

**GENDER AND CAMPAIGN FINANCE IN THE 2006  
MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS**

Chimdi Ihezue  
Paul S. Herrnson

**A report by**

**The Center for American Politics and Citizenship**

**University of Maryland**

3102 Morrill Hall  
College Park, MD 20742

(301) 314-2736 tel  
(301) 314-2532 fax

[www.capc.umd.edu](http://www.capc.umd.edu)

June 15, 2010

## Executive Summary

Candidates for the Maryland General Assembly raised about \$31.2 million in 2006. Most of that money, about \$24 million, was raised by male candidates. This report examines the differences between male and female candidates in their campaign fundraising and spending, and how partisanship, incumbency, electoral success, and bicameralism factor into this relationship. In general, this report finds that male candidates raised and spent more, on average, than female candidates, but by small margins.

### Major Findings:

- The average male candidate for the General Assembly raised about \$62,000 while the average female candidate raised almost \$50,000.
- The majority of candidates of both genders, about two-thirds, raised \$50,000 or less, while 81% of men and 84% of women raised less than \$100,000.
- Men and women raised their funds from similar sources. However, women raised more from in-state Political Action Committees (PACs).
- Men and women spent their money similarly. However, male candidates transferred larger proportions of their funds to other candidates and political organizations.
- Male incumbents raised the most money. However, male nonincumbents raised only slightly more than female nonincumbents for the House of Delegates.
- House Speaker Thomas V. “Mike” Miller and Senate President Michael E. Busch account for the largest sums and inflated the average amounts raised and spent by male candidates.
- The most successful candidates raised the largest amounts of money, regardless of gender. However, among general election winners male candidates raised the most on average. Diminishing success correlated with a decrease in the gap between money raised by male and female candidates.

## **Introduction**

This report examines the relationship between the gender of candidates and their campaign finances during the 2006 elections to the Maryland General Assembly. The report highlights similarities and differences in how male and female candidates raised and spent campaign cash, and how other political factors, such as partisanship, incumbency, electoral success, and bicameralism, influenced the relationship between gender and campaign finance.

Despite making up 51% of the population in Maryland, women account for less than one-third of the state's officeholders. Within the General Assembly, they make up 36.8% of the House of Delegates and only 23.9% of the State Senate, which still ranks as one of the highest proportions of women in any state legislature.

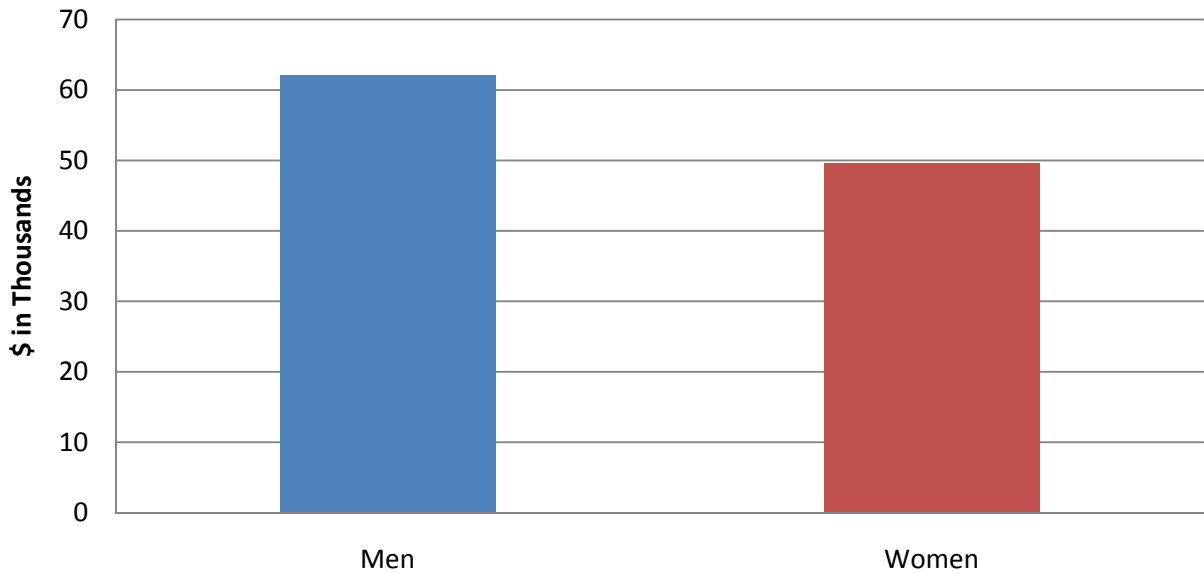
The success enjoyed by candidates running for public office is often tied to the amount of money they are able to raise and spend. For the most part, male candidates raise and spend more money than female candidates. There are a number of reasons 2006 Maryland General Assembly candidates fit this pattern. One reason is that candidates who hold leadership positions in the General Assembly are usually able to raise more funds, in comparison to other members. In 2006, men held most of these positions in the Maryland General Assembly. Another reason is that men also account for a larger percentage of incumbent candidates, who often have an advantage when it comes to fundraising. In 2006, 65% of incumbent candidates to the General Assembly were men.

However, there are more similarities than differences between male and female candidates. Both sets of candidates raise the majority of their money from the same sources and spend the majority of it in the same way. The sheer number of male candidates compared to female candidates accounts for the significant difference in total amounts of money raised and spent. The average amount raised and spent between genders comes close to balancing out when the leadership positions held by certain candidates are taken into account.

## Gender and Campaign Fundraising

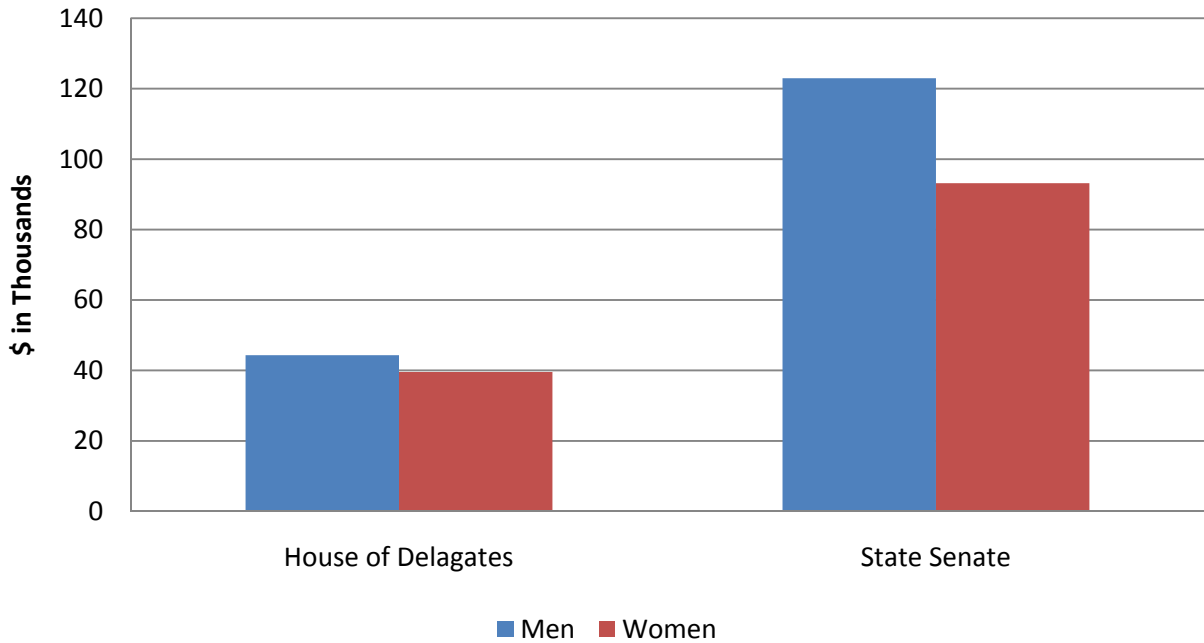
Male candidates raised more than female candidates in the 2006 elections to the Maryland General Assembly. The 389 male candidates for the General Assembly raised a total of \$24.1 million while the 144 female candidates raised a total of \$7.1 million. Male candidates raised an average of \$62,100, while the average female candidate raised approximately \$49,600.

**Figure 1: Average Amount Raised by All Male and Female General Assembly Candidates**



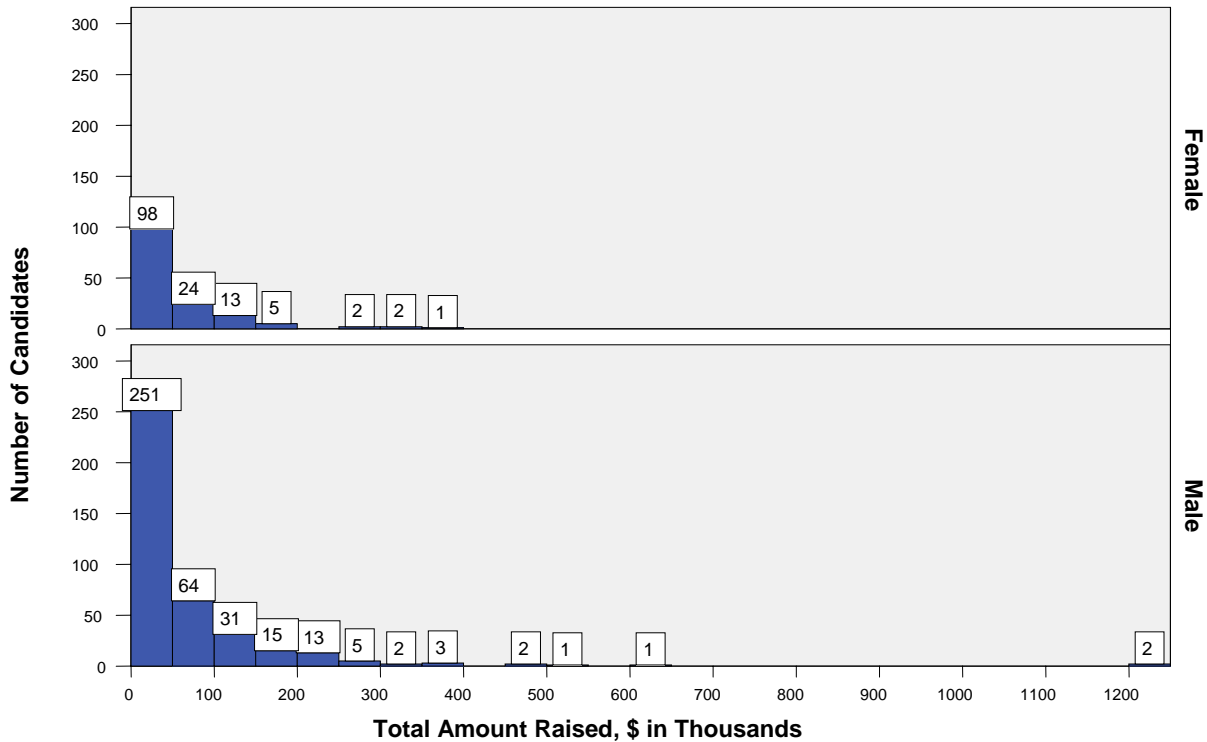
Among candidates for the House of Delegates, the difference between male and female candidates was much smaller than it was among candidates for the State Senate. The average male candidate for the House raised approximately \$44,300 while the average female candidate raised approximately \$39,500 (see Figure 2). Among candidates for the State Senate, the average male candidate raised about \$123,000, \$30,000 more than the roughly \$93,100 raised by the average female candidate.

**Figure 2: Average Amount Raised by All Male and Female Candidates by Chamber**



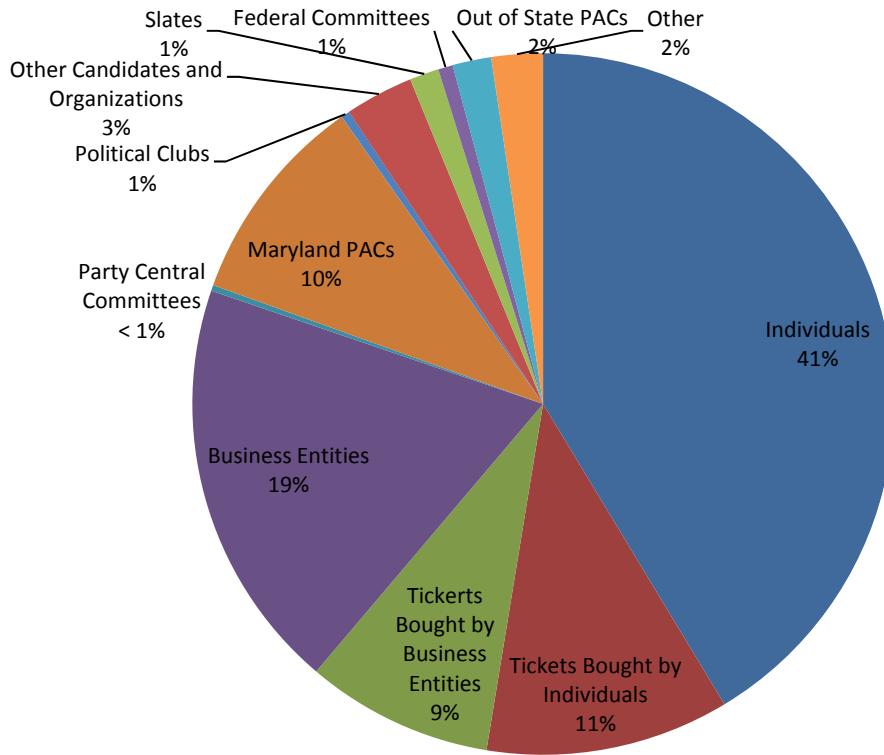
The distribution of total contributions raised by male and female candidates in the General Assembly is displayed in Figure 3. For the most part, the distributions of funds raised by male and female candidates were very much alike. Roughly two-thirds of both male and female candidates raised \$50,000 or less. Eighty-one percent of the men and 84% of women raised \$100,000 or less during the 2006 election cycle. Two male candidates, House Speaker Thomas V. “Mike” Miller and Senate President Michael E. Busch, are extreme outliers in the data—each raised more than \$1.2 million. The totals raised by these two candidates significantly inflated the averages from displayed in Figure 1. If they are removed from the data the averages are \$40,400 for male and \$39,500 for female candidates for the House of Delegates and \$110,600 for male and \$93,100 for female candidates for the Senate.

**Figure 3: Gender and the Distribution of Total Contributions Received by All Candidates to the General Assembly**

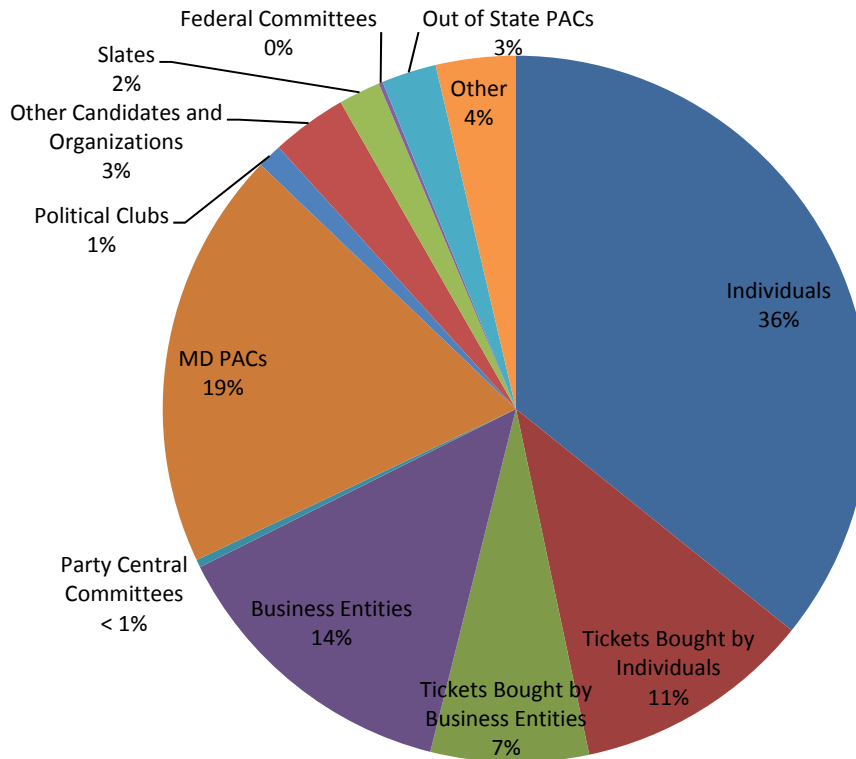


For the most part, similar sources contributed to male and female candidates (see Figures 4 and 5). Among general election candidates, both men and women raised roughly 90% of their campaign funds from individuals, business entities, and political action committees (PACs). However, there were some differences as well. By far the biggest difference was in the proportion PACs contributed. PACs were responsible for almost twice as large a proportion of the funds raised by female candidates (19%, on average), than male candidates (10%, on average). Conversely, individual donors and business entities were responsible for a slightly larger percentage of contributions to male candidates, 41% and 19%, while these sources accounted for 36% and 14% of female candidates’ contributions. However, that these margins are small highlights that male and female candidates were more similar than different in their campaign fundraising.

**Figure 4: Sources of Contributions to Male General Election Candidates for the General Assembly**

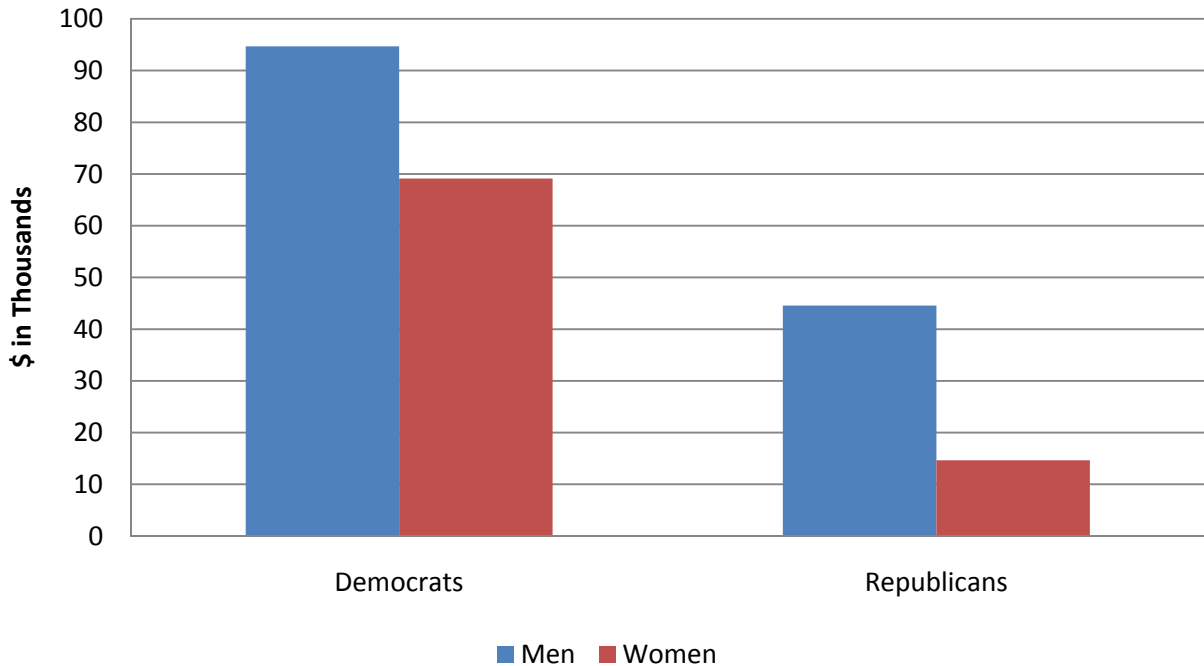


**Figure 5: Sources of Contributions to Female General Election Candidates for the General Assembly**



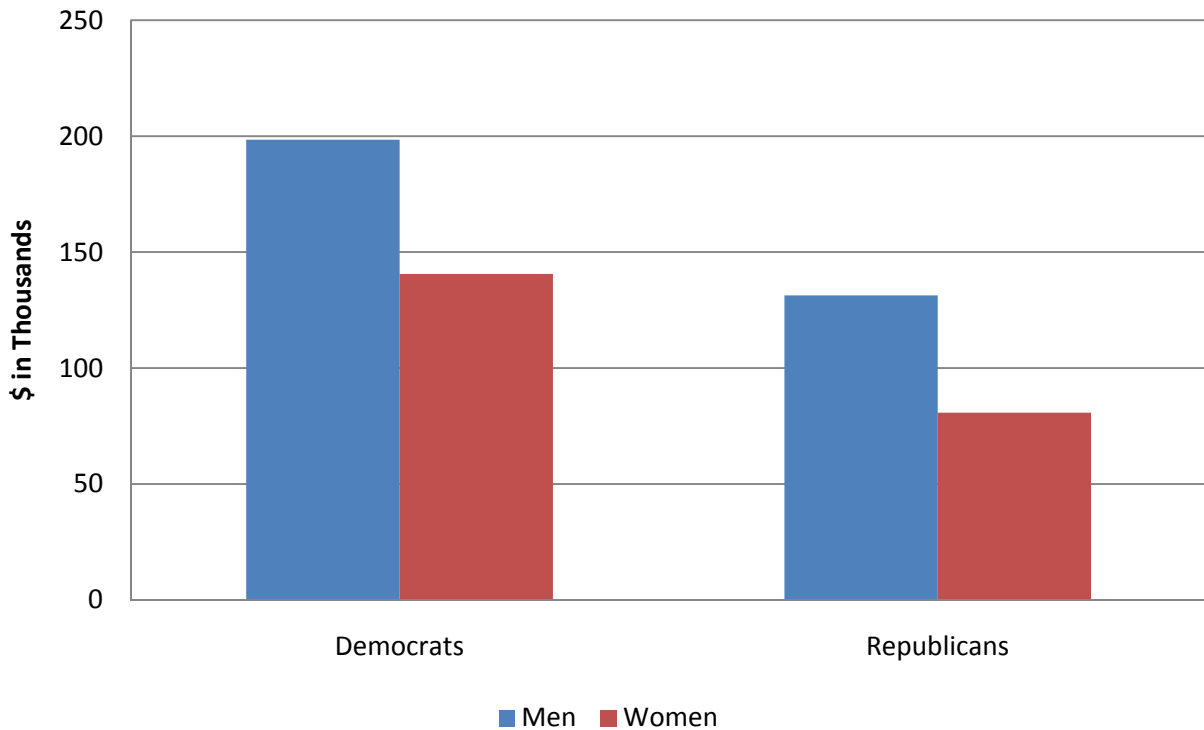
Partisanship played a role in the difference between the fundraising of male and female candidates. Specifically, among candidates for the House of Delegates, Democrats of both genders raised more than Republicans (see Figure 6). Specifically, Democratic men raised an average of roughly \$95,000 and Democratic women raised an average of roughly \$69,000. By comparison Republican men raised \$46,000 and Republican women raised just \$15,000, on average. But while Democrats outraised Republicans regardless of gender, within each party men, on average, outraised women. Specifically, Democratic men raised about \$26,000 more, on average, than Democratic women, and Republican men raised about \$31,000 more, on average, than Republican women.

**Figure 6: Gender, Partisanship, and the Average Amount Raised by General Election Candidates for the House of Delegates**



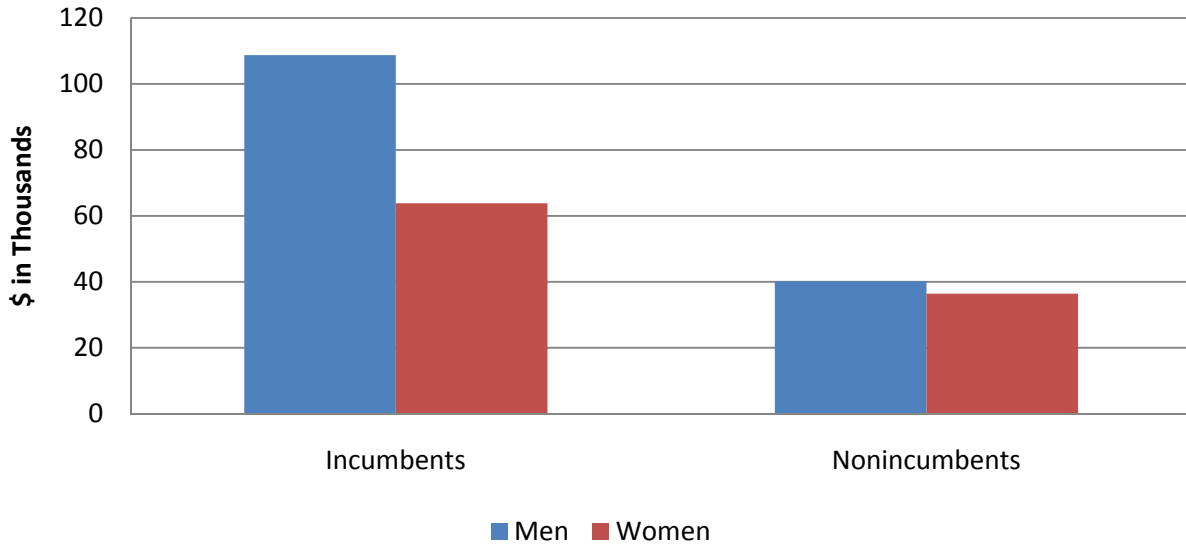
Among candidates for the State Senate, the differences across party were similar. Again Democrats of either gender raised more, on average, than Republican candidates. Specifically, male Democratic candidates raised about \$200,000, on average, while Democratic women raised an average of approximately \$140,600 (see Figure 7). Female Republican candidates raised an average of approximately \$80,800, about \$50,000 less than male Republican candidates, who raised \$131,300. Once again, the Democrats' dominance over the legislative process accounts for much of their advantage in fundraising.

**Figure 7: Gender, Partisanship, and the Average Amount Raised by General Election Candidates for the State Senate**



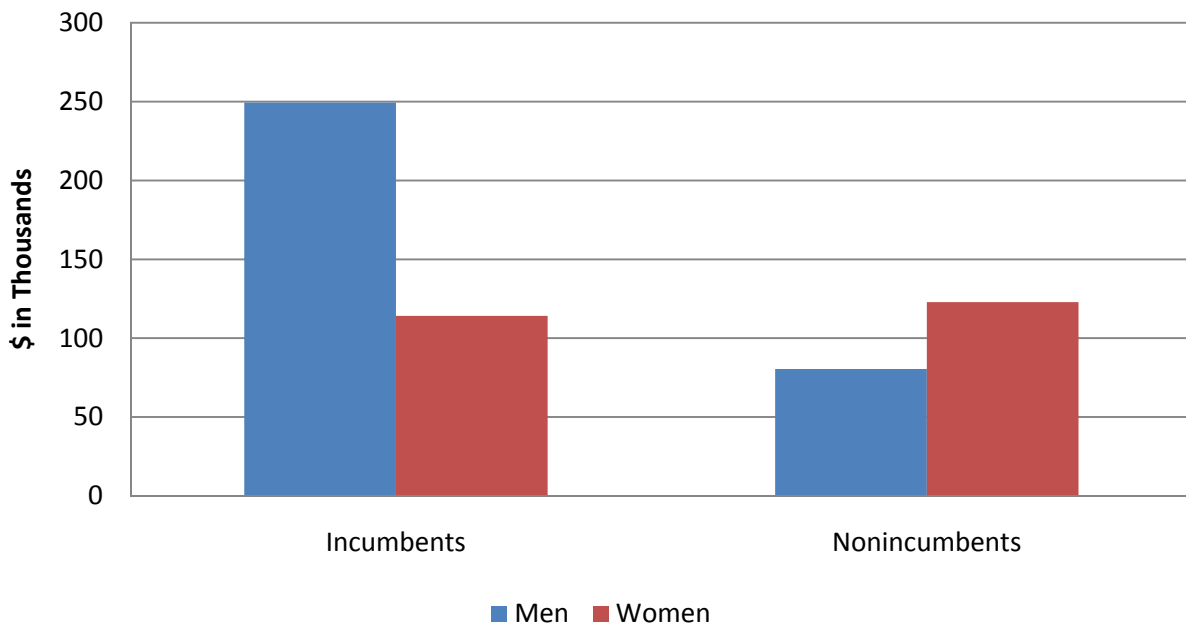
Incumbency also played a role in the amount of contributions candidates raised. Among general election candidates for the House of Delegates, both male and female incumbents raised more than nonincumbent candidates of either gender, although incumbent men raised significantly more than incumbent women (see Figure 8). The average male incumbent candidate raised approximately \$45,000 more than the average female incumbent, raising roughly \$108,700 compared to an average of about \$63,800 among women. The difference in the amount raised between male and female nonincumbent candidates was significantly smaller. The average male nonincumbent raised approximately \$40,100 while the average female nonincumbent raised approximately \$36,400.

**Figure 8: Gender, Incumbency, and the Average Amount Raised by Candidates for the House of Delegates**



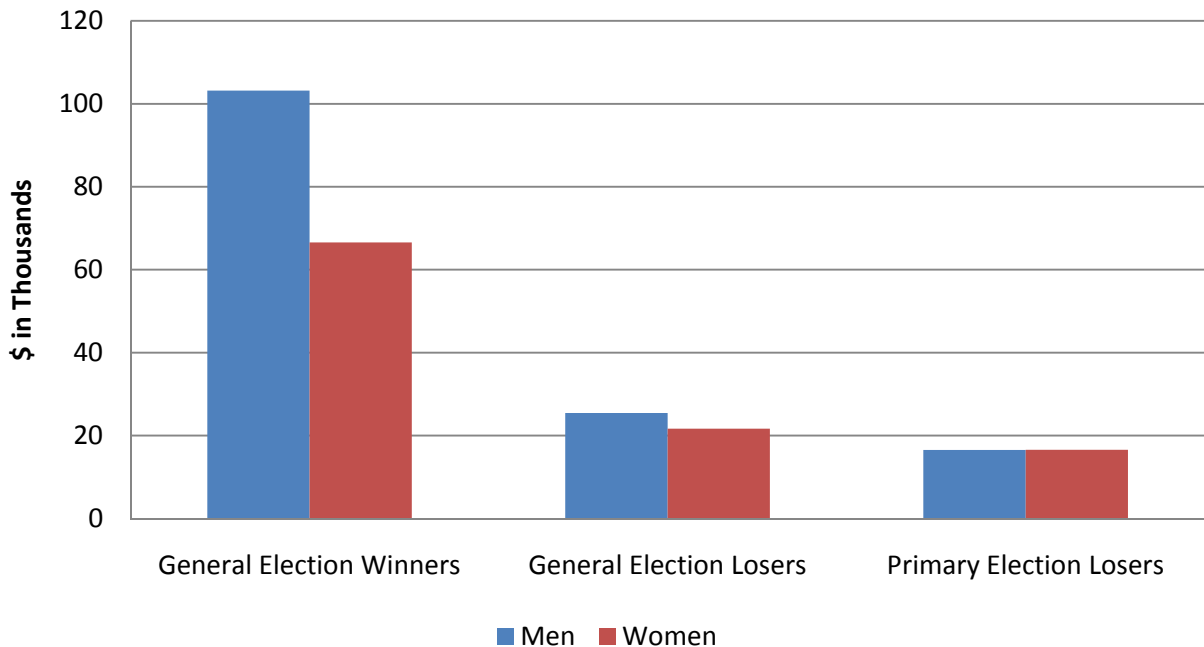
Among general election candidates for the State Senate, incumbent men also raised more than any other group (see Figure 9). Among incumbents, the average male candidate received contributions of approximately \$250,000 compared to female incumbents, who raised approximately \$114,200. Interestingly, among Senate nonincumbents, female candidates raised more funds, on average, than their male counterparts. The average female nonincumbent raised approximately \$122,800 while the average male nonincumbent only raised about \$80,400.

**Figure 9: Gender, Incumbency, and the Average Amount Raised by Candidates for the State Senate**



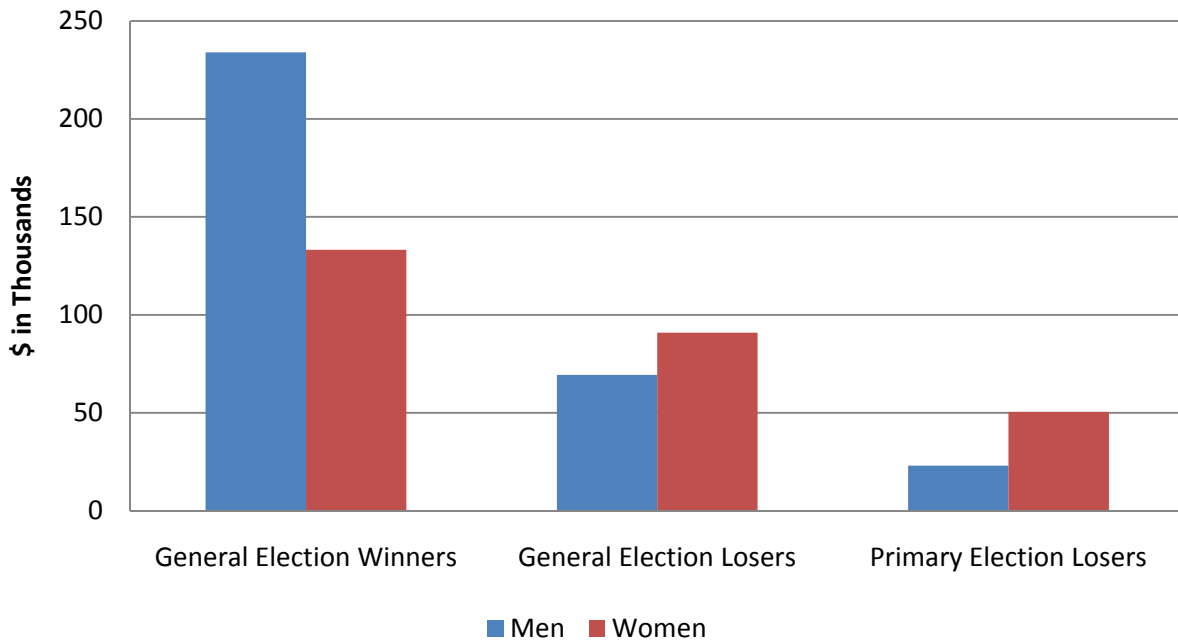
Electoral success also factored into the contributions garnered by candidates of both genders. Among candidates for the House of Delegates, male and female general election winners raised much more, on average, than candidates who lost either the primary or general election (see Figure 10). Among general election winners, the average male candidate raised approximately \$103,200 while the average female candidate raised approximately \$66,500. Comparatively, both male and female general election losers raised similar amounts--less than \$25,000, on average. Gender differences for male and female candidates who lost the primary election are negligible. Both male and female candidates raised an average of about \$16,500.

**Figure 10: Electoral Success, Gender, and Average Amount Raised by Candidates for the House of Delegates**



Among candidates for the Senate, increased electoral success also correlated with larger total contributions. Candidates who won the general election raised the highest average amounts, with the average male candidate raising approximately \$234,000 while the average female raised approximately \$132,000. Among those candidates who lost the primary and general elections, female candidates raised more, on average. Among general election losers, the average male raised approximately \$20,000 less than the average female candidate, who raised \$90,900, on average. The average female candidate raised just over twice as much as male candidates among primary election losers, raising approximately \$50,500 compared to the average male candidate, who raised roughly \$23,000.

**Figure 11: Electoral Success, Gender, and Average Amount Raised by Candidates for the State Senate**

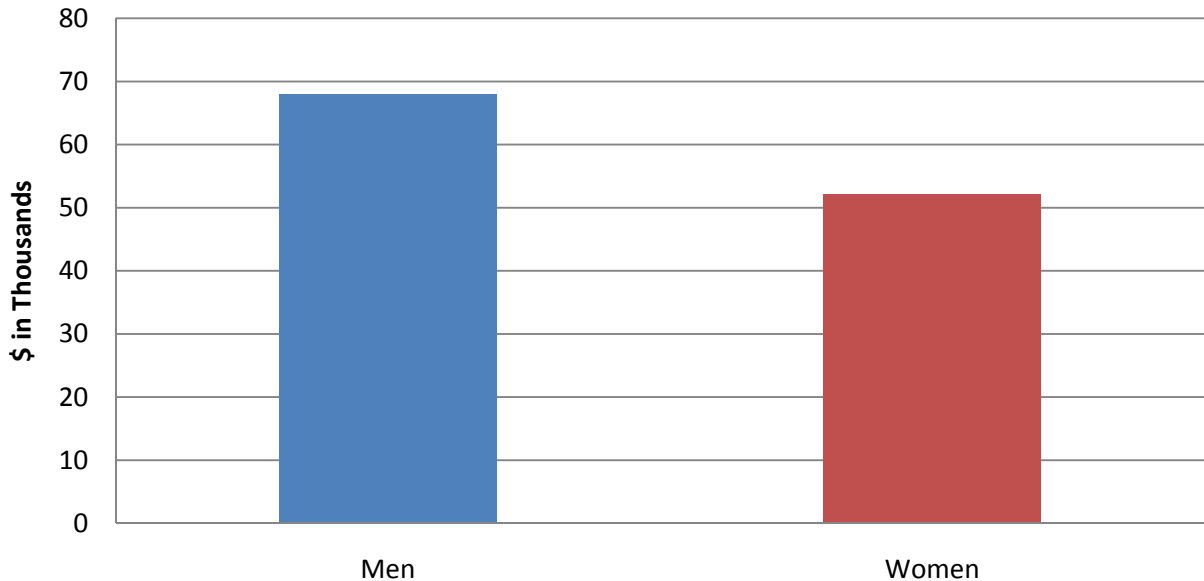


In sum, in most all cases, male candidates raised more, on average, than female candidates, although there were exceptions among nonincumbent candidates and those who did not win the general election for the State Senate. In addition, men and women raised their contributions from similar sources, although women did raise a significantly larger percentage of their money from PACs. Overall, the difference between the contributions received by men and women is small, especially when the exceptional fundraising prowess of the top Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate are taken into consideration.

## Gender and Campaign Spending

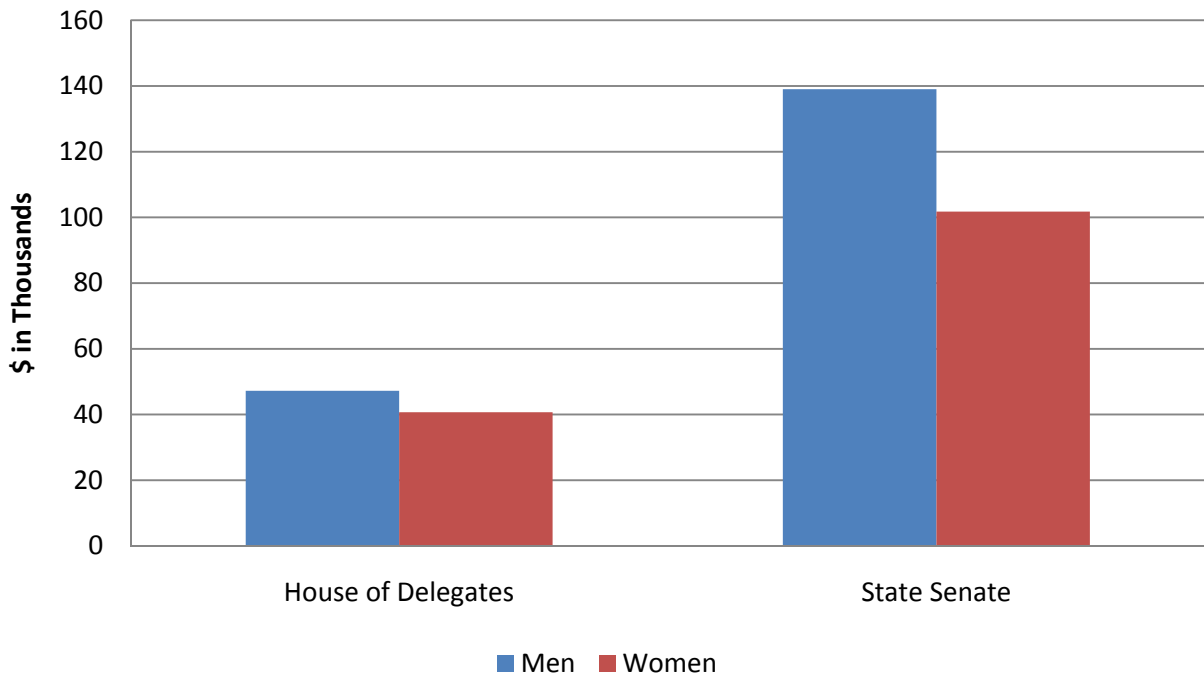
The difference in the amount spent by male candidates versus female candidates reflects the amount each gender group raised during the election cycle. Male candidates spent about \$26.4 million on their election while female candidates spent \$7.5 million. On average, male candidates spent more, spending approximately \$68,000 (see Figure 12). Female candidates spent approximately \$15,000 less, on average, at about \$52,000 per candidate.

**Figure 12: Average Campaign Spending by All Male and Female General Assembly Candidates**



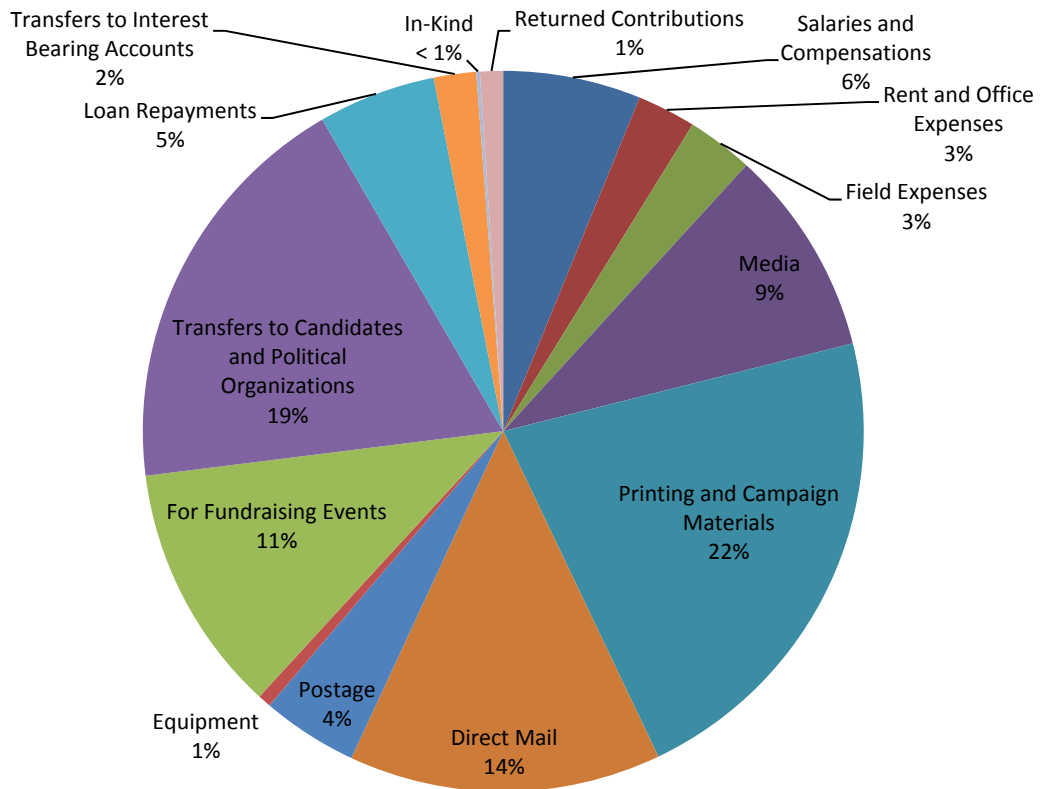
The differences in average spending across chambers also reflected the amounts candidates raised. Again, the differences between genders were less pronounced among candidates for the House of Delegates than among candidates for the State Senate. Male candidates for the House of Delegates spent about \$7,000 more than female candidates, on average. The average male candidate spent approximately \$47,000 while the average female candidate spent about \$40,700. Among candidates for the Senate, male candidates spent approximately \$139,000—about \$40,000 more than female candidates—who spent an average of \$101,700. The biggest spenders among candidates for each chamber were both men. Among State Senate candidates, Senate President Miller spent the most and among candidates for the House of Delegates, Speaker Busch spent the most. Each spent well over \$1 million.

**Figure 13: Average Campaign Spending by All Male and Female Candidates by Chamber**

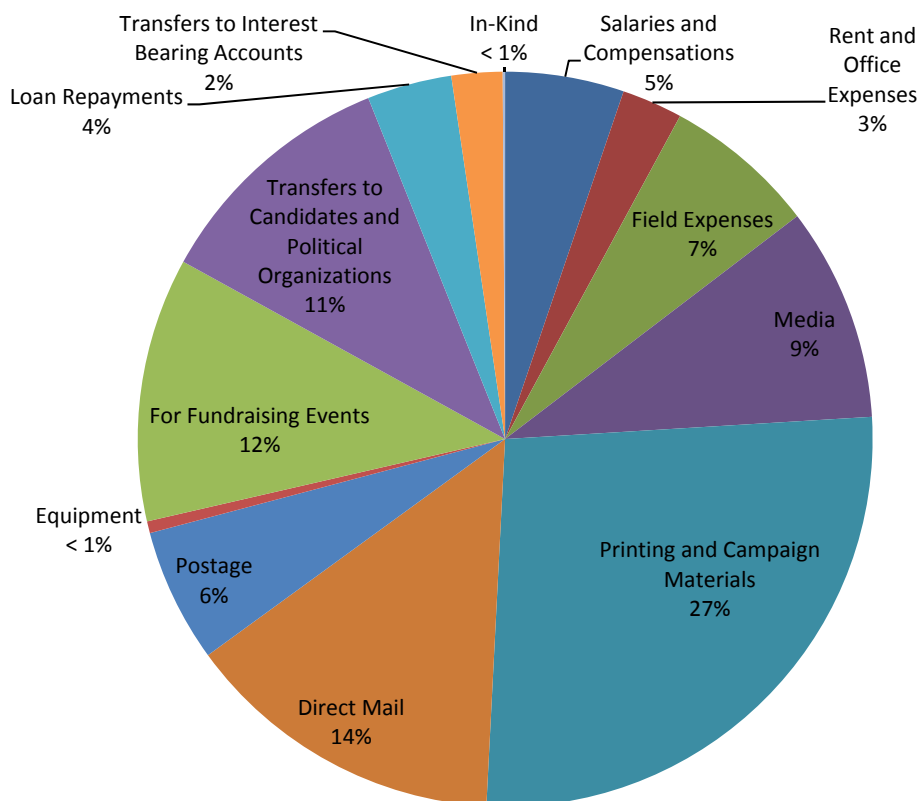


Male and female candidates largely spent their money in similar ways. Figures 14 and 15 present how male and female candidates that competed in the general election for either chamber spent their funds. Candidates of both genders spent roughly the same amount on overhead—salaries and compensations as well as rent and office expenditures—with male candidates spending an average of 9% of their funds on these costs and female candidates spending 8%. Male and female candidates also spent the largest proportion of their funds on campaigning activities—field expenses, media advertising, printing and campaign materials, direct mail, and postage. Male candidates spent roughly 52% of their funds on these expenses while female candidates spent 63%, on average. The biggest difference between male and female candidates is in the proportion of their funds they transferred to other candidates and political organizations. Men, on average, transferred roughly 19% of their funds, while women transferred about 11%, on average.

**Figure 14: Types of Expenditures by Male General Election Candidates to the General Assembly**

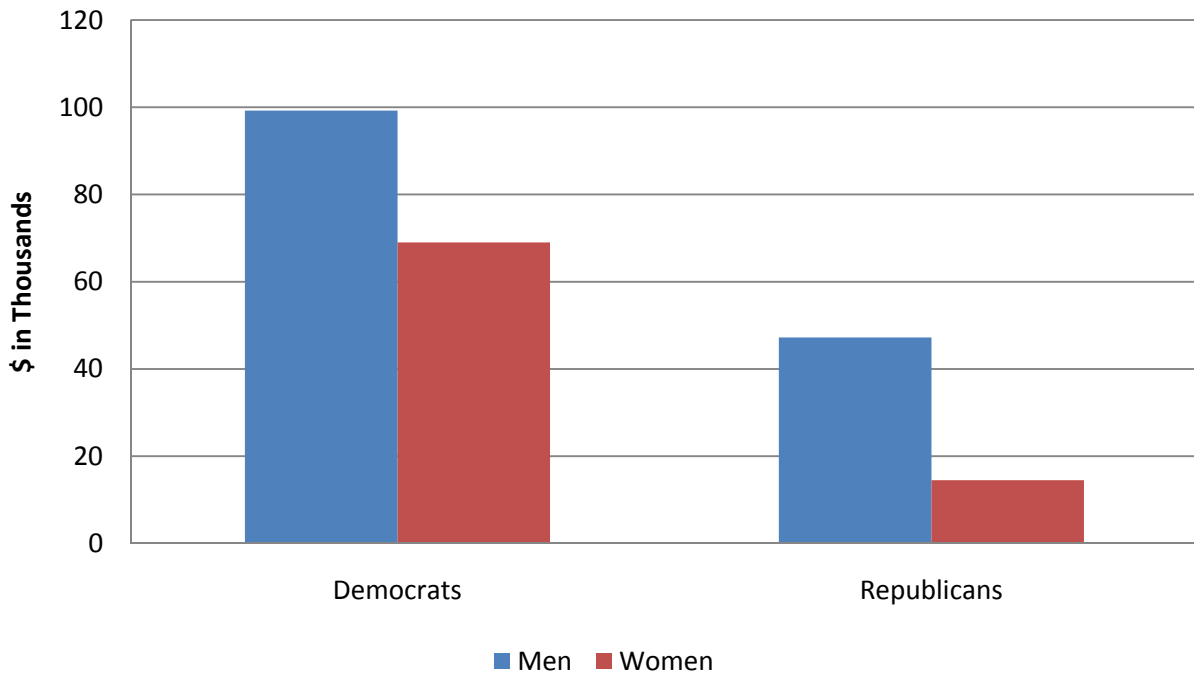


**Figure 15: Types of Expenditures by Female General Election Candidates to the General Assembly**



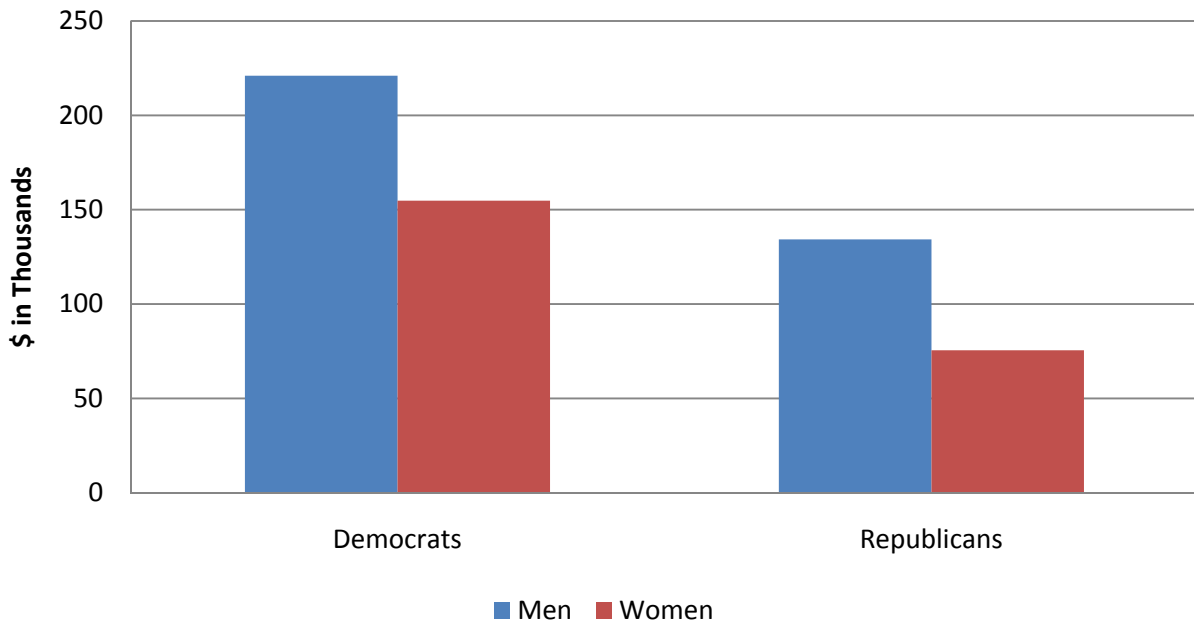
As with fundraising, the amounts spent by male and female general election candidates also differed between parties. In the House of Delegates, Democrats of either gender spent more than Republicans of either gender. Specifically, male Democratic candidates spent about \$100,000 while female Democratic candidates spent roughly \$70,000, on average (see Figure 16). The typical male and female Republican candidates spent less than those totals. Specifically, male Republican candidates spent \$47,000, on average, while female Republican candidates spent approximately \$14,500.

**Figure 16: Gender, Partisanship, and Average Spending by General Election Candidates for the House of Delegates**



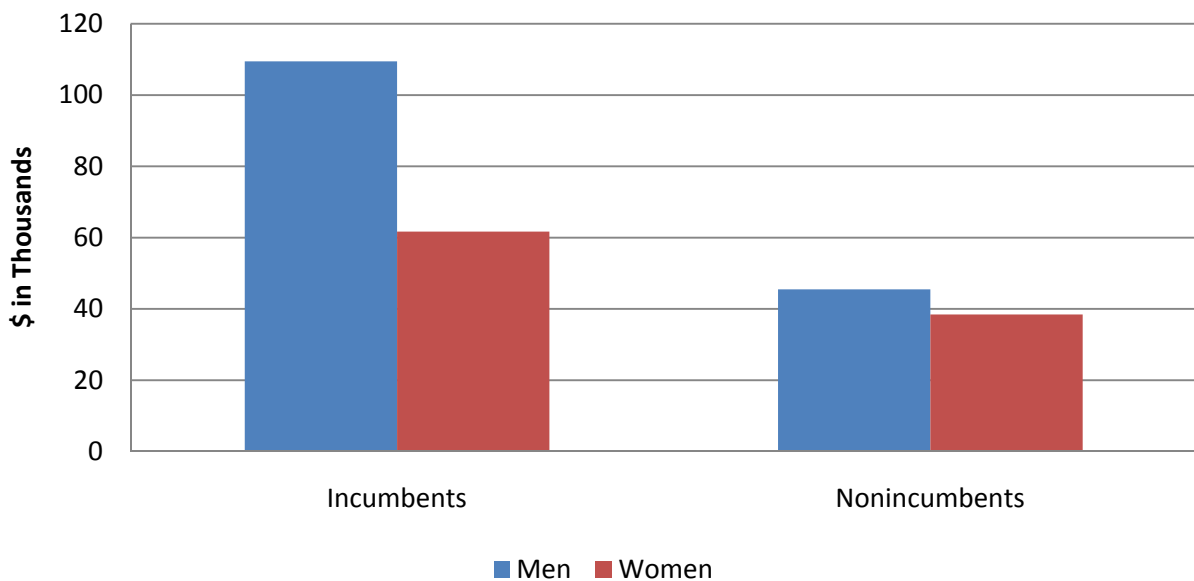
Among general election candidates for the State Senate, the pattern was the same (see Figure 17). Democratic candidates from either gender spent more than their Republican counterparts, but within each party men spent more, on average.

**Figure 17: Gender, Partisanship, and Average Spending by General Election Candidates for the State Senate**



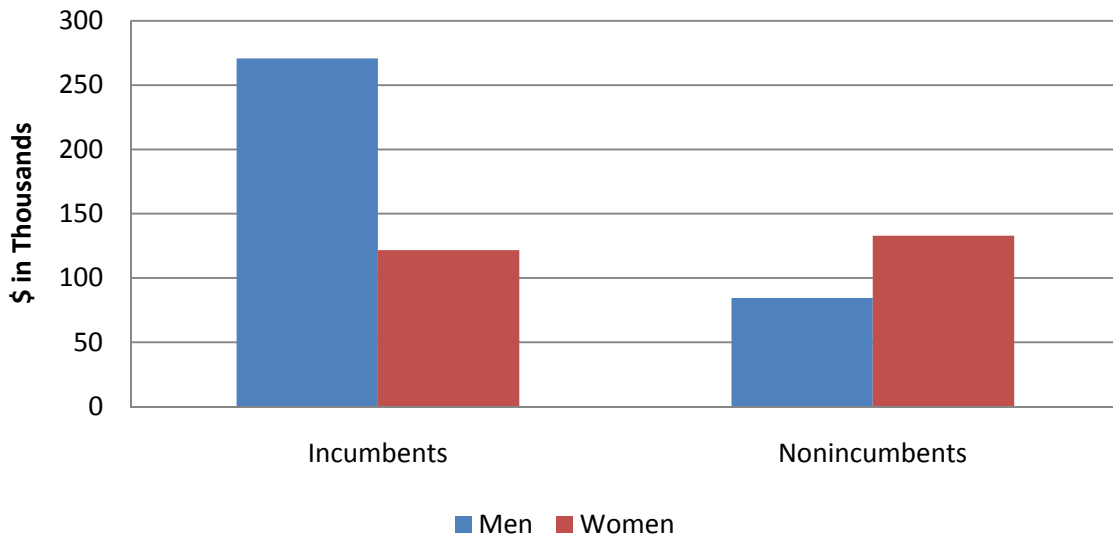
Incumbency also factored into the amount of money male and female general election candidates spent. Again, incumbent candidates outspent nonincumbents regardless of gender, although male candidates spent more within each category (see Figure 18). Specifically, male incumbents spent approximately \$109,500, on average, while the average female incumbent spent \$61,700. Male nonincumbents spent approximately \$45,000, on average, while female incumbents spent \$38,000, on average.

**Figure 18: Incumbency, Gender, and Average Spending by General Election Candidates to the House of Delegates**



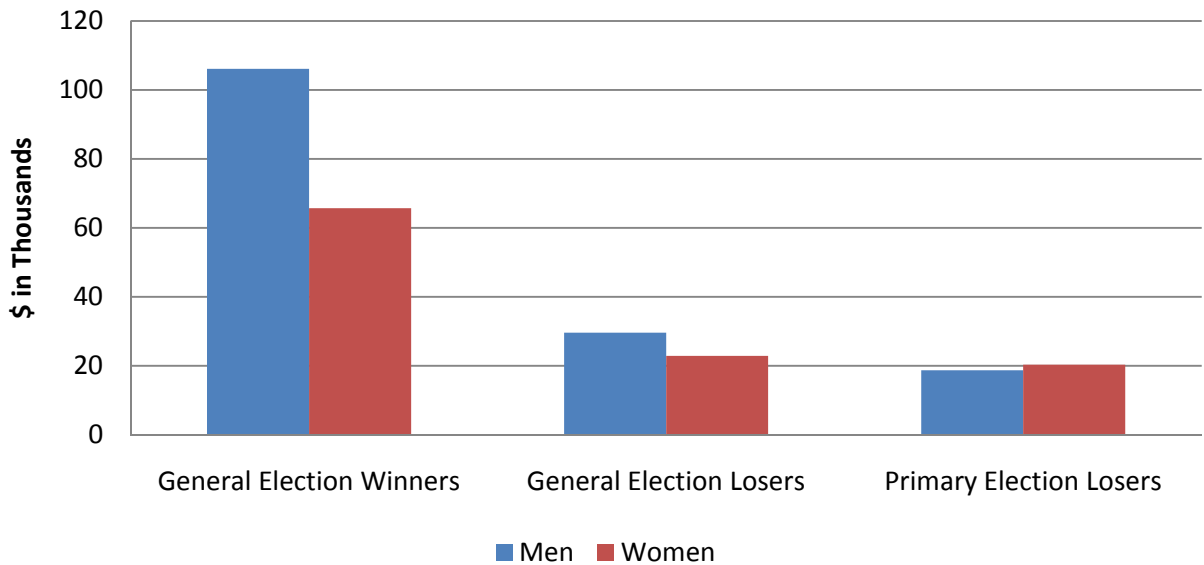
In the Senate, the gap between the amount male and female incumbents spent (approximately \$150,000) is much greater than in the House of Delegates (see figure 9). The average male incumbent spent about \$270,800 while the average female incumbent spent approximately \$121,700. Interestingly, female nonincumbents outspent female incumbents by about \$10,000 on average. Male nonincumbents spent the least of all groups.

**Figure 19: Incumbency, Gender, and Average Spending by General Election Candidates to the State Senate**



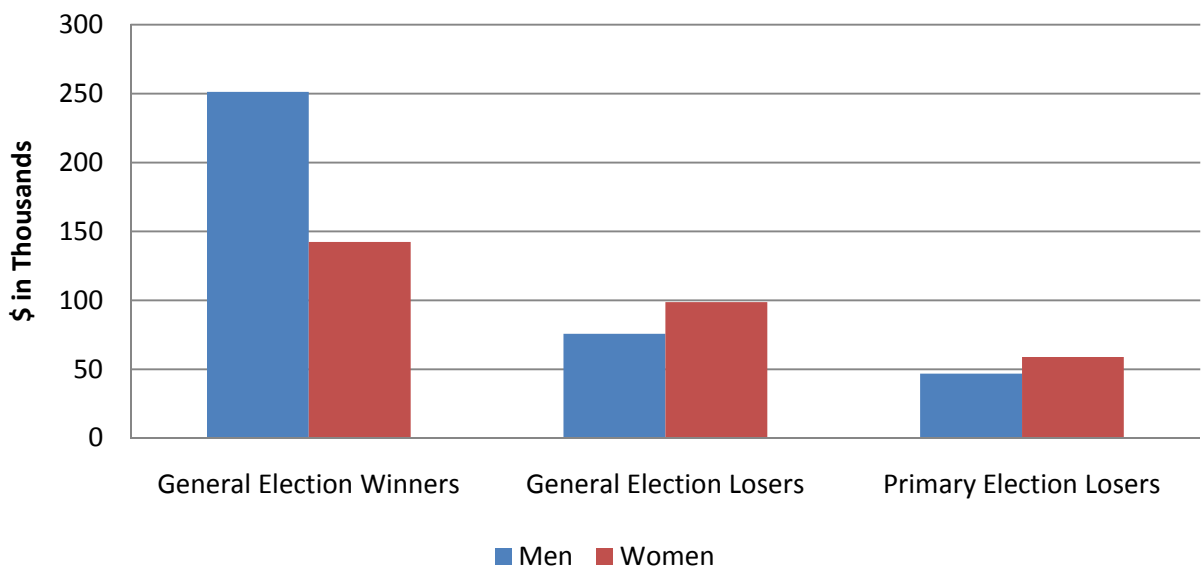
As with fundraising, electoral success influenced the spending of candidates. Among candidates for the House of Delegates, male and female general election winners spent more than either category of election losers, with winning men spending more than winning women (see Figure 20). Specifically, the average male general election winner spent about \$106,100 and the average female candidate spent about \$65,000. Among general election losers, male candidates also spent more than female candidates, though the gap was smaller. Specifically, the average female candidate spent about \$22,800 compared to the average male, who spent roughly \$29,600. Among primary election losers, female candidates actually spent more than male candidates, though by a small margin. The average female candidate spent about \$20,300 while the average male candidate spent approximately \$18,700.

**Figure 20: Electoral Success, Gender, and Average Spending by Candidates for the House of Delegates**



The pattern is similar among general election candidates for the State Senate (see figure 21). General election winners spent the most, with the average male candidate spending about \$251,200 and the average female spending more than \$100,000 less, or approximately \$142,400, on average. Among those candidates who lost the general election, female candidates spent more than male candidates by about \$20,000. Specifically, female candidates spent about \$98,700 while male candidates spent approximately \$75,800. Female candidates also spent more amongst those who lost the primary election. They spent about \$59,000, on average, while the average male candidate spent about \$46,900.

**Figure 21: Electoral Success, Gender, and Average Spending by Candidates for the State Senate**



The findings concerning gender and expenditures mirror those found with fundraising. Male candidates spent more money in most cases as a result of having raised more funds. Generally, male and female candidates spent their money in similar ways: mostly on campaigning activities such as advertising and direct mail. A difference did arise in the percentage of campaign expenditures candidates transferred to other candidates or political organizations, with almost 20% of male candidates' expenditures going to this purpose. The similarities between the spending habits of male and female candidates suggest gender has little effect on campaign expenditures.

## **Appendix:**

### **The Study**

The campaign finance data used in this report were obtained from the Maryland State Board of Elections and cover the full 2006 election cycle, defined as the period between January 1, 2003 and December 31, 2006. The data are compiled from all expenditures made by all campaign accounts belonging to candidates for the General Assembly during the election cycle. Some of the figures in this report may not perfectly match the figures generated by the Maryland Elections Center website because the data on the website are subject to updating and corrections by the Maryland State Board of Elections. The campaign finance data were supplemented with other information collected by the Center for American Politics and Citizenship.

### **About the Authors**

Chimdi Ihezue is an undergraduate research assistant at the Center for American Politics and Citizenship and is majoring in Government and Politics at the University of Maryland.

Paul S. Herrnson is Director of the Center for American Politics and Citizenship, Professor of Government and Politics, and Distinguished Scholar-Teacher at the University of Maryland.

### **About the Center for American Politics and Citizenship**

The Center for American Politics and Citizenship (CAPC) is a nonpartisan, non-profit research institution within the Department of Government and Politics of the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences at the University of Maryland. CAPC provides citizens and policy-makers with research on critical issues related to the nation's political institutions, processes, and policies. For more information see <http://www.capc.umd.edu> or write the Center for American Politics and Citizenship, University of Maryland, 3102 Morrill Hall, College Park, MD 20742.

### **Recommended Citation**

Chimdi Ihezue and Paul S. Herrnson. 2010. "Gender and Campaign Finance in the 2006 Maryland General Assembly Elections." College Park, Md. Center for American Politics and Citizenship, University of Maryland.

< <http://www.capc.umd.edu/mdelection/reports/gender06.pdf> >