

SUMMARY OF INDIANAS 1998 ELECTIONS

By Sara Marino
November 3, 1999

THE MONEY

Total 1998 dollars: \$12,876,949

Statewide total: \$2,277,208

Legislative total: \$10,599,741

Total number of voters: 1,588,617

Average dollars per vote: \$8.11

Incumbent candidates total dollars: \$7,740,847

Challengers to incumbents total dollars: \$2,529,082

General election winners total dollars: \$9,233,860

General election losers total dollars: \$3,193,889

Primary losers total dollars: \$449,200

Total Dollars by Office

Office	Total	# Candidates	Avg \$/Candidate
Secretary of State	\$ 1,377,984	3	\$ 459,328
Treasurer of State	\$ 449,548	3	\$ 149,849
Auditor	\$ 297,978	3	\$ 99,326
Clerk of Supreme Court	\$ 151,698	3	\$ 50,566
Statewide Total	\$ 2,277,208	12	\$ 759,069
House of Representatives	\$ 7,755,832	210	\$ 36,933
Senate	\$ 2,843,909	41	\$ 69,364
Legislative Total	\$ 10,599,741	251	\$ 106,296
GRAND TOTAL	\$ 12,876,949	263	\$ 48,962

Total Dollars by Party

Office	Democrat	Republican	Third Party	No Party	TOTAL
Statewide	\$ 347,812	\$ 1,888,598	\$ 40,798	\$ -	\$ 2,277,208
Legislative	\$ 5,331,065	\$ 5,266,131	\$ 2,546	\$ -	\$ 10,599,741
TOTAL	\$ 5,678,877	\$ 7,154,728	\$ 43,344	\$ -	\$ 12,876,949

The Races

RACES	Contested	Uncontested		Open
Statewide	4	0		2
Legislative	82	43		13
TOTAL	86	43		15

The 125 legislative races comprised 100 House seats and 25 Senate seats (only half of the Senate seats were up for re-election in 1998). Almost half of the Senate seats were uncontested, as were 32 House seats. Also, just one Senate seat was an open race, with the remaining 12 open races being House seats. These open races were key in the House, as the Democrats and Republicans were both vying for control of the 50/50 split House. As it turned out, Democrat candidates won seven of those open seats, with Republicans winning the remaining five.

The statewide races were Secretary of State, Treasurer, State Auditor, and Clerk of the Supreme Court. The two open seats were Treasurer and State Auditor.

It is interesting to note that 45 candidates in the 1998 statewide and legislative elections raised less than \$1,000 and thereby may not be considered a serious opponent to other candidates in their race. If those candidates are removed, then just 68 races are contested rather than 86, which is just 52 percent. When uncontested races begin to outnumber contested races this reflects poorly on the health of democracy in the state. Voter turnout may also suffer because of the lack of competition.

THE CANDIDATES

Candidates	Republican	Democrat	3rd Party	TOTAL		Incumbents	Challengers	Open
Statewide	4	4	4	12		2	4	6
Legislative	125	106	20	251		112	94	44
TOTAL	129	110	24	263		114	98	50

In the legislative races, 210 candidates ran for House seats and 41 for Senate. In both the House and Senate, the incumbents were divided nearly equally between Republicans and Democrats. Both incumbents for statewide races were Republicans (Secretary of State and Clerk of Supreme Court).

THE WINNERS

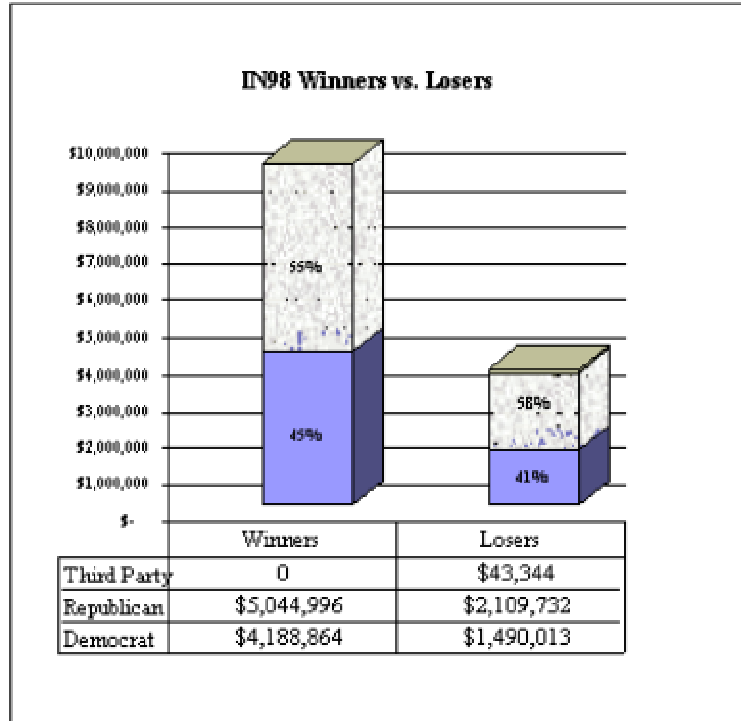
WINNERS	Republican	Democrat	3rd Party		Incumbents	Challengers	Open
Statewide	4	0	0		2	0	2
Legislative	62	63	0		110	2	13
TOTAL	66	63	0		112	2	15

In the House, 53 Democrats and 47 Republicans won their races, giving the Democrats control. This was important because the House had been split 50/50. In the Senate, 10 Democrats and 15 Republicans won their races. Looking at the entire Senate (not just the 25 races in 1998), the makeup is now 19 Democrats and 31 Republicans, giving the Republicans a 62 percent Senate majority.

Republicans also retained the four statewide offices -- Clerk of the Supreme Court and Secretary of State were won by Republican incumbents, and in the open races the previous State Auditor and Treasurer (Morris Wooden and Joyce Brinkman) were Republicans as well.

Money raised by Winners vs Losers

In the 1998 statewide and legislative races, the winners raised a total of \$9,233,860 compared with the primary and general losers, who raised \$3,643,089. The winners total equals 72 percent of dollars raised in all races. The majority of money came from the legislative races. The chart below outlines these numbers in greater detail.



We see this trend of money winning elections across the majority of states, and it holds true for Indiana. Out of the 129 races held in 1998, 119 races -- or 92 percent -- were won by the candidate who raised the most money.

OFFICE	Total \$	# Candidates	# Winners	Avg/candidate	Avg/winner	Avg/loser
House	\$ 7,755,832	210	100	\$ 36,933	\$ 54,394	\$ 21,877
Senate	\$ 2,843,909	41	25	\$ 69,364	\$ 79,835	\$ 53,001
TOTAL LEG	\$ 10,599,741	251	125	\$ 42,230	\$ 58,762	\$ 22,817

Indianas 1996 Legislative elections showed a similar story, with the Avg/winner raising \$57,974 and Avg/loser raising \$23,417.

Money raised by Incumbents vs. Challengers

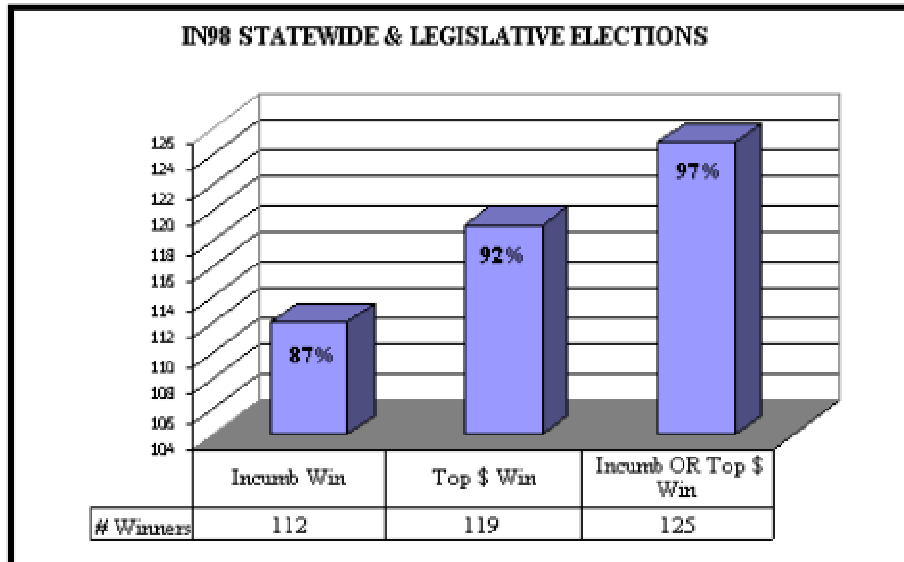
Another key factor for winners is incumbency. Incumbents already have strong visibility in the public eye, recognition, and more press coverage than their challengers. In the 114 races with incumbents, 112 of the winners -- or 98 percent -- were incumbents.

Below is a chart that outlines the total dollars and averages raised by incumbents, their challengers, and candidates in open races. As expected, the incumbents raised the most money - - 60 percent of all dollars raised, and nearly triple what their challengers raised. Note that the

statewide average for incumbents is unusually high due to incumbent Sue Anne Gilroy, who raised \$1.2 million dollars.

OFFICE	Incumbents	Challengers	Open Races	Avg/Incumbent	Avg/Challenger	Avg/Open
Statewide	\$ 1,375,501	\$ 154,181	\$ 747,526	\$ 687,751	\$ 38,545	\$ 124,588
Legislative	\$ 6,365,346	\$ 2,374,901	\$ 1,856,874	\$ 56,833	\$ 25,265	\$ 42,202
TOTAL \$	\$ 7,740,847	\$ 2,529,082	\$ 2,604,400	\$ 67,902	\$ 25,807	\$ 52,088

In sum, money or incumbency nearly always equals a winning candidate. Out of the 129 Indiana 1998 races, incumbents or those who raised the most money won 97 percent of the time.



TOP FUNDRAISING CANDIDATES & RACES

OFFICE	Candidate/Party	Total \$	Type	Status
Secretary of State	Sue Anne Gilroy (R)	\$ 1,261,255	Incumbent	Won
House	Paul Mannweiler (R)	\$ 278,869	Incumbent	Won
Senate	David C Ford (R)	\$ 275,740	Incumbent	Won
Auditor	Connie Kay Nass (R)	\$ 266,545	Open Race	Won
Treasurer	Tim Berry (R)	\$ 246,552	Open Race	Won

As Sue Anne Gilroy raised more money than any other candidate, it is no surprise that the race for Secretary of State was the most expensive race of 1998, totaling \$1,377,984. Gilroy alone raised 92 percent of those dollars. Two other candidates raised the remaining \$116,729 -- Gilroy out-raised them by a ratio of more than 10:1.

The next most expensive races came from the legislature: House District 60 cost \$511,603 and Senate District 19 cost \$486,672. House District 60 was one of the coveted open House seats, and the winner, Peggy Welch (D), raised the most money at \$219,342. David C. Ford (R), in the list of top fundraising candidates above, won the Senate District 19 seat by raising 57 percent of the money in his district.

MONEY RAISED FOR 2000 ELECTIONS

A number of candidates raised money in 1998 for races they plan to run in the year 2000. These are considered by the National Institute as DNR candidates -- those who raised money but Did Not Run in that election cycle. The Indiana 1998 database on the Institutes website includes contributions to these candidates. For the purposes of this analysis, however, all DNR candidates and their contributions are excluded.

In 1998, DNR candidates raised a total of \$3,145,725. Eighty-six percent of this money was raised by gubernatorial 2000 candidates of which Democrat incumbent Frank OBannon alone has raised \$2.3 million dollars.

Total Dollars by Office:

OFFICE	TOTAL \$	# CANDIDATES
Gov/Lt Gov	\$ 2,610,164	12
Senate	\$ 321,949	57
Attorney General	\$ 92,440	3
House	\$ 67,604	78
Treasurer	\$ 27,594	1
Clerk of the Supreme Court	\$ 14,707	4
Superintendent of Public Instruction	\$ 11,268	2
TOTAL	\$ 3,145,725	157

WHO GIVES?

Sources of contributions

The following table shows the breakdown of contributions by business sector, sorted from the largest percentage of total dollars to the smallest. It does not include \$1.7 million dollars which could not be identified. Continue reading the additional charts to find a summary of each sector and breakdown of dollars given to each party.

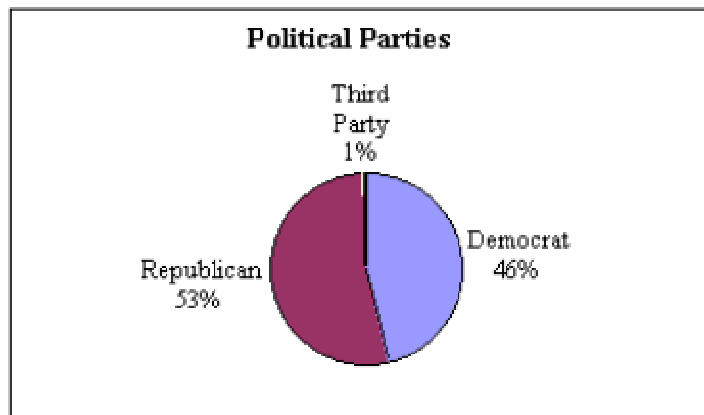
In 13 out of the 14 sectors, Republican candidates were the recipients of the majority of contributions. In just one sector, labor, did the contributions go almost entirely to Democrat candidates.

SECTOR	1998 TOTAL \$	% OF TOTAL
Political Parties	\$ 3,631,271	32%
Labor	\$ 1,907,759	17%
General Business	\$ 1,019,002	9%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$ 966,505	9%
Small Contributions	\$ 736,548	7%
Health	\$ 690,732	6%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$ 555,127	5%
Resource Development	\$ 544,636	5%
Constuction	\$ 365,992	3%
Communications & Electronics	\$ 290,146	3%
Transportation	\$ 263,211	2%
Agriculture	\$ 109,402	1%
Other	\$ 97,059	1%
Ideology	\$ 20,650	0%
1998 TOTAL	\$ 11,198,041	100%

Political Parties: \$3,631,271 (32%)

As is typically seen in other states, Indianas political parties contributed the largest percentage of total dollars to the 1998 elections. Republicans and Democrats contributed similar amounts, \$1,950,064 and \$1,685,863 respectively.

Democrat and Republican Leadership PACs contributed \$2.5 million dollars or 66 percent of all party money. The top single contributor was the IN House Democratic Caucus with \$905,870. Candidates or party officials giving money to themselves or others in their party contributed 34 percent of all party money. Nancy Irsay, Republican candidate for the

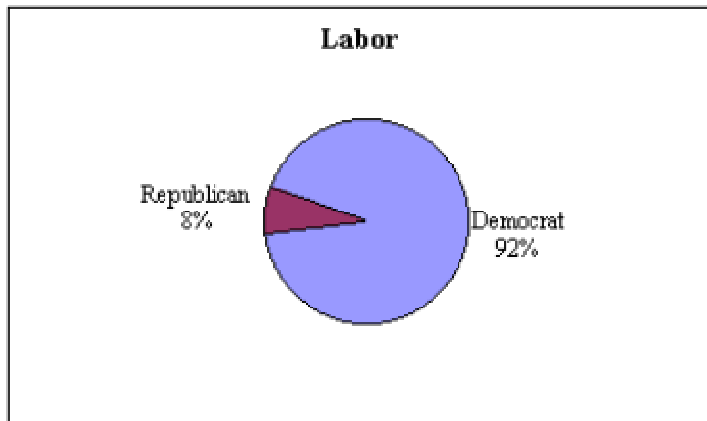


House District 39, contributed the most to her own campaign -- \$63,000. She lost to the Republican incumbent in the primary election.

Labor: \$1,907,759 (17%)

As the chart to the right shows, the majority of labor money supported Democratic candidates.

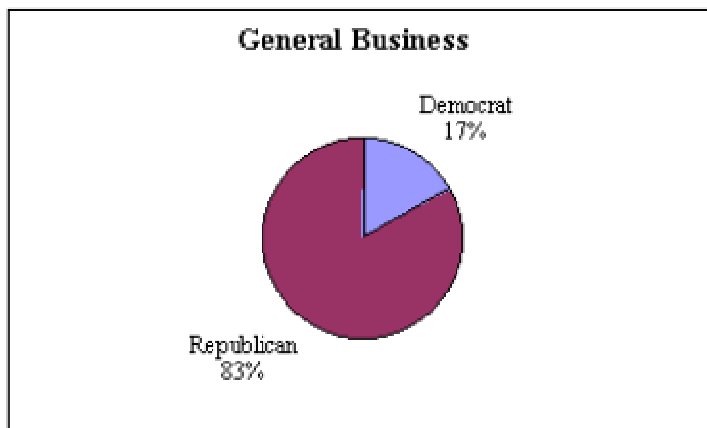
The highest contributing labor industry was the teachers unions with \$777,464. This could be attributed to the highly anticipated tax reform in the 1999 session. A Republican proposal would reduce property taxes by eliminating the school general fund property tax. Democrats would not agree to this proposal without sufficient measures in place to replace the missing school funds.



The teachers unions were closely followed by the construction unions with \$635,747. Included are sheetmetal, steel and ironworkers, carpenters, plumbers, bricklayers and engineers.

General Business: \$1,019,002 (9%)

This sector covers a broad spectrum of industries, from business associations to food and beverage outlets, retail sales, business services, manufacturers, recreation and gambling. Note that as of 1997 organizations affiliated with the regulated gaming industry are prohibited from making political contributions in Indiana.



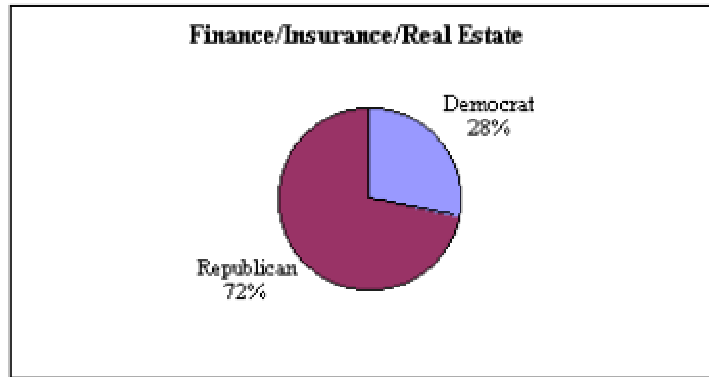
The IN Business for Responsive Government/IN Chamber of

Commerce was the top contributor with \$295,968. The IN Manufacturers PAC/IMPAC gave \$82,430.

Finance, Insurance & Real Estate: \$966,505 (9%)

The top industries within this sector were 1) insurance with \$331,748, 2) commercial banks with \$238,769, and 3) real estate with \$230,199.

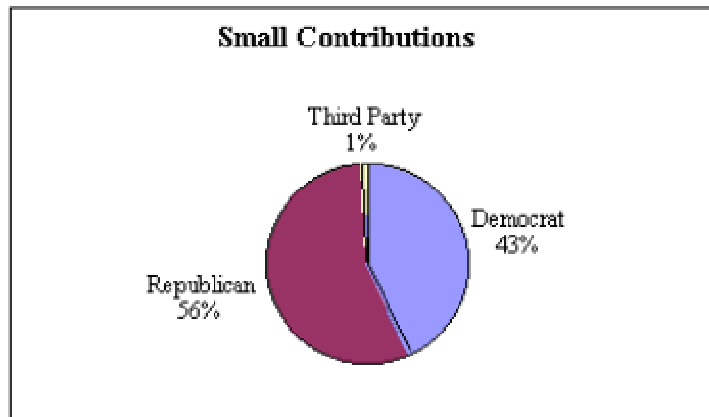
The Insurance Institute of IN PAC alone contributed \$108,100. The PAC also supported the Seatbelt Enforcement Act, which was passed by the 1998 Indiana legislature. This act made not wearing a seatbelt a primary offense.



Small Contributions: \$736,548 (7%)

Republican candidates had the most small contributions at \$408,752, followed by the Democrats at \$329,863.

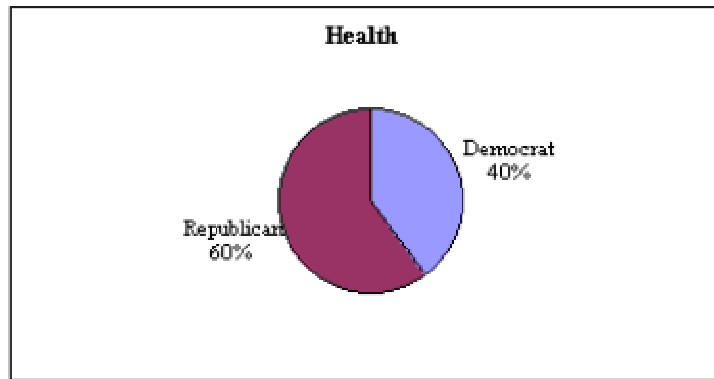
Small contributions are donations below the states reporting threshold, often coming from events or fundraisers. They are reported as a lump sum without individual contributor names. In the state of Indiana, these are contributions below \$100.



Health: \$690,732 (6%)

The health sector comprises physicians, hospitals, nursing homes, health care services, and pharmaceuticals.

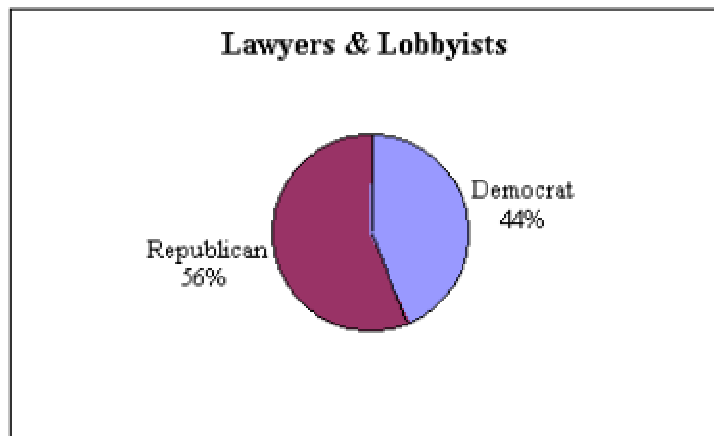
The top three contributors were all PACs, with the IN Hospital Association/Friends of IN Hospitals leading with \$84,625. Second was the IN State Medical PAC with \$82,531 followed by the IN Health Care PAC with \$71,300.



Lawyers & Lobbyists: \$555,127 (5%)

The top contributor in this sector was the Lawyers PAC/LAW PAC of IN with \$141,959. It has been suggested that this PAC stepped up its level of giving from previous years in hopes of eroding the 1995 reform limiting punitive damages awarded in civil lawsuits, and encouraging plaintiffs to settle lawsuits outside of court with a provision requiring losers to pay all legal costs.

The second largest contributor was a law firm, Barnes & Thornburg, with \$37,575, followed by the IN State Bar Assoc/Bar PAC with \$34,550.

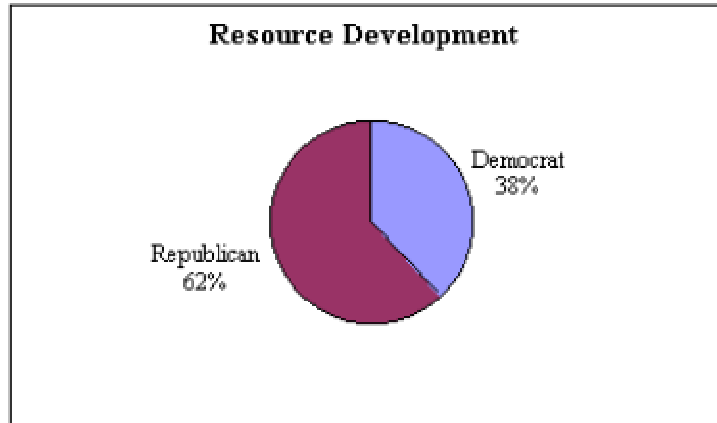


Resource Development: \$544,636 (5%)

This sector includes the Oil & Gas industry, Mining, Nuclear Energy, Utilities, and Environmental Services. The IN Friends of Rural Electrification/FORE was the top single contributor with \$95,225. The top two industries were Electric

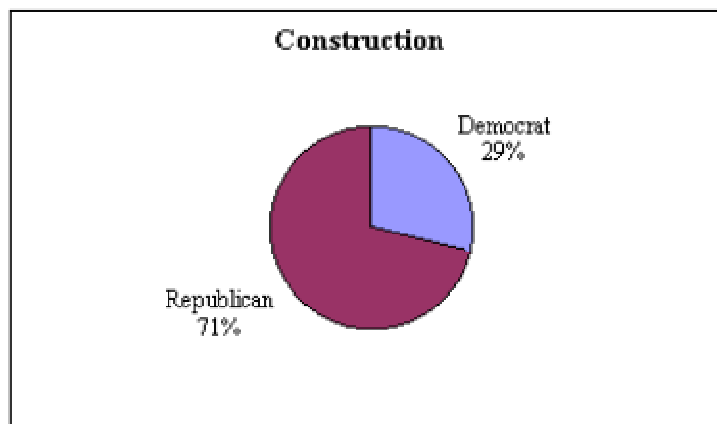
Utilities with \$236,438 and Oil & Gas with \$110,912.

Legislation to deregulate the \$4 billion electric utility industry was being considered at this time. Cinergy Corp in Ohio contributed \$42,000 to the 98 elections and were in support of deregulation, which would open Indiana's power markets to competition. IN Friends of Rural Electrification/FORE was a major contributor that feels the proposal needs to be modified. Indianapolis Power and Light Company/IPALCO and Northern IN Public Service Company/NIPSCO each also contributed more than \$20,000.



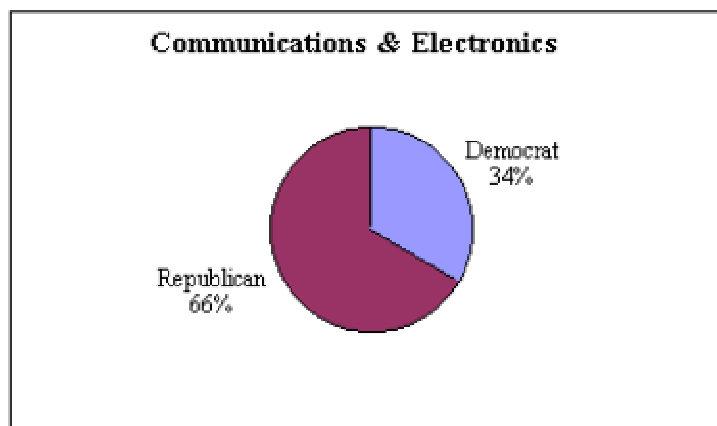
Construction: \$365,992 (3%)

The construction sector was dominated by PACs or associations with the top contributors as follows: IN Builders Assoc/Assoc to Build a Better IN with \$50,431 and Assoc of General Contractors of IN Inc/AGC with \$32,000.



Communications & Electronics: \$290,146 (3%)

This sector -- consisting of printing and publishing, TV, radio and movie production, telecom and telephone services, and computer services -- was dominated by the telecom/telephone services and utilities, which raised 66% of the money (\$192,208).



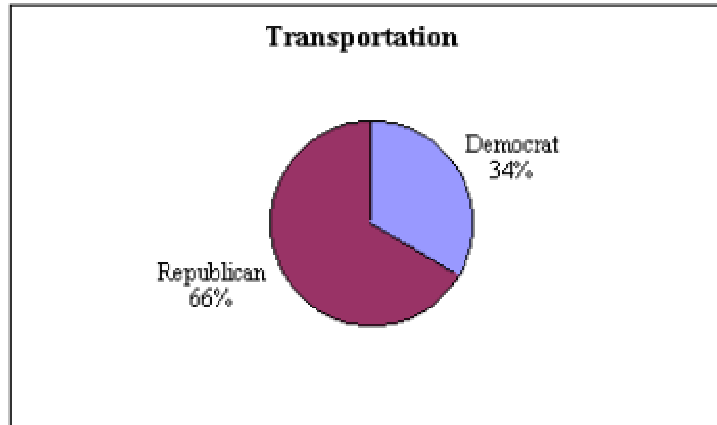
Ameritech, a telecommunications company, was the top contributor with \$63,067, followed by the IN Telecom Assoc/In Telephone Industry Good

Govt Club/TEL PAC IN with \$27,970.

Transportation: \$263,211 (2%)

The transportation sector contains air and sea transport, automotive, trucking, railroads, delivery services and tourism.

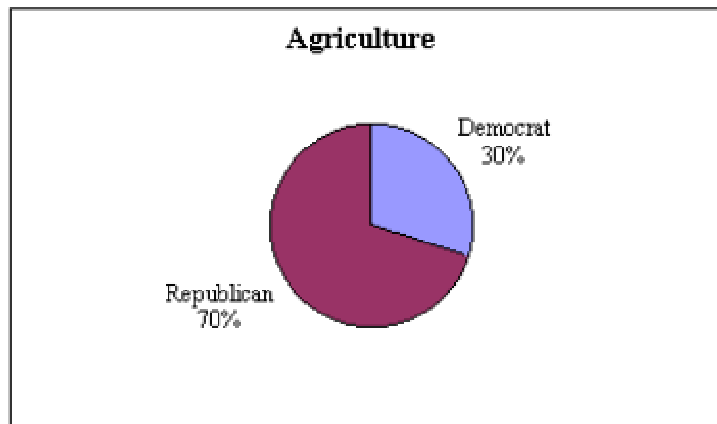
The automotive and trucking industries collectively top this sector contributing \$196,212 or 74 percent of total dollars raised. The top single contributor was the Trucking Industry PAC/TIPAC with \$50,604. Lodging and tourism was the next largest industry with \$40,716 -- all of which was donated by an individual, Christel Dehaan, identified through research as a travel executive.



Agriculture: \$109,402 (1%)

Food processing and sales -- supermarkets in particular -- led the contributions in this sector with \$65,883. Meijer Inc. contributed \$16,800, and Marsh Supermarkets gave \$13,499.

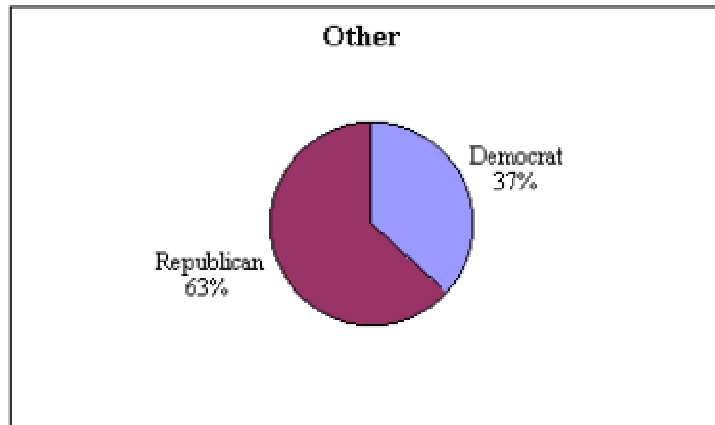
Agricultural Services/Products is the next highest industry with \$23,338, 35% of which came from the Consolidated Grain & Barge Co.



Other: \$97,059 (1%)

This sector looks at those contributors with non-business interests, such as government employees, welfare and social workers, public school teachers and officials, retirees, clergy, non-profit institutions, and military.

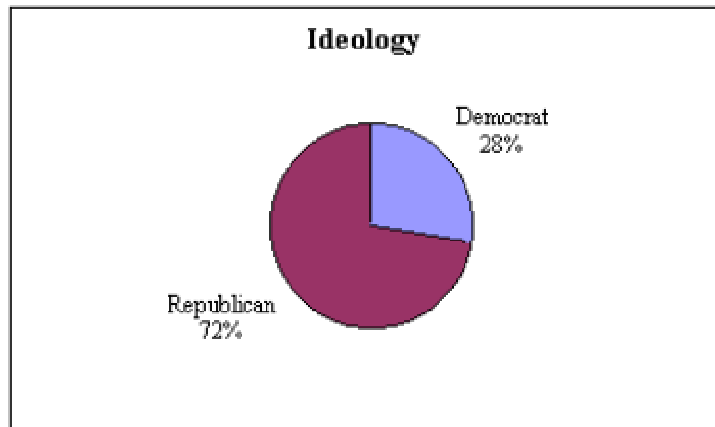
Retirees were the top contributors with \$19,461, followed by welfare and social workers with \$12,870.



Ideology: \$20,650 (less than 1%)

This sector includes groups that work on public-policy issues such as human rights, minority/ethnic groups, environmental issues, and gun control.

Among the top contributors were the National PAC 2000, a pro-Israel group, which contributed \$7,000 entirely to Republican candidates. The National Rifle Association Political Victory Fund contributed \$5,375 to both Democrats and Republicans.



Contributors who gave the most

The table below lists the top 10 contributors to the 1998 IN elections -- excluding money from political parties or candidates, or money earned as interest on a candidates bank account.

TOP 10 CONTRIBUTORS	INDUSTRY	TOTAL \$
IN PAC FOR EDUCATION/I PACE/IN STATE TEACHERS ASSOC	Public Sector Unions	\$ 592,640
IN BUSINESS FOR RESPONSIVE GOVT/IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE	Business Associations	\$ 295,968
LAWYERS PAC/LAW PAC OF IN	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$ 141,959
IN REALTORS ASSOC/IRPAC	Real Estate	\$ 129,099
IN AUTOWORKERS/IN UAW	Transportation Unions	\$ 127,162
INSURANCE INSTITUTE OF IN PAC/IMPAC	Insurance	\$ 108,100
IN FRIENDS OF RURAL ELECTRIFICATION/FORE	Electric Utilities	\$ 95,225
IN HOSPITAL ASSOC/FRIENDS OF IN HOSPITALS	Hospitals/Nursing Homes	\$ 84,625
IN STATE MEDICAL PAC/IMPAC	Health Professionals	\$ 82,331
IN MANUFACTURERS PAC/IMPAC	Misc Manufacturing & Distributing	\$ 82,430

The top 10 contributors were all PACs and associations rather than individual contributors. This was the same case in the 1996 IN legislative elections. In fact, seven out of the 10 contributors in the 1998 top 10 list were also in the 1996 list: IN Realtors Assoc/IRPAC, IBRG/IN Chamber of Commerce, LAW PAC of IN, Insurance Institute of IN PAC/IPAC, IN Friends of Rural Electrification/FORE, IN PAC for Education, and IN Manufacturers PAC/IMPAC.

The IN PAC for Education increased its level of giving by 37 percent from 1996 and also contributed the most money to Democratic candidates, a total of \$539,047. The PAC supported 38 Democratic candidates, 30 of which won their races -- giving them a 79 percent success rate.

The largest contributor to Republican candidates was the IN Business for Responsive Govt/IBRG/IN Chamber of Commerce, which gave its full \$296,468 to 49 Republican candidates. Of those candidates, 78 percent, or 38 were winners.

ABOUT OUR INFORMATION

The National Institute on Money in State Politics downloaded the Indiana 98 campaign contributions from the Indiana Elections Office. This information was provided in two parts -- a summary database with total contributions, and unitemized contribution details.