoney.org.

ALABAMA

Thirty-five African Americans were elected to the Alabama Legislature in 2002,⁴⁴ but Asian Pacific Americans, Latinos and Native Americans were not represented. African Americans who won House seats raised 20 percent less than whites, and those elected to the Senate received 36 percent less than whites. African Americans received less than whites from all sources of funds except labor unions, which gave them 21 percent more than whites, on average. African Americans also spent 15 percent more personal money on their campaigns than whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	140	105	35	0	0	0
House	105	78	27	0	0	0
Senate	35	27	8	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$87,269	\$91,954	\$73,732	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$318,979	\$347,243	\$223,591	—	—	—
All Average	\$145,196	\$157,600	\$107,986	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	103	75	28	0	0	0
Challenger	25	19	6	0	0	0
Open	12	11	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	31	21	10	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$92,940	\$103,204	\$62,147	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$7,285	\$7,606	\$6,322	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$16,233	\$18,491	\$9,460	—	—	—
Labor	\$19,754	\$18,789	\$22,650	—	—	—
Party	\$6,051	\$6,685	\$4,151	—	—	—
Candidate	\$2,934	\$2,827	\$3,256	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

⁴⁴ Alabama elects legislators every four years, and they were last elected in 2002.

ALASKA

One African American and eight Native Americans were elected to the Alaska Legislature in 2004, but Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. The African American senator raised 24 percent more than the average for white senators, while the Native American House and Senate winners collected 62 percent and 17 percent less than white counterparts, on average. Native Americans received less than whites from all funding sources except non-business sources. Labor organizations gave 53 percent more to the African American senator, and party sources contributed 22 percent more to the African American senator than to whites, on average. However, businesses gave 10 percent more to whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	51	42	1	0	0	8
House	40	34	0	0	0	6
Senate	11	8	1	0	0	2

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$65,630	\$72,382	—	—	—	\$27,365
Senate Average	\$95,573	\$96,443	\$119,739	—	—	\$80,009
All Average	\$72,088	\$76,965	\$119,739	—	—	\$40,526

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	41	35	1	0	0	5
Challenger	5	5	0	0	0	0
Open	4	2	0	0	0	2
Incumbent/Open	1	0	0	0	0	1
Unopposed	7	5	0	0	0	2

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$34,802	\$38,155	\$34,596	—	—	\$17,223
Non-Business	\$2,261	\$2,166	\$5,130	—	—	\$2,401
Unidentified	\$17,670	\$18,474	\$56,074	—	—	\$8,646
Labor	\$10,862	\$11,243	\$17,150	—	—	\$8,081
Party	\$5,326	\$5,558	\$6,789	—	—	\$3,925
Candidate	\$1,167	\$1,369	\$0	—	—	\$250
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	\$0

ARIZONA

One African American, two Native Americans and 15 Latinos were elected to the Arizona Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. Among House winners, whites raised an average 81 percent more than African Americans, 56 percent more than Latinos and seven times as much as Native Americans. The Native American senator did not raise any money, and Latino senators collected 57 percent less than whites. The African American legislator received more public monies than did white legislators, on average, while Latinos received less than whites, and the Native Americans did not receive public financing.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	90	72	1	15	0	2
House	60	48	1	10	0	1
Senate	30	24	0	5	0	1

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$34,577	\$37,663	\$20,850	\$24,098	—	\$4,960
Senate Average	\$42,255	\$48,498	—	\$20,738	—	\$0
All Average	\$37,136	\$41,275	\$20,850	\$22,978	—	\$2,480

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	64	50	1	12	—	1
Challenger	18	15	0	3	—	0
Open	7	6	0	0	—	1
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	—	0
Unopposed	17	11	0	5	—	1

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$11,908	\$13,873	\$2,150	\$4,522	—	\$1,465
Non-Business	\$914	\$1,056	\$0	\$399	—	\$140
Unidentified	\$5,548	\$6,582	\$500	\$1,566	—	\$685
Labor	\$329	\$315	\$0	\$447	—	\$140
Party	\$242	\$299	\$0	\$18	—	\$0
Candidate	\$1,242	\$1,518	\$0	\$161	—	\$50
Public Funds	\$16,953	\$17,633	\$18,200	\$15,865	—	\$0

ARKANSAS

Thirteen African Americans were the only non-whites elected to the Arkansas Legislature in 2004, leaving Asian Pacific Americans, Latinos and Native Americans unrepresented. The African American Senate winner raised just 1 percent less than the average raised by white senators. For the House, however, whites collected 74 percent more than African Americans, on average. African Americans received less from all sources except non-businesses, such as single-issue groups, which gave them 52 percent more than whites, on average. Party sources gave whites more than twice as much as African Americans, and businesses and labor unions gave whites 78 percent and 19 percent more, respectively.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	118	105	13	0	0	0
House	100	88	12	0	0	0
Senate	18	17	1	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$25,930	\$27,329	\$15,670	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$45,037	\$45,064	\$44,580	—	—	—
All Average	\$28,845	\$30,201	\$17,894	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	79	73	6	0	0	0
Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Open	37	30	7	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	66	61	5	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$17,728	\$18,627	\$10,471	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$579	\$548	\$831	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$7,177	\$7,551	\$4,153	—	—	—
Labor	\$436	\$444	\$373	—	—	—
Party	\$1,563	\$1,665	\$733	—	—	—
Candidate	\$1,361	\$1,365	\$1,334	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

CALIFORNIA

Five African Americans, seven Asian Pacific Americans, 20 Latinos and one legislator identified as both Asian Pacific American and Latino were elected to the California Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. African Americans, Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans who won Assembly seats raised average amounts that were 6 percent to 59 percent higher than whites. The Latino senator collected more than twice as much as white senators, but the African American senator was outraised by whites by a ratio of more than 5-to-1. Non-whites received more from labor unions than whites, on average. Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans collected more from party sources and business sources than whites, but African Americans received less.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	100	68	5	20	8	0
House	80	50	4	19	8	0
Senate	20	18	1	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$746,159	\$632,412	\$667,983	\$1,005,043	\$863,400	—
Senate Average	\$1,094,224	\$1,061,717	\$188,283	\$2,585,297	—	—
All Average	\$815,772	\$746,051	\$572,043	\$1,084,055	\$863,400	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	67	45	4	12	6	0
Challenger	0	0	0	0	0	0
Open	27	18	1	7	2	0
Incumbent/Open	6	5	0	1	0	0
Unopposed	1	1	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$341,116	\$329,576	\$252,178	\$397,538	\$333,652	—
Non-Business	\$30,261	\$27,924	\$37,238	\$39,014	\$22,763	—
Unidentified	\$200,500	\$198,134	\$152,981	\$207,873	\$230,837	—
Labor	\$92,298	\$78,502	\$115,309	\$140,217	\$86,896	—
Party	\$148,876	\$107,650	\$16,337	\$293,087	\$206,538	—
Candidate	\$2,722	\$4,265	\$0	\$6,473	\$-17,165	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

* One legislator identified as both Asian Pacific American and Latino and is included in both categories.

COLORADO

Five Latinos, four African Americans and two Native Americans were elected to the Colorado Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. African Americans and Latinos raised less, on average, than their white counterparts, while the Native Americans raised more. The Native Americans collected more from all sources than the other candidates, and they did not spend personal money on their campaigns. Conversely, African Americans and Latinos received less than whites from all sources. Latinos did, however, contribute more than twice as much to their campaigns than whites, on average.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	83	72	4	5	0	2
House	65	56	3	5	0	1
Senate	18	16	1	0	0	1

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$36,464	\$37,746	\$28,536	\$25,097	—	\$45,300
Senate Average	\$77,283	\$75,496	\$18,730	—	—	\$164,428
All Average	\$45,316	\$46,135	\$26,084	\$25,097	—	\$104,864

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	54	47	2	4	0	1
Challenger	4	3	0	0	0	1
Open	21	19	1	1	0	0
Incumbent/Open	4	3	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	14	11	2	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$15,146	\$15,509	\$8,770	\$9,144	—	\$29,832
Non-Business	\$4,044	\$4,143	\$3,365	\$1,315	—	\$8,662
Unidentified	\$14,615	\$14,935	\$7,612	\$10,303	—	\$27,863
Labor	\$8,344	\$8,162	\$4,850	\$3,230	—	\$34,681
Party	\$2,705	\$2,922	\$1,450	\$133	—	\$3,825
Candidate	\$462	\$463	\$38	\$971	—	\$0
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0

CONNECTICUT

Six Latinos and 13 African Americans were elected to the Connecticut Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. House winners who were white raised 6 percent more than African Americans and 20 percent more than Latino House winners, on average. African American Senate winners collected about half as much as white Senate winners, on average. Whites received more than Latinos from all sources of funds and more than African Americans from all sources except labor unions, from which African Americans received only \$7 more, on average. Party sources gave whites 93 percent more than African Americans and 94 percent more than Latinos, respectively. Whites also spent more personal money on their campaigns than both African Americans and Latinos.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	187	168	13	6	0	0
House	151	135	10	6	0	0
Senate	36	33	3	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$18,194	\$18,387	\$17,287	\$15,374	—	—
Senate Average	\$68,201	\$71,136	\$35,914	—	—	—
All Average	\$27,821	\$28,748	\$21,586	\$15,374	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	162	146	11	5	0	0
Challenger	8	7	1	0	0	0
Open	14	12	1	1	0	0
Incumbent/Open	3	3	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	38	34	3	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$10,128	\$10,504	\$7,992	\$4,212	—	—
Non-Business	\$2,645	\$2,735	\$2,043	\$1,440	—	—
Unidentified	\$8,375	\$8,552	\$7,141	\$6,106	—	—
Labor	\$2,274	\$2,304	\$2,311	\$1,346	—	—
Party	\$3,672	\$3,862	\$1,999	\$1,989	—	—
Candidate	\$727	\$791	\$100	\$282	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

DELAWARE

Four African Americans and one Latino were elected to the Delaware Legislature in 2004. On average, African American House winners raised 26 percent less than white House winners, and one African American Senate winner collected 37 percent less than the white Senate winners. White House winners also raised an average 44 percent more than the Latino legislator. African Americans raised 30 percent less than whites from business sources but 95 percent more from labor unions and 3 percent more from party sources, on average. The Latino winner received 4 percent more from businesses than the average for whites but less than whites from all other sources. Neither the African Americans nor the Latino financed their campaigns with personal money, while whites gave an average \$330 to their campaigns.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	51	46	4	1	0	0
House	41	37	3	1	0	0
Senate	10	9	1	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$33,761	\$34,670	\$25,787	\$24,055	—	—
Senate Average	\$66,975	\$69,562	\$43,693	—	—	—
All Average	\$40,274	\$41,497	\$30,263	\$24,055	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	46	42	3	1	0	0
Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Open	4	3	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	21	18	2	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$13,180	\$13,481	\$9,500	\$14,050	—	—
Non-Business	\$588	\$632	\$200	\$75	—	—
Unidentified	\$22,010	\$22,940	\$14,511	\$9,230	—	—
Labor	\$2,085	\$1,965	\$3,840	\$600	—	—
Party	\$2,113	\$2,149	\$2,213	\$100	—	—
Candidate	\$298	\$330	\$0	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

FLORIDA

Fifteen Latinos and 22 African Americans were elected to the Florida Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. On average, whites outraised African Americans by 97 percent for the House and 88 percent for the Senate. Latino House winners, however, collected 19 percent more than whites. On average, Latinos raised more than whites from all sources, while African Americans received less than whites from all sectors except labor unions, which gave African Americans 27 percent more and Latinos 61 percent more than whites. Business sources and party sources gave Africans Americans an average 45 percent less than whites.

WINNERS

	WHITE		AFRICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
	ALL	NOT LATINO	AMERICAN		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Legislature	142	105	22	15	0	0
House	120	88	17	15	0	0
Senate	22	17	5	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	WHITE NOT		AFRICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
	ALL	LATINO	AMERICAN		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
House Average	\$124,411	\$130,409	\$66,136	\$155,270	—	—
Senate Average	\$208,300	\$233,094	\$124,004	—	—	—
All Average	\$137,408	\$147,034	\$79,288	\$155,270	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	WHITE NOT		AFRICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
	ALL	LATINO	AMERICAN		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Incumbent	120	86	21	13	0	0
Challenger	1	0	1	0	0	0
Open	2	2	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	19	17	0	2	0	0
Unopposed	70	50	12	8	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	WHITE NOT		AFRICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
	ALL	LATINO	AMERICAN		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Business	\$86,696	\$93,022	\$51,035	\$94,717	—	—
Non-Business	\$997	\$1,045	\$546	\$1,328	—	—
Unidentified	\$32,519	\$34,717	\$16,703	\$40,334	—	—
Labor	\$3,006	\$2,717	\$3,454	\$4,373	—	—
Party	\$12,704	\$13,530	\$7,385	\$14,728	—	—
Candidate	\$1,485	\$2,004	\$164	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

GEORGIA

Three Latinos and 49 African Americans were elected to the Georgia Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. For the House, white winners raised an average 37 percent more than Latinos and 75 percent more than African Americans. White Senate winners collected 61 percent more than the Latino and more than twice as much as African Americans. Labor organizations contributed more to African Americans and Latinos than to whites but party sources gave them less than whites, on average. African Americans and Latinos also spent less personal money on their campaigns.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	236	184	49	3	0	0
House	180	140	38	2	0	0
Senate	56	44	11	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$62,032	\$68,416	\$39,154	\$49,769	—	—
Senate Average	\$165,432	\$185,040	\$91,588	\$114,931	—	—
All Average	\$86,567	\$96,305	\$50,925	\$71,490	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	41	32	8	1	0	0
Challenger	5	4	1	0	0	0
Open	58	51	7	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	131	96	33	2	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$49,242	\$56,105	\$24,519	\$32,151	—	—
Non-Business	\$2,716	\$2,697	\$2,803	\$2,493	—	—
Unidentified	\$22,576	\$24,491	\$15,033	\$28,349	—	—
Labor	\$1,593	\$1,245	\$2,781	\$3,583	—	—
Party	\$4,459	\$5,063	\$2,177	\$4,740	—	—
Candidate	\$5,980	\$6,705	\$3,613	\$173	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

HAWAII

One African American, 42 Asian Pacific Americans and one legislator that identified as both Latino and Asian Pacific American were elected to the Hawaii Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. White House winners raised an average more than twice as much as the African American winner but only slightly more than Asian Pacific Americans. Among Senate winners, whites collected 15 percent more, on average, than the Latino winner and 28 percent more than Asian Pacific Americans. The African American winner received less than other candidates from all sources except public funds, but used more personal money. Asian Pacific Americans and the Latino collected more from businesses than whites, on average, but less from labor unions and party sources.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	63	19	1	1	43	0
House	51	15	1	0	35	0
Senate	12	4	0	1	8	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$44,482	\$45,218	\$18,093	—	\$44,921	—
Senate Average	\$80,641	\$94,561	—	\$82,574	\$73,682	—
All Average	\$51,370	\$55,606	\$18,093	\$82,574	\$50,272	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	53	17	1	1	35	0
Challenger	9	2	0	0	7	0
Open	1	0	0	0	1	0
Unopposed	6	0	0	1	6	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN*	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$16,861	\$15,667	\$1,500	\$15,830	\$17,746	—
Non-Business	\$1,299	\$3,319	\$0	\$0	\$436	—
Unidentified	\$25,631	\$26,354	\$7,795	\$61,694	\$25,726	—
Labor	\$5,275	\$6,028	\$2,612	\$2,650	\$5,005	—
Party	\$827	\$1,220	\$0	\$400	\$673	—
Candidate	\$1,426	\$2,964	\$4,200	\$2,000	\$681	—
Public Funds	\$50	\$53	\$1,986	\$0	\$4	—

*One legislator identified as both Asian Pacific American and Latino and is included in both categories.

IDAHO

One Latino was elected to the Idaho Legislature in 2004, but African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. The Latino legislator raised 48 percent more than the average for white House winners. The Latino received four times more than the white average from non-business sources, such as single-issue groups, and seven times more from labor unions. Whites collected more from all other identified sources and spent personal money on their campaigns, while the Latino did not.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	105	104	0	1	0	0
House	70	69	0	1	0	0
Senate	35	35	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$18,615	\$18,489	—	\$27,312	—	—
Senate Average	\$25,207	\$25,207	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$20,812	\$20,750	—	\$27,312	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	83	82	0	1	0	0
Challenger	13	13	0	0	0	0
Open	9	9	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	24	24	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$9,509	\$9,563	—	\$3,850	—	—
Non-Business	\$245	\$237	—	\$1,150	—	—
Unidentified	\$7,432	\$7,354	—	\$15,552	—	—
Labor	\$820	\$775	—	\$5,500	—	—
Party	\$1,438	\$1,440	—	\$1,260	—	—
Candidate	\$1,369	\$1,382	—	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	—	\$0	—	—

ILLINOIS

Eight Latinos, 23 African Americans and one legislator identifying as both African American and Latino were elected to the Illinois Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. African American and Latino House winners raised less than half as much as white House winners, on average. For the Senate, Latinos were outraised by a ratio of 3-to-1, but African Americans collected an average 82 percent more than white Senators. African Americans received 13 percent more than whites from labor organizations but 80 percent less from party sources and 5 percent less from business contributors. Latinos received less than whites from all sectors. Businesses contributed twice as much to whites than Latinos, and party sources four times more, while whites received 61 percent more than Latinos from labor unions.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	141	109	24	9	0	0
House	118	92	20	7	0	0
Senate	23	17	4	2	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$248,134	\$286,123	\$109,454	\$129,512	—	—
Senate Average	\$515,572	\$476,970	\$869,639	\$135,554	—	—
All Average	\$291,758	\$315,888	\$236,152	\$130,855	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	131	101	23	8	0	0
Challenger	5	3	1	1	0	0
Open	4	4	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	59	43	10	6	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$132,094	\$137,858	\$131,303	\$56,642	—	—
Non-Business	\$6,075	\$5,418	\$9,782	\$3,753	—	—
Unidentified	\$59,671	\$66,755	\$36,765	\$31,889	—	—
Labor	\$39,620	\$39,704	\$44,714	\$24,657	—	—
Party	\$52,295	\$63,678	\$13,007	\$14,052	—	—
Candidate	\$2,003	\$2,475	\$580	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

*One legislator identified as both African American and Latino and is included in both categories.

INDIANA

One Latino and 12 African Americans were elected to the Indiana Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. The Latino legislator raised 11 percent less than the average for white House winners. African Americans elected to the House collected 36 percent less than whites, while those who won Senate seats were outraised by whites by a ratio of 5-to-1, on average. The Latino winner received more than twice as much from labor organizations as the average for whites but nearly half as much as whites from businesses and party sources. African Americans raised less than whites from all sources, on average: 28 percent less from business contributors, 69 percent less from labor unions, and 97 percent less from party sources.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	125	112	12	1	0	0
House	100	91	8	1	0	0
Senate	25	21	4	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$83,977	\$86,601	\$55,011	\$76,890	—	—
Senate Average	\$92,850	\$106,599	\$20,669	—	—	—
All Average	\$85,752	\$90,351	\$43,563	\$76,890	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	109	96	12	1	0	0
Challenger	9	9	0	0	0	0
Open	7	7	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	34	31	3	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$33,731	\$34,787	\$25,194	\$17,850	—	—
Non-Business	\$758	\$769	\$688	\$300	—	—
Unidentified	\$21,366	\$22,078	\$14,185	\$24,015	—	—
Labor	\$8,594	\$9,083	\$2,821	\$23,050	—	—
Party	\$19,813	\$21,936	\$675	\$11,675	—	—
Candidate	\$1,520	\$1,696	\$0	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

IOWA

Three African Americans and one Asian Pacific American were elected to the Iowa Legislature in 2004, but Latinos and Native Americans were not represented. The Asian Pacific American legislator raised 90 percent more than the average for white House winners. African Americans, however, were outraised by a ratio of 3-to-1, on average. Businesses gave 27 percent more to the Asian Pacific American legislator than to whites, on average. The Asian Pacific American also received 89 percent more than whites from labor organizations, but whites received 10 times more from party sources. African Americans received less than whites from all sources, and they spent less personal money on their campaigns. On average, businesses and labor unions contributed three times more to whites than African Americans, while party sources gave them 181 times more.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	125	121	3	0	1	0
House	100	96	3	0	1	0
Senate	25	25	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$54,437	\$55,078	\$17,240	—	\$104,531	—
Senate Average	\$137,704	\$137,704	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$71,090	\$72,149	\$17,240	—	\$104,531	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	105	101	3	0	1	0
Challenger	8	8	0	0	0	0
Open	12	12	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	36	33	3	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$25,337	\$25,712	\$7,781	—	\$32,665	—
Non-Business	\$2,902	\$2,951	\$517	—	\$4,200	—
Unidentified	\$15,891	\$15,781	\$7,080	—	\$55,557	—
Labor	\$4,573	\$4,615	\$1,533	—	\$8,700	—
Party	\$21,937	\$22,642	\$125	—	\$2,130	—
Candidate	\$449	\$449	\$204	—	\$1,279	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0	—

KANSAS

Seven African Americans and four Latinos were elected to the Kansas Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. White House winners raised more than twice as much as African American House winners and 59 percent more than Latinos, on average. African American Senate winners also raised less than half as much as white senators, on average. Whites raised more than twice as much as African Americans and Latinos from business sources. Party sources also contributed more generously to white winners. Labor unions, however, gave more equitable amounts to all candidates, with African Americans receiving 6 percent more than whites and Latinos receiving 19 percent less than whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	165	154	7	4	0	0
House	125	116	5	4	0	0
Senate	40	38	2	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$23,916	\$24,816	\$9,686	\$15,588	—	—
Senate Average	\$74,441	\$76,466	\$35,972	—	—	—
All Average	\$36,164	\$37,561	\$17,196	\$15,588	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	124	115	6	3	0	0
Challenger	14	13	1	0	0	0
Open	27	26	0	1	0	0
Unopposed	50	44	4	2	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$18,304	\$18,961	\$9,139	\$9,100	—	—
Non-Business	\$1,014	\$1,048	\$593	\$450	—	—
Unidentified	\$11,094	\$11,608	\$4,626	\$2,562	—	—
Labor	\$1,502	\$1,505	\$1,600	\$1,225	—	—
Party	\$1,754	\$1,865	\$286	\$59	—	—
Candidate	\$2,496	\$2,574	\$952	\$2,192	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

KENTUCKY

Six African Americans were elected to the Kentucky Legislature in 2004, but Latinos, Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. On average, African American House members raised 40 percent less than whites, and African American senators collected 90 percent less. African Americans received less than whites from all sources, but received virtually the same average amount from labor unions.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	119	113	6	0	0	0
House	100	95	5	0	0	0
Senate	19	18	1	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$33,486	\$34,177	\$20,364	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$146,345	\$153,640	\$15,025	—	—	—
All Average	\$51,506	\$53,206	\$19,474	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	100	95	5	0	0	0
Challenger	7	7	0	0	0	0
Open	12	11	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	44	39	5	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$19,160	\$19,800	\$7,104	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$1,172	\$1,229	\$100	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$18,776	\$19,416	\$6,730	—	—	—
Labor	\$3,483	\$3,484	\$3,464	—	—	—
Party	\$6,489	\$6,733	\$1,892	—	—	—
Candidate	\$2,425	\$2,544	\$184	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

LOUISIANA

The Institute was unable to obtain identifications for Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans elected to the Louisiana Legislature in 2003. Among known non-white legislators, there were 32 African Americans, but Native Americans were not represented. On average, African American House winners raised 17 percent less than other winners and African American senators collected 30 percent less. African Americans received less than other legislators from all funding sources except labor unions, which contributed an average 46 percent more to African Americans.

WINNERS

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	144	112	32	—	—	0
House	105	82	23	—	—	0
Senate	39	30	9	—	—	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$72,810	\$75,692	\$62,536	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$223,669	\$240,378	\$167,973	—	—	—
All Average	\$113,668	\$119,804	\$92,190	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	118	94	24	—	—	0
Challenger	9	5	4	—	—	0
Open	17	13	4	—	—	0
Unopposed	53	48	5	—	—	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$35,263	\$35,873	\$33,129	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$441	\$445	\$428	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$39,081	\$39,869	\$36,323	—	—	—
Labor	\$3,813	\$3,462	\$5,044	—	—	—
Party	\$5,368	\$5,491	\$4,935	—	—	—
Candidate	\$29,701	\$34,664	\$12,332	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

MAINE

There were no African American, Asian Pacific American, Latino or Native American legislators elected to the Maine Legislature in 2004.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	186	186	0	0	0	0
House	151	151	0	0	0	0
Senate	35	35	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$6,129	\$6,129	—	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$25,212	\$25,212	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$9,720	\$9,720	—	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Challenger	0	0	0	0	0	0
Open	72	72	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	114	114	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	4	4	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$650	\$650	—	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$35	\$35	—	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$1,280	\$1,280	—	—	—	—
Labor	\$28	\$28	—	—	—	—
Party	\$188	\$188	—	—	—	—
Candidate	\$352	\$352	—	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$7,187	\$7,187	—	—	—	—

MARYLAND

Two Asian Pacific Americans, two Latinos and 42 African Americans were elected to the Maryland Legislature in 2002,⁴⁵ but Native Americans were not represented. African American House winners raised nearly the same amount as white winners, on average, but Asian Pacific Americans collected 12 percent less. Among Senate winners, African Americans raised 13 percent more than whites, and Latinos collected three times the white average. African Americans and Latinos raised more than whites, on average, from all sources of funds, though they spent less personal money on their races. Asian Pacific Americans received less, on average, from business, labor and party sources than did white winners.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	188	142	42	2	2	0
House	141	107	32	0	2	0
Senate	47	35	10	2	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$60,788	\$60,948	\$60,714	—	\$53,394	—
Senate Average	\$132,980	\$118,288	\$133,457	\$387,689	—	—
All Average	\$78,836	\$75,081	\$78,034	\$387,689	\$53,394	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	109	82	25	1	1	0
Challenger	57	40	15	1	1	0
Open	21	19	2	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	9	8	1	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$22,380	\$21,472	\$23,382	\$77,275	\$10,900	—
Non-Business	\$897	\$756	\$1,063	\$6,754	\$1,614	—
Unidentified	\$37,836	\$35,758	\$33,313	\$282,113	\$36,044	—
Labor	\$4,220	\$3,794	\$5,720	\$5,132	\$2,088	—
Party	\$12,305	\$12,046	\$13,491	\$15,393	\$2,748	—
Candidate	\$1,198	\$1,256	\$1,065	\$1,022	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

⁴⁵ Maryland elects legislators every four years, and they were last elected in 2002.

MASSACHUSETTS

Six African Americans and four Latinos were elected to the Massachusetts Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. Among House winners, African Americans raised 72 percent less than the average raised by white winners, and Latinos collected slightly more than half as much as white House winners. One African American Senate winner received 17 percent less than the average for white senators, while the Latino senator raised 29 percent more than the white average. Both African American and Latino winners received less money from party sources than did whites, on average. Latinos raised more than any other group from labor unions, and African Americans spent more on their campaigns than the other groups.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	200	190	6	4	0	0
House	160	152	5	3	0	0
Senate	40	38	1	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$72,263	\$74,644	\$20,659	\$37,654	—	—
Senate Average	\$213,658	\$213,049	\$175,888	\$274,560	—	—
All Average	\$100,542	\$102,325	\$46,531	\$96,881	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	180	171	6	3	0	0
Challenger	4	4	0	0	0	0
Open	14	13	0	1	0	0
Incumbent/Open	2	2	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	72	65	5	2	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$29,742	\$30,006	\$17,698	\$32,385	—	—
Non-Business	\$4,994	\$5,051	\$2,191	\$6,508	—	—
Unidentified	\$52,069	\$53,100	\$22,677	\$47,185	—	—
Labor	\$6,382	\$6,522	\$1,446	\$7,125	—	—
Party	\$5,943	\$6,194	\$242	\$2,553	—	—
Candidate	\$1,413	\$1,392	\$2,277	\$1,125	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

MICHIGAN

One Asian Pacific American, two Latinos and 15 African Americans were elected to the Michigan state House in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. No Senate seats were up for election. Among House winners, African Americans and the Asian Pacific American raised less than half as much as white winners, on average. Latino winners fared better, collecting an average 23 percent less than whites. On average, Latinos and the Asian Pacific American received 6 percent and 17 percent more from labor organizations than did whites, but African Americans received 31 percent less than whites. Party sources contributed twice as much to 13 times more to whites than non-whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	110	92	15	2	1	0
House	110	92	15	2	1	0
Senate	No Races	—	—	—	—	—

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$89,956	\$99,351	\$37,176	\$76,687	\$43,848	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	71	59	11	0	1	0
Challenger	2	2	0	0	0	0
Open	37	31	4	2	0	0
Incumbent/Open Unopposed	1	1	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$35,355	\$38,351	\$18,972	\$25,493	\$25,250	—
Non-Business	\$5,279	\$5,728	\$2,700	\$5,586	\$2,120	—
Unidentified	\$17,003	\$18,347	\$7,811	\$29,054	\$7,110	—
Labor	\$8,506	\$8,851	\$6,150	\$9,400	\$10,325	—
Party	\$14,915	\$17,470	\$1,297	\$6,205	\$1,505	—
Candidate	\$8,898	\$10,605	\$245	\$950	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

MINNESOTA

Two African Americans, a Latino and an Asian Pacific American were elected to the Minnesota state House in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. No Senate seats were up for election. Both the Latino and the Asian Pacific American House winners raised less than half of the average for white winners, while the average for African Americans was 45 percent less than for whites. Party sources did not contribute to African Americans or the Asian Pacific American, and the Latino received 91 percent less than the average for whites. Labor organizations contributed 25 percent more to African Americans and 46 percent more to the Asian Pacific American than to whites, on average. The Latino, however, received 10 percent less than whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	134	130	2	1	1	0
House	134	130	2	1	1	0
Senate	No Races	—	—	—	—	—

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$35,908	\$36,470	\$20,039	\$16,724	\$13,739	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	108	104	2	1	1	0
Challenger	15	15	0	0	0	0
Open	11	11	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	0	0	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$2,268	\$2,294	\$1,450	\$1,000	\$1,700	—
Non-Business	\$195	\$175	\$1,200	\$250	\$750	—
Unidentified	\$22,517	\$23,004	\$8,294	\$5,718	\$4,375	—
Labor	\$895	\$889	\$1,115	\$800	\$1,300	—
Party	\$2,073	\$2,135	\$0	\$200	\$0	—
Candidate	\$1,079	\$1,121	\$0	\$0	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$6,883	\$6,852	\$7,980	\$8,756	\$6,819	—

MISSISSIPPI

The Institute was unable to obtain identifications for Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans elected to the Mississippi Legislature in 2003. Among known non-white legislators, there were 47 African Americans, but Native Americans were not represented. African American House winners raised 64 percent less than other House winners, and senators collected 71 percent less, on average. African Americans collected less than other legislators, on average, from all funding sources except labor unions, which gave them 52 percent more.

WINNERS

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	174	127	47	—	—	0
House	122	86	36	—	—	0
Senate	52	41	11	—	—	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$24,572	\$30,309	\$10,867	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$47,724	\$56,101	\$16,503	—	—	—
All Average	\$31,491	\$38,635	\$12,186	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	128	89	39	—	—	0
Challenger	16	14	2	—	—	0
Open	27	21	6	—	—	0
Incumbent/Open	3	3	0	—	—	0
Unopposed	51	27	24	—	—	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$16,975	\$20,444	\$7,602	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$1,002	\$1,304	\$188	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$10,754	\$13,337	\$3,774	—	—	—
Labor	\$163	\$143	\$217	—	—	—
Party	\$321	\$419	\$57	—	—	—
Candidate	\$2,275	\$2,988	\$348	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

MISSOURI

There were 19 African Americans elected to the Missouri Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans, Latinos and Native Americans were not represented. African American House winners raised 50 percent less than white House winners, and African American Senate winners collected 75 percent less than whites. Whites received more than African Americans, on average, from all sources of funds.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	180	161	19	0	0	0
House	163	146	17	0	0	0
Senate	17	15	2	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$48,457	\$51,136	\$25,454	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$256,012	\$280,796	\$70,140	—	—	—
All Average	\$68,060	\$72,532	\$30,158	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	130	117	13	0	0	0
Challenger	6	4	2	0	0	0
Open	44	40	4	0	0	0
Unopposed	40	34	6	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$20,868	\$22,280	\$8,903	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$987	\$1,057	\$392	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$38,378	\$40,685	\$18,823	—	—	—
Labor	\$2,302	\$2,403	\$1,447	—	—	—
Party	\$3,791	\$4,151	\$741	—	—	—
Candidate	\$1,734	\$1,956	\$0	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

MONTANA

There were eight Native Americans elected to the Montana Legislature in 2004, but African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans and Latinos were not represented. White House winners raised four times as much as Native Americans, and white senators collected 35 times more than Native Americans, on average. Native Americans received considerably less money than did whites from all sources and spent less personal money on their campaigns.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	125	117	0	0	0	8
House	100	94	0	0	0	6
Senate	25	23	0	0	0	2

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$7,417	\$7,774	—	—	—	\$1,830
Senate Average	\$15,493	\$16,798	—	—	—	\$480
All Average	\$9,032	\$9,548	—	—	—	\$1,492

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	73	67	0	0	0	6
Challenger	7	7	0	0	0	0
Open	45	43	0	0	0	2
Unopposed	20	14	0	0	0	6

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$2,888	\$3,078	—	—	—	\$114
Non-Business	\$1,291	\$1,378	—	—	—	\$24
Unidentified	\$2,465	\$2,597	—	—	—	\$535
Labor	\$315	\$322	—	—	—	\$213
Party	\$567	\$594	—	—	—	\$176
Candidate	\$1,506	\$1,579	—	—	—	\$431
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	—	—	—	\$0

NEBRASKA

One African American and one Latino were elected to Nebraska's unicameral legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. The African American, an unopposed incumbent, did not raise any money. The Latino collected 5 percent more than the average for white winners. Businesses contributed 18 percent more to the Latino than the average for white winners. The Latino also spent six times more personal money than whites, on average. Party sources did not contribute to the Latino, and labor organizations gave about eight times more to white legislators than to the Latino.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	25	23	1	1	0	0
Senate	25	23	1	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Senate Average	\$38,355	\$39,865	\$0	\$41,983	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	17	15	1	1	0	0
Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Open	7	7	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	13	11	1	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$18,851	\$19,487	\$0	\$23,077	—	—
Non-Business	\$150	\$163	\$0	\$0	—	—
Unidentified	\$14,107	\$14,825	\$0	\$11,708	—	—
Labor	\$3,630	\$3,924	\$0	\$500	—	—
Party	\$404	\$439	\$0	\$0	—	—
Candidate	\$1,213	\$1,028	\$0	\$6,698	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

NEVADA

Five African Americans, a Latino and an Asian Pacific American were elected to the Nevada Legislature in 2004. The African American senator collected 12 percent less than the average for white senators. Among House winners, African Americans raised 33 percent less than whites, and the Latino and Asian Pacific American received 40 percent and 26 percent less than the white average, respectively. African Americans and the Latino received more from labor unions than did whites, but the Asian Pacific American legislator received far less. Party sources contributed more to whites than non-whites, on average, as did business sources.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	52	45	5	1	1	0
House	42	36	4	1	1	0
Senate	10	9	1	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$135,647	\$142,332	\$95,824	\$85,276	\$104,643	—
Senate Average	\$279,810	\$283,066	\$250,501	—	—	—
All Average	\$163,370	\$170,479	\$126,760	\$85,276	\$104,643	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	36	32	3	1	0	0
Challenger	6	5	1	0	0	0
Open	10	8	1	0	1	0
Unopposed	2	1	1	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$110,830	\$116,587	\$76,875	\$60,272	\$72,126	—
Non-Business	\$2,923	\$2,772	\$3,650	\$1,000	\$8,000	—
Unidentified	\$25,784	\$26,702	\$22,715	\$8,015	\$17,592	—
Labor	\$14,659	\$14,746	\$16,543	\$15,740	\$250	—
Party	\$6,444	\$6,772	\$5,377	\$250	\$3,175	—
Candidate	\$2,730	\$2,899	\$1,600	\$0	\$3,500	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Four African Americans, one Latino, one Asian Pacific American and one legislator that identified as African American and Latino were elected to the New Hampshire state House in 2004; no Native Americans were represented, and no non-whites were elected to the Senate. The minority winners all raised more than white House winners, on average, with African Americans more than doubling the average for white House members and the Asian Pacific American collecting seven times as much as white House winners. The Asian Pacific American received 71 percent more than the white average from business sources, while African Americans and Latinos received less than whites. Party sources did not contribute to the Asian Pacific American or Latinos and gave whites seven times more than African Americans, on average. Labor organizations also did not support the Asian Pacific American, and gave whites more than African Americans and Latinos.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		NOT LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Legislature	424	417	5	2	1	0
House	400	393	5	2	1	0
Senate	24	24	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
House Average	\$674	\$652	\$1,431	\$850	\$5,150	—
Senate Average	\$48,663	\$48,663	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$3,390	\$3,415	\$1,431	\$850	\$5,150	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Incumbent	0	0	0	0	0	0
Challenger	0	0	0	0	0	0
Open	146	143	2	2	0	0
Incumbent/Open	278	274	3	0	1	0
Unopposed	10	10	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Business	\$1,397	\$1,404	\$860	\$13	\$2,400	—
Non-Business	\$137	\$138	\$120	\$250	\$0	—
Unidentified	\$1,176	\$1,182	\$395	\$538	\$2,750	—
Labor	\$95	\$96	\$15	\$50	\$0	—
Party	\$288	\$293	\$41	\$0	\$0	—
Candidate	\$297	\$302	\$0	\$0	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

*One legislator identified as both African American and Latino and is included in both categories.

NEW JERSEY

The Institute was unable to obtain complete identifications for Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans elected to the New Jersey Legislature in 2003. Among the known non-white legislators, there were 16 African Americans, five Latinos and one Asian Pacific American. Native Americans were not represented. Among Assembly winners, African Americans raised an average 48 percent less than other Assembly winners, and Asian Pacific Americans and Latinos collected 39 percent less. African American senators raised 19 percent less than other senators, on average. Non-whites received less than other legislators from most funding sources, but Latinos spent more personal money on their campaigns than other legislators.

WINNERS

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	120	98	16	5	1	0
House	80	64	10	5	1	0
Senate	40	34	6	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$151,921	\$166,739	\$86,916	\$102,156	\$102,394	—
Senate Average	\$365,338	\$376,050	\$304,636	—	—	—
All Average	\$223,060	\$239,357	\$168,561	\$102,156	\$102,394	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	104	84	14	5	1	0
Challenger	13	12	1	0	0	0
Open	3	2	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	5	3	1	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$64,633	\$69,487	\$47,032	\$37,456	\$6,432	—
Non-Business	\$2,689	\$2,549	\$4,466	\$300	\$0	—
Unidentified	\$84,759	\$85,988	\$90,265	\$41,324	\$93,432	—
Labor	\$17,794	\$19,319	\$12,347	\$8,530	\$1,900	—
Party	\$46,796	\$55,247	\$11,277	\$4,068	\$630	—
Candidate	\$6,387	\$6,768	\$3,175	\$10,478	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

NEW MEXICO

Five Native Americans, 40 Latinos, one legislator who identified as African American and Latino, and one who identified as Latino and Native American were elected to the New Mexico Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. Whites raised more than African Americans and Native Americans, but Latino House and Senate winners raised more than their white counterparts, on average. Native Americans received less than whites, on average, from all funding sources except non-business and labor sources. African Americans received less from all sources except labor unions, which gave them six times more than whites. Latinos received more than whites from all sources but did not spend as much personal money on their races as did whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		NOT LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN*
Legislature	112	64	2	42	0	6
House	70	37	2	29	0	4
Senate	42	27	0	13	0	2

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN*
House Average	\$29,885	\$26,637	\$13,076	\$37,255	—	\$11,509
Senate Average	\$39,361	\$36,511	—	\$49,700	—	\$10,625
All Average	\$33,438	\$30,802	\$13,076	\$41,107	—	\$11,214

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN*
Incumbent	90	48	2	36	0	6
Challenger	6	5	0	1	0	0
Open	16	11	0	5	0	0
Incumbent/Open	52	35	1	14	0	2
Unopposed						

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN*
Business	\$18,543	\$17,107	\$7,575	\$23,009	—	\$3,962
Non-Business	\$2,020	\$1,370	\$125	\$3,022	—	\$3,075
Unidentified	\$8,374	\$8,325	\$1,450	\$9,457	—	\$1,899
Labor	\$1,054	\$487	\$3,000	\$2,034	—	\$508
Party	\$2,823	\$2,429	\$925	\$3,589	—	\$1,644
Candidate	\$625	\$1,084	\$0	\$0	—	\$125
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0

*One legislator identified as both African American and Latino and another as Latino and Native American. Figures for those legislators are included in both categories.

NEW YORK

One Asian Pacific American, 15 Latinos, 30 African Americans and one legislator who identified as both African American and Latino were elected to the New York Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. White Assembly winners raised 61 percent more than African Americans and 19 percent more than Latinos, on average. The Asian Pacific American, however, collected more than twice the white average. Both African Americans and Latinos raised less than half as much as white Senate winners, on average. African Americans and Latinos received less than whites from all funding sources except the money they gave to their own campaigns, while the Asian Pacific American received less from most identified sources. The Asian Pacific American also spent considerably more personal money than other candidates.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	212	165	31	16	1	0
House	150	116	22	12	1	0
Senate	62	49	9	4	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$121,339	\$128,652	\$79,957	\$108,249	\$328,551	—
Senate Average	\$386,134	\$442,731	\$168,433	\$182,649	—	—
All Average	\$198,779	\$221,924	\$105,644	\$126,849	\$328,551	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	190	146	31	14	0	0
Challenger	8	6	0	1	1	0
Open	12	11	0	1	0	0
Incumbent/Open	2	2	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	52	45	7	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN*	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$57,173	\$64,747	\$29,175	\$31,656	\$50,539	—
Non-Business	\$1,750	\$1,912	\$782	\$1,334	\$10,100	—
Unidentified	\$88,403	\$97,382	\$51,872	\$59,962	\$154,512	—
Labor	\$27,039	\$29,700	\$16,862	\$20,498	\$3,400	—
Party	\$24,207	\$28,659	\$6,644	\$13,034	\$0	—
Candidate	\$207	\$0	\$308	\$365	\$110,000	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

*One legislator identified as both African American and Latino and is included in both categories.

NORTH CAROLINA

One Native American, two Latinos and 26 African Americans were elected to the North Carolina Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. The Latino House winner raised more than twice as much as white House winners, while African Americans and the Native American raised less than one-third of the white average. In the Senate, African Americans collected an average 75 percent less than whites, and the Latino raised 33 percent less than whites. Business sources contributed twice as much to Latinos as they did to whites but less to African Americans and the Native American. Latinos and the Native American did not receive money from labor unions, but African Americans raised more from labor sources than did whites. The Native American did not receive any money from party sources, and African Americans and Latinos received 72 percent and 79 percent less than whites, respectively.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	170	141	26	2	0	1
House	120	99	19	1	0	1
Senate	50	42	7	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$92,474	\$104,152	\$28,296	\$221,075	—	\$27,135
Senate Average	\$197,639	\$222,435	\$55,650	\$150,119	—	—
All Average	\$123,405	\$139,386	\$35,661	\$185,597	—	\$27,135

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	118	92	23	2	0	1
Challenger	15	14	1	0	0	0
Open	25	23	2	0	0	0
Incumbent/Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	11	11	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	46	36	8	1	0	1

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$61,569	\$69,317	\$15,219	\$142,586	—	\$12,150
Non-Business	\$3,855	\$4,259	\$1,675	\$4,625	—	\$2,000
Unidentified	\$28,106	\$31,370	\$9,746	\$44,211	—	\$12,985
Labor	\$1,065	\$1,050	\$1,270	\$0	—	\$0
Party	\$26,231	\$29,973	\$8,492	\$6,125	—	\$0
Candidate	\$2,579	\$3,416	\$0	\$0	—	\$0
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0

NORTH DAKOTA

Just one non-white legislator, a Native American, was elected to the North Dakota Legislature in 2004. The Native American House winner raised 47 percent less than the average for white House winners. Businesses and party sources were the only sources of the Native American's funds. On average, they contributed 77 percent and 26 percent less, respectively, than they did to whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	72	71	0	0	0	1
House	49	48	0	0	0	1
Senate	23	23	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$2,420	\$2,443	—	—	—	\$1,300
Senate Average	\$4,692	\$4,692	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$3,146	\$3,172	—	—	—	\$1,300

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	58	58	0	0	0	0
Challenger	10	9	0	0	0	1
Open	4	4	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	7	7	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$1,269	\$1,283	—	—	—	\$300
Non-Business	\$66	\$67	—	—	—	\$0
Unidentified	\$248	\$251	—	—	—	\$0
Labor	\$221	\$224	—	—	—	\$0
Party	\$1,342	\$1,346	—	—	—	\$1,000
Candidate	\$0	\$0	—	—	—	\$0
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	—	—	—	\$0

OHIO

Fourteen African Americans were elected to the Ohio Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans, Latinos and Native Americans were not represented. All African Americans won House seats, and white House winners raised four times more, on average. Business sources contributed an average 81 percent less to African Americans, labor unions gave them 47 percent less, and party sources donated 91 percent less to African Americans than to whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	115	101	14	0	0	0
House	99	85	14	0	0	0
Senate	16	16	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$142,769	\$160,125	\$37,391	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$441,565	\$441,565	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$184,341	\$204,710	\$37,391	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	89	76	13	0	0	0
Challenger	4	4	0	0	0	0
Open	15	14	1	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	7	7	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	21	14	7	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$87,546	\$97,145	\$18,302	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$5,551	\$6,074	\$1,776	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$30,067	\$33,339	\$6,463	—	—	—
Labor	\$9,683	\$10,270	\$5,451	—	—	—
Party	\$51,578	\$58,016	\$5,130	—	—	—
Candidate	\$0	\$0	\$269	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

OKLAHOMA

Four African Americans and 13 Native Americans were elected to the Oklahoma Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Latinos were not represented. The Native Americans, all House winners, raised 17 percent more than their white counterparts, on average. The African American House winners raised an average 24 percent less than whites, and the African American senator collected 48 percent less than white senators. Labor sources gave African Americans more than four times as much as white winners and six times as much as Native Americans. Party sources gave Native Americans twice as much as whites and eight times more than African Americans.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	126	109	4	0	0	13
House	101	85	3	0	0	13
Senate	25	24	1	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$64,659	\$63,716	\$48,698	—	—	\$74,503
Senate Average	\$144,921	\$147,765	\$76,672	—	—	—
All Average	\$80,584	\$82,223	\$55,691	—	—	\$74,503

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	72	68	1	0	0	3
Challenger	8	4	2	0	0	2
Open	45	37	0	0	0	8
Incumbent/Open	1	0	1	0	0	0
Unopposed	28	27	0	0	0	1

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$45,267	\$47,148	\$28,933	—	—	\$34,530
Non-Business	\$7,200	\$7,211	\$6,888	—	—	\$7,205
Unidentified	\$15,884	\$15,480	\$11,353	—	—	\$20,644
Labor	\$1,760	\$1,638	\$7,240	—	—	\$1,092
Party	\$4,323	\$3,809	\$1,196	—	—	\$9,596
Candidate	\$6,150	\$6,937	\$83	—	—	\$1,416
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	\$0

OREGON

One Asian Pacific American, two African Americans and two Latinos were elected to the Oregon Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. On average, Latino House winners raised 94 percent more than whites, and the Asian Pacific American received more than twice as much as whites. White senators raised an average six times more than the average for African American senators. Latinos and the Asian Pacific American received more from businesses than whites, while African Americans received less. Labor organizations contributed more to whites than non-whites: African Americans received 70 percent less, and Latinos received 39 percent less. The Asian Pacific American received nothing from labor unions, but collected more than twice as much as whites from party sources.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	77	72	2	2	1	0
House	60	57	0	2	1	0
Senate	17	15	2	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$122,582	\$116,971	—	\$226,624	\$234,314	—
Senate Average	\$277,003	\$307,253	\$50,130	—	—	—
All Average	\$156,675	\$156,613	\$50,130	\$226,624	\$234,314	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	36	35	0	1	0	0
Challenger	2	2	0	0	0	0
Open	27	26	0	1	0	0
Incumbent/Open	12	9	2	0	1	0
Unopposed	10	9	1	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$82,019	\$81,193	\$35,024	\$158,670	\$82,150	—
Non-Business	\$9,572	\$9,749	\$2,550	\$8,525	\$12,971	—
Unidentified	\$12,800	\$12,105	\$6,725	\$32,204	\$36,250	—
Labor	\$21,159	\$22,074	\$6,525	\$13,425	\$0	—
Party	\$29,932	\$30,705	\$200	\$13,550	\$66,493	—
Candidate	\$1,193	\$788	-\$894	\$250	\$36,450	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

PENNSYLVANIA

One Asian Pacific American, one Latino and 17 African Americans were elected to the Pennsylvania Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. On average, the African American and Latino House winners raised 39 percent and 41 percent less than whites, respectively, while African American senators received 65 percent less than whites and the Asian Pacific American senator raised 46 percent less. African Americans and the Asian Pacific American received more from labor unions, on average, than did whites, while the Latino received less. Party sources contributed more to whites than non-whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	228	209	17	1	1	0
House	203	187	15	1	0	0
Senate	25	22	2	0	1	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$127,833	\$131,892	\$80,598	\$77,371	—	—
Senate Average	\$426,038	\$458,470	\$159,046	—	\$246,527	—
All Average	\$160,531	\$166,268	\$89,827	\$77,371	\$246,527	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	214	196	16	1	1	0
Challenger	4	3	1	0	0	0
Open	10	10	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	83	75	8	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$54,448	\$57,057	\$21,994	\$7,575	\$107,760	—
Non-Business	\$3,033	\$3,234	\$748	\$100	\$2,725	—
Unidentified	\$62,548	\$64,236	\$41,475	\$38,046	\$92,400	—
Labor	\$14,182	\$13,874	\$17,915	\$11,350	\$17,900	—
Party	\$24,438	\$25,839	\$7,397	\$20,000	\$25,742	—
Candidate	\$1,883	\$2,028	\$298	\$300	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

RHODE ISLAND

Three African Americans, three Latinos and one legislator identifying as both African American and Latino were elected to the Rhode Island Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. African American House winners raised an average 93 percent more than whites, while Latinos collected 31 percent less than whites. Among Senate winners, the Latino raised 7 percent less than whites and the African American 69 percent less. Labor unions gave African Americans 24 percent more than whites and Latinos 26 percent less than whites, on average. Latinos received 41 percent more from party sources than whites, while African Americans received 31 percent less.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		NOT LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Legislature	113	106	4	4	0	0
House	75	70	3	3	0	0
Senate	38	36	1	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
House Average	\$26,336	\$25,532	\$49,382	\$17,618	—	—
Senate Average	\$42,490	\$43,360	\$13,353	\$40,316	—	—
All Average	\$31,769	\$31,587	\$40,375	\$23,293	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Incumbent	93	89	3	2	0	0
Challenger	9	7	0	2	0	0
Open	10	9	1	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	27	27	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN	LATINO*	ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN*		AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Business	\$6,813	\$6,625	\$14,625	\$2,369	—	—
Non-Business	\$1,493	\$1,464	\$2,932	\$462	—	—
Unidentified	\$16,668	\$16,677	\$15,623	\$16,302	—	—
Labor	\$4,121	\$4,090	\$5,069	\$3,046	—	—
Party	\$1,076	\$1,066	\$731	\$1,500	—	—
Candidate	\$1,598	\$1,666	\$1,394	\$0	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

*One legislator identified as both African American and Latino and is included in both categories.

SOUTH CAROLINA

One Asian Pacific American, one Latino and 33 African Americans were elected to the South Carolina Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. The Asian Pacific American raised 20 percent more, on average, than whites, but African Americans and the Latino raised 44 percent and 83 percent less, respectively. The Latino received less money from all sources than did whites, while the African American legislators received less from business and party sources. The Asian Pacific American received more than twice as much as whites did from party sources and spent more than twice as much personal money as whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	170	135	33	1	1	0
House	124	97	25	1	1	0
Senate	46	38	8	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$30,818	\$34,589	\$15,025	\$11,399	\$79,301	—
Senate Average	\$139,946	\$147,153	\$105,713	—	—	—
All Average	\$60,347	\$66,273	\$37,010	\$11,399	\$79,301	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	152	121	30	1	0	0
Challenger	7	4	2	0	1	0
Open	10	9	1	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	86	68	17	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$27,223	\$29,595	\$18,301	\$8,549	\$20,049	—
Non-Business	\$516	\$468	\$713	\$0	\$1,000	—
Unidentified	\$26,227	\$29,411	\$13,454	\$2,850	\$41,252	—
Labor	\$142	\$77	\$415	\$0	\$0	—
Party	\$2,646	\$2,888	\$1,606	\$0	\$7,000	—
Candidate	\$3,592	\$3,833	\$2,521	\$0	\$10,000	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

SOUTH DAKOTA

Four Native Americans were elected to the South Dakota Legislature in 2004, but African Americans, Asian Pacific Americans and Latinos were not represented. White House winners raised more than twice as much as Native Americans, and white Senate winners collected 13 times more, on average. Native Americans raised less from business and party sources than whites but slightly more from labor unions. Native Americans spent 90 percent less personal money than whites on their campaigns.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	105	101	0	0	0	4
House	70	67	0	0	0	3
Senate	35	34	0	0	0	1

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$8,294	\$8,526	—	—	—	\$3,117
Senate Average	\$16,546	\$16,995	—	—	—	\$1,260
All Average	\$11,045	\$11,377	—	—	—	\$2,653

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	66	63	0	0	0	3
Challenger	17	16	0	0	0	1
Open	13	13	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	8	8	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	21	21	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$4,253	\$4,370	—	—	—	\$1,304
Non-Business	\$130	\$134	—	—	—	\$24
Unidentified	\$3,624	\$3,738	—	—	—	\$762
Labor	\$111	\$110	—	—	—	\$138
Party	\$1,418	\$1,464	—	—	—	\$262
Candidate	\$1,508	\$1,561	—	—	—	\$163
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	—	—	—	\$0

TENNESSEE

One Latino and 16 African Americans were elected to the Tennessee Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. On average, African American House winners raised 30 percent less than white House winners, and the Latino collected 49 percent less than the average raised by white House members. African Americans and the Latino received less than whites, on average, from all sources of funds. Labor unions contributed 31 percent less to African Americans than to whites and gave nothing to the Latino. From party sources, African Americans received 71 percent less than whites, and the Latino collected 87 percent less than whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	115	98	16	1	0	0
House	99	82	16	1	0	0
Senate	16	16	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$60,507	\$63,962	\$44,541	\$32,647	—	—
Senate Average	\$275,821	\$275,821	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$90,464	\$98,551	\$44,541	\$32,647	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	98	82	15	1	0	0
Challenger	8	7	1	0	0	0
Open	9	9	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	39	31	7	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$35,917	\$38,060	\$24,471	\$9,050	—	—
Non-Business	\$2,462	\$2,788	\$625	\$0	—	—
Unidentified	\$31,309	\$34,748	\$11,035	\$18,722	—	—
Labor	\$5,510	\$5,809	\$4,025	\$0	—	—
Party	\$11,349	\$12,710	\$3,624	\$1,625	—	—
Candidate	\$3,916	\$4,438	\$761	\$3,250	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—

TEXAS

Two Asian Pacific Americans, 15 African Americans and 34 Latinos were elected to the Texas Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. Asian Pacific Americans raised 52 percent more than whites, while African Americans and Latinos raised 44 percent and 32 percent less than whites, respectively. Asian Pacific Americans received more money from business sources than whites, while African Americans and Latinos received 60 percent and 39 percent less, respectively. Labor unions favored African Americans and Latinos over whites and Asian Pacific Americans. Party sources gave whites anywhere from 2.5 to seven times as much as was given to African Americans, Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans. The Asian Pacific Americans spent more than 12 times as much on their campaigns as did whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	165	114	15	34	2	0
House	150	105	14	29	2	0
Senate	15	9	1	5	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$202,085	\$228,149	\$123,158	\$132,565	\$394,268	—
Senate Average	\$547,579	\$625,078	\$468,237	\$423,950	—	—
All Average	\$233,494	\$259,486	\$146,163	\$175,416	\$394,268	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	146	102	13	30	1	0
Challenger	12	6	2	3	1	0
Open	7	6	0	1	0	0
Unopposed	74	44	10	20	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$145,399	\$166,928	\$67,517	\$105,830	\$175,074	—
Non-Business	\$10,005	\$9,099	\$18,012	\$9,854	\$4,212	—
Unidentified	\$57,380	\$61,062	\$48,763	\$45,601	\$112,370	—
Labor	\$6,344	\$4,938	\$10,447	\$9,359	\$4,500	—
Party	\$7,154	\$9,606	\$1,377	\$1,671	\$3,887	—
Candidate	\$7,211	\$7,854	\$46	\$3,100	\$94,224	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

UTAH

One African American, one Asian Pacific American and two Latinos were elected to the Utah Legislature in 2004, but Native Americans were not represented. The African American House winner raised 71 percent less than the average for white House winners. The Asian Pacific American House winner collected 27 percent more, and the Latinos received 28 percent more than white House winners, on average. The Asian Pacific American received 61 percent more than whites from party sources, while Latinos received 45 percent less than whites and the African American collected nothing. Labor unions contributed 95 percent more to Latinos and 61 percent more to the African American than to whites. The Asian Pacific American and whites financed their campaigns at nearly the same rates, but the Latino used considerably less personal money and the African American, none.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	90	86	1	2	1	0
House	75	71	1	2	1	0
Senate	15	15	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$19,750	\$19,720	\$5,800	\$25,149	\$25,065	—
Senate Average	\$56,502	\$56,502	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$25,876	\$26,135	\$5,800	\$25,149	\$25,065	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	70	69	1	0	0	0
Challenger	6	6	0	0	0	0
Open	14	11	0	2	1	0
Unopposed	10	10	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$12,482	\$12,743	\$3,550	\$5,854	\$12,245	—
Non-Business	\$743	\$763	\$0	\$165	\$1,000	—
Unidentified	\$6,904	\$6,832	\$350	\$14,557	\$4,320	—
Labor	\$1,205	\$1,180	\$1,900	\$2,300	\$500	—
Party	\$3,980	\$4,038	\$0	\$2,223	\$6,500	—
Candidate	\$561	\$580	\$0	\$51	\$500	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	—

VERMONT

One African American, one Asian Pacific American and one Native American were elected to the Vermont Legislature in 2004, but Latinos were not represented. The average amount raised by white House winners was more than 150 times the \$20 received by the African American winner. The Native American senator was also outraised by a ratio of nearly 3-to-1, but the Asian Pacific American House winner raised 40 percent more than the average for white House winners. The African American received nothing from businesses, labor unions or party sources; the \$20 came in unitemized small contributions. The Native American collected 89 percent more than the white average from party sources but did not receive any labor money. Most of the Asian Pacific American's money came from unidentified sources, 75 percent of which were unitemized contributions under the threshold for reporting the names, employers or occupations of contributors.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	180	177	1	0	1	1
House	150	148	1	0	1	0
Senate	30	29	0	0	0	1

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$3,012	\$3,024	\$20	—	\$4,248	—
Senate Average	\$14,721	\$15,050	—	—	—	\$5,155
All Average	\$4,963	\$4,994	\$20	—	\$4,248	\$5,155

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	141	138	1	0	1	1
Challenger	31	31	0	0	0	0
Open	8	8	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	39	38	1	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$580	\$577	\$0	—	\$200	\$2,150
Non-Business	\$138	\$141	\$0	—	\$0	\$0
Unidentified	\$3,211	\$3,234	\$20	—	\$3,848	\$1,705
Labor	\$60	\$61	\$0	—	\$0	\$0
Party	\$683	\$687	\$0	—	\$0	\$1,300
Candidate	\$291	\$295	\$0	—	\$200	\$0
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0	\$0

VIRGINIA

The Institute was unable to obtain identifications for Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans elected to the Virginia Legislature in 2003. Among known non-white legislators, there were 16 African Americans, but Native Americans were not represented. African Americans elected to both the House and the Senate raised about half as much as their non-African American counterparts. African Americans received less than other legislators from all sources of funds except labor.

WINNERS

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	140	124	16	—	—	0
House	100	89	11	—	—	0
Senate	40	35	5	—	—	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$98,464	\$104,170	\$52,289	—	—	—
Senate Average	\$207,455	\$224,087	\$91,030	—	—	—
All Average	\$129,604	\$138,018	\$64,396	—	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	124	113	11	—	—	0
Challenger	2	2	0	—	—	0
Open	14	9	5	—	—	0
Unopposed	76	65	11	—	—	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	OTHER	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$90,285	\$97,057	\$37,805	—	—	—
Non-Business	\$6,712	\$7,094	\$3,752	—	—	—
Unidentified	\$8,862	\$9,401	\$4,687	—	—	—
Labor	\$3,280	\$3,058	\$4,997	—	—	—
Party	\$20,169	\$21,084	\$13,077	—	—	—
Candidate	\$296	\$324	\$78	—	—	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	—	—

WASHINGTON

Two African Americans, two Asian Pacific Americans, three Latinos and three Native Americans were elected to the Washington Legislature in 2004. Just one non-white, a Latino, was elected to the Senate. The Latino collected 29 percent more than the average for white senators. Among House winners, all of the non-whites raised less than whites, on average. Native Americans came closest to the white average, receiving 12 percent less. African Americans followed with 21 percent less. African Americans and Asian Pacific Americans collected more from labor unions, on average, than did whites, while Latinos and Native Americans received less. Party sources contributed, on average, 43 percent more to Native Americans than to whites, but African Americans, Latinos and Asian Pacific Americans received considerably less from party organizations.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	126	116	2	3	2	3
House	98	89	2	2	2	3
Senate	28	27	0	1	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$89,468	\$91,499	\$71,900	\$60,795	\$58,257	\$80,861
Senate Average	\$149,651	\$148,121	—	\$190,955	—	—
All Average	\$102,842	\$104,768	\$71,900	\$104,182	\$58,257	\$80,861

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	95	87	2	3	1	2
Challenger	7	7	0	0	0	0
Open	17	15	0	0	1	1
Incumbent/Challenger	2	2	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	5	5	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	19	18	0	0	0	1

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$48,109	\$49,356	\$35,100	\$45,695	\$20,500	\$29,383
Non-Business	\$4,517	\$4,402	\$5,643	\$4,352	\$3,600	\$8,988
Unidentified	\$21,294	\$21,875	\$16,847	\$14,849	\$15,776	\$11,907
Labor	\$9,173	\$9,156	\$12,100	\$7,983	\$14,402	\$5,592
Party	\$16,675	\$17,371	\$2,210	\$1,303	\$1,589	\$24,802
Candidate	\$3,074	\$2,517	\$0	\$30,000	\$2,389	\$189
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0

WEST VIRGINIA

One Asian Pacific American and two African Americans were elected to the West Virginia Legislature in 2004, but Latinos and Native Americans were not represented. The African American House winners raised 29 percent less than white House winners, on average. The Asian Pacific American collected 64 percent more than the average for white House winners. African Americans received more from labor unions than any other source, and that amount was 95 percent more than the amount whites received, on average. Party sources did not contribute to African Americans or the Asian Pacific American.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	117	114	2	0	1	0
House	100	97	2	0	1	0
Senate	17	17	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$23,962	\$23,947	\$17,073	—	\$39,275	—
Senate Average	\$89,805	\$89,805	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$33,529	\$33,768	\$17,073	—	\$39,275	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	95	94	0	0	1	0
Challenger	17	15	2	0	0	0
Open	3	3	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Challenger	1	1	0	0	0	0
Incumbent/Open	1	1	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	6	6	0	0	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$17,974	\$18,085	\$4,833	—	\$31,700	—
Non-Business	\$521	\$534	\$75	—	\$0	—
Unidentified	\$7,575	\$7,616	\$5,240	—	\$7,575	—
Labor	\$3,573	\$3,545	\$6,925	—	\$0	—
Party	\$694	\$712	\$0	—	\$0	—
Candidate	\$3,191	\$3,275	\$0	—	\$0	—
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	\$0	—	\$0	—

WISCONSIN

One Latino and eight African Americans were elected to the Wisconsin Legislature in 2004, but Asian Pacific Americans and Native Americans were not represented. On average, African Americans who won House seats raised 70 percent less than whites, while African Americans elected to the Senate raised half as much as whites. The Latino House winner collected about 2.5 times more than the average for white House winners. African Americans received nearly twice as much as whites from labor unions, and the Latino received three times more from party sources than the average for white winners. African Americans and the Latino also spent more personal money on their campaigns than whites.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Legislature	115	106	8	1	0	0
House	99	92	6	1	0	0
Senate	16	14	2	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
House Average	\$41,068	\$42,190	\$12,768	\$107,623	—	—
Senate Average	\$120,379	\$128,460	\$63,813	—	—	—
All Average	\$52,102	\$53,584	\$25,529	\$107,623	—	—

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Incumbent	91	85	5	1	0	0
Challenger	4	4	0	0	0	0
Open	20	17	3	0	0	0
Unopposed	34	30	3	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT LATINO	AFRICAN AMERICAN	LATINO	ASIAN PACIFIC AMERICAN	NATIVE AMERICAN
Business	\$24,475	\$25,613	\$7,224	\$41,845	—	—
Non-Business	\$2,112	\$2,138	\$1,246	\$6,320	—	—
Unidentified	\$21,939	\$22,758	\$9,519	\$34,508	—	—
Labor	\$1,142	\$1,078	\$2,054	\$600	—	—
Party	\$1,303	\$1,346	\$349	\$4,350	—	—
Candidate	\$674	\$208	\$4,441	\$20,000	—	—
Public Funds	\$457	\$444	\$697	\$0	—	—

WYOMING

One Latino and one Native American were elected to the Wyoming Legislature in 2004, but African Americans and Asian Pacific Americans were not represented. The Latino and Native American legislators raised 76 percent and 49 less than whites, respectively. The Latino legislator raised less than white legislators from all sources. The Native American legislator received almost three times as much from labor unions as white legislators did, but raised less from most other sources.

WINNERS

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN		ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN	LATINO	AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Legislature	76	74	0	1	0	1
House	60	58	0	1	0	1
Senate	16	16	0	0	0	0

AVERAGE AMOUNTS RAISED

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN		ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN	LATINO	AMERICAN	AMERICAN
House Average	\$5,723	\$5,832	—	\$1,648	—	\$3,465
Senate Average	\$10,564	\$10,564	—	—	—	—
All Average	\$6,742	\$6,855	—	\$1,648	—	\$3,465

TYPE OF CANDIDATE

	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN		ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN	LATINO	AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Incumbent	38	37	0	1	0	0
Challenger	5	5	0	0	0	0
Open	31	30	0	0	0	1
Incumbent/Open	2	2	0	0	0	0
Unopposed	35	34	0	1	0	0

SOURCES OF FUNDS

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION	ALL	WHITE NOT	AFRICAN		ASIAN PACIFIC	NATIVE
		LATINO	AMERICAN	LATINO	AMERICAN	AMERICAN
Business	\$3,392	\$3,466	—	\$950	—	\$350
Non-Business	\$121	\$123	—	\$0	—	\$125
Unidentified	\$1,254	\$1,273	—	\$200	—	\$925
Labor	\$367	\$362	—	—	—	\$1,050
Party	\$661	\$674	—	\$50	—	\$280
Candidate	\$947	\$957	—	\$448	—	\$735
Public Funds	\$0	\$0	—	\$0	—	\$0