



THE MILLIONAIRES' CLUB

MILLION-DOLLAR LEGISLATIVE RACES, 2003-2004

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OCTOBER 18, 2006

With primary elections behind them, candidates are stepping up their fund-raising efforts in preparation for the upcoming November elections just three weeks away. Just how much do they need to raise for the general-election race? In elections held in 2003 and 2004, state House seats attracted \$104,000, on average across the country, while state Senate seats brought in an average of \$221,000.

But that was mere pocket change for some races. 78 legislative races in 12 states hit the million-dollar mark in the general election. Together, these races brought in nearly \$155 million, or 20 percent of the \$758 million raised in all general-election legislative races.

California led the pack with 27 races in which candidates raised more than \$1 million combined for the general-election race. Illinois placed a distant second, with 12 million-dollar races. Texas was third, with nine races, while New York had eight. Of the 12 states with million-dollar races, five had no contribution limits — Illinois, Indiana, Oregon, Pennsylvania and Texas. For a list of all million-dollar legislative races in each of the 12 states, see Appendix A.

The exorbitant price tag of these races was due to a variety of factors. More than one-third of the races — or 28 of the 78 — took place in historically-expensive districts.¹ In others, the power of incumbency played a key role. Twenty-two candidates were incumbents and able to raise large sums due to the powerful draw of their position, even though their challengers raised little money in attempts to oust them. Of these, eight candidates in powerful leadership positions were able to use their position of power to amass millions, despite the lack of any opposition, and then doled out large sums to other candidates and the party committees they commanded.

Some races simply cost more than usual, due in part to highly competitive races. For example, three-term Democratic Illinois State Rep. Ricca Slone, — who raised an average of \$82,000 during each of her three previous races for District 92 — gathered over \$800,000 in 2004 to defeat Republican challenger, Aaron Schock, who raised more than \$670,000 to oust Slone. In the race for House District 117 in Texas, Republican incumbent Rep. Ken Mercer, who raised \$221,039 for his 2002 bid, nearly doubled his fund-raising efforts, raising \$402,333 in 2004 to ward off a challenge from Democrat David Leibowitz, who raised \$694,680.

Challengers in million-dollar races enjoyed a greater success rate than challengers in less expensive races. The national success rate for challengers in 2004 was 12 percent, whereas challengers in these expensive races won 20 percent, or 13 of the 59 races in which an incumbent sought re-election.

Who Provided the Millions?

Party committees and candidates' own personal bank accounts were the primary sources of funds for these million-dollar races, together accounting for 40 percent, or nearly \$62 million of the nearly \$155 million these races garnered. Party committees gave the bulk of that money: \$50.4 million.

Candidates financed their own campaigns quite heavily as well, providing \$11.8 million. Almost half that amount can be attributed to one candidate alone. Silicon Valley billionaire Steve Poizner put \$5.8 million of his own money into his unsuccessful campaign to become the first Republican

¹ In this report, a district is defined as historically-expensive if it has had at least one million-dollar legislative race in a general election since 2000.

representative in California's House District 21 since 1980.² Despite his \$6.6 million war chest, Poizner was defeated in the race for the open seat by Democrat Ira Ruskin, then a three-term Redwood City Councilman, who raised just over \$2 million.

Who Won These High-Roller Races?

Candidates who raised the most money won in 62 of the 78 million-dollar races, or 79 percent, slightly lower than the national average of 85 percent chance or better.³

Incumbents who sought re-election enjoyed a similar success rate, winning 46 of their 59 re-election bids, or 78 percent. In addition, incumbents who sought election to a new seat won nine of 11 races.

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But when incumbents also had the most money, they were almost unbeatable. Of the 45 incumbents who raised the most money in their race, 42, or 93 percent, won their re-election bids.

In 22 of the million-dollar races, incumbents amassed significant bank accounts with only token financial challenge from their opponents. Eight of these incumbents held legislative leadership positions and were thus in a powerful position to raise money to either dole out to other candidates or build war chests for future elections.

Most notable were three from Illinois who were among "the four tops," a moniker by which the state's four most powerful legislators are known.

- Illinois House Speaker Mike Madigan, who doubles as chairman of the Illinois Democratic Party, raised more than \$3 million. He in turn gave \$1.7 million to the state party and just over \$175,000 directly to other Democratic House candidates.
- House Minority Leader Tom Cross raised \$2.5 million. Cross sent more than \$700,000 to his House Republican Organization committee, and another 591,400 to other House candidates.
- Senate President Emil Jones Jr. raised nearly \$3 million and gave \$2 million to the Illinois Senate Democratic Fund, which he chaired.
- The fourth leader, Senate Minority Leader Frank Watson, was not up for election in 2004, yet raised more than \$2 million during the 2004 cycle. He doled out over \$1 million to state-level Republican party committees and candidates.

² Mark Simon, "ELECTION 2004, Candidates' fates may be tied to Bush's fortunes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 4, 2004, p.A-19.

³ Mark Dixon, "Money and Incumbency, Advantages in State Legislative Races, 2004," *National Institute on Money in State Politics*, July 20, 2006.

MILLION-DOLLAR INCUMBENTS WITH NO OPPOSITION

STATE	CANDIDATE	RACE	PARTY	TOTAL
California	Frommer, Dario*	A 043	Democrat	\$1,795,677
California	Vargas, Juan*	A 079	Democrat	\$1,091,084
Illinois	Madigan, Michael J.	H 022	Democrat	\$3,133,013
Illinois	Jones Jr., Emil	S 014	Democrat	\$2,973,163
Illinois	Cross, Tom	H 084	Republican	\$2,487,248
New York	Bruno, Joseph L.	S 043	Republican	\$1,468,732
North Carolina	Black, Jim B.	H 100	Democrat	\$1,452,526
Texas	Craddick, Tom	H 082	Republican	\$2,778,974

* Both candidates faced Libertarian challengers who raised no money in the general election.

In addition, California Assemblyman John Campbell, who raised \$1.56 million, faced only token opposition in the general election to fill the open Senate District 35 seat. However, he did face stiff opposition during the primary from fellow Republican Ken Maddox, who raised nearly half a million dollars.

When Money Trumped Incumbency

Six of the 13 challengers who ousted incumbents held the money trump card. In Illinois, Republican David Reis raised \$726,830 to defeat Democrat State Rep. Bill Grunloh, who raised \$662,580.

In Pennsylvania, State Senator Allen Kukovich raised \$769,920, which was not enough to ward off a challenge by Bob Regola, who raised \$895,730. Republican State Rep. Melissa Weber also failed to win her re-election bid. Her \$681,030 fell short of the \$703,610 raised by Democratic challenger Mike Gerber.

The other three challengers ousted state representatives in Texas:

- Republican incumbent Rep. Ken Mercer, who lost his re-election bid in House District 117, raised \$402,300, or 58 percent of the \$694,700 raised by winning challenger David Leibowitz, a Democrat.
- Republican challenger Charles Anderson ousted Democratic incumbent John Mabry in House District 56, raising \$625,500 to Mabry's \$480,000.
- And in House District 50, Republican incumbent Jack Stick lost his re-election bid to Democrat Mark Strama, who raised nearly \$830,000, slightly more than Stick's \$798,100.

APPENDIX A - LIST OF MILLION-DOLLAR RACES IN 2003 AND 2004

STATE	CANDIDATE	RACE	STATUS	TOTAL
California	Houston, Guy S.	AD 15	Won	\$1,298,215
California	Shaw, Elaine D.	AD 15	Lost	\$620,255
California	Matthews, Barbara S.	AD 17	Won	\$1,259,436
California	McGarry, Nellie	AD 17	Lost	\$408,907
California	Ruskin, Ira	AD 21	Won	\$2,005,880
California	Poizner, Steve	AD 21	Lost	\$6,605,778
California	Cohn, Rebecca	AD 24	Won	\$722,188
California	Collier III, Zander Y.	AD 24	Lost	\$1,482
California	Konnyu, Ernest (Ernie)	AD 24	Lost	\$383,515
California	Parra, Nicole M.	AD 30	Won	\$2,070,825
California	Gardner, Dean	AD 30	Lost	\$1,931,247
California	Arambula, Juan	AD 31	Won	\$1,611,255
California	Betancourt, Paul	AD 31	Lost	\$1,113,894
California	McCarthy, Kevin	AD 32	Won	\$1,300,267
California	Armas, Marvin	AD 32	Lost	\$990
California	Nava, Pedro	AD 35	Won	\$974,984
California	Pohl, Bob	AD 35	Lost	\$487,283
California	Frommer, Dario	AD 43	Won	\$1,795,677
California	Woren, Sandor J.	AD 43	Lost	\$0
California	Nunez, Fabian	AD 46	Won	\$1,501,442
California	Aldana Jr., Manuel	AD 46	Lost	\$17,084
California	Chu, Judy	AD 49	Won	\$1,059,444
California	Brown, Laura	AD 49	Lost	\$0
California	Needs, Sandra L.	AD 49	Lost	\$12,068
California	Gordon, Mike	AD 53	Won	\$1,516,847
California	Hill, Greg	AD 53	Lost	\$810,375
California	Smith, James R.	AD 53	Lost	\$281
California	Boivie, Ethan M.	AD 53	Lost	\$0
California	Karnette, Betty	AD 54	Won	\$1,612,032
California	Kuykendall, Steve T.	AD 54	Lost	\$900,187
California	Sterne, John Howard	AD 54	Lost	\$0
California	Calderon, Ron	AD 58	Won	\$928,571
California	Topalian, Rita	AD 58	Lost	\$178,173
California	McLeod, Gloria Negrete	AD 61	Won	\$966,522
California	Wapner, Alan	AD 61	Lost	\$472,248
California	Umberg, Tom	AD 69	Won	\$1,153,244
California	Bade, Otto	AD 69	Lost	\$113,378
California	Reis, George	AD 69	Lost	\$0
California	Saldana, Lori	AD 76	Won	\$1,868,124
California	Hunter, Tricia	AD 76	Lost	\$702,302
California	Osborne, Jennifer	AD 76	Lost	\$0
California	Horton, Shirley	AD 78	Won	\$2,504,572
California	Davis, Patty	AD 78	Lost	\$1,871,052
California	Hale, Josh	AD 78	Lost	\$0

STATE	CANDIDATE	RACE	STATUS	TOTAL
California	Vargas, Juan	AD 79	Won	\$1,091,084
California	Conroe, Eli Wallace	AD 79	Lost	\$0
California	Garcia, Bonnie	AD 80	Won	\$1,552,770
California	Andreas, Mary Ann	AD 80	Lost	\$1,022,694
California	Simitian, Joe	SD 11	Won	\$1,610,823
California	Rice, Allen M.	SD 11	Lost	\$2,025
California	Zellhoefer, Jon	SD 11	Lost	\$1,286
California	Maldonado, Abel	SD 15	Won	\$2,585,297
California	Pinard, Peg	SD 15	Lost	\$3,015,769
California	Madsen, Brook	SD 15	Lost	\$0
California	McClintock, Tom	SD 19	Won	\$964,393
California	Graber, Paul	SD 19	Lost	\$36,579
California	Campbell, John	SD 35	Won	\$1,561,574
California	Johnson, Timothy	SD 35	Lost	\$0
California	Siebert, Rita B.	SD 35	Lost	\$0
California	Kehoe, Christine	SD 39	Won	\$1,621,320
California	Stirling, Larry	SD 39	Lost	\$485,899
California	Murphy, John	SD 39	Lost	\$0
California	Machado, Michael J.	SD 5	Won	\$4,438,229
California	Podesto, Gary A.	SD 5	Lost	\$4,540,705
California	Perata, Don	SD 9	Won	\$1,535,602
California	Deutsche, Patricia	SD 9	Lost	\$17,882
California	Condit, Tom	SD 9	Lost	\$0
Illinois	Reis, David B.	HD 108	Won	\$726,832
Illinois	Grunloh, Bill	HD 108	Lost	\$662,578
Illinois	McAuliffe, Michael P.	HD 20	Won	\$570,891
Illinois	Capparelli, Ralph C.	HD 20	Lost	\$442,889
Illinois	Madigan, Michael J.	HD 22	Won	\$3,133,013
Illinois	Conners, Darleen A.	HD 22	Lost	\$0
Illinois	Gordon, Careen M.	HD 75	Won	\$713,382
Illinois	Hayse, Doug	HD 75	Lost	\$821,894
Illinois	Dugan, Lisa M.	HD 79	Won	\$593,379
Illinois	Pangle, Kay M.	HD 79	Lost	\$442,575
Illinois	Cross, Tom	HD 84	Won	\$2,487,248
Illinois	Schock, Aaron	HD 92	Won	\$670,823
Illinois	Slone, Ricca	HD 92	Lost	\$889,659
Illinois	Jones Jr., Emil	SD 14	Won	\$2,973,163
Illinois	Althoff, Pamela J.	SD 32	Won	\$812,877
Illinois	Ouimet, Patrick	SD 32	Lost	\$1,003,212
Illinois	Dahl, Gary G.	SD 38	Won	\$851,189
Illinois	Welch, Pat	SD 38	Lost	\$1,146,348
Illinois	Sullivan, John M.	SD 47	Won	\$966,481
Illinois	Ernst, Tom	SD 47	Lost	\$868,112
Illinois	Forby, Gary	SD 59	Won	\$1,449,655
Illinois	Summers, Ron	SD 59	Lost	\$1,039,076

STATE	CANDIDATE	RACE	STATUS	TOTAL
Indiana	Davis, Bill J.	HD 33	Won	\$495,036
Indiana	Liggett, Ron	HD 33	Lost	\$732,085
Louisiana	Boasso, Walter J.	SD 1	Won	\$876,527
Louisiana	Landry, Wayne J.	SD 1	Lost	\$255,000
Louisiana	Hollis, Ken	SD 9	Won	\$1,769,857
Louisiana	Thomas, Polly	SD 9	Lost	\$183,419
New Jersey	Mayer, David R.	AD 4	Won	\$473,455
New Jersey	Smith, Robert	AD 4	Won	\$544,005
New Jersey	Altamuro, Stephen	AD 4	Lost	\$74,100
New Jersey	Dougherty, Patrick M.	AD 4	Lost	\$74,100
New Jersey	Karcher, Ellen	SD 12	Won	\$777,464
New Jersey	Bennett, John O.	SD 12	Lost	\$812,030
New Jersey	Gray, Earl	SD 12	Lost	\$0
New Jersey	Gormley, William L.	SD 2	Won	\$984,163
New Jersey	Gabrielsky, Robert (Gabe)	SD 2	Lost	\$0
New Jersey	Swift, Tom	SD 2	Lost	\$91,450
New Jersey	Sweeney, Stephen M.	SD 3	Won	\$1,732,850
New Jersey	Rhudy, Phillip S.	SD 3	Lost	\$41,104
New York	Klein, Jeffrey D.	SD 34	Won	\$2,507,548
New York	Fleming, John	SD 34	Lost	\$211,017
New York	Kaufman, Stephen B.	SD 34	Lost	\$629,365
New York	Spano, Nick	SD 35	Won	\$1,293,605
New York	Stewart-Cousins, Andrea	SD 35	Lost	\$447,921
New York	Bruno, Joseph L.	SD 43	Won	\$1,468,732
New York	Valesky, David J.	SD 49	Won	\$251,553
New York	Dadey Jr., Thomas V.	SD 49	Lost	\$215,996
New York	Hoffmann, Nancy Lorraine	SD 49	Lost	\$817,491
New York	Marcellino, Carl L	SD 5	Won	\$562,351
New York	Brisbane, Charles	SD 5	Lost	\$511,720
New York	Libous, Thomas W.	SD 52	Won	\$1,074,474
New York	Burns, Eugene W.	SD 52	Lost	\$48,337
New York	Balboni, Michael A.	SD 7	Won	\$1,345,452
New York	Marshak, Martin M.	SD 7	Lost	\$10,064
New York	Skelos, Dean G.	SD 9	Won	\$1,196,015
New York	Ketover, Joshua S.	SD 9	Lost	\$78,693
North Carolina	Black, James B. (Jim)	HD 100	Won	\$1,452,526
North Carolina	Basnight, Marc	SD 1	Won	\$1,696,639
North Carolina	Toppin, Ron	SD 1	Lost	\$11,959
Ohio	Husted, Jon A.	HD 37	Won	\$1,416,577
Ohio	Shady, John G.	HD 37	Lost	\$13,794
Ohio	Stivers, Steven	SD 16	Won	\$1,051,432
Ohio	Eckhart, Don	SD 16	Lost	\$14,727
Ohio	Thomsen, Katherine	SD 16	Lost	\$5,279
Ohio	Padgett, Joy	SD 20	Won	\$1,473,197
Ohio	Anderson, Terry	SD 20	Lost	\$608,887

STATE	CANDIDATE	RACE	STATUS	TOTAL
Oregon	Anderson, Laurie Monnes	SD 25	Won	\$756,796
Oregon	Sunseri, Ron	SD 25	Lost	\$576,146
Oregon	Bates, Alan C.	SD 3	Won	\$514,473
Oregon	Wright, Jim	SD 3	Lost	\$627,363
Oregon	Verger, Joanne	SD 5	Won	\$656,400
Oregon	Pearn, Al	SD 5	Lost	\$549,131
Pennsylvania	Gerber, Mike	HD 148	Won	\$703,609
Pennsylvania	Ebeling, Eric	HD 148	Lost	\$0
Pennsylvania	Weber, Melissa Murphy	HD 148	Lost	\$681,030
Pennsylvania	Shapiro, Josh	HD 153	Won	\$732,213
Pennsylvania	Fox, Jon D.	HD 153	Lost	\$765,936
Pennsylvania	Wusinich, Matthew	HD 153	Lost	\$0
Pennsylvania	Perzel, John M.	HD 172	Won	\$4,552,618
Pennsylvania	Kearney, Tim	HD 172	Lost	\$65,617
Pennsylvania	Fumo, Vincent J.	SD 1	Won	\$4,098,195
Pennsylvania	Morley Jr., John H.	SD 1	Lost	\$2,475
Pennsylvania	Pippy, John	SD 37	Won	\$418,395
Pennsylvania	Gitnik, Paul J.	SD 37	Lost	\$632,711
Pennsylvania	Regola, Bob	SD 39	Won	\$895,733
Pennsylvania	Kukovich, Allen	SD 39	Lost	\$769,919
South Carolina	Lourie, Joel	SD 22	Won	\$492,747
South Carolina	Wingate, Ken	SD 22	Lost	\$509,402
Texas	Leibowitz, David McQuade	HD 117	Won	\$694,677
Texas	Mercer, Ken	HD 117	Lost	\$402,333
Texas	Vo, Hubert	HD 149	Won	\$392,510
Texas	Heflin, Talmadge	HD 149	Lost	\$870,444
Texas	Arnold, Terry	HD 34	Won	\$210,942
Texas	Herrero, Abel	HD 34	Lost	\$861,263
Texas	Rose, Patrick M.	HD 45	Won	\$1,028,224
Texas	Askew, Alan A.	HD 45	Lost	\$654,989
Texas	Baxter, Todd	HD 48	Won	\$701,529
Texas	White, Kelly	HD 48	Lost	\$603,091
Texas	Strama, Mark	HD 50	Won	\$829,967
Texas	Knowles, Greg	HD 50	Lost	\$0
Texas	Stick, Jack	HD 50	Lost	\$798,146
Texas	Anderson, Charles (Doc)	HD 56	Won	\$625,563
Texas	Mabry, John	HD 56	Lost	\$480,021
Texas	Craddick, Tom	HD 82	Won	\$2,778,974
Texas	Seliger, Kel	SD 31	Won	\$1,350,145
Texas	Miller, Elaine King	SD 31	Lost	\$20,393
TOTAL				\$154,765,351