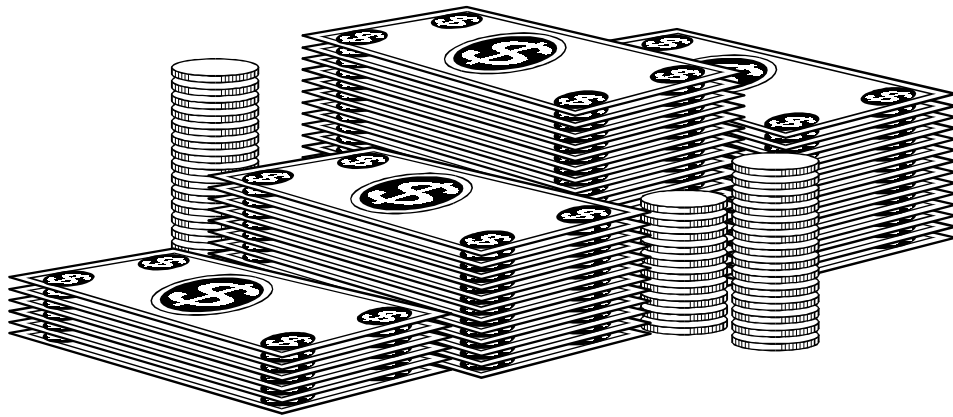


# Sacramento For Sale

## 1998



A Study of Contributions to California Legislative and  
Statewide Candidates in the 1998 Election Cycle

CALPIRG Charitable Trust  
July 20, 1999

## Executive Summary

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Many of the most critical problems in the financing of electoral campaigns in California have grown worse since 1994.

A detailed computer analysis of newly-released data on contributions to all campaigns for state-level office in California in the 1998 election cycle reveals that California elections are dominated more than ever by donations from wealthy individuals and corporations outside the districts whose elections they are influencing.

Candidates who don't sympathize with such donors have little chance of being elected. The contributions of citizens who can afford to give only \$100 or less are such a small share of virtually every candidate's warchest that their voices are drowned out by the small segment of the state's population that can afford to make large contributions to candidate campaigns.

*Wealthy individuals, corporations, and outside influences provide the vast majority of campaign money.*

- ◆ The amount raised in large contributions was ten times the amount raised in small contributions, up from 6-to-1 in 1994.
- ◆ Corporations contributed \$78 million directly to 1998 candidates, up 44% from 1994. Corporate interests gave an additional \$34 million to candidates via PACs.
- ◆ In legislative races, 75% of contributions came from outside the districts the candidates sought to represent.
- ◆ 1998 candidates raised more money from fewer donors than four years earlier. Total fundraising increased by 53% from 1994, as the average contribution doubled and the number of donors fell by 14%.

*The amount of funding needed to win public office has grown remarkably in recent years.*

- ◆ The smallest amount raised by a winning Senate candidate in a competitive race - the minimum price of admission - was \$1 million, twice as much as in 1994.
- ◆ In the Assembly, winning candidates raised an average of \$683,000 - an 18% increase since 1994.

*Money largely determines election outcomes.*

- ◆ 104 of the 112 legislative and statewide races in 1998 (93%) went to the candidate who raised the most money.
- ◆ In <sup>2</sup>/<sub>3</sub> of all races, the winning candidate outspent his or her opponent more than 5-to-1.

Despite over 70% of the state's voters supporting at least one of two campaign finance reform initiatives in 1996, no reforms have been instituted. Evidence from the latest election cycle continues to demonstrate the urgent need for low contributions limits, a ban on contributions from corporations and unions, and tight limits on contributions from outside a candidate's district.

## Preface

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For many reasons, the 1998 election cycle should have been the first in many years in which fundraising for state election campaigns in California leveled off - or even went down - and the disparity between candidates evened out somewhat.

The state's voters had loudly expressed their anger at the fundraising process, with over 70% of them voting for at least one of two campaign finance reform measures in 1996 - a message that candidates in 1998 were expected to hear.

Candidates were prevented from raising any money for over 10 months of 1997. The blackout period imposed by Proposition 208 was in effect until the initiative was suspended by the courts in November.

The two top political fundraisers of the 1990s - Pete Wilson and Willie Brown - were no longer raising money for state campaigns of their own or their parties' favorites. Also, due to term limits, the four legislative leaders who traditionally raise the largest amounts of any legislative candidates (the Senate president, Assembly speaker, and the minority leaders in both houses) had only a fraction of the experience and connections of their 1994 counterparts.

And the cost of reaching voters had barely risen, with inflation going up only 11% between 1994 and 1998 and with candidates starting to realize the potential of the Internet for educating voters at virtually no cost.

Yet, despite all of those factors, the campaign fundraising crisis deepened in 1998.

All of the most critical problems got worse or, at best, continued to be as bad as before.

This report demonstrates that trend with a detailed computer analysis of recently-released data on contributors to 1998 campaigns. It uses hard numbers to spell out the increased influence of the wealthy, corporations, and outsiders on the outcome of California's elections - an outcome which ultimately twists the actions of our state's government away from the public interest and toward the private interests of the few.

This report also shows how the failures of California's relatively unique "no holds barred" campaign financing system demonstrate the need for campaign finance reform proposals that are in the public interest, and challenges the myths perpetuated by opponents of real reform.

## **I. Fat Cats Outspent Small Donors 10-to-1**

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By a 10-to-1 margin, contributions of more than \$100 outweighed those of \$100 or less in the 1998 cycle. This was a major increase over the 1994 ratio of 6-to-1.

\$281 million (91%) was raised in contributions larger than \$100. Only \$7.8 million (2.5%) was contributed as direct contributions to candidates in amounts of \$100 or less, a contribution amount affordable to the average Californian. An additional \$21.5 million (6.9%) was donated through PACs in amounts of \$100 or less.

Candidates raised more money from fewer donors in the 1998 cycle than the 1994 cycle. Total fundraising for legislative and statewide seats rose by 53%, while the number of donors making contributions above the \$100 reporting threshold fell by 14%. (See Appendix A.) Most of the drop in donors occurred in the governor's race, where Gray Davis received contributions from 43% fewer donors than Pete Wilson had four years earlier. (See Appendix B.) The number of donors to legislative races stayed fairly constant - 51,400 in 1994 and 50,600 in 1998 - while the amount contributed to legislative races rose from \$90 million to \$111 million.

Looking only at itemized contributions (i.e. over the \$100 reporting threshold), the average contribution rose by 67%, from \$1,300 to \$2,160. Including unitemized contributions of less than \$100, the picture is even worse. If we estimate that the average size of an unitemized contribution is \$35, the average size of all contributions nearly doubled, from \$595 in 1994 to \$1150 in 1998.

Despite raising more money overall compared with 1994, candidates raised less money in small contributions in the 1998 cycle. The \$7.9 million raised by 1998 candidates in amounts of \$100 or less is a 27% decrease from 1994.

In the governor's race, Davis and Lungren raised only \$1.7 million in direct contributions of \$100 or less. This is less than 40% of the \$4.3 million which Pete Wilson and Kathleen Brown raised in contributions of \$100 or less in the 1994 governor's race.

Every winning candidate raised almost all of their funds from wealthy donors and special interests able to give large amounts. Potential candidates whose positions on issues are unattractive to these major donors either do not bother to run or are unable to compete on any serious basis. While this is true in every district, some candidates are particularly dependent on large donors.

<b>Winning Candidates Raising Highest Portion of Funds from Large Donations</b>						
Candidate	Party	Race	Incumbent	Total Raised	Total Raised in Amounts Greater than \$100	Pct Raised in Amounts Greater than \$100
Frusetta, P	R	Assem-28	I	1,209,123	1,161,111	96%
Angelides, P	D	Treasurer		9,307,913	8,929,293	96%
Pacheco, R	R	Assem-60		611,970	577,421	94%
Andal, D	R	Board Eq-2	I	514,092	483,873	94%
Leonard, B	R	Assem-63	I	4,275,430	4,020,043	94%
Cardenas, A	D	Assem-39	I	655,550	615,461	94%
Parrish, C	R	Board Eq-3		350,009	328,145	94%
Quackenbush, C	R	Ins Comm	I	3,227,891	3,024,863	94%
Jones, B	R	Secy-State	I	2,091,478	1,956,658	94%
Kaloogian, H	R	Assem-74	I	405,439	378,197	93%
Wesson, H	D	Assem-47		881,859	821,672	93%
Florez, D	D	Assem-30		1,197,914	1,114,936	93%
Granlund, B	R	Assem-65	I	487,501	449,324	92%
Battin, J	R	Assem-80	I	651,300	597,748	92%
Maddox, K	R	Assem-68		273,918	251,254	92%
Morrow, B	R	Senate-38		617,648	566,173	92%
Baugh, S	R	Assem-67	I	521,179	477,658	92%
Vincent, E	D	Assem-51	I	231,652	212,174	92%
Ashburn, R	R	Assem-32	I	304,147	278,006	91%
Dunn, J	D	Senate-34		1,001,855	915,501	91%

## II. Corporate Contributions Dominate California Politics

Corporate contributions to federal elections were banned in 1907, and 22 states have since banned contributions from corporations. In California, unlimited corporate contributions are still fully legal.

In the 1998 election cycle, direct contributions to candidates from businesses and trade associations jumped to \$78 million, up 44% from 1994's \$54 million. On top of that, businesses gave \$20 million to PACs and parties which was then passed on to candidates. And \$14 million more came from individuals through corporate-sponsored PACs to candidate campaigns.

This \$112 million in money from corporate interests represents 36% of the money raised by candidates in the primary and general elections. General election candidates raised 42% of their funds from corporations.

Corporations tend to reward incumbents. Corporations gave \$33 million to incumbents and only

\$2 million to their challengers. The average incumbent raised 56% of his or her funds from corporate sources, while the average challenger raised 18%.

Corporations also tend to go with winners. 52 of the 57 candidates who raised more than 50% of their money from corporations are now in office. 91% of general election winners raised more than \$100,000 from corporations, compared with only 18% of their opponents.

Candidates who appeal to large corporations clearly have a financial advantage, as their supporters have the means to pour vast sums of money into their campaigns. Since money largely determines election outcomes, corporate-backed candidates usually end up with the electoral advantage as well.

Looking at the percentage of total funds raised from corporate sources, many candidates clearly aimed their fundraising attention squarely on the corporate sector.

<b>Candidates Who Concentrate Most on Corporate Funding</b>							
Candidate	Party	Race	Winner/ Loser	Incumbent	Total Raised	Total from Businesses and Business PACs	Pct from Businesses and Business PACs
Cardenas, A	D	Assem-39	W	I	655,550	597,684	91%
Washington, C	D	Assem-52	W	I	120,150	105,550	88%
Vincent, E	D	Assem-51	W	I	231,652	201,497	87%
Wright, R	D	Assem-48	W	I	268,489	227,507	85%
Papan, L	D	Assem-19	W	I	354,020	293,347	83%
Battin, J	R	Assem-80	W	I	651,300	533,464	82%
Gallegos, M	D	Assem-57	W	I	269,343	219,350	81%
Olberg, K	R	Assem-34	W	I	553,280	442,300	80%
Ackerman, D	R	Assem-72	W	I	333,307	261,702	79%
Brewer, M	R	Assem-70	W	I	438,598	338,970	77%
Granlund, B	R	Assem-65	W	I	487,501	376,543	77%
Escutia, M	D	Senate-30	W		322,496	246,797	77%
Margett, B	R	Assem-59	W	I	186,581	142,157	76%
Baugh, S	R	Assem-67	W	I	521,179	391,836	75%

Looking at the total dollar amount raised from corporations, some candidates who may not have raised as high a percentage of total funds from corporations still raised vast sums from the corporate sector. Seventeen current members of the Senate and Assembly raised over half a million dollars from corporations, as shown in the following table.

**Winning Legislative Candidates Raising Largest Amounts of Corporate Money**

Candidate	Party	Race	Incumbent	Total Raised	Total from Businesses and Business PACs
Villaraigosa, A	D	Assem-45	I	9,555,132	3,458,416
Leonard, B	R	Assem-63	I	4,275,430	2,100,074
Polanco, R	D	Senate-22	I	2,378,039	1,591,616
Costa, J	D	Senate-16	I	1,749,526	1,198,592
Peace, S	D	Senate-40	I	1,231,403	788,987
O'Connell, J	D	Senate-18	I	1,795,800	704,279
Hertzberg, R	D	Assem-40	I	889,647	635,696
Monteith, D	R	Senate-12	I	1,294,045	598,778
Cardenas, A	D	Assem-39	I	655,550	597,684
Wesson, H	D	Assem-47		881,859	577,080
Thompson, B	R	Assem-66	I	869,331	576,171
Johannessen, K	R	Senate-04	I	816,445	545,786
Battin, J	R	Assem-80	I	651,300	533,464
Machado, M	D	Assem-17	I	1,215,140	524,997
Perata, D	D	Assem-16	I	1,103,469	504,922
Baca, J	D	Senate-32		1,498,254	503,454
Morrissey, J	R	Assem-69	I	1,201,686	503,260

### III. Politicians Raise Most of their Funds from Non-Constituents

In the 1998 election cycle, 75% of the contributions to legislative general election candidates were from donors outside of their legislative districts. This is no significant improvement over the 80% out-of-district percentage in 1994. Among gubernatorial candidates, 18% of funds contributed were from out of state.

Businesses were much more likely than individuals to cross district lines. 79% of the money that businesses gave to legislative candidates was out-of-district. In contrast, 45% of the amount contributed from individuals to legislative candidates was to candidates in other districts.

Contributions from outside the district are often larger than what local donors give. The average size of an out-of-district contribution - not including unitemized contributions of less than \$100 - was \$1850, more than double the \$800 average of contributions coming from within a candidate's district.

<b>Out of District Fundraising (\$ millions)</b>					
	Assembly	Senate	Legislature Total	Governor	Other Statewide Races
In District	16.0	10.9	26.8	58.8	42.6
Out of District	49.3	29.3	78.7	13.0	3.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>65.3</b>	<b>40.2</b>	<b>105.5</b>	<b>71.8</b>	<b>46.3</b>
% Out of District	76%	73%	75%	18%	8%

<b>Candidates Raising Highest Portion of Funds from Out of District</b>						
Candidate	Party	Race	Result	Incumbent	Total Raised	Pct Out of District
Cardenas, A	D	Assem-39	W	I	655,550	98%
Leonard, B	R	Assem-63	W	I	4,275,430	98%
Thompson, B	R	Assem-66	W	I	869,331	97%
Cannella, S	D	Senate-12	L		1,390,563	96%
Vincent, E	D	Assem-51	W	I	231,652	96%
Gallegos, M	D	Assem-57	W	I	269,343	96%
Dunn, J	D	Senate-34	W		1,001,855	95%
Escutia, M	D	Senate-30	W		322,496	95%
De Maillie, R	R	Assem-61	L		699,744	94%
Hertzberg, R	D	Assem-40	W	I	889,647	93%
Washington, C	D	Assem-52	W	I	120,150	93%
Hawkins, P	R	Assem-56	L		1,031,782	93%
Bowen, D	D	Senate-28	W		466,145	93%
Peace, S	D	Senate-40	W	I	1,231,403	92%
Wright, R	D	Assem-48	W	I	268,489	92%

## **IV. The High Price of Victory Is Getting Higher**

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Candidates needed to raise vast sums of money to win in the 1998 general election.

The smallest amount raised by a winning candidate - the minimum price of admission - was \$320,000 ... and that was for a virtually uncontested seat. The smallest amount raised by a victorious candidate in a race that was at least somewhat competitive<sup>1</sup> was \$1 million. The average raised by Senate winners was \$1.4 million, a 30% increase over the 1994 average.<sup>2</sup>



The average raised by Assembly winners was \$683,000, an 18% increase from 1994. The minimum price of admission to the Assembly was \$120,000 for a virtually uncontested seat. No candidate was able to win in a somewhat competitive race in the general election with less than

Fundraising by Senate Winners				Highest Fundraising Assembly Winners			
Candidate	Party	District	Total Raised	Candidate	Party	District	Total Raised
Polanco, R	D	22	2,378,039	Villaraigosa, A	D	45	9,555,132
Chesbro, W	D	02	2,213,837	Leonard, B	R	63	4,275,430
Ortiz, D	D	06	1,909,450	Machado, M	D	17	1,215,140
O'Connell, J	D	18	1,795,800	Frusetta, P	R	28	1,209,123
Costa, J	D	16	1,749,526	Florez, D	D	30	1,197,914
Baca, J	D	32	1,498,254	Wayne, H	D	78	1,191,580
Monteith, D	R	12	1,294,045	Perata, D	D	16	1,103,469
Peace, S	D	40	1,231,403	Keeley, F	D	27	1,097,844
Dunn, J	D	34	1,001,855	Nakano, G	D	53	1,051,400
Alarcon, R	D	20	964,253	Lowenthal, A	D	54	968,908
Johannessen, K	R	04	816,445	Scott, J	D	44	963,391
Solis, H	D	24	788,994	Jackson, H	D	35	918,237
Poochigian, C	R	14	656,564	Hertzberg, R	D	40	889,647
Morrow, B	R	38	617,648	Wesson, H	D	47	881,859
Figueroa, L	D	10	557,057	Cardoza, D	D	26	874,575
Murray, K	D	26	555,207	Thompson, B	R	66	869,331
Haynes, R	R	36	488,587	Reyes, S	D	31	831,051
Bowen, D	D	28	466,145	Oller, T	R	04	810,438
Speier, J	D	08	423,300	Migden, C	D	13	712,590
Escutia, M	D	30	322,496	Davis, S	D	76	702,368

\$195,000. Thirty-six Assembly winners - 45% of the races - raised more than \$500,000.

Topping the increase in total dollars were the candidates for governor. Gray Davis raised \$39 million and Dan Lungren raised \$34 million, for a combined increase of 52% over Pete Wilson and Kathleen Brown four years earlier. Winning candidates for other statewide offices and the four Board of Equalization seats raised \$36 million, up 45% from their 1994 counterparts.

Overall, winning candidates raised \$152 million, 24% more than the \$122 million raised in 1994. Statewide, Senate, and Assembly candidates all had major increases in fundraising over 1994.

## V. Money Largely Determines Election Outcomes

The candidate who raised the most money won in 104 of the 112 California general election races for state-level office in 1998 (93%).<sup>3</sup> This is no significant improvement over the 96% of races won by the top fundraiser in 1994.

Moreover, the further apart the two candidates were in fundraising, the higher the correlation between money and outcome. Of the eight races in which the winning candidate raised less, three were close fundraising matches, with a disparity of less than 1.25-1, and three others were almost close, with disparities between 1.25-1 and 2-1. 76 out of 78 candidates (97%) who outspent their opponents 2-1 or more won their elections.

More alarming still is the number of races where one candidate completely dominated the fundraising in his or her race - a dynamic that often scares away high-quality potential candidates from even running. In 67% of all races, one candidate raised more than five times as much as his or her opponent. In all of these races, the candidate who raised the most money won.

<b>Fundraising Disparity in 1998 General Election Races</b>						
Disparity	Assembly			Senate		
	# of Races	% of Races	# of Races (%) Won by Top Fundraiser	# of Races	% of Races	# of Races (%) Won by Top Fundraiser
Less than 1.25-1	4	5%	3 (75%)	3	15%	1 (33%)
1.25-1 to 2-1	11	14%	8 (73%)	1	5%	1 (100%)
2-1 to 3-1	3	4%	2 (67%)			
3-1 to 5-1	7	9%	7 (100%)	1	5%	0 (0%)
5-1 to 10-1	6	8%	6 (100%)	1	5%	1 (100%)
Worse than 10-1	49	61%	49 (100%)	14	70%	14 (100%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>75 (94%)</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>17 (85%)</b>
Disparity	Statewide			All Races		
	# of Races	% of Races	# of Races (%) Won by Top Fundraiser	# of Races	% of Races	# of Races (%) Won by Top Fundraiser
Less than 1.25-1	1	8%	1 (100%)	8	7%	8 (62%)
1.25-1 to 2-1				12	11%	15 (71%)
2-1 to 3-1	3	25%	3 (100%)	6	5%	10 (91%)
3-1 to 5-1	3	25%	3 (100%)	11	10%	10 (91%)
5-1 to 10-1				7	6%	11 (100%)
Worse than 10-1	5	42%	5 (100%)	68	61%	45 (100%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>12 (100%)</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>104 (93%)</b>

## VI. Myths About Campaign Financing

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Casual observers of campaign financing have often misunderstood its dynamics and have proposed changes that either don't attack fundamental problems or ultimately make those problems worse. At the same time, supporters of the status quo - and those who seek to loosen contribution limits at the federal level and in other states - have trumpeted false claims about the negative effects of contribution limits on our democracy.

California's 1998 campaigns throw a lot of water on many of the myths used against campaign finance reforms.

**Myth 1.** *Campaign fundraising is rising only because campaign costs are spiraling out of control.*

The increasing amount of money raised by candidates in recent years is not solely the result of an increased need for money driven by rising campaign costs. Based on the California experience, it appears to be driven more by the increased availability of money, and the increased ingenuity of campaign managers to tap into that money and spend it in more lavish ways.

53% more money was contributed to candidates in the 1998 election cycle than in the 1994 cycle. This is almost five times the 11% increase in three key indicators of the cost of campaigns. The increase in postage for the period was 11%<sup>4</sup> - an expense that makes up a major portion of the expenses for California campaigns, especially for legislative candidates, most of whom cannot afford to buy TV and radio time in the major markets. The national average salary for managerial and professional specialty occupations, which would include campaign managers and political consultants, increased 11% between 1994 and 1998. And the Consumer Price Index also increased by 11% in that period.

The extra dollars raised are being used not so much to pay more for the same type of campaign items as in 1994, but for new and more expensive items. For example, where a 1994 candidate might have done mailings of two different letters to every voter in the district, 1998's cash-flush candidate could pay for detailed information on every voter in the district and send four letters - each with ten variations based on the targeted voter's interests and concerns.

**Myth 2.** *Unions pour as much money into campaigns as businesses do.*

Reform opponents argue that unions play the political big money game as hard as corporations. In reality, unions are vastly outspent by corporate interests. In the 1998 election cycle, unions were outspent by businesses 4.4-to-1. Unions gave less than \$8 million to candidates, and union PACs gave an additional \$16 million. Businesses and trade associations gave \$78 million, and business PACs added \$27 million. This disparity is nearly as high as in 1994, when businesses outspent unions 5-to-1.

**Myth 3.** *Challengers benefit from the absence of contribution limits.*

Opponents of campaign finance reform claim that the only way to contest an inherent fundraising advantage of incumbents is by allowing contributions of unlimited amounts. These voices argue for the elimination of contribution limits in federal elections and in states where limits are in place, and against the creation of contribution limits where they do not now exist.

This argument does not correspond with actual experience. The success rate of challengers is typically as low in California, where there are no contribution limits, as it is in federal races, where corporate contributions are banned and individual contributions to candidates are capped at \$1,000 per election.<sup>3</sup> Allowing fundraising in unlimited amounts helps incumbents at least as much as challengers - and probably more, since they tend to have closer ties to the business leaders who can afford to make massive contributions.

## VII. How to Fix the Broken System

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The number one influence on the California electoral arena is contributions from wealthy special interests. The most important factor in determining whether or not a candidate is elected is not how closely their outlook, experience, and stated positions reflect the preferences of the voters they represent. Instead, they get elected based upon how well their outlook, experience, and stated positions reflect the preferences of large donors, who usually do not live in the candidate's district and, as with corporations, may not be voters at all.

The solution is to reform our electoral system in a way that requires candidates to seek support from ordinary citizens who live in their district. Only then will the voters be solely responsible for electing their representatives, and only then will those representatives be truly accountable to their constituents. The following reform policies would help achieve this objective.

**1. Set low contribution limits.** Candidates should only be allowed to accept contributions that are within the reach of what ordinary citizens can afford. Every citizen would then have an equal opportunity to influence elections, and special interests would not enjoy disproportionate influence based upon wealth. These contribution limits should apply equally to candidates, parties, and PACs. Limits of \$100 would be adequate for these purposes.

**2. Set in-district limits.** It is plainly inappropriate for citizens outside of a candidate's district to influence the election of that candidate. Just as it is inappropriate for China to influence American elections, and just as a San Franciscan cannot vote in Los Angeles, it is inappropriate for interests outside a district to pour their money into the district. While outsiders may have business that will come before the winner of the election, this does not give them the right to diminish the voices of in-district voters and sway the election. While a complete ban on contributions from outside the

district makes logical sense, requiring candidates to raise at least 75% of their funds from within the district is a reasonable first step.

**3. Ban corporate contributions.** As was done at the federal level in 1907, California should immediately ban direct contributions from corporations to candidates, parties, PACs, and ballot initiative campaigns. Corporations are entities established by the state and empowered for specific economic objectives. It is wholly inappropriate for corporations to use the vast sums of wealth that are accumulated through their economic privileges to influence elections. For-profit corporations should also be prevented from funneling contributions through trade associations or non-profit associations. Individuals who make up a corporation, including shareholders, employees, and management should be allowed to contribute to candidates and to organize their contributions via PACs if they so choose, subject to the same limits as those of other citizens.

**4. Set mandatory spending limits.** Wealthy candidates should be prevented from using their own money to overwhelm candidates backed by small contributions from ordinary citizens. This could be accomplished by mandatory spending limits, including limits on the use of personal wealth for campaigns.

**5. Provide adequate resources for campaigns.** Campaigns need not be as expensive as they are now - where the two candidates are the primary sources of information about themselves and they inform the public about their opinions via the same consultant-driven mass-marketing techniques that are used to sell toothpaste. However, candidates do need a certain amount of money to run effective campaigns. Additional resources can be brought into place via the following mechanisms.

*A) People PACs.* PACs that accept only in-district contributions in small amounts, say \$25 or less, could be allowed to give all of the funds thus raised to candidates of their choice within the district, and not be restrained by the \$100 limit that applies to individuals. This would encourage organizing of civic groups, and would maintain accountability toward citizens of ordinary wealth, while providing candidates with large pools of money.

*B) Tax credits.* Several states, including Arkansas, Minnesota, and Oregon, offer tax deductions, rebates, or deductions for small contributions to political candidates, parties, or interest groups.

*C) Free TV.* Citizens could condition the use of public airwaves by TV and radio corporations on the requirement that those stations provide free airtime to candidates during elections. As the airwaves are federally regulated, the federal government would need to institute this reform.

*D) Public financing.* California could choose from a variety of public financing mechanisms, from matching small contributions with public funds to replacing all private contributions with “clean money.”

**6. Protect freedom of speech.** A central requirement to representative democracy and citizen self-government is for all citizens to have the opportunity to speak their opinions to the public. This does not necessarily guarantee all citizens a right to be heard, as the marketplace of ideas should determine which voices citizens want to listen carefully to and which voices they might choose to ignore. Our current system of campaign financing grossly distorts the marketplace of ideas by guaranteeing that those candidates who can amass great wealth can have their voices heard via saturation advertising. Meanwhile, other voices who may have more compelling ideas never have the opportunity to present those ideas in a public forum. The Supreme Court has failed to understand this principle, and has instead protected the ability of wealthy interests to spend money without limit to influence elections, while striking down citizen efforts to set limits on contributions and spending in campaigns. Therefore, the Court has infringed on the freedom of speech of everyone who is not among the super-wealthy. Citizens, attorneys, and elected officials should make a concerted effort to educate the courts as to the error of their judgments. At the same time, they should be prepared to utilize the checks and balances established by the Founders of the country to pass a constitutional amendment which clarifies for the courts how elections ought to be run - to protect freedom of speech for all citizens, not just the rich.

## VIII. Methodology

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Research for this report was conducted with a database containing all contributions of \$100 and above to major party candidates for legislative and statewide office. The database was compiled by Capitol Weekly from Form 490 filings, which the Secretary of State requires of all candidates who raise at least \$1,000. An additional database produced from Form 490 summary pages provided totals for the amount raised by each candidate in amounts under \$100.

1994 is used for comparison with 1998 because it was the last election for statewide offices and the same Senate seats were up for re-election. Aside from changes in the external political climate, the only significant difference between the two election cycles was that the Senate majority leader - a top fundraiser - was running for re-election in 1994 (Bill Lockyer), but not in 1998 (John Burton). Term limits had been expected to significantly increase the number of contested races, which tend to attract more money. However, this factor was not significant, as there were only two more open seats in 1998 than in 1994 (37 vs. 35).

The figure for the average raised by Senate winners includes \$7.6 million raised by John Burton in 1997-98. Although Burton was not up for re-election in 1998, all of the money he raised was passed on to support Senate candidates who were running in 1998. According to summary filings, Burton spent \$9.9 million in the two year period, but the smaller fundraising total was used. The figure for the total raised in the 1998 election cycle does not include Burton's fundraising. Without Burton's fundraising, the average for Senate winners was \$1.1 million, almost identical to the 1994 average, which included fundraising by then-Majority Leader Lockyer. Burton's fundraising was also included in the out-of-district calculation.

Contributions made in the six months following the two-year election cycle were included for the 1994 cycle, a period when candidates raise money to retire debts from the recent elections. This data is not yet available for the 1998 cycle. Instead, the data set for the 1998 cycle includes contributions made in the eighteen months prior to the two-year election cycle (July '95 through December '96) for those candidates who ran for office in 1998 but not in 1996.

While these data periods are different, they are closely comparable. 1994 candidates raised \$20 million in the six months following the 1994 cycle. Since the amount of candidate debt at the end of the two-year cycles went from \$33 million in 1994 to \$47 million in 1998, fundraising in the first six months of 1999 is expected to be far higher than the first six months of 1995.<sup>5</sup> 1998 candidates not running in 1996 raised \$34 million in the 1½ years before the beginning of the two-year 1998 election cycle.

Some of the candidates who are listed in this report as having raised no money may in fact have raised a small amount. It is expected that a few candidates slipped through the data gathering process by filing late, getting waivers from full reporting, or having disputes under investigation as data was being gathered. It is not expected that any of these candidates raised a large amount of money.

Figures for the total raised by each candidate include all funds from all sources, including money that was later passed on to other candidates. For calculating the fundraising disparity between candidates in each race, funds transferred to other races was subtracted, leaving totals for the amounts spent on each candidate's own race.

The amount of small contributions, corporate contributions, and union contributions donated to candidates through PACs was calculated based on analysis of a database of 1994 contributions to 75 of the biggest California PACs. CALPIRG assembled this database from the paper records filed with the Secretary of State. The average raised in small contributions was calculated for each type of PAC - corporate, union, ideological, leadership, or other - as well as the average raised from businesses and unions. Under the assumption that PAC donors and their contribution sizes would not have changed dramatically, these percentages were then applied to the 1998 PAC-to-candidate contributions and totaled for each candidate.

For the calculation of the average contribution, multiple contributions from the same donor to the same candidate were aggregated.

Each contribution was calculated as in or out of district based on the donor's zip code. If any portion of the zip code was contained in the candidate's district, the contribution was assumed to be in-district, even when the majority of a zip code lies in another district. The figures in this report thus understate out-of-district percentages to some extent. Donors with no reported zip codes were assumed to be out-of-district in the same proportion as the contributions to each candidate which had reported zip codes. All contributions under the \$100 reporting threshold were assumed to be in-district.

<sup>1</sup> A race in which the loser raised at least half as much as the winner.

<sup>2</sup> This includes fundraising by Senate Majority Leader John Burton (see Methodology).

<sup>3</sup> This is even more striking given that California's term limits result in many incumbents having been in office for only one or two terms, which generally means they are more vulnerable to defeat.

<sup>4</sup> Third-class, non-letter size, bar-coded bulk rate.

<sup>5</sup> Much of this difference may have been the result of the Prop 208 fundraising blackout, which was in effect throughout 1997.



## Appendix A: Contribution Sources

<b>1998 Election Cycle</b>					
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Number of Contributions	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	63.8	21%	69,800	87,600	729
Business	78.0	25%	20,400	37,700	2,070
Business PAC	27.1	9%	760	9,500	2,849
Union	7.7	2%	500	1,800	4,288
Union PAC	16.0	5%	340	2,700	5,921
Other PAC	30.1	10%	1,120	3,400	8,860
Party	14.1	5%	60	330	42,727
Candidate	68.4	22%	220	220	310,827
Unitemized	4.4	1%			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>309.7</b>		<b>93,200</b>	<b>143,250</b>	<b>2,162</b>

<b>1994 Election Cycle</b>					
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Number of Contributions	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	58.9	29%	83,000	100,700	585
Business	54.3	27%	19,000	36,100	1,504
Business PAC	23.9	12%	900	10,500	2,278
Union	3.1	2%	420	1,600	1,963
Union PAC	12.4	6%	440	3,400	3,633
Other PAC	21.3	11%	1,080	3,500	6,084
Party	7.7	4%	80	290	26,714
Candidate	14.6	7%	330	330	44,261
Unitemized	6.5	3%			
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>202.8</b>		<b>105,250</b>	<b>156,420</b>	<b>1,296</b>

<b>Percentage Change 1994 to 1998</b>					
Donor Type	Total Amount		Number of Donors	Number of Contributions	Average Contribution
Individual	8%		-16%	-13%	25%
Business	44%		7%	4%	38%
Business PAC	13%		-16%	-10%	25%
Union	146%		19%	13%	118%
Union PAC	29%		-23%	-21%	63%
Other PAC	41%		4%	-3%	46%
Party	82%		-25%	14%	60%
Candidate	368%		-33%	-33%	602%
Unitemized	-31%				
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>53%</b>		<b>-11%</b>	<b>-8%</b>	<b>67%</b>

## Appendix B: Contribution Sources to Governor's Races

### 1998 Election Cycle

<b>Gray Davis</b>				
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	12.2	31%	7,400	1,649
Business	12.9	33%	1,700	7,606
Business PAC	2.3	6%	140	16,293
Union	3.2	8%	140	22,743
Union PAC	5.7	15%	120	47,425
Other PAC	1.9	5%	150	12,693
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>38.2</b>		<b>9,650</b>	<b>3,958</b>
Party	0.5	1%		
Unitemized (<\$100)	0.5	1%		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>39.2</b>			

<b>Dan Lungren</b>				
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	12.0	36%	12,700	949
Business	13.2	39%	3,800	3,469
Business PAC	2.6	8%	220	11,873
Union	0.0	0%	4	1,000
Union PAC	0.1	0%	10	11,500
Other PAC	0.8	2%	150	5,047
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>28.7</b>		<b>16,884</b>	<b>1,701</b>
Party	4.4	13%		
Unitemized (<\$100)	0.6	2%		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>33.7</b>			

## Appendix B: Contribution Sources to Governor's Races

### 1994 Election Cycle

<b>Pete Wilson</b>				
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	13.9	47%	13,500	1,030
Business	11.3	38%	3,700	3,060
Business PAC	2.1	7%	260	8,169
Union	0.03	0%	4	7,500
Union PAC	0.6	2%	10	57,900
Other PAC	0.4	1%	80	5,338
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>28.4</b>		<b>17,554</b>	<b>1,617</b>
Party	0.2	1%		
Unitemized (<\$100)	1.0	3%		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>29.6</b>			

<b>Kathleen Brown</b>				
Donor Type	Total Amount (\$ million)	% of Total	Number of Donors	Average Contribution (\$)
Individual	9.1	49%	15,000	605
Business	3.3	18%	1,250	2,606
Business PAC	0.8	4%	80	10,300
Union	0.9	5%	90	10,389
Union PAC	1.8	9%	120	14,625
Other PAC	1.0	5%	120	8,250
<b>SUBTOTAL</b>	<b>16.8</b>		<b>16,660</b>	<b>1,011</b>
Party	0.4	2%		
Unitemized (<\$100)	1.3	7%		
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>18.6</b>			

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Attorney General</b>	<b>Bill Lockyer (D)</b>		<b>Dave Stirling (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$12,521,849		\$3,449,007	
Contributions over \$100	10,739,256	86%	3,213,798	93%
Contributions from Corporations	6,904,844	55%	2,173,051	63%
Contributions from Out of State	1,208,561	10%	123,551	4%
<b>Controller</b>	<b>Kathleen Connell (D)</b>		<b>Ruben Barrales (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$2,485,560		\$1,043,853	
Contributions over \$100	2,163,428	87%	974,932	93%
Contributions from Corporations	1,051,148	42%	200,474	19%
Contributions from Out of State	247,037	10%	21,457	2%
<b>Governor</b>	<b>Gray Davis (D)</b>		<b>Dan Lungren (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$39,236,144		\$33,712,880	
Contributions over \$100	32,393,773	83%	32,106,877	95%
Contributions from Corporations	15,226,969	39%	15,883,206	47%
Contributions from Out of State	5,654,790	14%	7,390,360	22%
<b>Insurance Commissioner</b>	<b>Chuck Quackenbush (R)</b>		<b>Diane Martinez (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$3,227,891		\$142,575	
Contributions over \$100	3,024,863	94%	114,329	80%
Contributions from Corporations	2,356,868	73%	74,748	52%
Contributions from Out of State	805,657	25%	8,663	6%
<b>Lieutenant Governor</b>	<b>Cruz Bustamante (D)</b>		<b>Tim Leslie (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$3,013,621		\$1,154,932	
Contributions over \$100	2,654,577	88%	1,045,979	91%
Contributions from Corporations	1,706,743	57%	562,867	49%
Contributions from Out of State	144,003	5%	59,439	5%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Secretary of State</b>	<b>Bill Jones (R)</b>		<b>Michela Alioto (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$2,091,478		\$589,920	
Contributions over \$100	1,956,658	94%	515,658	87%
Contributions from Corporations	935,653	45%	93,889	16%
Contributions from Out of State	11,724	1%	27,822	5%
<b>Supt. of Public Instr.</b>	<b>Delaine Eastin</b>		<b>Gloria Tuchman</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$3,609,903		\$1,203,044	
Contributions over \$100	2,725,990	76%	1,078,048	90%
Contributions from Corporations	668,550	19%	240,650	20%
Contributions from Out of State	69,485	2%	60,139	5%
<b>Treasurer</b>	<b>Phil Angelides (D)</b>		<b>Curt Pringle (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$9,307,913		\$3,184,469	
Contributions over \$100	8,929,293	96%	3,069,631	96%
Contributions from Corporations	2,203,334	24%	1,646,887	52%
Contributions from Out of State	790,247	8%	368,573	12%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Board of Equalization 1</b>	<b>Johan Klehs (D)</b>		<b>Kennita Watson (L)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$693,179		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	623,833	90%		
Contributions from Corporations	428,805	62%		
<hr/>				
<b>Board of Equalization 2</b>	<b>Dean Andal (R)</b>		<b>Tom Santos (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$514,092		\$17,142	
Contributions over \$100	483,873	94%	4,784	28%
Contributions from Corporations	302,178	59%	-	0%
<hr/>				
<b>Board of Equalization 3</b>	<b>Claude Parrish (R)</b>		<b>Mary Christian-Heisin (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$350,009		\$9,635	
Contributions over \$100	328,145	94%	9,600	100%
Contributions from Corporations	64,056	18%	-	0%
<hr/>				
<b>Board of Equalization 4</b>	<b>John Chiang (D)</b>		<b>Joe Adams, Jr. (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$281,975		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	213,591	76%		
Contributions from Corporations	52,727	19%		

Note: Out of district contributions to Board of Equalization candidates were not analyzed.

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Senate 02</b>	<b>Wes Chesbro (D)</b>		<b>John Jordan (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$2,213,837		\$2,756,818	
Contributions over \$100	1,980,911	89%	2,710,800	98%
Contributions from Corporations	212,147	10%	38,171	1%
Contributions from Out of District	2,035,502	92%	574,908	21%
<b>Senate 04</b>	<b>K. Maurice Johannessen (R)</b>		<b>Mark Desio (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$816,445		\$149,650	
Contributions over \$100	690,775	85%	89,920	60%
Contributions from Corporations	545,786	67%	35,025	23%
Contributions from Out of District	318,184	39%	59,815	40%
<b>Senate 06</b>	<b>Deborah Ortiz (D)</b>		<b>Chris Quackenbush (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,909,450		\$1,627,667	
Contributions over \$100	1,594,738	84%	1,566,549	96%
Contributions from Corporations	243,455	13%	619,033	38%
Contributions from Out of District	1,297,269	68%	690,640	42%
<b>Senate 08</b>	<b>Jackie Speier (D)</b>		<b>Jim Tomlin (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$423,300		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	328,186	78%		
Contributions from Corporations	230,878	55%		
Contributions from Out of District	269,706	64%		
<b>Senate 10</b>	<b>Liz Figueroa (D)</b>		<b>Bob Gough (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$557,057		\$1,362	
Contributions over \$100	462,065	83%	1,362	100%
Contributions from Corporations	299,771	54%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	498,825	90%	-	0%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Senate 12</b>	<b>Dick Monteith (R)</b>		<b>Sal Cannella (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,294,045		\$1,390,563	
Contributions over \$100	1,171,558	91%	1,251,301	90%
Contributions from Corporations	598,778	46%	132,613	10%
Contributions from Out of District	946,268	73%	1,330,806	96%
<b>Senate 14</b>	<b>Chuck Poochigian (R)</b>		<b>unopposed</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$656,564		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	598,298	91%		
Contributions from Corporations	268,459	41%		
Contributions from Out of District	580,902	88%		
<b>Senate 16</b>	<b>Jim Costa (D)</b>		<b>Gregg Palmer (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,749,526		\$9,439	
Contributions over \$100	1,509,427	86%	5,300	56%
Contributions from Corporations	1,198,592	69%	250	3%
Contributions from Out of District	1,366,708	78%	2,200	23%
<b>Senate 18</b>	<b>Jack O'Connell (D)</b>		<b>Gordon Klemm (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,795,800		\$16,281	
Contributions over \$100	1,428,845	80%	8,951	55%
Contributions from Corporations	704,279	39%	350	2%
Contributions from Out of District	1,609,001	90%	900	6%
<b>Senate 20</b>	<b>Richard Alarcon (D)</b>		<b>Ollie McCaulley (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$964,253		\$46,319	
Contributions over \$100	842,379	87%	33,947	73%
Contributions from Corporations	426,711	44%	3,166	7%
Contributions from Out of District	808,059	84%	27,133	59%



## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Senate 22</b>	<b>Richard Polanco (D)</b>		<b>Muffy Sunde (PF)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$2,378,039		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	2,066,714	87%		
Contributions from Corporations	1,591,616	67%		
Contributions from Out of District	2,059,699	87%		
<b>Senate 24</b>	<b>Hilda Solis (D)</b>		<b>Carl Taylor (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$788,994		\$45,232	
Contributions over \$100	585,957	74%	44,457	98%
Contributions from Corporations	325,841	41%	500	1%
Contributions from Out of District	702,119	89%	1,375	3%
<b>Senate 26</b>	<b>Kevin Murray (D)</b>		<b>Mac Lane Key (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$555,207		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	474,455	85%		
Contributions from Corporations	363,804	66%		
Contributions from Out of District	432,516	78%		
<b>Senate 28</b>	<b>Debra Bowen (D)</b>		<b>Asha Knott (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$466,145		\$19,744	
Contributions over \$100	400,625	86%	13,283	67%
Contributions from Corporations	159,506	34%	4,051	21%
Contributions from Out of District	431,698	93%	11,422	58%
<b>Senate 30</b>	<b>Martha Escutia (D)</b>		<b>John Robertson (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$322,496		\$5,925	
Contributions over \$100	273,561	85%	5,789	98%
Contributions from Corporations	246,797	77%	393	7%
Contributions from Out of District	306,894	95%	393	7%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Senate 32</b>	<b>Joe Baca (D)</b>		<b>Eunice Ulloa (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,498,254		\$1,125,135	
Contributions over \$100	1,310,231	87%	1,081,964	96%
Contributions from Corporations	503,454	34%	253,755	23%
Contributions from Out of District	1,309,030	87%	845,496	75%
<b>Senate 34</b>	<b>Joseph Dunn (D)</b>		<b>Rob Hurtt (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>		<i>Incumbent</i>	
Total Contributions	\$1,001,855		\$4,349,522	
Contributions over \$100	915,501	91%	4,092,289	94%
Contributions from Corporations	219,081	22%	2,911,143	67%
Contributions from Out of District	954,911	95%	1,927,542	44%
<b>Senate 36</b>	<b>Ray Haynes (R)</b>		<b>George Swift (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$488,587		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	444,537	91%		
Contributions from Corporations	360,802	74%		
Contributions from Out of District	397,158	81%		
<b>Senate 38</b>	<b>Bill Morrow (R)</b>		<b>Madelene Arakelian (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$617,648		\$6,000	
Contributions over \$100	566,173	92%	6,000	100%
Contributions from Corporations	386,766	63%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	547,440	89%	6,000	100%
<b>Senate 40</b>	<b>Steve Peace (D)</b>		<b>Bob Divine (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,231,403		\$7,501	
Contributions over \$100	1,034,199	84%	7,447	99%
Contributions from Corporations	788,987	64%	2,646	35%
Contributions from Out of District	1,138,116	92%	3,200	43%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 01</b>	<b>Virginia Strom-Martin (D)</b>		<b>Sam Crump (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$225,215		\$111,606	
Contributions over \$100	154,316	69%	83,557	75%
Contributions from Corporations	65,792	29%	23,069	21%
Contributions from Out of District	203,410	90%	18,633	17%
<b>Assembly 02</b>	<b>Richard Dickerson (R)</b>		<b>Francie Sullivan (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$366,280		\$95,564	
Contributions over \$100	270,323	74%	66,561	70%
Contributions from Corporations	94,350	26%	19,157	20%
Contributions from Out of District	175,698	48%	24,082	25%
<b>Assembly 03</b>	<b>Sam Aanestad (R)</b>		<b>Scott Gruendl (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$582,074		\$22,653	
Contributions over \$100	483,857	83%	12,455	55%
Contributions from Corporations	284,127	49%	4,400	19%
Contributions from Out of District	447,369	77%	1,600	7%
<b>Assembly 04</b>	<b>Thomas Oller (R)</b>		<b>Mark Norberg (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$810,438		\$7,530	
Contributions over \$100	737,935	91%	3,282	44%
Contributions from Corporations	376,758	46%	100	1%
Contributions from Out of District	554,439	68%	2,653	35%
<b>Assembly 05</b>	<b>Dave Cox (R)</b>		<b>Linda Davis (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$405,203		\$52,743	
Contributions over \$100	347,453	86%	46,712	89%
Contributions from Corporations	248,263	61%	13,700	26%
Contributions from Out of District	276,568	68%	46,672	88%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 06</b>	<b>Kerry Mazzoni (D)</b>		<b>Russ Weiner (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$194,786		\$64,228	
Contributions over \$100	150,857	77%	47,929	75%
Contributions from Corporations	129,006	66%	6,572	10%
Contributions from Out of District	147,131	76%	15,801	25%
<b>Assembly 07</b>	<b>Pat Wiggins (D)</b>		<b>Bob Sanchez (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$274,134		\$126,488	
Contributions over \$100	180,393	66%	110,863	88%
Contributions from Corporations	63,556	23%	43,250	34%
Contributions from Out of District	176,908	65%	24,402	19%
<b>Assembly 08</b>	<b>Helen Thomson (D)</b>		<b>Toni Thompson (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$320,991		\$22,134	
Contributions over \$100	241,541	75%	13,811	62%
Contributions from Corporations	184,767	58%	100	0%
Contributions from Out of District	247,619	77%	646	3%
<b>Assembly 09</b>	<b>Darrell Steinberg (D)</b>		<b>Mike Dismukes (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$380,767		\$599	
Contributions over \$100	254,724	67%	321	54%
Contributions from Corporations	135,683	36%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	186,497	49%	-	0%
<b>Assembly 10</b>	<b>Anthony Pescetti (R)</b>		<b>Debra Gravert (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$501,200		\$684,757	
Contributions over \$100	414,602	83%	609,270	89%
Contributions from Corporations	266,534	53%	105,088	15%
Contributions from Out of District	250,263	50%	368,719	54%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 11</b>	<b>Tom Torlakson (D)</b>		<b>Allen Payton (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$487,818		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	424,510	87%		
Contributions from Corporations	243,835	50%		
Contributions from Out of District	256,264	53%		
<b>Assembly 12</b>	<b>Kevin Shelley (D)</b>		<b>Mike Fitzgerald (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$593,965		\$3,731	
Contributions over \$100	484,032	81%	2,650	71%
Contributions from Corporations	311,506	52%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	458,377	77%	1,200	32%
<b>Assembly 13</b>	<b>Carole Migden (D)</b>		<b>Randy Bernard (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$712,590		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	583,667	82%		
Contributions from Corporations	292,707	41%		
Contributions from Out of District	490,003	69%		
<b>Assembly 14</b>	<b>Dion Louise Aroner (D)</b>		<b>Jerald Udinsky (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$336,186		\$1,049	
Contributions over \$100	254,077	76%	1,049	100%
Contributions from Corporations	72,165	21%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	167,591	50%	1,049	100%
<b>Assembly 15</b>	<b>Lynne Leach (R)</b>		<b>Charles Brydon (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$339,648		\$6,820	
Contributions over \$100	250,202	74%	2,850	42%
Contributions from Corporations	134,965	40%	350	5%
Contributions from Out of District	137,852	41%	1,800	26%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 16</b>	<b>Don Perata (D)</b>		<b>Linda Marshall (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,103,469		\$2,457	
Contributions over \$100	925,434	84%	1,822	74%
Contributions from Corporations	504,922	46%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	731,112	66%	1,336	54%
<b>Assembly 17</b>	<b>Michael Machado (D)</b>		<b>Jay Smart (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,215,140		\$28,439	
Contributions over \$100	1,092,552	90%	20,517	72%
Contributions from Corporations	524,997	43%	8,955	31%
Contributions from Out of District	1,096,302	90%	4,501	16%
<b>Assembly 18</b>	<b>Ellen Corbett (D)</b>		<b>Carol Nowicki (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$325,335		\$56,930	
Contributions over \$100	270,174	83%	36,061	63%
Contributions from Corporations	121,871	37%	6,449	11%
Contributions from Out of District	285,671	88%	6,837	12%
<b>Assembly 19</b>	<b>Lou Papan (D)</b>		<b>Penny Ferguson (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$354,020		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	304,631	86%		
Contributions from Corporations	293,347	83%		
Contributions from Out of District	314,184	89%		
<b>Assembly 20</b>	<b>John Dutra (D)</b>		<b>Jonelle Joan Zager (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$465,206		\$239,280	
Contributions over \$100	418,448	90%	206,340	86%
Contributions from Corporations	161,391	35%	110,880	46%
Contributions from Out of District	170,044	37%	109,653	46%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 21</b>	<b>Ted Lempert (D)</b>		<b>Laverne Atherly (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$233,774		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	179,399	77%		
Contributions from Corporations	106,156	45%		
Contributions from Out of District	136,311	58%		
<b>Assembly 22</b>	<b>Elaine White Alquist (D)</b>		<b>Stan Kawczynski (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$189,383		\$7,862	
Contributions over \$100	145,498	77%	6,745	86%
Contributions from Corporations	109,211	58%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	156,806	83%	1,220	16%
<b>Assembly 23</b>	<b>Mike Honda (D)</b>		<b>Patrick Du Long (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$289,095		\$5,025	
Contributions over \$100	221,873	77%	5,000	100%
Contributions from Corporations	128,942	45%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	205,434	71%	2,500	50%
<b>Assembly 24</b>	<b>Jim Cunneen (R)</b>		<b>Phil Stokes (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$563,184		\$27,056	
Contributions over \$100	448,502	80%	21,215	78%
Contributions from Corporations	206,229	37%	2,825	10%
Contributions from Out of District	464,252	82%	14,019	52%
<b>Assembly 25</b>	<b>George House (R)</b>		<b>Wesley Firch (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$175,961		\$38,699	
Contributions over \$100	135,533	77%	37,720	97%
Contributions from Corporations	99,288	56%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	99,574	57%	2,512	6%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 26</b>	<b>Dennis Cardoza (D)</b>		<b>Patty Hollingsworth (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$874,575		\$124,811	
Contributions over \$100	696,307	80%	98,447	79%
Contributions from Corporations	468,139	54%	21,408	17%
Contributions from Out of District	783,214	90%	18,675	15%
<b>Assembly 27</b>	<b>Fred Keeley (D)</b>		<b>Phil Chavez (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,097,844		\$84,494	
Contributions over \$100	936,381	85%	69,743	83%
Contributions from Corporations	189,425	17%	13,923	16%
Contributions from Out of District	947,855	86%	5,994	7%
<b>Assembly 28</b>	<b>Peter Frusetta (R)</b>		<b>Alan Styles (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,209,123		\$407,062	
Contributions over \$100	1,161,111	96%	331,046	81%
Contributions from Corporations	108,793	9%	63,865	16%
Contributions from Out of District	387,011	32%	320,816	79%
<b>Assembly 29</b>	<b>Mike Briggs (R)</b>		<b>Bill Maze (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$371,779		\$118,532	
Contributions over \$100	281,677	76%	99,049	84%
Contributions from Corporations	210,048	56%	29,275	25%
Contributions from Out of District	216,684	58%	20,585	17%
<b>Assembly 30</b>	<b>Dean Florez (D)</b>		<b>Robert Prenter, Jr. (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>		<i>Incumbent</i>	
Total Contributions	\$1,197,914		\$996,783	
Contributions over \$100	1,114,936	93%	891,561	89%
Contributions from Corporations	173,960	15%	409,632	41%
Contributions from Out of District	961,193	80%	658,708	66%



## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 31</b>	<b>Sarah Reyes (D)</b>		<b>David Jackson (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$831,051		\$797,933	
Contributions over \$100	731,509	88%	715,914	90%
Contributions from Corporations	118,561	14%	260,710	33%
Contributions from Out of District	724,406	87%	431,977	54%
<b>Assembly 32</b>	<b>Roy Ashburn (R)</b>		<b>Bob Tucker (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$304,147		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	278,006	91%		
Contributions from Corporations	210,407	69%		
Contributions from Out of District	224,715	74%		
<b>Assembly 33</b>	<b>Abel Maldonado (R)</b>		<b>Betty Sanders (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$501,115		\$48,387	
Contributions over \$100	448,592	90%	31,181	64%
Contributions from Corporations	217,846	43%	1,800	4%
Contributions from Out of District	183,816	37%	10,516	22%
<b>Assembly 34</b>	<b>Keith Olberg (R)</b>		<b>Steve Figueroa (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$553,280		\$4,160	
Contributions over \$100	497,931	90%	3,161	76%
Contributions from Corporations	442,300	80%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	443,088	80%	1,185	28%
<b>Assembly 35</b>	<b>Hannah-Beth Jackson (D)</b>		<b>Chris Mitchum (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$918,237		\$626,189	
Contributions over \$100	783,637	85%	561,452	90%
Contributions from Corporations	60,621	7%	95,766	15%
Contributions from Out of District	679,328	74%	225,630	36%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 36</b>	<b>George Runner (R)</b>		<b>Paula Calderon (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$358,568		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	324,056	90%		
Contributions from Corporations	165,373	46%		
Contributions from Out of District	190,106	53%		
<b>Assembly 37</b>	<b>Tony Strickland (R)</b>		<b>Roz McGrath (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$625,769		\$413,078	
Contributions over \$100	551,165	88%	339,828	82%
Contributions from Corporations	240,341	38%	8,100	2%
Contributions from Out of District	507,435	81%	366,106	89%
<b>Assembly 38</b>	<b>Tom McClintock (R)</b>		<b>unopposed</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$259,289		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	232,489	90%		
Contributions from Corporations	180,510	70%		
Contributions from Out of District	229,618	89%		
<b>Assembly 39</b>	<b>Tony Cardenas (D)</b>		<b>Kit Maira (L)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$655,550		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	615,461	94%		
Contributions from Corporations	597,684	91%		
Contributions from Out of District	643,191	98%		
<b>Assembly 40</b>	<b>Bob Hertzberg (D)</b>		<b>Eunice Deleuw (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$889,647		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	766,005	86%		
Contributions from Corporations	635,696	71%		
Contributions from Out of District	829,387	93%		

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 41</b>	<b>Sheila Kuehl (D)</b>		<b>Paul Jhin (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$629,781		\$237,221	
Contributions over \$100	484,552	77%	227,138	96%
Contributions from Corporations	147,382	23%	10,242	4%
Contributions from Out of District	492,009	78%	101,388	43%
<b>Assembly 42</b>	<b>Wally Knox (D)</b>		<b>Kevin Davis (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$277,527		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	217,555	78%		
Contributions from Corporations	131,500	47%		
Contributions from Out of District	180,438	65%		
<b>Assembly 43</b>	<b>Scott Wildman (D)</b>		<b>Peter Repovich (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$392,555		\$125,228	
Contributions over \$100	240,839	61%	111,892	89%
Contributions from Corporations	125,533	32%	26,132	21%
Contributions from Out of District	306,995	78%	61,821	49%
<b>Assembly 44</b>	<b>Jack Scott (D)</b>		<b>Ken La Corte (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$963,391		\$218,581	
Contributions over \$100	778,202	81%	180,714	83%
Contributions from Corporations	147,981	15%	25,835	12%
Contributions from Out of District	800,265	83%	149,358	68%
<b>Assembly 45</b>	<b>Antonio Villaraigosa (D)</b>		<b>Kitty Hedrick (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$9,555,132		\$342	
Contributions over \$100	8,404,625	88%	321	94%
Contributions from Corporations	3,458,416	36%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	8,239,599	86%	342	100%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 46</b>	<b>Gil Cedillo (D)</b>		<b>Andrew Kim (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$407,780		\$7,151	
Contributions over \$100	297,298	73%	6,446	90%
Contributions from Corporations	183,618	45%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	314,381	77%	1,298	18%
<hr/>				
<b>Assembly 47</b>	<b>Herb Wesson (D)</b>		<b>Jonathan Leonard (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$881,859		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	821,672	93%		
Contributions from Corporations	577,080	65%		
Contributions from Out of District	539,191	61%		
<hr/>				
<b>Assembly 48</b>	<b>Rod Wright (D)</b>		<b>Ernest Woods (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$268,489		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	240,083	89%		
Contributions from Corporations	227,507	85%		
Contributions from Out of District	247,044	92%		
<hr/>				
<b>Assembly 49</b>	<b>Gloria Romero (D)</b>		<b>Jay Imperial (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$335,738		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	181,536	54%		
Contributions from Corporations	70,280	21%		
Contributions from Out of District	290,696	87%		
<hr/>				
<b>Assembly 50</b>	<b>Marco Antonio Firebaugh (D)</b>		<b>Gladys Miller (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$204,144		\$1,671	
Contributions over \$100	163,686	80%	821	49%
Contributions from Corporations	108,278	53%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	160,944	79%	842	50%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 51</b>	<b>Edward Vincent (D)</b>		<b>Robert Acherman (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$231,652		\$7,812	
Contributions over \$100	212,174	92%	1,860	24%
Contributions from Corporations	201,497	87%	1,000	13%
Contributions from Out of District	221,360	96%	700	9%
<b>Assembly 52</b>	<b>Carl Washington (D)</b>		<b>unopposed</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$120,150		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	101,001	84%		
Contributions from Corporations	105,550	88%		
Contributions from Out of District	112,028	93%		
<b>Assembly 53</b>	<b>George Nakano (D)</b>		<b>Bill Eggers (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,051,400		\$706,494	
Contributions over \$100	930,644	89%	660,121	93%
Contributions from Corporations	216,294	21%	211,834	30%
Contributions from Out of District	780,847	74%	552,156	78%
<b>Assembly 54</b>	<b>Alan Lowenthal (D)</b>		<b>Julie Alban (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$968,908		\$1,472,915	
Contributions over \$100	837,476	86%	1,388,475	94%
Contributions from Corporations	106,160	11%	276,257	19%
Contributions from Out of District	781,681	81%	933,067	63%
<b>Assembly 55</b>	<b>Dick Floyd (D)</b>		<b>Don Eslinger (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$275,966		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	239,178	87%		
Contributions from Corporations	195,532	71%		
Contributions from Out of District	223,418	81%		

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 56</b>	<b>Sally Havice (D)</b>		<b>Phil Hawkins (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$629,432		\$1,031,782	
Contributions over \$100	502,552	80%	925,574	90%
Contributions from Corporations	161,500	26%	409,038	40%
Contributions from Out of District	578,530	92%	960,362	93%
<b>Assembly 57</b>	<b>Martin Gallegos (D)</b>		<b>Henry Gonzales (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$269,343		\$3,359	
Contributions over \$100	223,822	83%	2,750	82%
Contributions from Corporations	219,350	81%	2,500	74%
Contributions from Out of District	257,514	96%	2,880	86%
<b>Assembly 58</b>	<b>Thomas Calderon (D)</b>		<b>Albert Nunez (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$352,130		\$475	
Contributions over \$100	294,434	84%	400	84%
Contributions from Corporations	244,742	70%	200	42%
Contributions from Out of District	299,285	85%	200	42%
<b>Assembly 59</b>	<b>Bob Margett (R)</b>		<b>Christian Christiansen (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$186,581		\$24,665	
Contributions over \$100	159,870	86%	17,471	71%
Contributions from Corporations	142,157	76%	11,350	46%
Contributions from Out of District	148,052	79%	6,534	26%
<b>Assembly 60</b>	<b>Bob Pacheco (R)</b>		<b>Ben Wong (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$611,970		\$228,229	
Contributions over \$100	577,421	94%	181,844	80%
Contributions from Corporations	164,300	27%	48,773	21%
Contributions from Out of District	204,313	33%	118,555	52%

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<b>Assembly 61</b>	<b>Nell Soto (D)</b>		<b>Bob De Maillie (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$574,779		\$699,744	
Contributions over \$100	495,594	86%	612,905	88%
Contributions from Corporations	119,844	21%	266,164	38%
Contributions from Out of District	511,496	89%	656,213	94%
<b>Assembly 62</b>	<b>John Longville (D)</b>		<b>Irma Escobar (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$313,020		\$43,529	
Contributions over \$100	261,908	84%	33,131	76%
Contributions from Corporations	129,284	41%	10,543	24%
Contributions from Out of District	231,855	74%	22,578	52%
<b>Assembly 63</b>	<b>Bill Leonard (R)</b>		<b>Maureen Lindberg (L)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$4,275,430		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	4,020,043	94%		
Contributions from Corporations	2,100,074	49%		
Contributions from Out of District	4,185,078	98%		
<b>Assembly 64</b>	<b>Rod Pacheco (R)</b>		<b>unopposed</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$398,470			
Contributions over \$100	332,038	83%		
Contributions from Corporations	272,363	68%		
Contributions from Out of District	276,807	69%		
<b>Assembly 65</b>	<b>Brett Granlund (R)</b>		<b>Ray Quinto (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$487,501		\$30,428	
Contributions over \$100	449,324	92%	19,536	64%
Contributions from Corporations	376,543	77%	6,200	20%
Contributions from Out of District	406,956	83%	11,485	38%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 66</b>	<b>Bruce Thompson (R)</b>		<b>Patsy Hockersmith (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$869,331		\$2,025	
Contributions over \$100	764,550	88%	1,705	84%
Contributions from Corporations	576,171	66%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	842,131	97%	-	0%
<b>Assembly 67</b>	<b>Scott Baugh (R)</b>		<b>Marie Fennell (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$521,179		\$10,197	
Contributions over \$100	477,658	92%	6,994	69%
Contributions from Corporations	391,836	75%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	470,423	90%	6,994	69%
<b>Assembly 68</b>	<b>Ken Maddox (R)</b>		<b>Mike Matsuda (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$273,918		\$137,246	
Contributions over \$100	251,254	92%	105,005	77%
Contributions from Corporations	127,269	46%	5,500	4%
Contributions from Out of District	242,525	89%	101,504	74%
<b>Assembly 69</b>	<b>Lou Correa (D)</b>		<b>Jim Morrissey (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>		<i>Incumbent</i>	
Total Contributions	\$563,259		\$1,201,686	
Contributions over \$100	466,519	83%	1,090,361	91%
Contributions from Corporations	62,074	11%	503,260	42%
Contributions from Out of District	513,203	91%	1,102,446	92%
<b>Assembly 70</b>	<b>Marilyn Brewer (R)</b>		<b>Nat Adam (NL)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$438,598		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	388,309	89%		
Contributions from Corporations	338,970	77%		
Contributions from Out of District	334,820	76%		



## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 71</b>	<b>Bill Campbell (R)</b>		<b>Martha Badger (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$387,273		\$8,821	
Contributions over \$100	342,426	88%	6,048	69%
Contributions from Corporations	224,151	58%	825	9%
Contributions from Out of District	294,911	76%	5,500	62%
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<b>Assembly 72</b>	<b>Dick Ackerman (R)</b>		<b>Frank Legas (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$333,307		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	290,188	87%		
Contributions from Corporations	261,702	79%		
Contributions from Out of District	268,968	81%		
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<b>Assembly 73</b>	<b>Pat Bates (R)</b>		<b>Robert Wilberg (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$385,963		\$9,078	
Contributions over \$100	324,433	84%	7,089	78%
Contributions from Corporations	208,893	54%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	257,427	67%	4,979	55%
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<b>Assembly 74</b>	<b>Howard Kaloogian (R)</b>		<b>Bill Fitzgerald (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$405,439		\$0	
Contributions over \$100	378,197	93%		
Contributions from Corporations	234,298	58%		
Contributions from Out of District	286,055	71%		
<hr/>				
<b>Assembly 75</b>	<b>Charlene Zettel (R)</b>		<b>David Debus (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner</i>			
Total Contributions	\$583,844		\$1,021	
Contributions over \$100	470,567	81%	786	77%
Contributions from Corporations	178,675	31%	-	0%
Contributions from Out of District	279,832	48%	786	77%

## Appendix C: Contributions to 1998 General Election Candidates

<b>Assembly 76</b>	<b>Susan Davis (D)</b>		<b>Duane Admire (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$702,368		\$121,226	
Contributions over \$100	596,030	85%	119,689	99%
Contributions from Corporations	155,508	22%	14,984	12%
Contributions from Out of District	628,090	89%	71,815	59%
<b>Assembly 77</b>	<b>Steve Baldwin (R)</b>		<b>Marge Carlson (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$339,343		\$9,836	
Contributions over \$100	287,528	85%	3,862	39%
Contributions from Corporations	183,840	54%	750	8%
Contributions from Out of District	250,869	74%	3,125	32%
<b>Assembly 78</b>	<b>Howard Wayne (D)</b>		<b>Jean Roesch (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$1,191,580		\$731,112	
Contributions over \$100	971,503	82%	652,642	89%
Contributions from Corporations	328,577	28%	209,581	29%
Contributions from Out of District	1,050,868	88%	482,647	66%
<b>Assembly 79</b>	<b>Denise Moreno Ducheny (D)</b>		<b>Carl Hurum Kinz (R)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$238,805		\$1,789	
Contributions over \$100	193,876	81%	1,507	84%
Contributions from Corporations	174,410	73%	400	22%
Contributions from Out of District	215,669	90%	1,488	83%
<b>Assembly 80</b>	<b>Jim Battin (R)</b>		<b>Joey Acuna, Jr. (D)</b>	
	<i>Winner, Incumbent</i>			
Total Contributions	\$651,300		\$84,739	
Contributions over \$100	597,748	92%	64,063	76%
Contributions from Corporations	533,464	82%	3,864	5%
Contributions from Out of District	441,503	68%	23,156	27%