

## ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN FINANCES OF OHIO'S 1998 ELECTIONS

By Denise Roth Barber  
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### *The Money*

**Total 1998 dollars: \$51,777,641**

Statewide Total: \$33,704,930

Legislative Total: \$18,072,711

Cost per vote \$15.21

Money Raised by Winners:	\$31,694,095
Money Raised by General Election Losers:	\$17,894,405
Money Raised by Primary Election Losers:	\$2,189,140

### Total Dollars by Office

OFFICE	Total	Average/Candidate
Governor/Lt. Governor	\$20,508,292	\$5,127,073
Attorney General	\$3,593,044	\$1,796,522
Treasurer	\$2,785,073	\$928,358
Secretary of State	\$2,688,495	\$672,124
Supreme Court Justice (2)	\$1,578,623	\$394,656
Auditor	\$1,398,740	\$699,370
Supreme Court Chief	\$1,152,663	\$576,332
<b>Statewide Total</b>	<b>\$33,704,930</b>	<b>\$1,604,997</b>
House of Representatives	\$12,637,144	\$50,147
Senate	\$5,435,567	\$108,711
<b>Legislative Total</b>	<b>\$18,072,711</b>	<b>\$158,859</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$51,777,641</b>	<b>\$160,302</b>

Eight statewide races attracted a total of \$33.7 million, or \$1.6 million per candidate. As is typical, most of the statewide money went to the gubernatorial races, which raised more than all other statewide races combined.

Overall, the 252 House races raised more money than the 50 Senate races, but the average raised per Senate race was twice as high as the House average (see table above). The 302 legislative races combined still collected less money than did the gubernatorial candidates.

### Party Dollars

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>3rd Party</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	\$18,395,761	\$15,286,804	\$22,366	<b>\$33,704,930</b>
<b>Legislative</b>	\$12,099,620	\$5,947,037	\$26,054	<b>\$18,072,711</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$30,495,380</b>	<b>\$21,233,841</b>	<b>\$48,419</b>	<b>\$51,777,641</b>

Republicans candidates raised more than did Democrats in both the statewide and legislative races. While the total raised in the statewide races is comparable between the two, the average raised by a Republican candidate is significantly higher than the average raised by a Democrat candidate (see table above). In the Legislative races, Republicans raised twice as much overall as well as on average.

<b>AVERAGE</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>3rd Party</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	\$2,299,470	\$1,528,680	\$7,455
<b>Legislative</b>	\$86,426	\$40,456	\$1,737
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$206,050</b>	<b>\$135,247</b>	<b>\$2,690</b>

### *The Races*

All eight statewide races were contested. Four of the races had incumbents seeking re-election, while four were open. Of the 117 legislative races, all but 10 were contested, and 95 had incumbents seeking re-election. All totaled, 92 percent of the races were contested, and 80 percent of the races had incumbents seeking re-election.

<b>RACES</b>	<b>Contested</b>	<b>Uncontested</b>		<b>Open Races</b>	<b>Races w/Incumbents</b>
Statewide	8	0		4	4
Legislative	107	10		22	95
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>10</b>		<b>26</b>	<b>99</b>

### *The Candidates*

Slightly more Democratic candidates sought office in 1998 than Republicans, and very few 3<sup>rd</sup> party candidates contended. Seventy candidates sought office in open elections; 139 challengers tried to unseat incumbents.

<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>3rd Party</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Incumbents</b>	<b>Challengers</b>	<b>Open</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	8	10	3	<b>21</b>	4	4	13
<b>Legislative</b>	140	147	15	<b>302</b>	93	139	70
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>148</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>83</b>

### *Total Money Raised*

In statewide elections, candidates in open races raised considerably more than those where incumbents sought re-election. This was not the case in legislative races, however, where the races with incumbents attracted considerably more money.

<b>TOTAL \$</b>	<b>Incumbents</b>	<b>Challengers</b>	<b>Open Races</b>	<b>Winners</b>	<b>Primary Losers</b>	<b>General Losers</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	\$4,692,936	\$1,877,472	\$27,134,523	\$18,718,739	\$812,586	\$14,173,605
<b>Legislative</b>	\$10,621,199	\$3,855,764	\$3,595,748	\$12,975,357	\$1,376,554	\$3,720,800
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$15,314,135</b>	<b>\$5,733,235</b>	<b>\$30,730,271</b>	<b>\$31,694,095</b>	<b>\$2,189,140</b>	<b>\$17,894,405</b>

As expected, winners in statewide and legislative races garnered much more money than those who lost in the general and primary combined. Nowhere is the contrast greater than between the average legislative winner, who raised more than \$100,000 and the general election loser, who raised about a third of that, \$34,452. General-election losers in statewide races on average raised a little more than half of the winners average.

<b>AVERAGE \$</b>	<b>Incumbents</b>	<b>Challengers</b>	<b>Open Races</b>	<b>Winners</b>	<b>Primary Losers</b>	<b>General Losers</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	\$1,173,234	\$469,368	\$2,087,271	\$2,079,860	\$162,517	\$1,288,510
<b>Legislative</b>	\$114,206	\$27,739	\$51,368	\$110,900	\$17,877	\$34,452

### *The Winners*

Republicans took all but one of the eight statewide seats, and they maintained their control of both the House and Senate chambers, with a 59-to-40 majority in the House and a 21-to-12 majority in the Senate.

<b>WINNERS</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Incumbents</b>	<b>Challengers</b>	<b>Open</b>
<b>Statewide</b>	7	1	<b>8</b>	4	0	4
<b>Legislative</b>	68	49	<b>117</b>	89	6	22
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>26</b>

No challengers unseated incumbents in statewide races, and they had a 6 percent success rate in the legislative races.

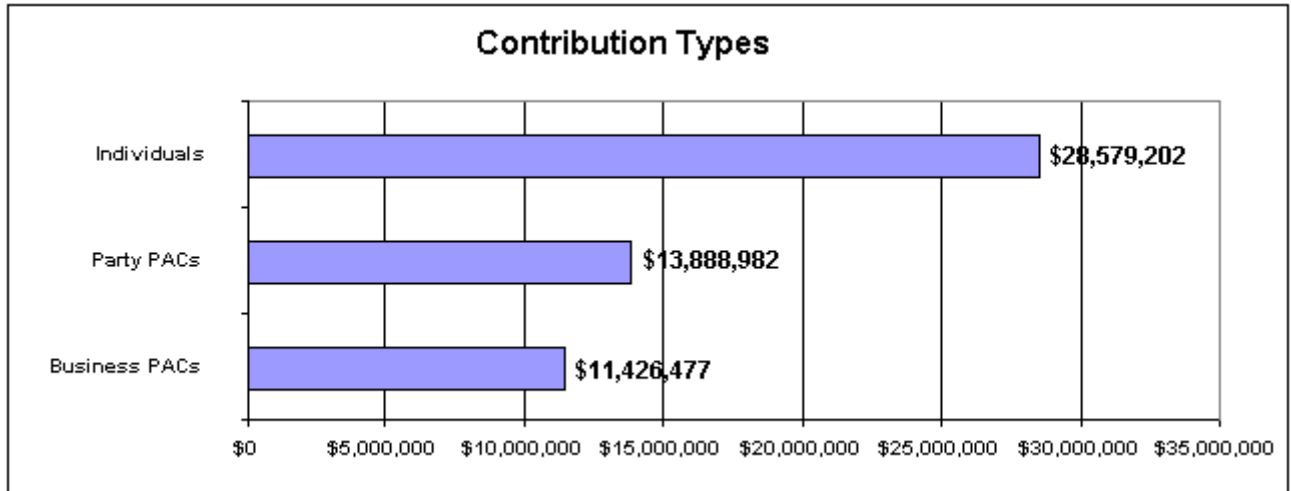
### *Contribution Limits*

For the 1998 elections, individuals and PACs were limited to giving \$2,500 per election to statewide and legislative candidates. However, the cap could have been lifted for all candidates in any race where one or more candidates gave a large amount of his/her own personal money to the campaign.

### **WHO GIVES**

Excluding contributions from political parties, candidates or interest on accounts, 129,519 contributors gave a combined total of \$38.3 million. These contributors represent 1.5 percent of the voting-age population.

Individual giving far exceeded that of business and Party PACs *combined*. Individuals gave a total of \$28.6 million, while party and business PACs gave \$13.9 million and \$11.4 million, respectively.



#### Sources of Funds by Major Sectors

The following table shows the breakdown of contributions by sector. Not included in this graph is money given by contributors whose economic interest could not be identified. These contributions account for 11 percent of the money received by statewide and legislative candidates in 1998.

<b>SECTOR</b>	<b>1998 TOTAL \$</b>	<b>% of 1998 TOTAL</b>
Political Parties	\$13,280,605	28.9%
Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$6,848,000	14.9%
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	\$6,806,631	14.8%
General Business	\$3,943,144	8.6%
Labor	\$2,825,385	6.2%
Other (Non-Business)	\$2,796,735	6.1%
Construction	\$2,507,802	5.5%
Health	\$2,305,865	5.0%
Resource Development	\$1,626,069	3.5%
Transportation	\$847,817	1.8%
Communications & Electronics	\$829,380	1.8%
Agriculture	\$706,060	1.5%
Candidate Self-Contributions	\$287,097	0.6%
Ideology	\$171,914	0.4%
Small Contributions	\$120,759	0.3%
Defense	\$605	0.0%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$45,903,869</b>	<b>100%</b>

### Party Money:

Money from political parties was the largest source of funds to candidates, accounting for 29 percent of all the contributions in the 1998 elections. Republican candidates received \$8.9 million or 63 percent of the money, while Democratic candidates received \$4.4 million. Third-party money was negligible, \$4,300.

Money that passed from one candidate committee to another totaled \$847,470. Republican candidates exchanged \$535,086, while Democrats swapped \$310,469. Gov. Taft received 15 percent of the pass-through funds, totaling \$132,534.

The majority of Democratic Party money, 75 percent, went to candidates who lost in the general election. This is in stark contrast to the Republican Party money, 75 percent of which went to winners.

Unlike Democratic Party committees, Republican Party committees gave more money to incumbents seeking re-election, and both parties poured significant money into candidates in open races.

The largest contributor of party money was the Ohio Republican Party, which gave \$3.8 million to 47 candidates \$2.8 went to seven statewide candidates and \$1 million to 40 legislative candidates. Next in party contributions was the Ohio Democrat Party, which doled out a total of \$3.1 million -- \$2.3 million of which went to six statewide while the remaining went to 58

legislative candidates. Third was the Ohio House Republican Campaign Committee, which gave \$1.9 million to 31 House candidates.

#### Lawyer and Lobbyist Dollars:

Contributions from lawyers and lobbyists were the second largest source of funds for candidates. Republican and Democratic candidates fared equally well with this group, with Republicans receiving \$3.6 million and Democrats receiving \$3.3 million. Statewide candidates were clearly favored by this group as 82 percent of the money went to them. The two gubernatorial candidates were the top two recipients.

This group spent its money wisely. Winners received \$4 million, 57 percent of the contributions. Those who lost in the general election received \$2.4 million, and primary losers received \$1/2 a million.

Lawyers and lobbyists spent the majority of their money, \$3.9 million, on candidates in open races. Incumbents seeking re-election received \$2.4 million, compared to challengers who received a fraction of that -- \$1/2 million.

#### Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate Dollars

Entities within this sector gave a total of \$6.8 million. Republicans received \$4.2 million, while Democrats received \$2.5 million. This group also spent its money well, with \$4.5 million going to winners. General election losers received \$2.1 million, and primary election losers received \$200,000. Again, candidates in open races received the majority of the contributions from this sector -- \$4.5 million. Incumbents seeking re-election received just under \$2 million, while challengers only received \$358,000.

#### Leaders of the PACs

The Ohio Education Association PAC once again led the PACs in 1998. OEA was also the lead contributing PAC during the 1996 elections. In fact, eight of the top 10 PACs in 1998 were among the top 10 in 1996 as well. The Ohio CPA PAC and Ohio AFL-CIO were the two exceptions. As seen in the table below, four of the top 10 PACs were labor PACs. Money from these top 10 accounted for 4 percent of all the contributions during the 1998 election cycle.

TOP TEN PAC CONTRIBUTORS	INDUSTRY	TOTAL \$
OH Education Assoc/OEA PAC	Labor	\$394,360
Auto Workers/UAW	Labor	\$290,200
Realtors PAC	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$248,500
OH Academy of Trial Lawyers	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$218,500
OH AFSCME United	Labor	\$194,900
OH CPA PAC	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$190,316
OH MEDICAL PAC	Health	\$182,250
Agricultural Political Education Program/APEP	Agriculture	\$162,365
Wholesale Beer & Wine Assoc/Beer & Wine PAC	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$142,334
OH AFL-CIO	Labor	\$141,765
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$2,165,491</b>

### Top Individual Donor Profiles

What do the owners of the Cleveland Indians and Browns, the richest Ohioans, high-powered lobbyists, and a high-powered speedboat racer all have in common? They are among the top t10 individual contributors for the 1998 elections.

Individual	Contributions	Employer/Affiliation	Industry/Interests
Michael M & Doris G Boich	\$125,811	Boich Companies	Coal Mining
Abigail & Leslie H Wexner	\$122,000	The Limited	Retail Sales
David & Ann Brennan	\$106,050	Amer Cunningham & Brennan	Lobbyist
Richard E Jacobs	\$69,950	Richard E Jacobs Group/Cleveland Indians	Real Estate/Professional Sports
Alfred Lerner	\$62,500	MBNA Bank/Cleveland Browns	Commercial Banks/Professional Sports
Milton Wolf	\$61,000	Milton A Wolf Investors/American Greetings	Securities & Investment/Retail
Paul & Penny Tipps	\$56,375	Public Policy Consultants Inc	Lobbyist
Carmen & Dennis Wojtanowski	\$45,920	Success Group Inc	Lobbyist
Dominic Visconsi	\$45,580	Visconsi Co Real Estate	Real Estate/Speedboat Racer
Minn Lee	\$44,500	Student/Homemaker	Unknown
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$739,686</b>		

Michael Boich, a coal marketer with the Boich coal mining company, and his wife, Doris, together generously doled out a total of \$125,811. Most of that money (\$108,311) went to Democratic gubernatorial candidate Lee Fisher in his primary race against Douglas. (As mentioned previously, while the cap for statewide races is \$2,500 per election, it was lifted because Douglas opted to use large amounts of personal funds. However, when Douglas withdrew before the primary, Fisher was required to return a portion of the money to the high donors, using a formula derived from the state's campaign finance reform laws).

Leslie Wexner, owner of The Limited, a billion-dollar retail empire, and the second-richest Ohioan, according to the 1997 Forbes listing, was also the second-largest contributor. Wexner and his wife, Abigail, doled out \$122,000 to 27 candidates, in increments of \$500 to \$30,000. All but six of the recipients were Republicans.

David Brennan, an attorney, industrial entrepreneur, downtown developer and a well-known advocate of charter schools, gave \$106,050 to 28 candidates, all but two of whom were Republicans.

Jacobs, a real estate giant and owner of the Cleveland Browns, gave six candidates a total of \$69,950. A majority of that money, \$52,500, went to Lee Fisher.

The richest Ohioan and owner of the Cleveland Browns, Alfred Lerner, contributed \$62,500 to six campaigns -- \$50,000 of which went to one candidate - Lee Fisher.

Milton Wolf, an investor and board member of American Greetings, also only gave to six candidates and again, Lee Fisher received the bulk of his money. Of the \$61,000 given by Wolf, \$50,000 went to Fisher.

Dominic Visconsi, high-powered speedboat racer, also gave to six candidates, and once again, Lee Fisher was the biggest recipient, having received \$32,500 of \$44,580

Paul Tipps, former chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party, and his wife, Penny, are regarded as two of the state's top lobbyists, according to the Columbus Dispatch. Together they gave \$38,000 to 42 Democratic candidates and \$18,000 to 40 Republican candidates. Fisher was again the favored recipient, with \$15,550. Their other contributions ranged from \$100 to \$3,000.

Dennis Wojtanowski, another high-powered independent lobbyist, distributed just under \$46,000 to 77 candidates. He gave \$21,495 to 31 Democratic candidates and \$24,425 to 46 Republican candidates.

Min Lee, who listed his occupation as a homemaker and student, was the last of the top 10 donors. Lee contributed to three statewide candidates - John Donofrio, Treasurer candidate, and J Kenneth Blackwell, Secretary of State, each received \$2,500, but Lee Fisher received the bulk of Lee's money - \$40,000 during his primary race.

Interestingly enough, these top contributors were major donors to Democratic gubernatorial candidate Lee Fisher in the primary, clearly favoring Fisher over Taft, at least financially. However, for several of these big donors, their loyalty shifted in the general. For example, Brennan, Visconsi and Lerner all donated heavily to Lee's primary campaign, with only token contributions to Taft. Yet in the general elections, they jumped ship and spent their money on Taft. Jacobs and Wexner contributed heavily to Fisher's primary, but gave equally to Fisher and Taft in the general.

## **WHO GETS**

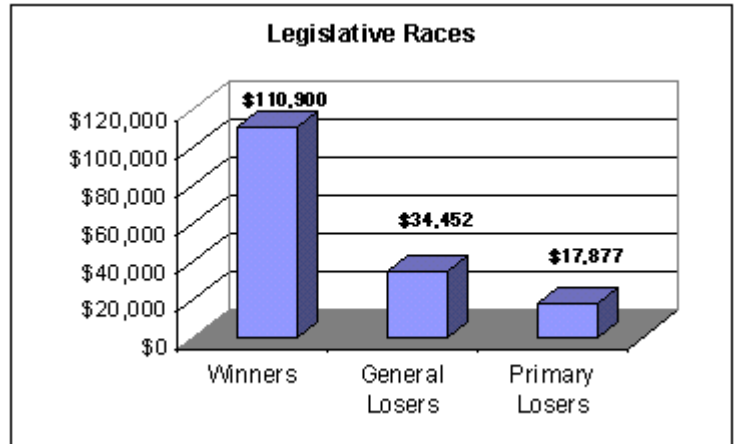
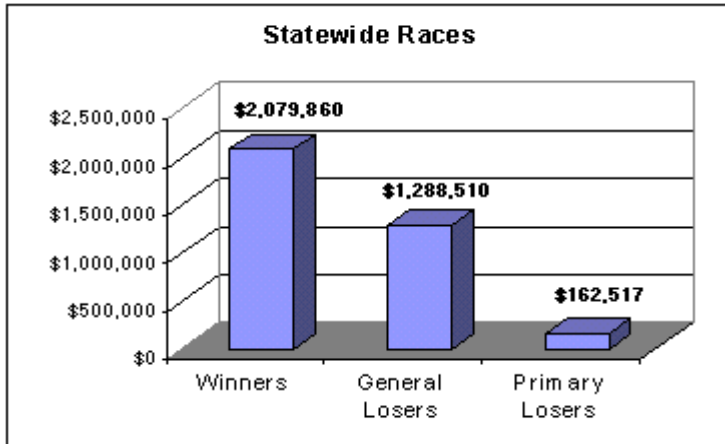
### Democrat vs. Republican Candidates

In the statewide races, Republican candidates raised \$22.4 million, 11 percent more than the Democrats, who raised \$18.7 million. Democrat and Republican candidates raised roughly equal amounts in the legislative races -- \$15.2 million and \$15.7 million, respectively.



## Winners vs. Losers

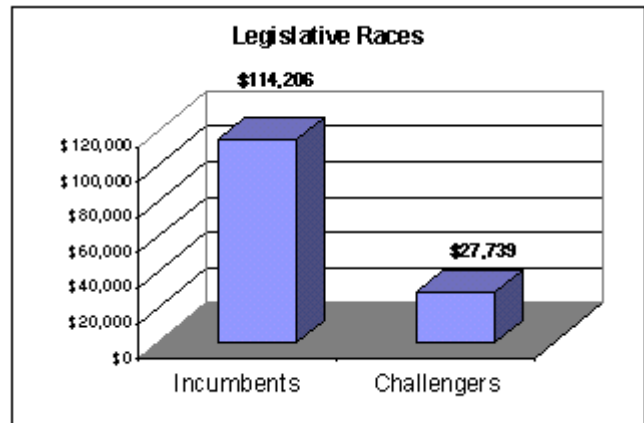
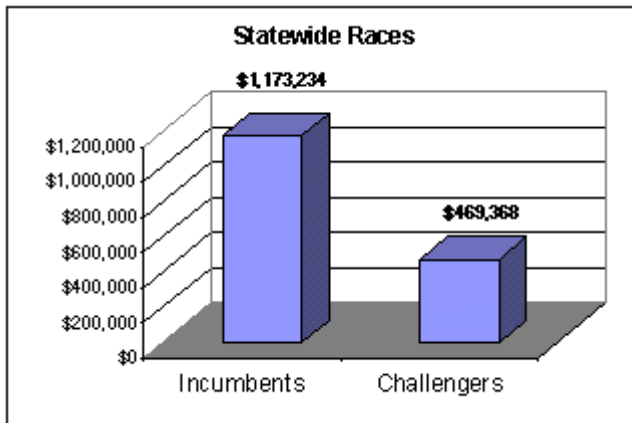
Winners raised a total of \$31.7 million, almost double the \$17.9 million raised by those who lost in the general. The average winner raised \$251,540 - again almost twice that raised by the average general-election loser, who raised \$150,373. Candidates who lost in the primaries could not contend financially with either the winners or general-election losers. Primary losers raised \$2.2 million, and their average was a paltry \$26,696 - 10 percent of the average winner's collection and 17 percent of the average general-election losers collection.



Statewide winners raised a total of \$18.7 million not much more than those who lost in the general, who raised \$14.2 million. Primary losers raised just under \$1 million total. On average, winners received \$2.1 million, 40 percent more than the average \$1.3 million raised by those who lost to them in the general. Primary losers were left behind monetarily, having raised an average of \$162,517. Legislative winners raised a total of \$13 million - 3 1/2 times more than the total raised by general-election losers (\$3.7 million). Primary losers raised \$1.4 million. On average, legislative winners raised \$110,900 - three times more than did those they defeated in the general. Primary losers raised just under \$18,000.

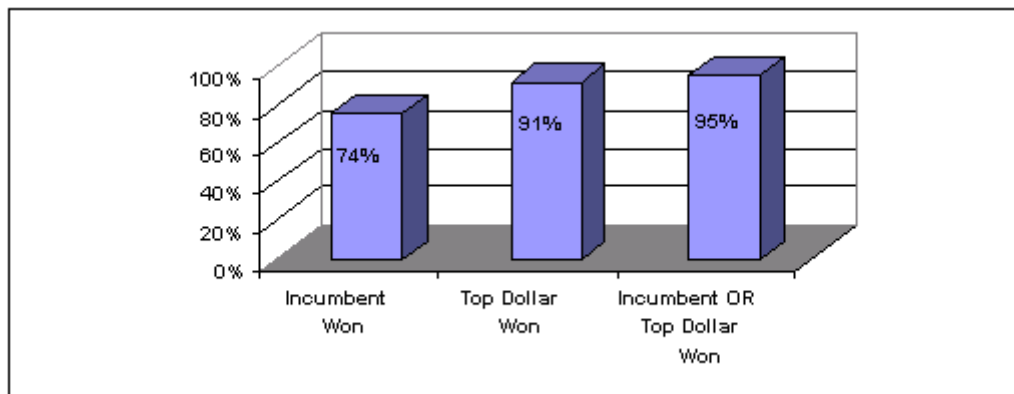
## Incumbents vs. Challengers

Incumbents raised almost three times as much as their challengers overall -- \$15.3 million compared to \$5.7 million. Statewide incumbents, as can be seen in the chart below, raised 2 1/2 times as much as their challengers, while legislative incumbents raised, on average, 4 times as much as their challengers.



### Incumbency & Money Take All

In the 1998 elections, if a candidate was an incumbent or raised the most money, he or she had a 95 percent chance of winning. A mere four of the 97 incumbents who sought re-election lost their seat and only seven candidates with neither advantage won.



### **ABOUT OUR INFORMATION**

The National Institute on Money in State Politics received the 1997-1998 contribution data from the Ohio Citizen Action, which in turn built their database from campaign finance reports available in computerized form from the Ohio Secretary of State.