

# SUMMARY OF MINNESOTAS 1998 ELECTIONS

By Mark Dixon  
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**Total 1998 dollars: \$17,647,388**

Statewide Total: \$12,195,027  
Legislative Total: \$5,452,361

**Incumbent candidates total dollars: \$2,918,780**  
**Challengers to incumbents total dollars: \$2,034,538**  
**General election winners total dollars: \$5,284,632**

TOTAL \$	Incumbents	Challengers	Open Races	Winners	Primary Losers	General Losers
Statewide	\$220,337	\$166,735	\$11,807,955	\$2,010,758	\$4,773,541	\$5,410,728
Legislative	\$2,698,443	\$1,867,803	\$886,115	\$3,273,874	\$76,235	\$2,102,252
TOTAL	\$2,918,780	\$2,034,538	\$12,694,070	\$5,284,632	\$4,849,776	\$7,512,980

**General election losers total dollars: \$7,512,980**

CANDIDATES	Repub	Demo	3rd Party	TOTAL	Incumbents	Challengers	Open
Statewide	9	16	7	32	1	2	29
Legislative	135	124	8	267	116	114	37
TOTAL	144	140	15	299	117	116	66

RACES	Open	Incumbent vs. Challengers	Total '98 Races
Statewide	4	1	5
Legislative	15	119	134
TOTAL	19	120	139

WINNERS	Repub	Demo	3rd Party	Incumbents	Challengers	Open
Statewide	2	2	1	1	0	4
Legislative	71	63	0	111	8	15
TOTAL	73	65	1	112	8	19

## LEGISLATIVE SUMMARY

Minnesota is divided into 67 Senate districts, each having a population of about 60,000 people. Each district is divided into A and B to designate the House districts. All 134 House seats were up for election in 1998. Representatives serve for two years and senators serve for four. The last Senate elections were in 1996.

Republicans won control of the Minnesota House in 1998 for the first time in 14 years. As a result, the 1999 Legislature saw Republicans with 71 seats and Democrats (DFL) with 63. Since the 1996 elections, the DFL have had control of the Senate, holding 39 seats. Republicans hold 26 seats and one senator is an independent. One seat is empty, due to the death of Sen. Janet Johnson.

## STATEWIDE SUMMARY

The 1998 statewide races in Minnesota turned the tables on popular campaign-finance wisdom. When taken as a whole, the winners of the statewide races raised less than the primary- and general-election losers. Conventional wisdom holds that the candidate who raised the most money almost always wins. To explain the apparent anomaly, one need look no further than the race for governor, in which Reform Party candidate Jesse Ventura upset the hopes of more seasoned politicians and big-money candidates to win the race. The win also made Ventura the highest-ranking elected official in the Reform Party in the United States.

In every other 1998 statewide race the candidate who raised the most money won.

GUB CANDIDATE	PARTY	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED
Hubert H. Humphrey III	Democrat	Nominee	\$2,523,771
Mark Dayton	DFL	Lost in Primary	\$2,159,658
Norm Coleman	Republican	Nominee	\$2,130,883
Jesse Ventura	Reform	Winner	\$1,030,993
Mike Freeman	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$809,235
Ted Mondale	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$737,227
Doug Johnson	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$450,546
Ken Pentel	Green	Lost in Primary	\$19,010
Frank Germann	Libertarian	Lost in Primary	\$3,100
Bill Dahn	Republican	Lost in Primary	\$320
Chris Wright	Grassroots	Lost in Primary	\$100
Total raised for gubernatorial race in MN '98			\$9,865,344

## WHO GETS?

The table below shows what winning and incumbent candidates raised, on average, compared to losing candidates and challengers. It is interesting to notice that the statewide average of winners is smaller than the average of general election losers. Averages for winners are lower than losers because of Gov. Venturas successful race in which he raised less than half the amount raised by his opponents.

AVERAGE \$	Incumbents	Challengers	Open Races	Winners	Primary Losers	General Losers
Statewide	\$220,337	\$83,368	\$407,171	\$402,152	\$265,197	\$601,192
Legislative	\$23,262	\$16,384	\$23,949	\$24,432	\$8,471	\$16,954

PARTY RECEIPTS	Republican	Democrat	3rd Party	TOTAL
Statewide	\$3,006,013	\$8,084,429	\$1,104,585	\$12,195,027
Legislative	\$2,846,800	\$2,584,297	\$21,263	\$5,452,361
TOTAL	\$5,852,813	\$10,668,726	\$1,125,849	\$17,647,388

OFFICE	TOTAL RAISED
HOUSE	\$5,452,361
GOVERNOR	\$9,866,354
ATTORNEY GENERAL	\$1,421,898
STATE AUDITOR	\$387,072
SECRETARY OF STATE	\$358,728
TREASURER	\$160,975
1998 TOTAL	\$17,647,388

The table on the left shows what candidates for each office raised as a group. The Minnesota gubernatorial race was by far the most expensive. To emphasize this point: the total raised by gubernatorial candidates who lost, \$8,834,101, is more than the total money raised by all other candidates, winners or losers for all other offices combined, \$8,812,027.

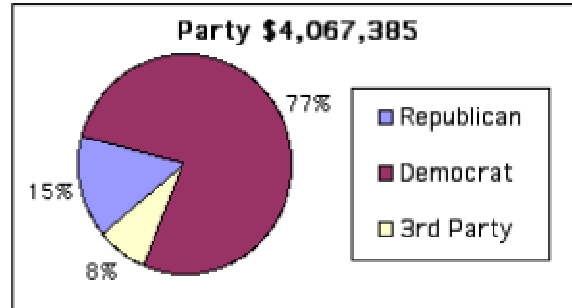
PARTY AVERAGES	Republican	Democrat	3rd Party
Statewide	\$334,001	\$505,277	\$157,798
Legislative	\$21,087	\$20,841	\$2,658
TOTAL	\$40,645	\$76,205	\$75,057

## WHO GIVES?

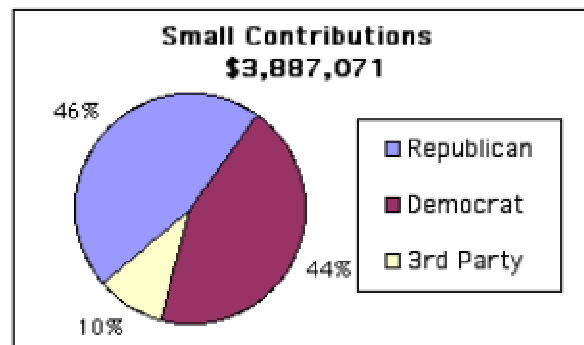
The source of funds, by economic sector, is shown below. The total contributions to candidates in 1998 was \$17,647,388. Contributions that could not be categorized totaled \$1,616,177. The difference between these two totals is the \$16 million displayed below.

SECTOR	1998 TOTAL CONTRIBUTED	% of 1998 TOTAL
Party	\$4,067,385	25.37%
Small Contributions	\$3,887,071	24.25%
Public Funds	\$3,072,666	19.17%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,025,213	6.40%
Finance, Insurance, & Real Estate	\$845,847	5.28%
Other	\$664,741	4.15%
Miscellaneous Business	\$557,015	3.47%
Health	\$368,302	2.30%
Labor	\$366,316	2.29%
Communications & Electronics	\$286,300	1.79%
Construction	\$226,467	1.41%
Agriculture	\$172,295	1.07%
Transport	\$150,437	0.94%
Balance Forward	\$144,224	0.90%
Resource	\$141,386	0.88%
Ideology	\$50,272	0.31%
Defense	\$5,274	0.03%
TOTAL	\$16,031,211	100.00%

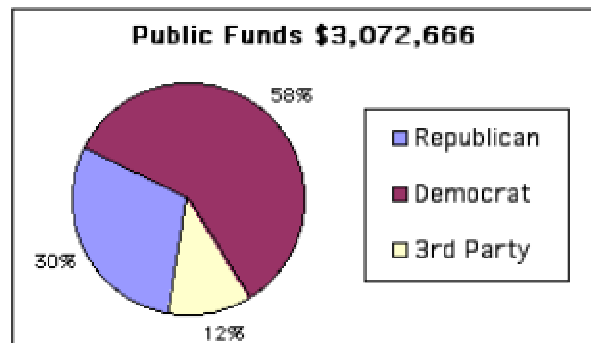
These charts illustrate what candidates in each party received from the top five sectors in the table above. These top five sectors account for 80% of the 98 total.



Party contributions contain contributions from candidates, party PACs, and other party leadership. Democratic candidates and caucuses received 77% or \$3.1 million. Republicans received \$621,000, and third-parties combined received \$ 320,874. The largest contributor in this sector was Mark Dayton, a DFL gubernatorial candidate, who gave a total of \$ 2,151,500. Of that total, \$2,140,000 went to his own campaign.

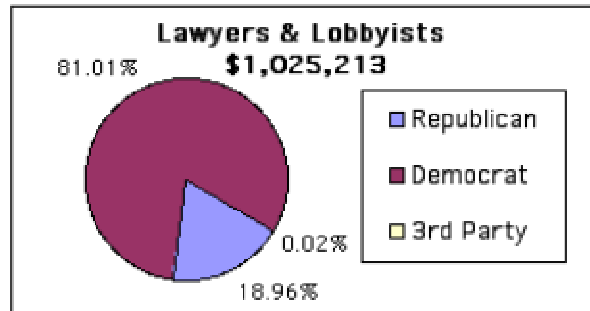


Of the small contributions, Republican candidates received \$1,791,356. Democratic candidates received \$1,717,727 and third-party candidates received \$377,987. The four largest recipients of these small contributions were gubernatorial candidates. Norm Coleman, the Republican nominee, received \$385,000; Jesse Ventura received \$339,000; Hubert Humphrey III, the Democrat nominee, received \$319,000; and Mike Freeman, a Democrat who lost in the primary, received \$203,000.

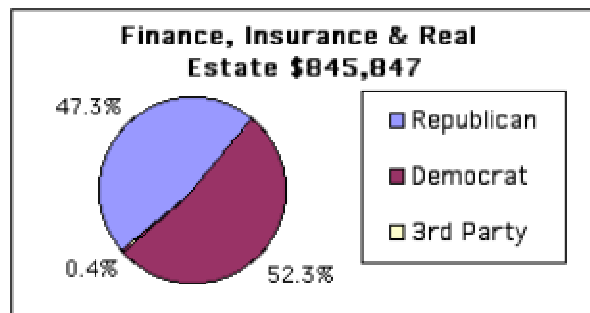


The third largest source of candidate funds was from State of Minnesota Public campaign funding. Democrats received the most public funding \$1,801,142. Republicans received \$911,784 and third-party candidates received \$359,739. Democratic gubernatorial candidate

Hubert Humphrey III received the most with \$603,544. Jesse Ventura received the next largest amount, \$326,821.



Lawyers and lobbyists gave overwhelmingly to Democrats, a total of \$830,545. Republicans received \$194,423 and third-party candidates received \$245. The largest contributor from this sector was Minnesota Trial Lawyers PAC, which gave \$21,421.



Democrats received a majority of the contributions from this sector with a total of \$442,503. Republicans received \$ 399,898 and third-party candidates received \$3,445. The largest contributor from this sector was the Minnesota Realtors PAC, which gave \$17,000.

The sectors the Institute uses to help identify contributors economic interest are subdivided into specific industries. For example, the Finance, Insurance & Real Estate sector includes many separate industries: accounting, banking, real estate, securities and investment, etc. One sector is not subdivided, Lawyers & Lobbyists.

TOP TEN INDUSTRIES	TOTAL \$	% of 1998 TOTAL
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,025,213	6.4%
Retired	\$557,823	2.2%
Health Professionals	\$230,515	1.4%
Real Estate	\$214,098	1.3%
Public Sector Unions	\$195,760	1.2%
Securities & Investment	\$164,764	1.0%
Civil Servants/Public Officials	\$153,911	1.0%
Trade Unions / Labor	\$144,416	0.9%
Banks & Lending Institutions	\$143,341	0.9%
Business Services	\$130,849	0.8%
TOTAL	\$2,760,690	17.2%

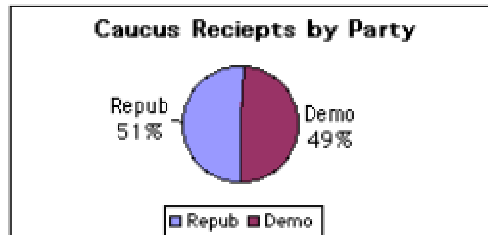
The table of top 10 industries below shows the total contributed by each industry and what percentage those totals represent of the overall 1998 total. The table excludes party money, public subsidies, and unknown contributions.

The table below lists the top 10 individual contributors and their total contributions. This list excludes candidates, political parties, and party PACs.

TOP TEN CONTRIBUTORS	BUSINESS	TOTAL \$
AFSCME Minnesota	County & Municipal Employees Union	\$33,200
Robert & Joan Cummins	President - Primera Technology	\$32,000
Stanley Hubbard	Hubbard Broadcasting	\$28,000
MN Business Partnership	Pro Business PAC	\$27,764
MN Police & Peace Officers Assoc	Public Sector Unions	\$27,000
MN Education Association	Public Sector Unions	\$25,875
AFL-CIO	Union	\$24,869
MN Womens Campaign Fund	Women's Issues	\$24,240
MN Dental Health PAC	Health Professionals	\$24,042
MN Trial Lawyers	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$21,421
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>\$268,411</b>

### CAUCUSES & CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

Total received by party caucuses in the 1998 cycle: \$10,795,898



"1998 was a record setting year for fund-raising by the DFL and Republican caucuses. The caucuses have become increasingly attractive targets for campaign cash in recent years, partly because laws enacted in 1993 greatly restricted contributions to individual candidates.

"Candidates face tight controls on contributions by large givers, but the caucuses are free of such limits. While legislative candidates may receive no more than \$500 from any individual contributor, Education Minnesota gave a whopping \$118,000 to the DFL caucus, which could use that money in a variety of ways to help elect its candidates.

"The House caucuses distribute money directly to candidates, and they help them in more indirect ways, with multi-candidate advertising campaigns, direct mail and telephoning. In 1998, the Republican House caucus put \$125,000 into independent spending on crucial races."

The table below shows what the parties and caucuses received in the 1998 cycle. Much of the \$10.7 million total ended up in the coffers of candidates who ran in Minnesota in 1998 and raised \$17.6 million. In other words, these caucuses received large contributions, parts of which, in turn, were given directly to candidates. Other portions of this \$10.7 million were spent indirectly to help candidates.

Republican Party of MN	\$4,316,598
MN DFL State Central Comm	\$3,690,817
DFL House Caucus	\$1,297,777
House RPM Campaign Comm	\$915,271
Senate RPM Election Fund	\$312,600
Senate Majority Caucus (DFL)	\$262,836
TOTAL	\$10,795,898

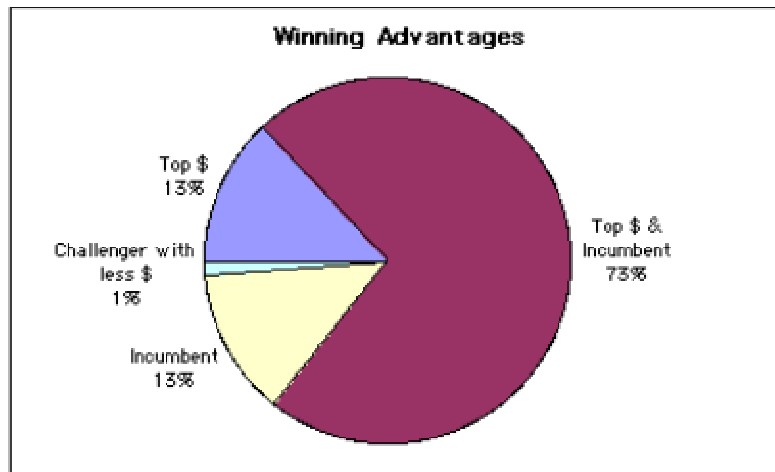
It is important to analyze separately who gave and how much was given to the caucuses since contribution limits dont apply to this type of contribution. What follows is a sector breakdown of money given to the party caucuses. It is interesting to compare this sector breakdown to the one on page 3 for candidate receipts. The total below, \$10,392,388, excludes \$403,510 in caucus receipts that could not be categorized.

TOP TEN CONTRIBUTORS	BUSINESS	TOTAL \$
MN Education Association	Public Sector Union	\$388,386
William A Cooper	TCF Financial	\$305,000
Vance Opperman	Key Investments	\$268,640
Kenneth L Evenstad	Upsher Smith Labs	\$110,000
MN Federation of Teachers	Public Sector Unions	\$98,875
Robert P Cummins	Primera Technology	\$95,000
MN Trial Lawyers	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$77,850
Robert W Fayfield	Banner Engineering	\$75,000
John Goodman	Goodman Corp - Construction	\$70,000
Rodney Burwell	Xerxes Corp - Manufacturing	\$68,000
TOTAL		\$1,556,751

SECTOR	1998 TOTAL CONTRIBUTED	% of 1998 TOTAL
Party	\$3,725,450	36%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$1,646,689	16%
Labor	\$1,156,736	11%
Other	\$724,867	7%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$560,046	5%
Miscellaneous Business	\$552,106	5%
Health	\$425,303	4%
Small Contributions	\$389,135	4%
Communications & Electronics	\$344,657	3%
Construction	\$329,035	3%
Agriculture	\$205,635	2%
Transportation	\$149,670	1%
Resource	\$100,560	1%
Ideology	\$76,300	1%
Defense	\$6,200	0%
TOTAL	\$10,392,388	100%

## CONCLUSION

In all, Minnesota voters saw 139 races for statewide and legislative seats. Of those races, 99% were won by a candidate with some type of advantage. These advantages were either that of being the incumbent of the seat they were running for or being the candidate that raised the most money. The chart below illustrates which advantages the 139 winners had.



- 73% of winning candidates, or 101, were both the incumbents and the candidate raising the most money.
- 13% of winning candidates, or 18, had only the advantage of raising the most money.
- 13% of winning candidates, or 18, had only the advantage of incumbency.
- 1% of winning candidates, or 2, were not incumbents and did not raise the most money.