

## ANALYSIS OF CAMPAIGN FINANCES OF 1998 ILLINOIS ELECTIONS

By Denise Roth Barber  
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**Total 1998 dollars: \$ 86,719,774**

Statewide Total:\$41,109,848

Legislative Total:\$45,609,926

**Total number of voters: 3,541,379**

Average raised per voter \$24.48

### Contributions Received, by Race

Race	Total	Average/Candidate
Governor	\$28,018,819	\$3,502,352
Secretary of State	\$5,937,895	\$1,484,474
Attorney General	\$2,516,418	\$1,258,209
Comptroller	\$2,614,670	\$653,668
Treasurer	\$2,022,046	\$505,512
<b>Statewide Total</b>	<b>\$41,109,848</b>	<b>\$1,868,629</b>
Senate	\$14,644,204	\$200,606
House	\$30,965,722	\$146,065
<b>Legislative Total</b>	<b>\$45,609,926</b>	<b>\$160,035</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$86,719,774</b>	<b>\$282,475</b>

Race Type	Party	Total	Average/Candidate
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Statewide	Republican	\$23,747,135	\$179,903
Statewide	Democrat	\$21,862,791	\$143,834
Legislative	Republican	\$22,412,022	\$2,801,503
Legislative	Democrat	\$18,690,986	\$1,699,181
Legislative	Third	\$6,840	\$2,280

### *The Races*

In all, five statewide races and 159 legislative races were analyzed for this report. The statewide races were governor, secretary of state, comptroller, attorney general and treasurer. The legislative races consisted of 118 House races and 41 Senate races. All statewide races and more than half (90 of 159) of the legislative races were contested. In the legislative races, 38 Senate and 106 House incumbents sought re-election.

<b>RACES</b>	<b>Contested</b>	<b>Uncontested</b>		<b>Races w/Incumbents</b>	<b>Open Races</b>
Statewide	6	0		2	4
Legislative	89	70		143	16
<b>Total</b>	<b>95</b>	<b>70</b>		<b>145</b>	<b>20</b>

### *The Candidates*

<b>Candidate</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Democrat</b>	<b>Third</b>		<b>Incumbent</b>	<b>Challenger</b>	<b>Open Races</b>
Statewide	9	13	3		2	4	10
Legislative	132	152	1		143	90	52
<b>Total</b>	<b>141</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>4</b>		<b>145</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>62</b>

### *Average Money Raised, By Candidate Type*

<b>Candidate Type</b>	<b>Average/Candidate</b>
Incumbents	\$242,970
Challengers	\$102,884
Winners	\$349,923
General Losers	\$237,179
Primary Losers	\$170,741

*The Winners*

<b>WINNERS</b>	<b>Republicans</b>	<b>Democrats</b>		<b>Incumbents</b>	<b>Challengers</b>	<b>Open Races</b>
Statewide	4	2		2	0	4
Legislative	79	80		139	4	16
Total	83	82		141	4	20

Democrats gained two seats to maintain their control of the House while Republicans gained a seat in the Senate, also maintaining their majority. The House is now made up of 62 Democrats and 56 Republicans, while the Senate is made up of 27 Democrats and 32 Republicans.

The Republicans occupancy of the governors mansion, enjoyed since 1977, continued as Secretary of State George Ryan was successful in his bid to fill the seat left open by Jim Edgar.

**WHO GIVES**

The following table shows the breakdown of contributions by sector.

<b>Major Economic Sector</b>	<b>Contributions</b>	<b>percent of Total</b>
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Political Parties	\$18,343,274	21.2 percent
Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	\$8,306,093	9.6 percent
Labor	\$7,885,481	9.1 percent
General Business	\$7,312,320	8.4 percent
Candidate Self-Finance	\$7,118,437	8.2 percent
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$5,564,669	6.4 percent
Health	\$4,321,672	5.0 percent
Construction	\$3,770,584	4.3 percent
Energy/Natural Resources	\$2,150,431	2.5 percent
Transportation	\$2,025,114	2.3 percent
Communications & Electronics	\$1,996,385	2.3 percent
Agriculture	\$739,385	0.9 percent
Non-Contribution (interest, etc)	\$700,686	0.8 percent
Non-Business (teachers, retired, etc)	\$432,630	0.5 percent
Ideology/Single-Issue	\$679,211	0.8 percent
Contributions under \$150	\$103,894	0.1 percent

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$71,450,264*</b>	<b>100 percent</b>
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(\* Excluded from this table is \$15.3 million given by contributors whose economic interest could not be identified.)

#### Top Contributors

The table below lists the top 20 contributors to the Illinois 1998 races analyzed for this report (excluding political party contributions).

<b>Top 20 Contributors</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Contributions</b>
IL Education Association	Public Sector Unions	\$1,817,700
IL State Medical Society	Health Professionals	\$936,857
IL Federation Of Teachers	Public Sector Unions	\$552,036
IL Trial Lawyers	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$541,145
IL AFL-CIO	Trade Unions/General	\$529,419
IL Hospital & Health Association	Hospitals/Nursing Homes	\$503,846
Beer Distributors PAC	Beer, Wine & Liquor	\$442,576
IL Manufacturers	Manufacturing & Distributing	\$425,850
IL Bank PAC	Commercial Banks	\$398,335
Hotel & Restaurant Employees/HERE	Trade Unions/General	\$351,950
IL Association Of Realtors	Real Estate	\$339,002
IL Pro Choice	Pro-Choice	\$324,801
AFSCME IL Council 31	Public Sector Unions	\$306,510
Ameritech	Telephone Utilities	\$299,369
Empress River Casino & Hotel	Gambling/Casinos	\$268,315
Cable TV/Communications Assoc. Of IL	Cable TV	\$266,235

Philip Morris USA	Tobacco	\$265,270
Commonwealth Edison Co	Electric Utilities	\$258,485
Mayer Brown & Platt	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$235,628
IL Chamber PAC	Business Associations	\$232,540
<b>Total From The Top Twenty</b>		<b>\$9,295,869</b>

Excluding contributions from political parties, candidates or interest on accounts, 37,963 contributors gave a total of \$61.3 million. These contributors represent a fraction of one percent of the voting age population.

## WHO GETS

### Legislative Races

Typical of Illinois politics, the four legislative leaders attracted the largest campaign contributions, *despite the fact that they faced no opposition in their races*. These four, in turn, were quite generous in distributing their funds to other candidates and party committees.

The top fund-raising candidate Democrat Michael J. Madigan -- raised \$3.95 million for his uncontested race for House District 22. Madigan has been the Speaker or the Minority Leader for the past 11 years, and is currently the Speaker of the House. More than half of the money he raised (\$2.45 million) was then doled out to 48 other Democratic candidates and two party committees, the Democratic Party of Illinois and the Illinois House Democratic Majority Committee. The top recipient was the Democratic Party of Illinois, which received \$1.5 million. (The Illinois House Democratic Majority Committee received \$4,500). Secretary of State candidate Tim McCarthy received the most support from Madigan, \$133,000. McCarthy lost in the Democratic primary. Second to McCarthy was Greg Backes, who received \$120,000 from Madigan. Backes lost his challenge to Republican incumbent John Jones in the race for House District 107.

Very close on Madigans heels was Republican House candidate Lee Daniels, who has served in the House since 1975 and is currently Republican leader. Also unopposed in his bid for re-election to House District 46, Daniels raised \$3.92 million, 60 percent of which he distributed to other candidates and party PACs. The House Republican Campaign Committee received \$2.2 million and the remaining \$200,000 was distributed among 34 other Republican candidates.

James Pate Philip, incumbent Republican running unopposed in Senate District 23, raised \$1.6 million -- more than any other Senate candidate and third overall in the legislative races. Philip, who is currently Senate President, has been a continual presence in the Illinois Legislature since

1967. Of the money Philip raised, he gave away \$700,000 to one entity -- the Republican State Senate Committee.

Second to Philip was Democrat Emil Jones, who raised just over \$1 million. Jones, also uncontested in his bid for re-election to Senate District 14, has been in the Legislature since 1973 and is currently the Senate Minority Leader. Jones gave away a total of \$382,104 -- \$275,000 went to the Democratic Party of Illinois, while the rest went to 15 candidates and the Illinois Senate Democratic Fund (\$2,952).

### Statewide Races

The gubernatorial race, which garnered more than \$28 million, was by far the most expensive race in the 1998 election cycle. In comparison, the four other statewide races *combined* raised half that amount, and the top four legislative races combined (discussed above) raised a third of the governors race total.

Republican gubernatorial candidate George Ryan, who raised \$14.7 million, was the top fund-raising candidate for all statewide and legislative races. While not an incumbent for that seat, he was the secretary of state prior to winning his bid for governor. In distant second was John Schmidt, who lost in the Democratic primary for the governors seat. Schmidt raised slightly more than \$6 million.

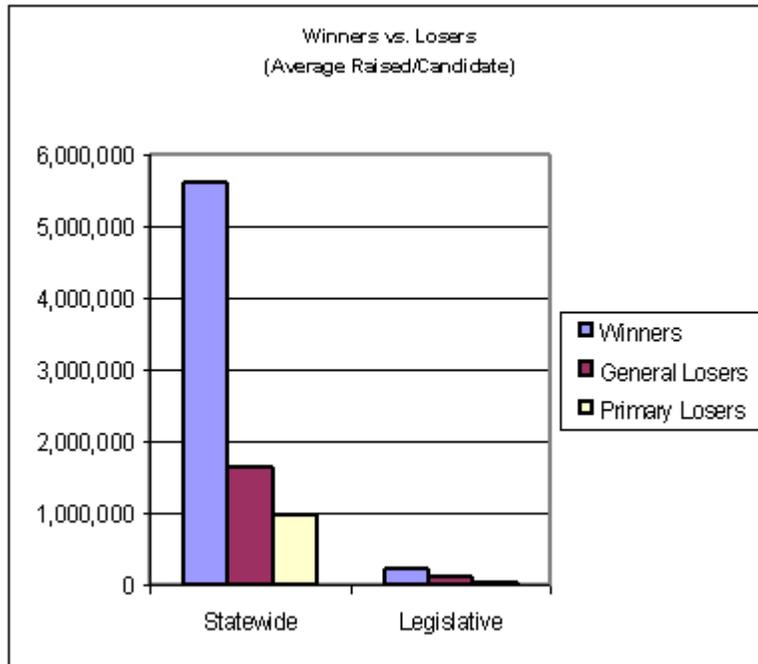
### Democrat vs. Republican Candidates

In the statewide races, Republican candidates raised \$22.4 million total, 11 percent more than the Democrats, who raised \$18.7 million. In legislative races, Democrats raised \$ 18.7 million, considerably less than Republicans, who raised \$22.4 million.

### Winners vs. Losers

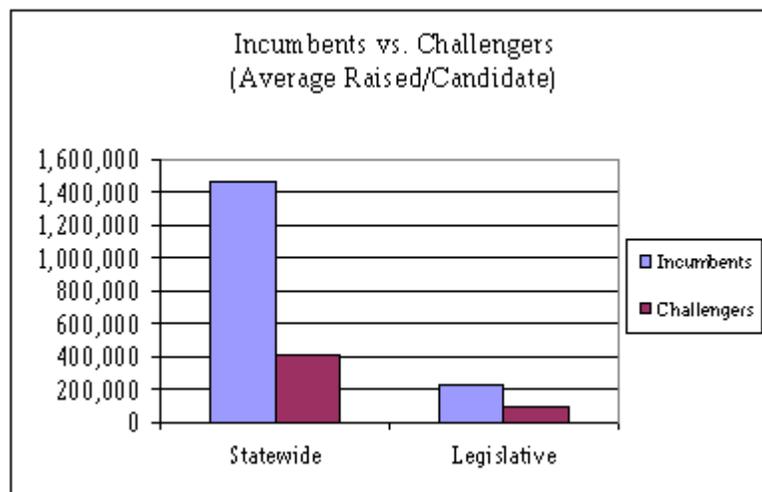
Winners raised \$57.4 million total, significantly more than the general and primary losers, who raised \$29.4 million combined, or \$17.6 million and \$11.8 million, respectively.

In statewide races, winners raised a total of \$22.4 million more than double that of candidates who lost either in the general or the primary elections.



### Incumbents vs. Challengers

Legislative incumbents raised four times more than their challengers. Overall, incumbents raised \$32.3 million while the challengers total came to just over \$8 million. As can be seen in the chart to the right, the average incumbent raised more than twice as much as did the average challenger.



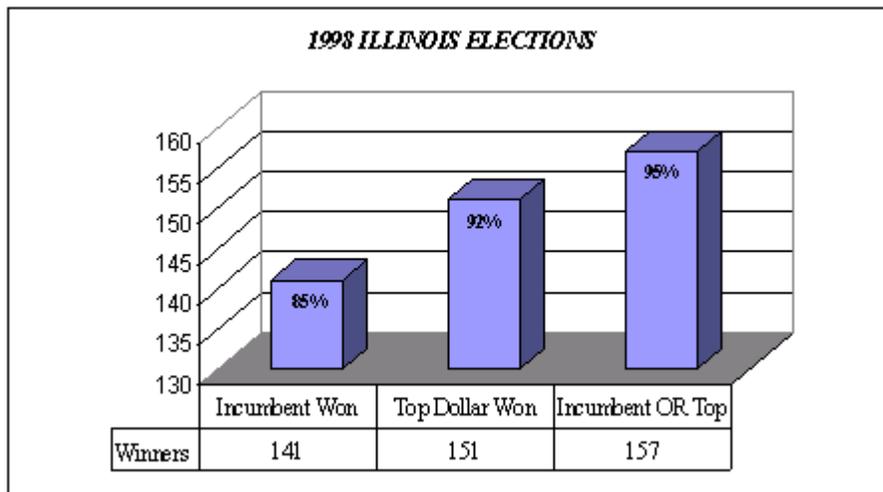
Statewide, the two incumbents raised \$2.9 million overall, while four challengers raised \$1.6 million. On average, incumbents raised 3.5 times more than did their challengers, as can be seen in chart to the right.

Interestingly, Democratic *challengers* received more in contributions from party sources than did Democratic *incumbents* seeking re-election (party source includes committee money and fellow candidates). Challengers received \$2.9 million, or 59 percent, of the party contributions. This is in stark contrast to the non-party sources that gave 80 percent of their contributions to Democratic incumbents.

It was quite a different story when comparing Republican incumbents with their challengers. Of the money given by party sources to Republican challengers and incumbents, incumbents received 72 percent. The percentage was even higher when looking at contributions from all other sources, where Republican incumbents received 96 percent of those funds.

**WHY WINNERS WIN**

Of the 165 races, incumbents won in 141, or 85 percent, of those. Candidates with the most money won 92 percent of the time. With either advantage, candidates stood a 95 percent chance of winning. Only eight (5 percent) of the races were won by candidates who had neither advantage.



In the six statewide races, the two incumbents seeking re-election won and the top-dollar candidates won five of those races.

Clearly, both incumbency and money are significant factors in winning elections, and when a candidate has both on their side, victory is all but guaranteed.

**COMPARISON BETWEEN 1996 AND 1998 HOUSE RACES**

Compared to 1996, significantly fewer candidates ran for House seats in the 1998 general election. Those who did raised much less money as well. In 1996, 237 candidates vying for the 118 House seats raised a total of \$47.3 million (\$199,711 average). In 1998, the number of candidates dropped to 210, a 12 percent decrease. Those candidates raised a total of \$31 million (\$147,619 average per candidate)

## **ABOUT OUR INFORMATION**

Data used for this study were collected from candidates by the Illinois State Board of Elections. The official state reports were compiled by the Institute with the assistance of the Illinois Campaign for Political Reform (IL CPR) and Professor Kent Redfield. Institute staff conducted candidate and totals audits, and researched the occupation or employers of the contributors, again with the assistance of IL CPR and Professor Redfield.

For this analysis, \$5.8 million raised by candidates who did not run for office in the 1998 elections and \$194,284 in non-contributions (refunds, reimbursements, etc) were excluded from the analysis.