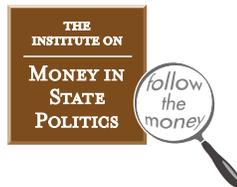




STATE ELECTIONS OVERVIEW 2002

A SUMMARY OF
STATE ELECTION DATA
AND TRENDS FROM
THE NATION'S MOST
COMPLETE RESOURCE
FOR INFORMATION
ON MONEY IN
STATE POLITICS



The Institute on Money in State Politics is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that compiles campaign contribution information on every state-level candidate and major political party committee in the country. The Institute is dedicated to providing accurate, comprehensive and unbiased documentation and research on campaign contribution reports for gubernatorial, legislative, judicial and other statewide candidates, as well as political party committees. It serves as the only complete source of this data and makes its information available online.

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Please refer to our complete online database at:

www.followthemoney.org

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HAVE YOU EVER WONDERED why your legislator voted for or against a proposed public policy? Or why your governor supported tax breaks for certain businesses? Or whether out-of-state interests have had a hand in elections in your state?

Following the money that's given to political candidates and party committees often provides some of the answers.

Since 1999, the Institute on Money in State Politics in Helena, Mont., has been compiling the basic information that allows voters, state groups, reporters, students and professors to easily see who is contributing to state-level candidates and party committees and what their economic interests are.

We make our database of about 12 million contribution records available on the Web, for all to use. At www.followthemoney.org, you can see:

- **How much money candidates for each office in each state are raising.** Our database includes the money given to candidates for the state legislature, the governor's office and other statewide offices, and state Supreme Courts, as well as contributions to state political party committees.
- **How much money individuals, businesses and labor unions have given,** in one state or across state lines. The way in which we classify contributors based on their occupation and employer allows you to easily see how much money various industries are giving the candidates and party committees.
- **How campaign-giving trends change over the years.** We have data for all 50 states for the 2000 and 2002 election cycles, and data in 40 states for the 1998 elections. And our contribution information stretches back to 1990 in the eight Western states that were part of our start-up project.

Our 50-state database allows national and regional comparisons of campaign finances. Using this information, we can track how the money in politics changes from election cycle to election cycle, as well as look at whether certain industries are using campaign contributions as part of their strategies to enact policy changes at the state level.

This overview report of the 2002 state elections summarizes who gave and received money at the state level.

The Institute on
Money in State
Politics provides
the only
complete source
of state-level
campaign
finance
information in
the country.



OVERVIEW

When elected officials are acting on policy issues that touch people's lives so directly, it's important to see who is weighing in on the political debate before it even begins and giving political contributions to the people they'd like to see elected.

STATE-LEVEL CANDIDATES in the 2002 election cycle raised an astonishing \$2.1 billion for their bids for office, spurred in part by wealthy candidates who gave tens of millions of dollars to their own campaigns and by political party committees that supported their candidates' efforts to win election.

The money went to more than 18,100 candidates who ran for offices ranging from the legislature to governor to Supreme Court in either 2001 or 2002. The total includes about 2,250 candidates who raised money but were not on the ballot; many were incumbents positioning themselves for future races. Another 3,400 candidates lost their primary-election races.

The remaining 12,460 candidates who went on to compete in general-election contests raised about \$1.7 billion of the total funds contributed to state-level candidates in 2002. A review of those contributions reveals some telling facts:

- **The amount of money in legislative politics increased slightly over the 2000 election cycle**, from \$651 million in 2000 to about \$700 million in 2002.
- **Democratic candidates outraised Republicans.** About 8,120 Democratic candidates received 50 percent of the contributions to candidates, while approximately 3,250 Republican candidates received 44 percent of the total.
- **A small number of candidates accounted for more than half of the money.** A relative handful of candidates raised more than \$1 million for their races—just 196 candidates. But their contributions totaled slightly more than \$1 billion.
- **Candidates already holding office raise more money.** The approximately 6,200 incumbents received about 44 percent of the money, while the 4,700 candidates challenging them raised just 22 percent.
- **Candidates with more money win more often.** Fully 80 percent of the winning legislative candidates raised more money than their general-election challengers.
- **Money and incumbency are almost unbeatable.** Legislative candidates who had the advantage of money or incumbency, or both, won 91 percent of the races.
- **Public funding has leveled the financial playing field for legislative candidates.** In Maine and Arizona, both winning and losing legislative candidates who were publicly funded raised slightly more on average than did the winning candidates who were privately financed. Typically, losing candidates raise far less.
- **Political money favors the party in power.** Democratic legislative candidates received far more in contributions in states where they ended up controlling both houses of the Legislature, while Republican candidates received far more in states where they were in the majority in both houses. Contributions were much more closely split in states where legislative control was split between the two parties.
- **Party committees play a big role in state politics.** State-level political party committees raised \$709.5 million to use on a wide array of political activities that benefited candidates at the state, local and national level.

These highlights illustrate the importance of money in state-level politics—where decisions are made about school funding, tax cuts or increases, welfare benefits, environmental laws and business regulation. When the issues touch people's lives so directly, it's important to see who is weighing in on the political debate before it even begins and giving political contributions to the people they'd like to see elected.

The Institute on Money in State Politics shows the inner workings of campaign finances through its searchable, online database at www.followthemoney.org. This unique resource allows every citizen to see which economic interests are supporting the candidates and to research whether political contributions are affecting public policy.



A LOOK AT THE LEGISLATIVE RACES

NEARLY 11,400 CANDIDATES RAN in general-election contests for state legislative seats in 2001 and 2002, raising nearly \$694.1 million to finance their campaigns. And the money they raised was clearly important to the success of their efforts.

In fact, money appears to be the strongest advantage a candidate could have, topping even incumbency—with its attendant name recognition—as a factor in winning. Eighty percent of the winning legislative candidates raised the most money in their races. By comparison, 71 percent were incumbents.

Candidates who had either or both of these advantages practically closed their opponents out of the competition, winning 91 percent of the races.

In many states, it didn't take much money to gain a legislative seat. Winning Wyoming legislative candidates raised an average of \$5,577 each, while Montana winners averaged \$5,949. Winners in Vermont raised an average of \$3,860, while Rhode Island winners averaged \$9,805 each.

Those amounts pale in comparison to the funds candidates in some states raised.

Winning candidates in California raised an average of \$342,323, the highest average among all the states. They were followed by Illinois candidates, where winners averaged \$206,606; Texas at \$172,314; New Jersey at \$165,858; and Florida, at \$122,310.

Legislative candidates face a wide array of restrictions on their fundraising ability. Some states limit candidates to raising a few hundred dollars from each contributor, while some states allow maximum contributions ranging from \$4,000 to \$14,000 and other states have no limits at all.

The net effect: legislative fundraising runs the gamut, from candidates with a total of a few hundred dollars to those who raise hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Fifty-one of the general-election legislative candidates raised more than \$1 million for their races. Thirty-nine of them were from states that allowed unlimited contributions—California, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Texas.

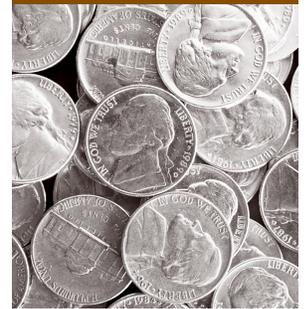
Overall, nearly 9,000 House candidates across the country raised \$416 million, while 2,400 Senate candidates raised \$278 million. Senate candidates raised higher amounts, on average, than did House candidates. But one fact remained consistent for all candidates: winners far outraised losing candidates. On average, losing legislative candidates raised about one-third the amount of money that winners raised.

The table on page 6 provides a state-by-state breakout of the amount raised by general-election legislative candidates in each state, as well as the average amount raised by candidates for both houses and the amount raised per voter. The tables on page 7 illustrate how the money in the 2002 elections followed the party in power.

Democratic candidates received a slightly higher percentage of the legislative contributions than did Republican candidates, 51 percent to 48 percent. But this even split belies the fact that contributors to legislative campaigns heavily favored candidates of the political party that ended up in control of the Legislature.

In states where Democrats controlled both houses of the Legislature after the 2002 elections, Democratic candidates received 64 percent of the \$239.5 million given to the candidates. In states where Republicans ended up in control of both houses, Republican candidates received 61 percent of the \$250.4 million given to the candidates. And in states where one house is controlled by Democrats and the other by Republicans, Democratic candidates received 53 percent of the \$197 million total, while Republicans received 47 percent.

The 50 states place a wide array of limits on campaign contributions. The net effect: legislative fundraising runs the gamut.



Average Amounts Raised by General-Election Legislative Candidates, 2002

STATE YEAR	\$ PER VOTER	2000 VOTERS	TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS	HOUSE AVERAGE	SENATE AVERAGE
ALABAMA	\$17.31	1,367,053	\$23,658,800	\$60,220	\$208,258
ALASKA	\$21.72	232,112	\$5,040,822	\$38,187	\$64,024
ARIZONA	\$3.58	1,255,615	\$4,501,152	\$29,165	\$33,530
ARKANSAS	\$5.59	805,696	\$4,502,257	\$17,179	\$44,904
CALIFORNIA	\$10.62	7,738,821	\$82,157,600	\$316,383	\$454,731
COLORADO	\$6.49	1,432,818	\$9,294,992	\$33,446	\$111,701
CONNECTICUT	\$7.60	1,022,942	\$7,773,424	\$14,797	\$47,057
DELAWARE	\$13.82	232,497	\$3,213,051	\$31,376	\$44,520
FLORIDA	\$5.71	5,143,674	\$29,354,411	\$100,271	\$194,724
GEORGIA	\$10.27	2,012,711	\$20,673,342	\$45,192	\$110,534
IDAHO	\$5.95	416,533	\$2,477,913	\$9,266	\$14,010
ILLINOIS	\$16.63	3,653,060	\$60,742,262	\$149,818	\$337,411
INDIANA	\$7.50	1,557,903	\$11,678,090	\$51,136	\$55,147
IOWA	\$9.74	1,040,201	\$10,134,703	\$36,187	\$58,040
KANSAS	\$3.86	851,966	\$3,288,482	\$16,608	NO RACES
KENTUCKY	\$5.38	1,259,089	\$6,767,493	\$19,987	\$136,975
MAINE	\$5.86	511,609	\$3,000,473	\$5,065	\$20,080
MARYLAND	\$10.75	1,717,362	\$18,465,721	\$44,506	\$98,658
MASSACHUSETTS	\$7.01	2,220,301	\$15,568,037	\$38,725	\$113,371
MICHIGAN	\$6.53	3,219,864	\$21,018,634	\$39,174	\$128,573
MINNESOTA	\$4.96	2,282,860	\$11,320,450	\$20,885	\$31,665
MISSOURI	\$7.71	1,877,620	\$14,474,562	\$30,462	\$162,298
MONTANA	\$4.11	340,272	\$1,397,914	\$4,924	\$10,522
NEBRASKA	\$2.72	490,914	\$1,337,506	NO RACES	\$30,398
NEVADA	\$28.10	302,833	\$8,509,202	\$60,168	\$124,060
NEW HAMPSHIRE	\$3.28	447,145	\$1,468,736	\$0	\$31,250
NEW JERSEY	\$14.43	2,275,653	\$32,839,962	\$103,048	\$275,776
NEW MEXICO	\$4.44	484,233	\$2,151,436	\$20,490	NO RACES
NEW YORK	\$10.27	4,690,968	\$48,175,624	\$66,897	\$173,614
NORTH CAROLINA	\$10.03	2,296,647	\$23,040,809	\$44,820	\$105,124
NORTH DAKOTA	\$1.72	237,224	\$408,521	\$1,788	\$4,844
OHIO	\$7.77	3,356,285	\$26,068,640	\$86,007	\$306,667
OKLAHOMA	\$8.21	1,042,968	\$8,564,043	\$31,683	\$95,303
OREGON	\$12.37	1,293,756	\$15,997,968	\$79,057	\$188,650
PENNSYLVANIA	\$10.87	3,581,989	\$38,938,368	\$75,780	\$263,389
RHODE ISLAND	\$3.72	398,440	\$1,480,561	\$8,343	\$12,509
SOUTH CAROLINA	\$4.16	1,116,936	\$4,645,421	\$28,326	NO RACES
SOUTH DAKOTA	\$3.67	340,407	\$1,250,939	\$7,532	\$7,125
TENNESSEE	\$4.26	1,687,543	\$7,189,897	\$28,220	\$94,802
TEXAS	\$12.03	4,553,979	\$54,795,757	\$130,005	\$354,240
UTAH	\$2.52	1,135,492	\$2,859,484	\$13,911	\$28,055
VERMONT	\$5.52	232,993	\$1,285,258	\$1,998	\$11,114
VIRGINIA	\$6.98	1,905,511	\$13,303,000	\$79,185	NO RACES
WASHINGTON	\$9.15	1,808,720	\$16,542,916	\$72,320	\$110,789
WEST VIRGINIA	\$12.83	440,156	\$5,647,592	\$16,680	\$86,944
WISCONSIN	\$3.64	1,775,349	\$6,462,728	\$23,242	\$85,271
WYOMING	\$3.35	188,028	\$629,000	\$5,532	\$6,318
TOTAL			\$694,097,951	\$46,383	\$115,244

Hawaii is not included in this list because the Institute was unable to obtain data for all candidates.
Louisiana and Mississippi are not included because they did not hold regular legislative elections in this time period.

Detailed information on the contributions made to each legislative candidate is available on the Institute's Web site, www.followthemoney.org.

States Where Democrats Controlled Both Houses After 2002 Election

STATE	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
ALABAMA	\$15,569,888	\$8,030,162
ARKANSAS	\$2,952,358	\$1,495,919
CALIFORNIA	\$55,192,260	\$26,926,301
CONNECTICUT	\$4,525,352	\$3,172,144
ILLINOIS	\$32,023,731	\$28,198,722
MAINE	\$1,455,671	\$1,403,751
MARYLAND	\$13,821,671	\$4,593,187
MASSACHUSETTS	\$12,736,756	\$2,557,838
NEW MEXICO	\$1,316,731	\$830,342
OKLAHOMA	\$5,195,590	\$3,332,998
RHODE ISLAND	\$1,185,631	\$267,313
TENNESSEE	\$4,227,477	\$2,925,945
WEST VIRGINIA	\$4,020,747	\$1,610,878
TOTAL	\$154,223,863	\$85,345,499

States Where Republicans Controlled Both Houses After 2002 Election

STATE	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
ALASKA	\$1,854,245	\$2,977,418
ARIZONA	\$1,826,965	\$2,470,247
COLORADO	\$4,464,693	\$4,750,900
FLORIDA	\$9,460,829	\$19,831,538
IDAHO	\$964,518	\$1,475,024
IOWA	\$5,291,020	\$4,834,994
KANSAS	\$1,180,050	\$2,062,064
MICHIGAN	\$8,262,079	\$12,734,152
MISSOURI	\$6,981,542	\$7,448,072
MONTANA	\$663,035	\$724,496
NEW HAMPSHIRE	\$699,271	\$769,465
NORTH DAKOTA	\$241,993	\$165,928
OHIO	\$7,075,158	\$18,956,623
PENNSYLVANIA	\$15,697,245	\$23,221,809
SOUTH CAROLINA	\$1,519,778	\$3,118,704
SOUTH DAKOTA	\$476,304	\$774,635
TEXAS	\$22,841,686	\$31,854,294
UTAH	\$1,175,357	\$1,658,788
VIRGINIA	\$5,204,148	\$7,664,909
WISCONSIN	\$1,997,126	\$4,433,878
WYOMING	\$194,159	\$431,863
TOTAL	\$98,071,201	\$152,359,801

States Where Parties Split Control After 2002 Election

STATE	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
DELAWARE	\$1,415,753	\$1,787,402
GEORGIA	\$12,530,573	\$8,138,119
INDIANA	\$5,781,391	\$5,889,048
KENTUCKY	\$3,856,449	\$2,911,044
MINNESOTA	\$5,386,473	\$5,354,619
NEVADA	\$4,428,996	\$4,031,172
NEW JERSEY	\$17,237,206	\$15,590,631
NEW YORK	\$20,212,160	\$25,858,834
NORTH CAROLINA	\$15,631,004	\$7,363,817
OREGON	\$7,225,031	\$8,748,349
VERMONT	\$608,044	\$622,012
WASHINGTON	\$9,295,443	\$7,172,206
TOTAL	\$103,608,523	\$93,467,253

Contributors to legislative campaigns heavily favored candidates of the political party that ended up in control of the Legislature.



GIVING AT THE GUBERNATORIAL LEVEL

FUNDRAISING TOTALS FOR GUBERNATORIAL CANDIDATES IN 2002 approached \$1 billion, fueled in part by millionaire candidates who poured their own money into their campaigns.

Candidates who advanced to the general election raised the bulk of the \$990 million in gubernatorial funds, at \$826 million. About one-fourth of that amount came from the candidates themselves, some of whom financed much of their own campaigns.

Thirty-three candidates for governor or lieutenant governor gave their general-election campaigns contributions of more than \$100,000. Fifteen of the candidates lost their election bids, while 18 of these heavily self-financed candidates won their races. Fourteen of the general-election candidates gave themselves more than \$1 million. Another seven candidates who lost in the primary election gave more than \$1 million to their campaigns, as well.

For the 21 candidates who contributed \$1 million or more to their own campaigns, the funds accounted for anywhere from 7 percent to 99 percent of their total contributions. For most, it was at least half. The following table details the amounts these candidates raised and how much of it came from their own pockets.

Candidate Contributions of \$1 Million or More in Gubernatorial Races, 2002

STATE	CANDIDATE	PARTY	OFFICE	STATUS*	CANDIDATE FUNDS	TOTAL RAISED	% OF TOTAL
NEW YORK	B. THOMAS GOLISANO	I	GOVERNOR	L	\$74,130,000	\$74,882,824	99%
TEXAS	TONY SANCHEZ	D	GOVERNOR	L	\$60,618,882	\$66,253,516	91%
TEXAS	DAVID DEWHURST	R	LT. GOVERNOR	W	\$24,271,208	\$29,335,793	83%
CALIFORNIA	BILL SIMON	R	GOVERNOR	L	\$18,723,842	\$45,967,688	41%
NEW HAMPSHIRE	CRAIG BENSON	R	GOVERNOR	W	\$10,601,173	\$11,440,151	93%
MASSACHUSETTS	MITT ROMNEY	R	GOVERNOR	W	\$6,150,570	\$9,285,464	66%
VIRGINIA	MARK R. WARNER	D	GOVERNOR	W	\$5,523,948	\$19,451,014	28%
ILLINOIS	CORINNE G. WOOD	R	GOVERNOR	PL	\$5,324,648	\$7,966,219	67%
MASSACHUSETTS	CHRISTOPHER GABRIELI	D	LT. GOVERNOR	L	\$4,930,100	\$5,589,071	88%
RHODE ISLAND	MYRTH YORK	D	GOVERNOR	L	\$3,931,700	\$4,361,423	90%
NEW YORK	DENNIS MEHIEL	D	LT. GOVERNOR	L	\$3,333,345	\$4,541,730	73%
ILLINOIS	PATRICK J. O'MALLEY	R	GOVERNOR	PL	\$2,948,508	\$4,611,886	64%
SOUTH DAKOTA	STEVE KIRBY	R	GOVERNOR	PL	\$2,501,015	\$2,938,677	85%
OKLAHOMA	GARY L. RICHARDSON	I	GOVERNOR	L	\$2,263,224	\$2,567,193	88%
MASSACHUSETTS	JAMES W. RAPPAPORT	R	LT. GOVERNOR	PL	\$2,012,400	\$2,666,416	75%
NEW HAMPSHIRE	BRUCE KEOUGH	R	GOVERNOR	PL	\$2,000,000	\$2,466,942	81%
MASSACHUSETTS	KERRY MURPHY HEALEY	R	LT. GOVERNOR	W	\$1,752,000	\$2,491,452	70%
RHODE ISLAND	DONALD CARCIERI	R	GOVERNOR	W	\$1,500,050	\$2,495,151	60%
ILLINOIS	ROLAND W. BURRIS	D	GOVERNOR	PL	\$1,200,000	\$2,175,295	55%
ALABAMA	ROBERT R. RILEY	R	GOVERNOR	W	\$1,140,286	\$15,113,274	7%
MASSACHUSETTS	STEVE GROSSMAN	D	GOVERNOR	PL	\$1,007,009	\$3,433,562	29%

*W = WINNER L = LOSER PL = PRIMARY LOSER

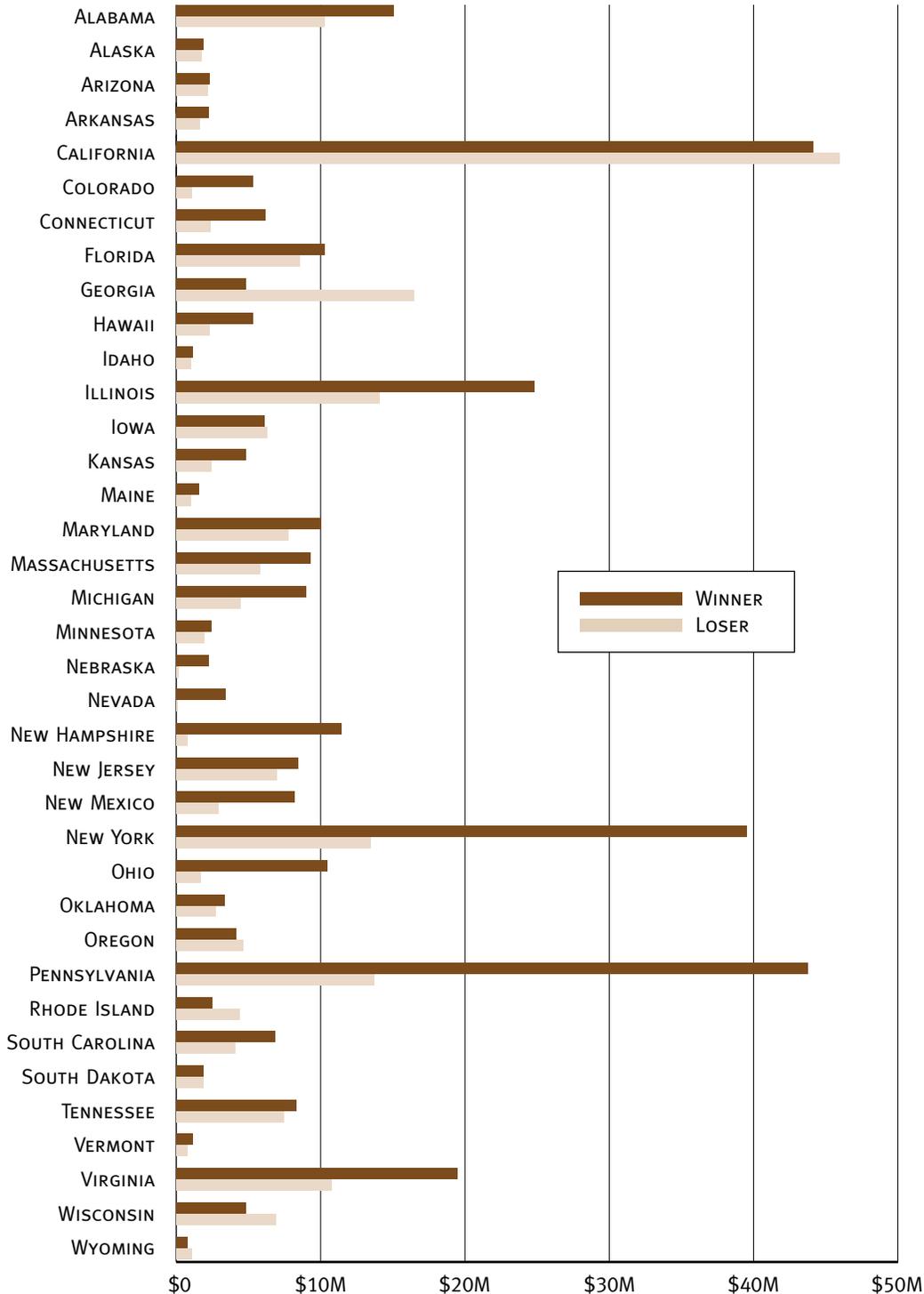
While huge personal contributions didn't guarantee these candidates a win, money did play a role in the success or failure of most of the major-party gubernatorial hopefuls who faced off in the general election. Thirty of the 38 winners raised the most money in their contests. Meanwhile, three of the winning candidates who raised less money than their opponents were incumbents, with the attendant advantages that status carries. So overall, 33 of the 38 winners—or 87 percent—had the advantage of either money or incumbency, or both.

Huge personal contributions didn't guarantee a win, but money did play a role in the success or failure of most of the major-party gubernatorial hopefuls who squared off in the general election.



The following graph shows the proportion of money raised by the winning and losing candidates in each state, except Texas¹.

Amounts Raised by Major-Party Gubernatorial Candidates in the General Election, 2002



¹Texas is not included in the chart because the \$60.6 million that losing Democratic candidate Tony Sanchez put into his own campaign skews the results. Sanchez raised a total of \$66.2 million, compared to the \$20.7 million that Republican winner and incumbent Rick Perry raised.

SUPREME COURT CONTESTS

SUPREME COURT JUSTICES WERE ELECTED in 33 states in the 2001 and 2002 elections, in contests ranging from zero-dollar retention elections to bitterly contested partisan races drawing millions of dollars. In all, 100 candidates raised nearly \$26.8 million for general-election races.

Candidates in Ohio led all other states in the amount raised for high-court races. There, five candidates raised \$6.2 million, for an average of nearly \$1.25 million each. Candidates in Texas ranked second in fundraising, with 15 candidates raising \$5.1 million total.

Thirteen Republican candidates in the general election outraised their 18 Democratic opponents, receiving 41 percent of the total to the 38 percent given to Democratic candidates. Nonpartisan candidates received 21 percent of the funds.

As in most other types of races, winners raised more money than losers, garnering 59 percent of the funds.

Lawyers and lobbyists were the top contributors to judicial campaigns, giving 36 percent of the money. Overall, nearly two-thirds of the money given to Supreme Court candidates came from lawyers or business interests. The following table shows the five top-contributing sectors to judicial campaigns.

ECONOMIC INTEREST	AMOUNT	% OF TOTAL
LAWYERS AND LOBBYISTS	\$9,612,356	36%
POLITICAL PARTY SOURCES	\$2,834,898	11%
FINANCE, INSURANCE AND REAL ESTATE	\$2,054,522	8%
CANDIDATE CONTRIBUTIONS	\$2,020,983	8%
GENERAL BUSINESS	\$2,015,381	8%

Partisan judicial elections, where candidates run under a party label, attracted the most money, followed by nonpartisan elections, which feature contested races in which candidates do not have a party designation. Fundraising is lowest among candidates running in so-called “retention elections,” where they have no opponent but instead face a simple up-or-down vote on whether they should remain on the court.

Interestingly, 19 candidates running in nonpartisan races received money from committees or candidates affiliated with a political party. The funds made up a miniscule portion of their totals—\$97,587 out of \$3.3 million that those candidates raised.

The following table shows the amounts raised by general-election Supreme Court candidates in each state, as well as the amount of money that went to Democratic, Republican and nonpartisan candidates.

Contributions to General-Election Supreme Court Candidates, 2002

STATE	# OF CANDIDATES	To DEMOCRATS	To REPUBLICANS	To NONPARTISAN	TOTAL RAISED
OHIO	4	\$2,536,278	\$3,697,070	\$0	\$6,233,348
TEXAS	15	\$1,852,018	\$3,268,466	\$0	\$5,118,635
ALABAMA	3	\$1,327,248	\$1,589,583	\$0	\$2,916,831
PENNSYLVANIA	3	\$1,199,824	\$1,073,942	\$0	\$2,273,766
LOUISIANA	3	\$2,046,326	\$0	\$0	\$2,046,326
MISSISSIPPI	3	\$0	\$0	\$1,816,014	\$1,816,014
ILLINOIS	3	\$801,988	\$987,187	\$0	\$1,789,175
MICHIGAN	7	\$0	\$0	\$964,887	\$964,887
NEVADA	3	\$0	\$0	\$773,583	\$773,583

STATE	# OF CANDIDATES	To DEMOCRATS	To REPUBLICANS	To NONPARTISAN	TOTAL RAISED
NORTH CAROLINA	4	\$415,542	\$324,380	\$0	\$739,921
GEORGIA	6	\$0	\$0	\$717,777	\$717,777
WASHINGTON	6	\$0	\$0	\$683,169	\$683,169
CALIFORNIA	3	\$0	\$0	\$225,298	\$225,298
MONTANA	3	\$0	\$0	\$131,584	\$131,584
MINNESOTA	2	\$0	\$0	\$91,825	\$91,825
NEW MEXICO	4	\$74,741	\$16,290	\$0	\$91,031
IDAHO	3	\$0	\$0	\$76,909	\$76,909
OREGON	1	\$0	\$0	\$43,259	\$43,259
WISCONSIN	1	\$0	\$0	\$24,750	\$24,750
ARKANSAS	1	\$0	\$0	\$16,921	\$16,921
ALASKA	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
COLORADO	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
FLORIDA	2	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
IOWA	2	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
INDIANA	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
KANSAS	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
KENTUCKY	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
MARYLAND	3	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
MISSOURI	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
NORTH DAKOTA	1	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
NEBRASKA	2	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
OKLAHOMA	4	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
WYOMING	2	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0
TOTAL	100	\$10,253,96	\$10,956,91	\$5,565,975	\$26,775,007

In 12 of the 13 states where Supreme Court races drew no money at all, the candidates were incumbents running in retention elections. In North Dakota, one candidate ran unopposed in a nonpartisan race.

PARTY GIVING: BEHIND THE SCENES

DURING ELECTION SEASONS, the campaign finances of candidates come under close scrutiny. But the money raised by political party committees receives less attention—even though these groups channel their funds to local, state and national candidates and support other election-related efforts.

The Institute collected contribution and expenditure reports for 100 state political party committees and 126 legislative caucus committees during the 2002 election cycle, to compile a database of \$709.5 million in contributions.

The contributions represent a 22 percent increase over the \$582.5 million these committees raised in the 2000 presidential election cycle. They use the money not only to support candidates with advertising and mailings, but also to support get-out-the-vote efforts and other party-building activities.

In the 2002 election cycle, Democratic Party committees raised slightly more than their Republican counterparts, 54 percent to 46 percent. The committees received more than half of their funds from other political party and candidate committees. Those sources provided nearly \$381 million, or about 54 percent of the total.

The table on page 11 provides a closer look at the money that came from non-party sources, which made up 46 percent of the money state committees raised.

The state party committees and their national counterparts engaged in transfers and trades of soft money designed to allow both types of committees to make the best use of their funds.



Ten Top-Contributing Industries to State Party Committees, 2002

INDUSTRY	TO DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEES	TO REPUBLICAN COMMITTEES	TOTAL
LAWYERS AND LOBBYISTS	\$27,448,957	\$9,287,299	\$36,736,256
REAL ESTATE	\$11,688,095	\$11,327,232	\$23,015,327
PUBLIC SECTOR UNIONS	\$19,233,257	\$3,394,301	\$22,627,558
GENERAL TRADE UNIONS	\$15,271,235	\$1,006,746	\$16,277,980
SECURITIES AND INVESTMENT	\$4,818,232	\$7,072,363	\$11,890,596
INSURANCE	\$3,529,794	\$6,259,863	\$9,789,657
GENERAL CONTRACTORS	\$3,310,220	\$5,485,980	\$8,796,199
HEALTH PROFESSIONALS	\$3,359,076	\$4,712,209	\$8,071,285
HOSPITALS AND NURSING HOMES	\$2,174,991	\$3,051,522	\$5,226,513
PHARMACEUTICALS AND HEALTH PRODUCTS	\$1,436,448	\$3,725,148	\$5,161,596

Individuals made up 13 percent of the contributions to state party committees. But some individuals gave generously:

- Arizona real-estate developer James Pederson topped all individual contributors with his \$3.7 million in contributions to the Arizona Democratic Party. Pederson is also chairman of the Arizona Democratic Party. His contributions in 2002 helped the party finance efforts on behalf of candidates, including successful Democratic gubernatorial candidate Janet Napolitano, who were limited in the amount they could spend because they were publicly financed candidates.
- Bob J. Perry of Perry Homes in Texas ranked second among individual contributors, giving more than \$1 million to Republican Party committees in four states—Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana and Florida. Perry became known on the national scene in the fall of 2004 when he heavily financed Swift Boat Veterans for the Truth, a group that aired TV advertisements critical of Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry’s Vietnam War record. But Perry had long been a political contributor at the state level.
- Fred Eychaner of NewsWeb Corp. in Chicago ranked third, giving \$781,062 to Democratic Party committees in 11 states.

In compiling its soft-money database for state party committees, the Institute examined party committee spending in detail in 13 states. The review found a systematic pattern of transfers and trades of soft money between the six national party committees and the state party committees.

The national parties could raise soft money in unlimited amounts from any source and spend it on a wide range of political purposes. But hard money, which could be used to directly support presidential and congressional candidates, was subject to a limit of \$1,000 per contributor. The Institute’s study found that national committees frequently sent both hard and soft money to the state parties, which immediately spent identical amounts of hard and soft money for issue ads using more soft money than federal regulations allowed the national parties to use for the same ads. This practice allowed the national parties to conserve their hard money to directly support their federal candidates.

The review of spending patterns also found that the state committees commonly traded hard dollars for soft dollars with other state committees around the country.

The new Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, however, has put a stop to these shuffles, because it prohibits national parties from raising and spending soft money. Thus a significant source of funding for state party committees has dried up, leaving the question of whether the state parties will simply operate with less money or whether they’ll find new sources to fill their coffers.

The following table details the amount of money raised by Democratic and Republican party committees in each state, as well as where each state ranked among the 50 states.

Contributions to State Party Committees, 2002

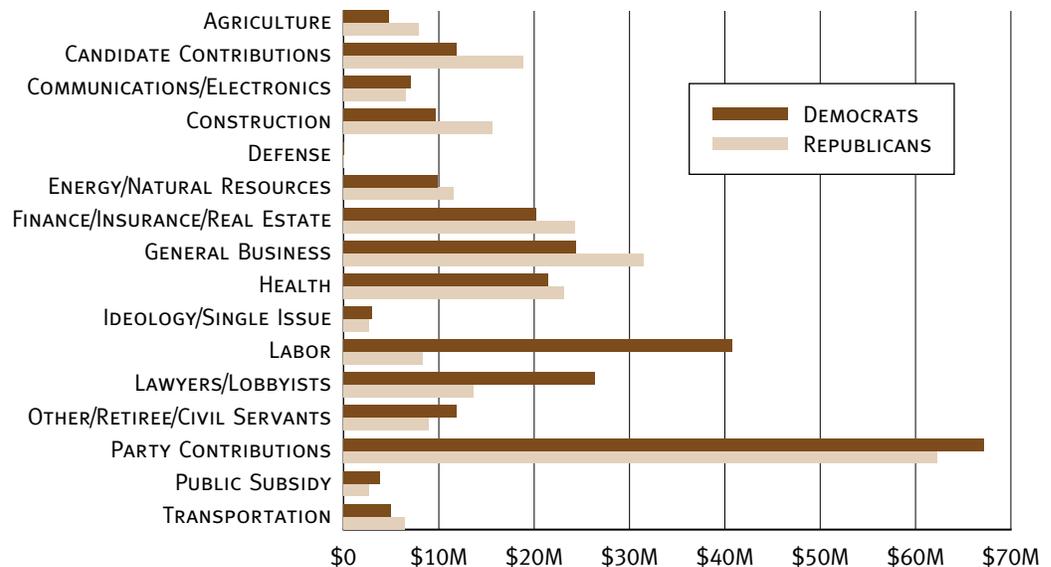
STATE	RANK	DEMOCRATIC PARTY COMMITTEES	REPUBLICAN PARTY COMMITTEES	TOTAL
ALABAMA	24	\$5,653,922	\$2,751,037	\$8,404,960
ALASKA	45	\$310,695	\$575,763	\$886,458
ARIZONA	20	\$7,958,661	\$3,887,790	\$11,846,452
ARKANSAS	14	\$10,479,082	\$7,952,227	\$18,431,309
CALIFORNIA	4	\$22,964,227	\$15,393,340	\$38,357,566
COLORADO	15	\$11,648,465	\$5,623,730	\$17,272,195
CONNECTICUT	36	\$1,076,499	\$2,133,986	\$3,210,485
DELAWARE	42	\$967,989	\$768,439	\$1,736,429
FLORIDA	1	\$25,923,183	\$53,241,514	\$79,164,698
GEORGIA	6	\$19,485,099	\$14,414,915	\$33,900,014
HAWAII	40	\$1,184,681	\$927,113	\$2,111,794
IDAHO	49	\$58,908	\$403,692	\$462,600
ILLINOIS	16	\$9,942,781	\$6,785,082	\$16,727,863
INDIANA	21	\$6,754,597	\$4,374,980	\$11,129,578
IOWA	13	\$13,517,110	\$5,699,921	\$19,217,031
KANSAS	37	\$2,121,511	\$921,859	\$3,043,370
KENTUCKY	33	\$3,456,194	\$1,863,778	\$5,319,972
LOUISIANA	28	\$4,016,694	\$2,842,661	\$6,859,355
MAINE	30	\$3,730,912	\$2,591,938	\$6,322,849
MARYLAND	27	\$5,565,076	\$1,334,602	\$6,899,678
MASSACHUSETTS	35	\$1,671,379	\$2,379,896	\$4,051,275
MICHIGAN	12	\$7,396,023	\$14,525,546	\$21,921,570
MINNESOTA	8	\$18,612,880	\$14,089,104	\$32,701,984
MISSISSIPPI	43	\$638,681	\$779,758	\$1,418,438
MISSOURI	5	\$21,980,876	\$13,276,136	\$35,257,012
MONTANA	34	\$3,262,030	\$1,520,790	\$4,782,820
NEBRASKA	46	\$479,254	\$399,334	\$878,588
NEVADA	26	\$3,565,065	\$3,991,251	\$7,556,316
NEW HAMPSHIRE	18	\$7,781,594	\$6,480,541	\$14,262,134
NEW JERSEY	3	\$33,512,303	\$7,731,262	\$41,243,565
NEW MEXICO	29	\$4,214,841	\$2,329,461	\$6,544,303
NEW YORK	2	\$20,805,949	\$32,495,242	\$53,301,190
NORTH CAROLINA	17	\$11,469,261	\$3,390,706	\$14,859,968
NORTH DAKOTA	31	\$4,131,935	\$1,855,623	\$5,987,558
OHIO	9	\$8,917,490	\$20,843,944	\$29,761,434
OKLAHOMA	38	\$1,420,679	\$1,349,642	\$2,770,320
OREGON	23	\$4,053,417	\$4,570,938	\$8,624,355
PENNSYLVANIA	10	\$12,015,773	\$17,737,422	\$29,753,195
RHODE ISLAND	48	\$483,629	\$12,510	\$496,139
SOUTH CAROLINA	41	\$945,462	\$916,040	\$1,861,503
SOUTH DAKOTA	19	\$8,263,986	\$5,676,507	\$13,940,493
TENNESSEE	32	\$2,824,045	\$2,857,108	\$5,681,153
TEXAS	7	\$20,866,105	\$12,648,722	\$33,514,827
UTAH	39	\$917,387	\$1,401,160	\$2,318,547
VERMONT	47	\$488,348	\$218,281	\$706,629
VIRGINIA	11	\$13,268,359	\$11,932,703	\$25,201,062
WASHINGTON	22	\$5,484,011	\$3,870,540	\$9,354,551
WEST VIRGINIA	50	\$141,673	\$116,775	\$258,448
WISCONSIN	25	\$2,943,276	\$5,118,582	\$8,061,858
WYOMING	44	\$281,371	\$889,359	\$1,170,730
TOTAL		\$379,653,373	\$329,893,250	\$709,546,623

WHO GIVES?

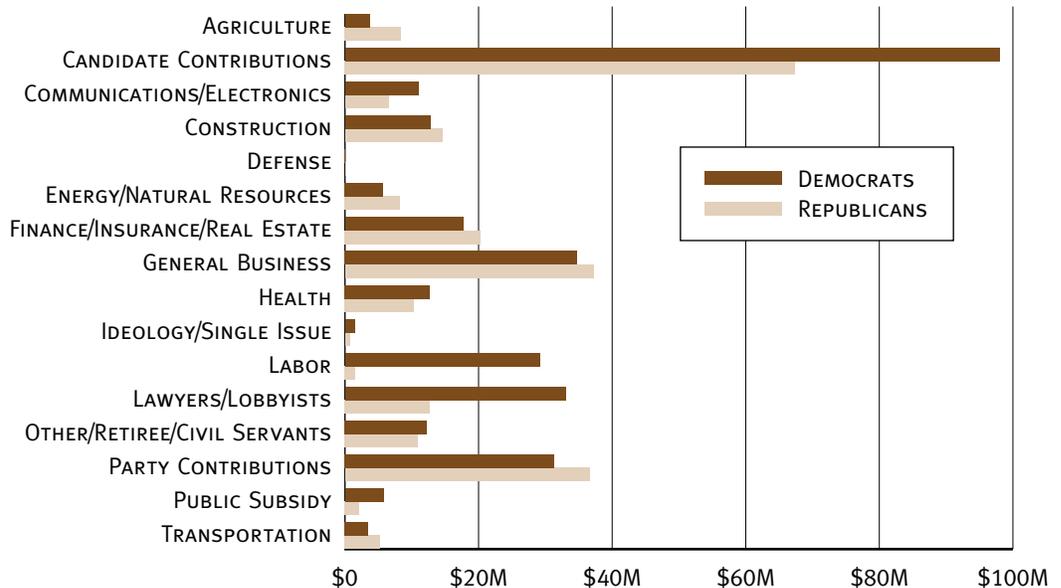
THE INSTITUTE NOT ONLY COMPILES campaign-contribution records, but also classifies contributors according to their business and industry interests. The Institute uses the occupation and employer information that most states require contributors to disclose and also conducts additional research into contributors for whom the information is not provided.

With this system, the Institute is able to analyze the economic interests giving to candidates of all types. The following graphs illustrate the money given by various interests to Democratic and Republican legislative, gubernatorial and judicial candidates who were on the general-election ballot.

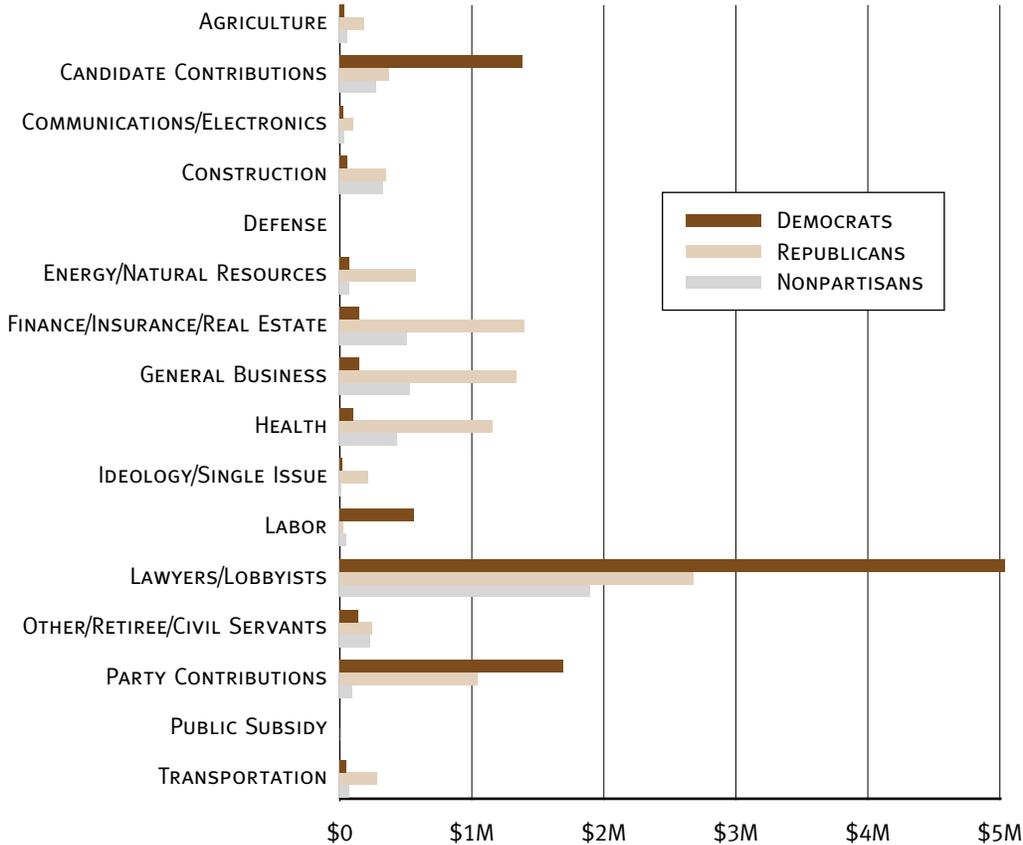
Contributions to General-Election Legislative Candidates by Sector, 2002



Contributions to General-Election Gubernatorial Candidates by Sector, 2002



Contributions to General-Election Supreme Court Candidates by Sector, 2002



PUBLIC FUNDING COMES INTO THE PICTURE

TWO STATES ENTERED THEIR SECOND ELECTION SEASONS in 2002 under systems allowing full public funding of all candidates, at both the legislative and statewide levels. And nearly 400 candidates in Arizona and Maine opted to forgo the traditional system of soliciting funds from friends, families, businesses and unions in favor of limiting their campaign treasuries primarily to the funds available through these so-called “Clean Elections” systems.

Another 400 candidates in Minnesota, Michigan, Florida, Wisconsin and Massachusetts also took advantage of partial public funding systems in those states that provide designated state funds to candidates running for certain offices or who agree to meet certain requirements.

Maine and Arizona were the only two states in 2002 to have fully funded public financing systems for all state-level candidates, and the number of political hopefuls using these systems increased from 2000 to 2002. In 2000, 134 legislative candidates opted for public funding in Maine; in 2002, there were 246 legislative candidates using public funding. Fifty-five legislative candidates participated in Arizona’s Clean Elections program in 2000. The number more than doubled in 2002, to 113.

Candidates participating in the Clean Elections programs in those two states ended up on a more even footing with privately financed winning candidates. Both winning and losing candidates participating in the public funding system raised, on average, slightly more than the average amount raised by winning candidates who were privately financed—a rare occurrence in state politics. Typically, candidates who lose in the general election raise, on average, anywhere from 25 to 75 percent of the average amount that winning candidates raise. The percentage is even lower for candidates who lose in the primary election.

The table below details the average amounts raised by winning and losing candidates who took part in the Clean Elections system and the average amounts raised by those who did not participate.

Average Amounts Raised by Arizona and Maine Legislative Candidates, 2002

	PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES			NON-PARTICIPATING CANDIDATES		
	WINNER	LOSER	PRIMARY LOSER	WINNER	LOSER	PRIMARY LOSER
ARIZONA	\$34,609	\$35,690	\$24,407	\$32,780	\$1,822	\$18,693
MAINE	\$9,906	\$9,171	\$2,348	\$7,129	\$4,403	\$2,404

RESEARCH AND REPORTS

USING ITS UNIQUE, 50-STATE DATABASE, the Institute publishes analytical reports looking at the role campaign contributions play in many public policy areas. Following are summaries of recent Institute research reports:

The Politics of Business

While the U.S. Chamber of Commerce says it may have to give up its traditionally nonpartisan position in presidential politics this year, Chamber groups at the state level have long supported Republicans.

Candidate Self-Financing in Montana

Montana legislative candidates are now among the top contributors to their own campaigns, displacing the special interests that typically dominated the top-contributor lists before voters passed strict contribution limits.

Supreme Court Contributions

The Institute has examined how contributions patterns in judicial races are changing nationwide and also has taken in-depth looks in several states at how frequently campaign contributors appear before the justices to whom they've given money.

Sin Taxes and Alcohol, Gambling and Tobacco Contributions

When states across the country faced budget shortfalls in 2003, many legislatures turned to so-called "sin taxes" on alcohol, tobacco and gambling to raise money. But these targeted industries had started their legislative battles in the 2002 election cycle, when they made strategic campaign contributions.

Soft Money at the State Level

The Institute has published two comprehensive looks at "soft money" contributions to political party committees at the state level. The reports show that Democratic and Republican state political party committees raised \$1 billion in soft money during the 2000 and 2002 election cycles. Nearly half of the money came from the national party committees, which used their state counterparts to circumvent regulations governing the use of campaign contributions.

Pharmaceutical Contributions in the States

Pharmaceutical companies and their trade association gave at least \$13.2 million to state-level political candidates and party committees over a six-year period, when many states were considering ways to curb the escalating costs of prescription drugs.

Clean Elections: The Arizona Experience

The results of Arizona's second election cycle under the Clean Elections system of public funding can be summed up in a few short phrases: More candidates participating. Less private money. Greater equity.

Names in the News

The Institute periodically takes a look at the state-level campaign contributions of people and companies that have been in the news. Recent reports have examined political giving by Walmart and its founding family, the National Rifle Association and Donald Trump.

The full reports can be found at www.followthemoney.org/Research/index.phtml.

"Overall, IMSP is a professional, well-managed institution that can be proud of its processes and people, and of the integrity and validity of the valuable research data and products they make available to the world in a useful form."

—The Rand Corp.



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THE INSTITUTE ON MONEY IN STATE POLITICS grew out of an earlier organization based in the West that collected and analyzed state campaign-finance data for selected Western states. The Institute has steadily increased the number of states for which it collects data and now gathers reports from all 50 states. Its Web site makes this information available in an easily searchable format.

Who We Are

Executive Director Edwin Bender has headed the Institute since August 2003, after serving as the Institute's research director since its creation in 1999. In that role, he led the research functions of the Institute, directing both the development of campaign-finance databases and analyses of those databases. A former journalist, Edwin also worked for seven years as Research Director for the Money in Western Politics Project of the Western States Center. While there, he helped develop many techniques for researching state campaign-finance data.

Deputy Director Barbara Bonifas has 25 years of public sector and nonprofit management experience. Prior to joining the Institute, Barbara served for 10 years as financial officer and project planner for immigrant worker anti-discrimination activities at the National Immigration Law Center in Los Angeles.

Research and Communications Director Sue O'Connell is a former statehouse reporter who also served eight years as a press secretary for the Montana Attorney General's office. Director of Technology and Web Development Mike Krejci, formerly of Project Vote Smart, oversees the operation of the Institute's Web site and its database systems. Senior Research Fellow Samantha Sanchez served as the Institute's first executive director and now concentrates on major campaign-finance topics, including the study of political giving in judicial races. And Linda King supervises the Institute's data unit, overseeing collection of thousands of campaign-finance reports each year.

How We're Funded

The Institute is funded primarily through foundation support and has no relationship with any political party, partisan issue group or elected official. Our independence is guaranteed by our no-strings-attached funding. Major sources of funding are The Pew Charitable Trusts, Carnegie Corporation of New York, Ford Foundation, and Open Society Institute.

Minor income is derived from interest and occasional fees for data entry, database development and customized research, as well as donations from the public. The Institute does not accept contributions from candidate committees or political party committees.

VISIT US ON THE WEB

NOT LONG AGO, gathering information on campaign contributions involved searching through piles of paper in an office in the state capital. But now, discovering how much money candidates have raised and who has given it to them is as simple as clicking a few links on a computer screen.

The Institute's Web site, www.followthemoney.org, allows you to search campaign-finance information in many different ways:

Compare how much money the various candidates in any one race have raised. You can view information for all candidates in, for example, the gubernatorial race or a race for a specific state House or Senate district.

Find out who contributed and received the most money in a state. The Web site provides a list of the top givers and receivers in each state, whether for all races combined or any specific race within that state.

View data at a glance. The site generates tables and graphics that provide current information about state elections and fundraising practices.

The screenshot shows the homepage of the Follow The Money website. The main navigation bar includes links for E-MAIL UPDATES, SITE TUTORIAL, CONTACT US, and SITE MAP. The central banner reads "FOLLOW THE MONEY" and describes it as "The nation's most complete resource for information on money in state politics." Below this, there are sections for "ABOUT THE INSTITUTE", "MEET THE TEAM", "REPORTS & ANALYSIS", "TOOLS & RESOURCES", and "NEWSROOM".

Key features highlighted by annotations include:

- Search Our Data:** A search interface with a "Database Summary" dropdown, a "Go" button, and a "State-at-a-Glance" section with a dropdown menu set to "Arizona" and a "Go" button.
- Who Gives? / Who Gets?:** Search filters for "Contributor Name", "Contributor Interest", and "Candidate Name", each with a "Go" button.
- DATA SNAPSHOT:** A bar chart titled "The Rising Cost of a State Legislative Seat" showing costs from 1990 to 2000. The chart compares "House" and "Senate" costs, with a note that the national average per election is \$100k.
- REGISTER NOW:** A form to enter an e-mail address to receive news and updates on money in state politics.
- IN THE PUBLIC EYE:** Lists "Five Most Recent Searches" (March 6, 2002) and "Five Most Requested Searches" (February, 2002).

See which economic interests are behind which candidates. The Institute researches the occupations and employers of contributors and then categorizes their contributions according to a system based on the Standard Industry Codes used by the federal government.

Determine how much money a specific contributor has given in any or all states. The Web site will search for contributors and show you where they have given money, allowing you to see if they give in more than one state or in more than one type of race.

Look at how much money a candidate has raised. You can search for a specific candidate and view all the contributions he or she has reported.



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