

**LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP AND THE 2006 ELECTIONS**  
**TO THE MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

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**A report by**

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## **Executive Summary**

The legislative leaders of the Maryland General Assembly behaved differently than the typical legislator in raising and spending money during the 2006 election. Leaders were able to use their institutional status to raise, and subsequently spend, more money than the typical incumbent legislator. Furthermore, the data presented here suggest that legislative leaders serve as conduits of money for their fellow partisans and allied political organizations, redistributing their dollars in order to aid the overall prospects of their party.

### Major Findings:

- On average, legislative leaders in both parties raised and spent more money than their fellow incumbents.
- The chief party leaders of the Democratic Party, Speaker of the House Michael E. Busch and Senate President Thomas V. “Mike” Miller, raised and spent sums that were vastly greater than any of their fellow legislators.
- Legislative leaders of both parties transfer large sums of money to their fellow partisan candidates and other political organizations.
- Democratic leaders are able to raise and spend more than their Republican counterparts.

## **Introduction**

This report examines the campaign finances of legislative leaders in the Maryland General Assembly during the 2006 election cycle. Specifically, it highlights important patterns in both campaign fundraising and expenditures among these institutional leaders vis-à-vis their colleagues.

There are numerous institutional leadership positions in each chamber of the Maryland General Assembly. The House of Delegates is led by the Speaker of the House, selected by the membership of the chamber. Each party also selects a caucus leader and various whips to assist with leadership activities. The Speaker and Majority Leader have significant discretion over the operation of the House of Delegates, including committee appointments, the selection of committee chairs, and the chamber's agenda. Committee chairs likewise have significant discretion over the activities of their committees.

In the Senate, a President is selected by the entire chamber as a presiding officer, and each party likewise selects a caucus leader and several whips. As in the House of Delegates, the Senate President and Majority Leader have significant power over appointment and scheduling. Committee chairs also share a degree of power and influence similar to that of their counterparts in the lower chamber.

Generally, legislative leaders have an advantage in both fundraising and campaign spending over their colleagues. Because of the leaders' influence over the lawmaking process, they receive large donations from individuals and groups seeking to influence the legislative process. As a consequence the leaders also have more money to spend during the election cycle. Furthermore, gaining an institutional leadership post may be partly a consequence of superior fundraising abilities, which help them maintain those leadership posts or rise to higher ones. Institutional leaders are also in a position to contribute large amounts to their fellow partisan legislators.

## I. Legislative Leadership in the General Assembly, 2006

In each chamber of the Maryland General Assembly there are two types of legislative leaders. First, there are members of the party leadership. In the House of Delegates these members include the Speaker of the House, the Majority and Minority Leaders, the Deputy and Assistant Majority and Minority Leaders, and numerous whips. In the Senate, there is the Senate President, the Majority and Minority Leaders, and numerous assistant leaders and whips. Table 1 and Table 2 list the members of each party's leadership in the two chambers in 2006.

**Table 1. Party Leadership in the Maryland House of Delegates, 2006**

Democrats		Republicans	
Position	Delegate	Position	Delegate
Speaker of the House	Michael E. Busch	Minority Leader	George C. Edwards
Speaker Pro Tempore	Adrienne A. Jones	Assistant Minority Leader	Christopher B. Shank
Deputy Speaker Pro Tempore	Carolyn J. Krysiak	Minority Whip	Anthony J. O'Donnell
Parliamentarian	Pauline H. Menes	Assistant Minority Whip	Jeannie Haddaway
Majority Leader	Kumar P. Barve	Chief Deputy Whip	William J. Frank
Deputy Majority Leader	Mary. A. Conroy		
Assistant Majority Leader	Samuel I. Rosenberg		
Majority Whip	Anthony G. Brown		
Assistant Majority Whip	Brian K. McHale		
Chief Deputy Whip	John P. Donoghue		
Chief Deputy Whip	Brian R. Moe		

**Table 2. Party Leadership in the Maryland State Senate, 2006**

Democrats		Republicans	
Position	Senator	Position	Senator
Senate President	Thomas V. "Mike" Miller	Minority Leader	J. Lowell Stoltzfus
President Pro Tempore	Ida G. Ruben	Minority Whip	Andrew P. Harris
Majority Leader	Nathaniel J. McFadden		
Deputy Majority Leader	Edward J. Kasemeyer		
Assistant Deputy Majority Leader	Philip C. Jimeno		
Majority Whip	James E. DeGrange, Sr.		
Deputy Majority Whip	Jennie M. Forehand		
Assistant Deputy Majority Whip	Katherine A. Klausmeier		

Each chamber also has several committee chairs. Table 3 and Table 4 list the chairs of each of the standing committees in the House and Senate in 2006.

**Table 3. Chairs of Standing Committees in the Maryland House of Delegates, 2006**

Committee	Chairperson
Appropriations	Norman H. Conway
Economic Matters	Dereck E. Davis
Environmental Matters	Maggie McIntosh
Health and Government Operations	Peter A. Hammen
Rules and Executive Nominations	Hattie N. Harrison

**Table 4. Chairs of Standing Committees in the Maryland State Senate, 2006**

Committee	Chairperson
Budget and Taxation	Ulysses Currie
Education, Health, and Environmental Affairs	Paula C. Hollinger
Executive Nominations	Philip C. Jimeno
Finance	Thomas M. Middleton
Judicial Proceedings	Brian E. Frosh
Rules	Leo E. Green

With the exceptions of Senators Philip C. Jimeno (D) and Leo E. Green (D), each of these members of the General Assembly filed to run for elected office in 2006 and raised and spent funds in support of those efforts.

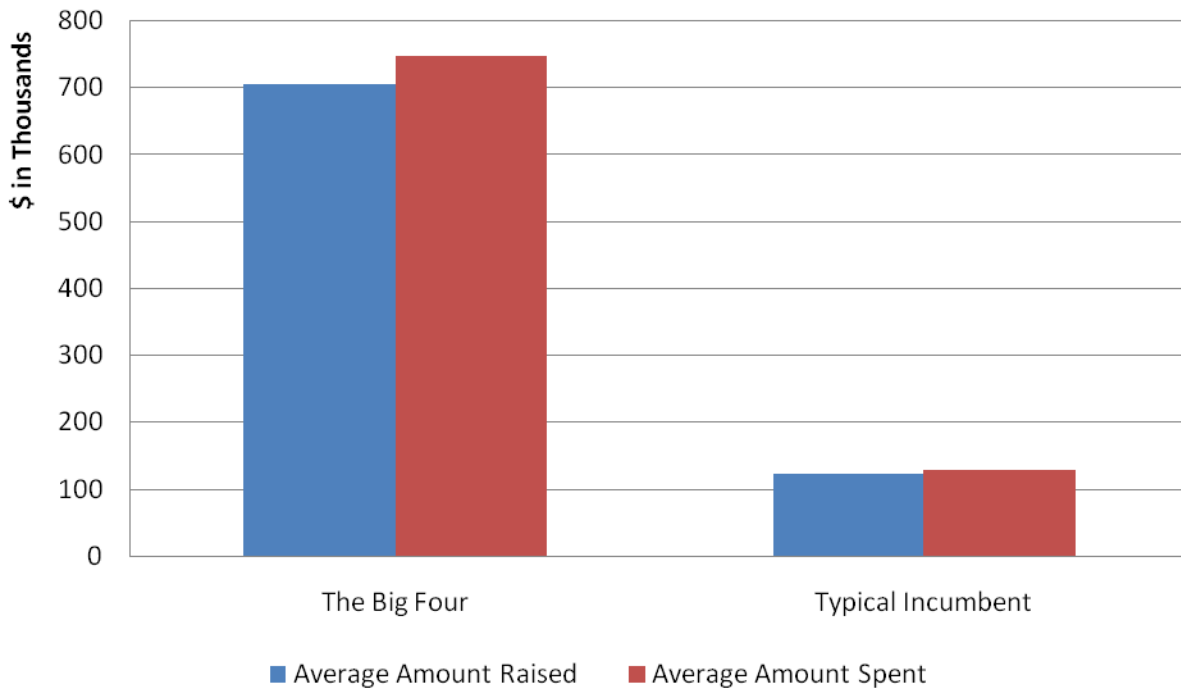
## II. The Big Four Party Leaders

Leaders are typically able to raise and spend more campaign funds than other incumbents because of their special status within the legislature. Leaders have institutional prerogatives that make them more influential than the typical legislator. Individuals and groups looking to influence the General Assembly naturally give more to party leaders because they have the ability to set the legislature’s agenda and appoint members to important positions within the body. They also have incentives to contribute more to committee chairs, as they have significant discretion over the schedule and decision making of their respective committees.

The four primary party leaders, or the big four, in the General Assembly are the Speaker of the House, the House Minority Leader, the Senate President, and the Senate Minority Leader. These legislators are the clear leaders of their party in each respective chamber. As top leaders, these legislators attract more money from influence-oriented individuals and groups. Their stature is probably also a sign of their superior fundraising prowess. Similarly, these legislators are able to spend more money on their own reelection efforts as well as those of their partisan allies in the General Assembly.

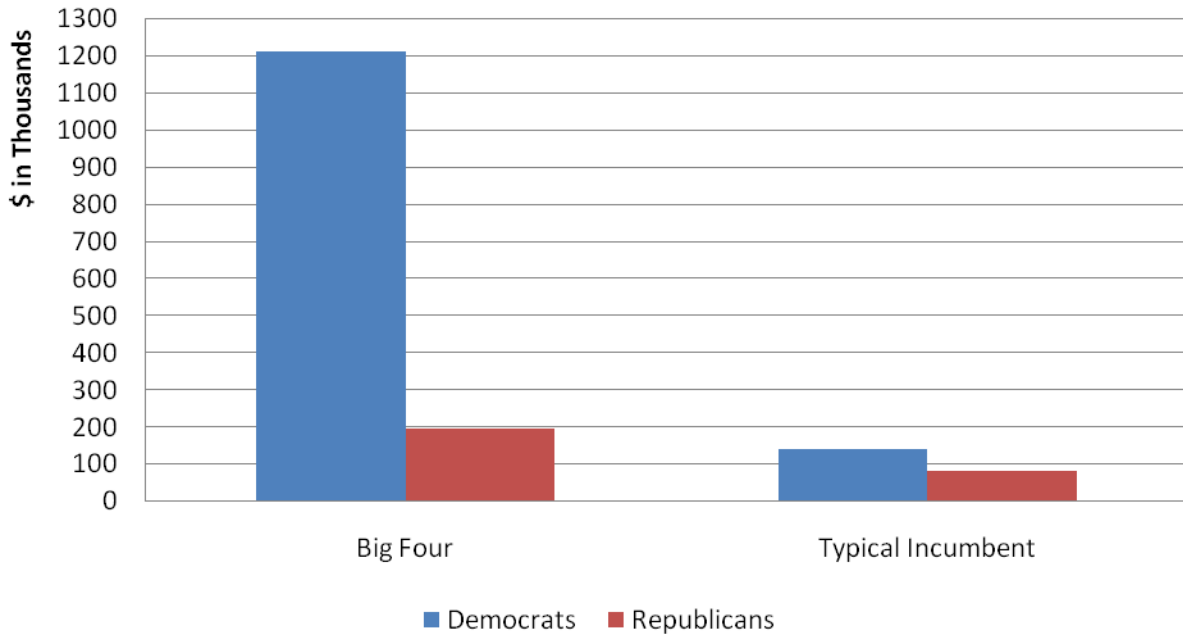
During the 2006 election cycle, the big four raised an average of \$703,559 (see Figure 1). Comparatively, the typical incumbent candidate for the General Assembly raised just over \$123,000. Similarly, these four leaders spent, on average, \$746,446, compared to \$127,697 by the typical legislator.

**Figure 1. Average Amount Raised and Spent: The Big Four vs. the Typical Incumbent**



There were, however, important differences in the fundraising patterns of leaders from each party. Specifically, the two Democratic leaders, Speaker Michael Busch and Senate President Thomas V. “Mike” Miller, raised \$1,200,839 and \$1,222,247, respectively, while their Republican counterparts, House Minority Leader George C. Edwards and Senate Minority Leader J. Lowell Stoltzfus, raised considerably less (\$177,299 and \$213, 824, respectively).<sup>1</sup> However, as Figure 2 demonstrates, both sets of leaders raised much more than the typical incumbent in their party.

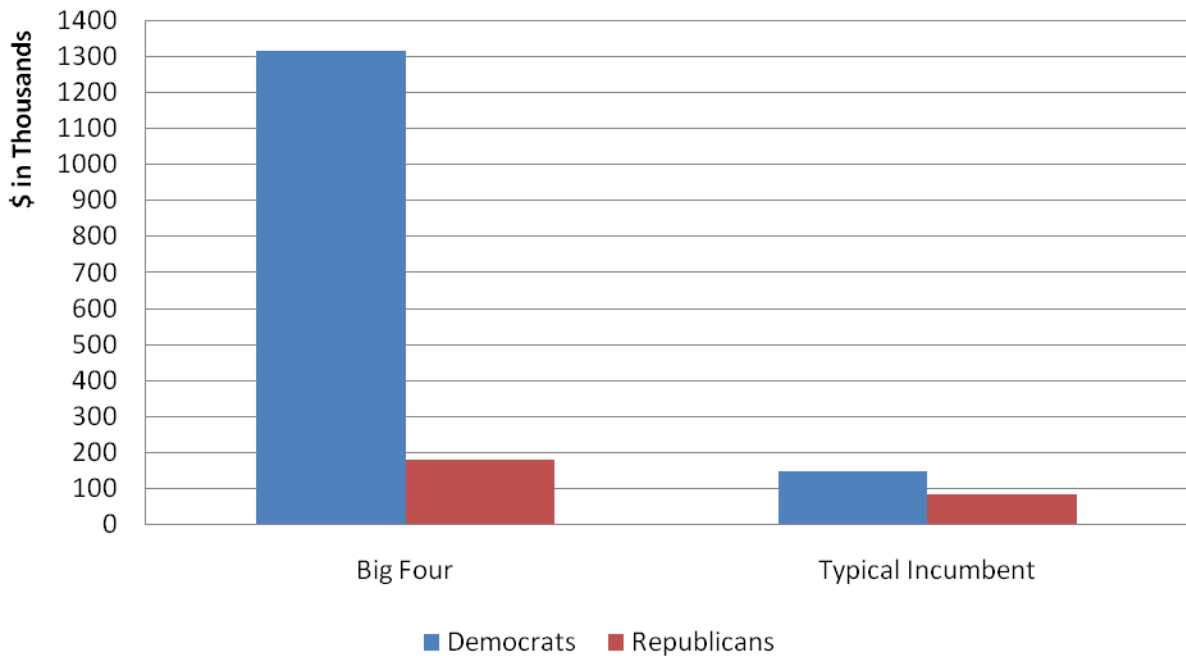
**Figure 2. Average Amount Raised by Party: The Big Four vs. the Typical Incumbent**



<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that Minority Leader Edwards did not run for reelection to the House of Delegates in 2006, but instead campaigned successfully for a seat in the State Senate. However, it is likely that Edwards was still able to leverage his status as standing House Minority Leader into a fundraising advantage.

Similarly, the Democratic leaders in each chamber spent much more money than their Republican counterparts. Speaker Michael Busch and Senate President Thomas V. “Mike” Miller spent \$1,205,648 and \$1,420,864, respectively. Their Republican counterparts, House Minority Leader George C. Edwards, and Senate Minority Leader J. Lowell Stoltzfus, spent considerably less, expending \$151,492 and \$207,780, respectively. Figure 3 demonstrates, however, that both sets of leaders still outspent the typical incumbent from their party, although the difference among Democrats is much more striking.

**Figure 3. Average Amount Spent by Party: The Big Four vs. the Typical Incumbent**

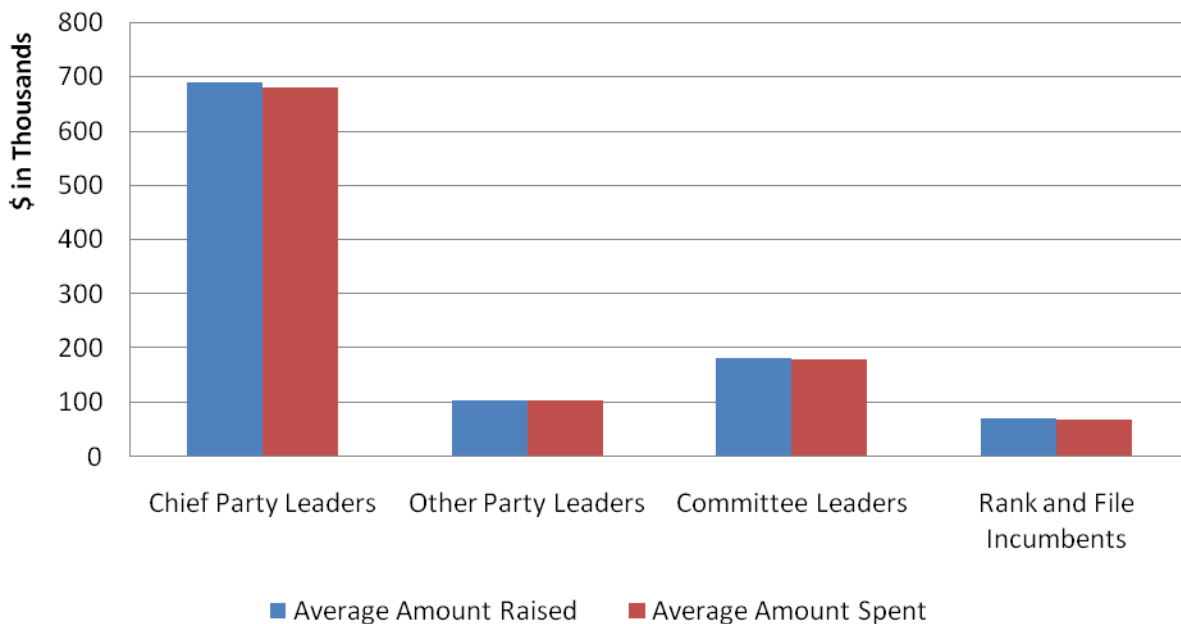


### III. Fundraising and Spending by All Legislative Leaders

#### *Overall Fundraising and Spending*

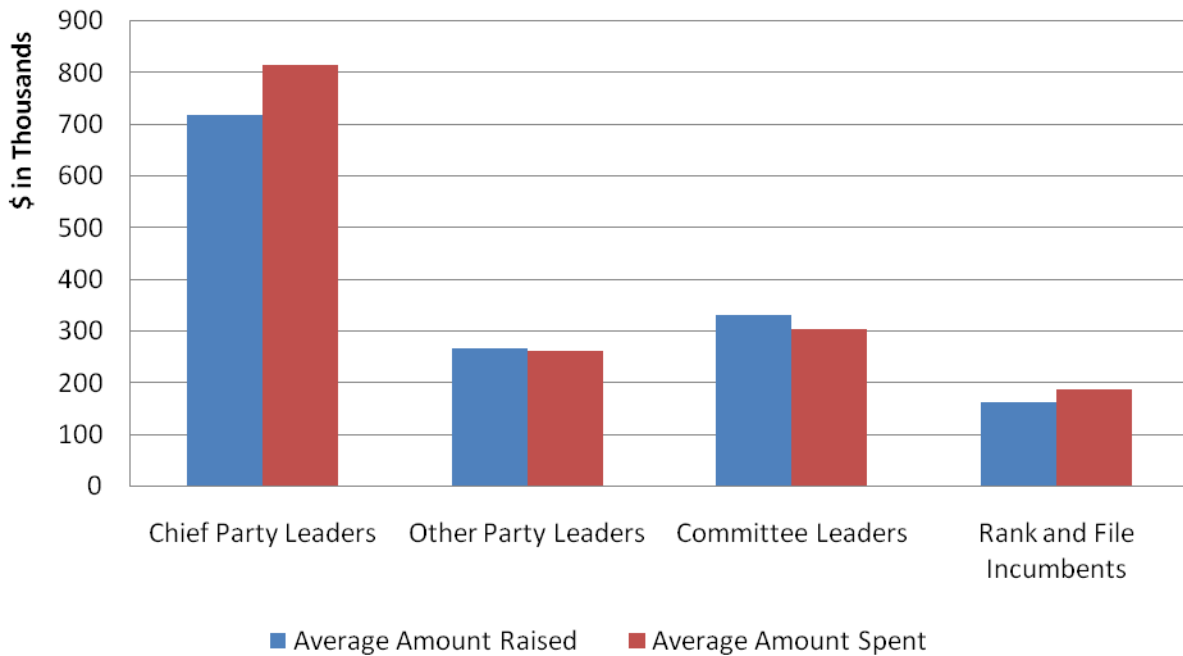
While not as prolific in their fundraising as the big four, the rest of the party leadership and the committee leaders in each chamber also raised and spent sums well above the average. In 2006, other party leaders (excluding the top two leaders) that ran for reelection to the House of Delegates raised and spent, on average, just over \$100,000 for their campaigning efforts (see Figure 4). Committee chairs that sought reelection also raised and spent substantial amounts—around \$180,000, on average. Comparatively, rank-and-file delegates, or delegates that were neither part of the party leadership nor a committee chair, raised and spent totals closer to \$70,000, on average; about two-thirds the average total of other party leaders and about one-third the average total among committee chairpersons.

**Figure 4. Average Amount Raised and Spent by Institutional Status in the House of Delegates**



In the State Senate the pattern was similar. Senate party leaders besides the two chief leaders raised and spent, on average, around \$265,000 on their reelection efforts (see Figure 5). Committee chairs that ran for reelection raised and spent, on average, well over \$300,000. Comparatively, rank-and-file incumbent senators raised \$163,032 and spent \$188,090, on average, for their reelection efforts; a total that is less than two-thirds, and just more than one-half, the amount raised and spent by other party leaders and committee chairpersons, respectively.

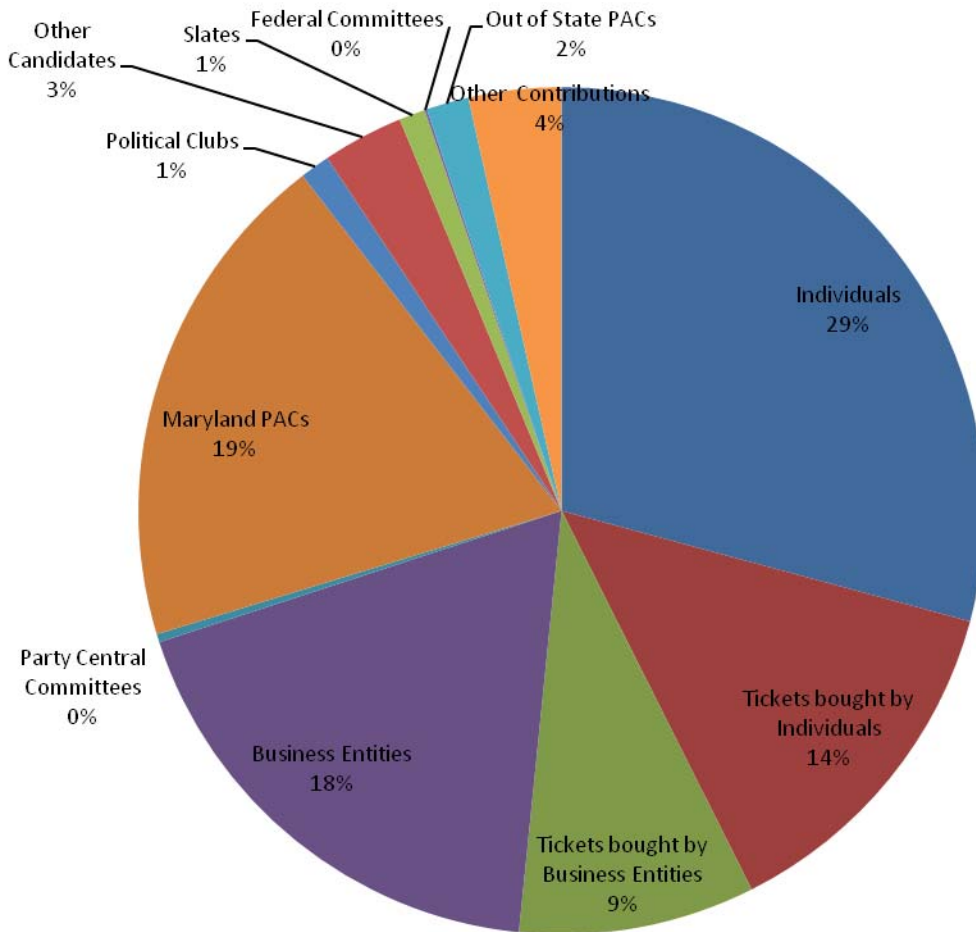
**Figure 5. Average Amount Raised by Institutional Status in the State Senate**



### *The Sources of Funding*

In the House of Delegates, different categories of legislators turned to different sources for their campaign funds. Figure 6 presents the sources of funding for the typical rank-and-file legislator in the House. The typical rank-and-file incumbent raised most of his or her funds from individual donors, business entities, Maryland PACs, and ticket sales to fundraising events. By contrast, the typical incumbent received very few contributions from other candidates, slates, and other political organizations.

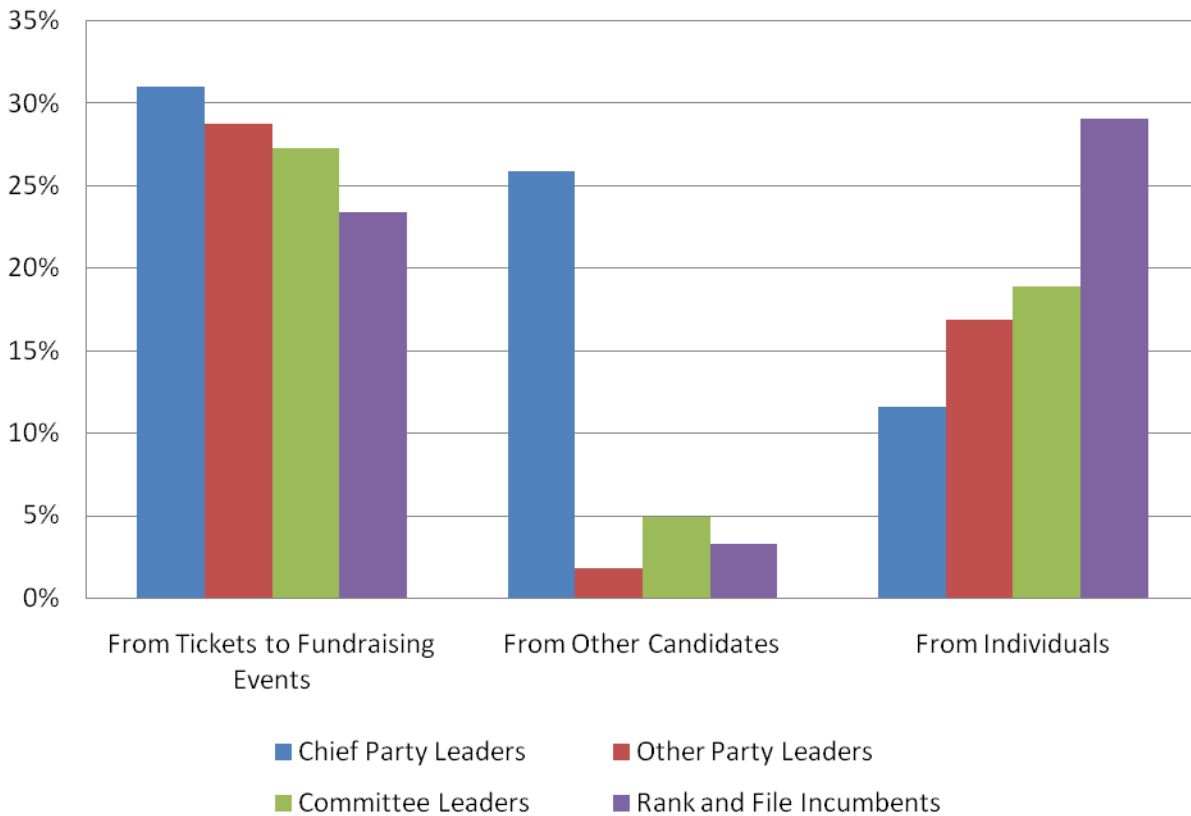
**Figure 6. Sources of Campaign Funds for the Typical Rank-and-File Delegate**



Members of the House of Delegates that held leadership positions raised their funds differently from rank and file members. Specifically, members of the party leadership and committee chairs raised larger proportions of their funds by selling tickets to fundraising events (see Figure 6). Chief party leaders, other party leaders, and committee chairs raised 31%, 29%, and 27%, respectively, using this method compared to 23% among rank-and-file incumbents. Party and committee leaders are able to raise more by selling tickets to fundraisers because donors want access to the most powerful members of the assembly. Chief party leaders raised a much larger proportion of their funds from other candidates than did any of the other three categories of delegates, reflecting, again, the role of party leaders in raising and redistributing funds to aid the overall prospects of the party.

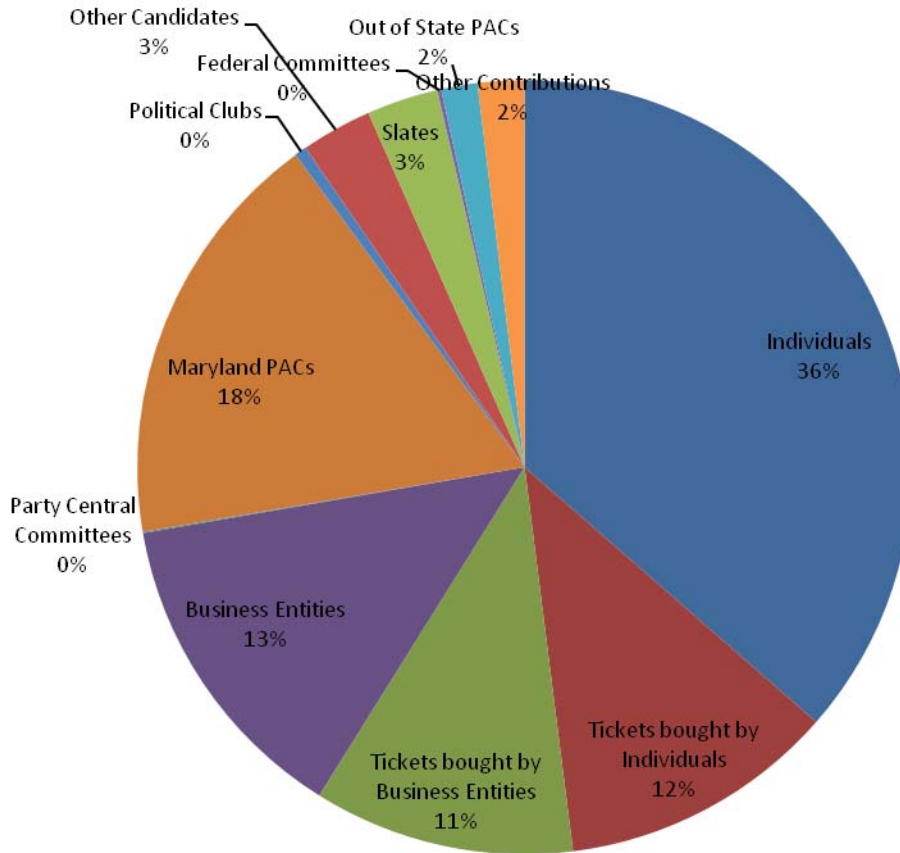
Finally, rank-and-file incumbents raised a much larger proportion of their funds from individual donors. Specifically, rank-and-file incumbents raised almost 30% of their funds from individuals while party leaders and committee chairs raised between 10% and 20% of their funds in this way. While legislators holding leadership positions usually raised more in total dollars from individual donors, these funds amounted to a smaller portion of their overall receipts. This is an artifact of their ability to raise money from other sources.

**Figure 7. Sources of Campaign Funds Among Different Categories of Delegates**



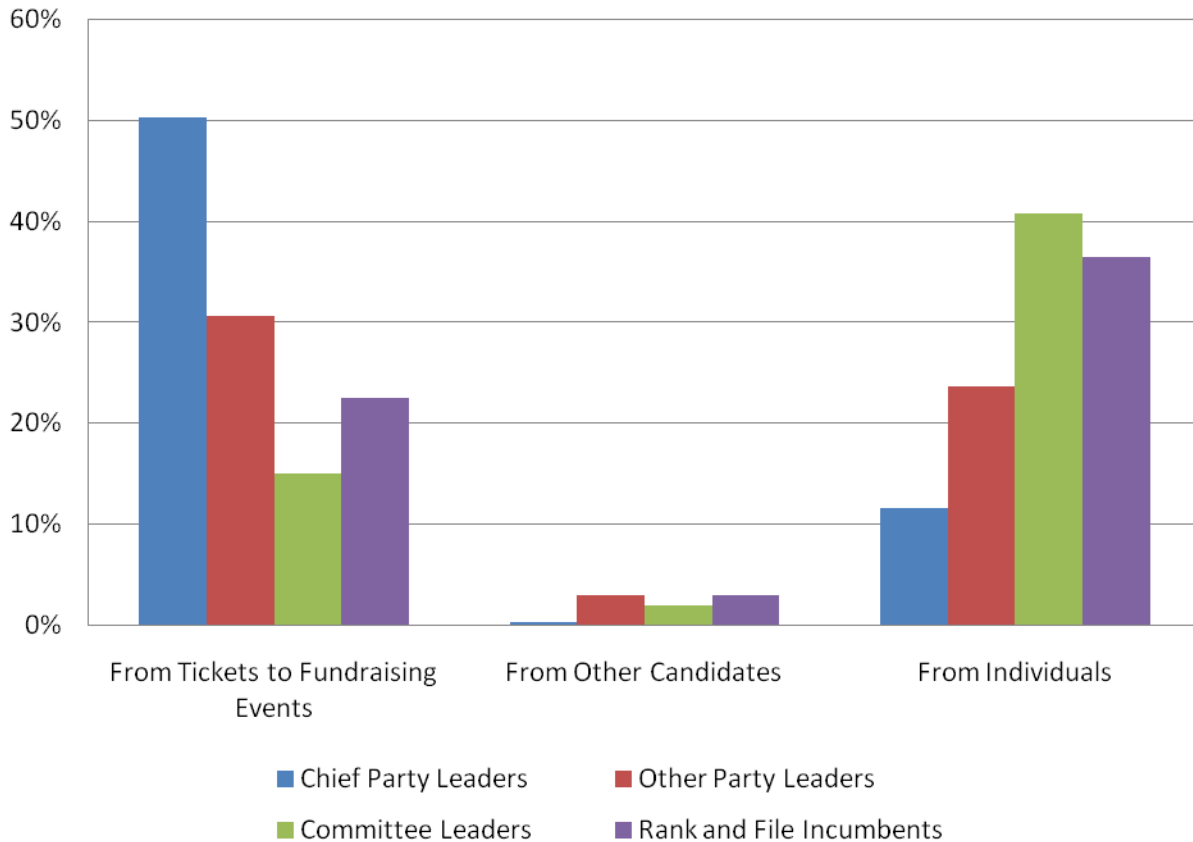
State Senate leaders, like their House counterparts, raise their funds from somewhat different sources than rank-and-file legislators. Figure 8 shows the sources of funding for a typical rank-and-file member of the Senate. The typical rank-and-file Senator, like the typical House member, raised most of his or her funds from individual donors, Maryland PACs, business entities, and by selling tickets to fundraising events. Only a small proportion of funds were received from other candidates, slates, and other political organizations.

**Figure 8. Sources of Campaign Funds for the Typical Rank-and-File State Senator**



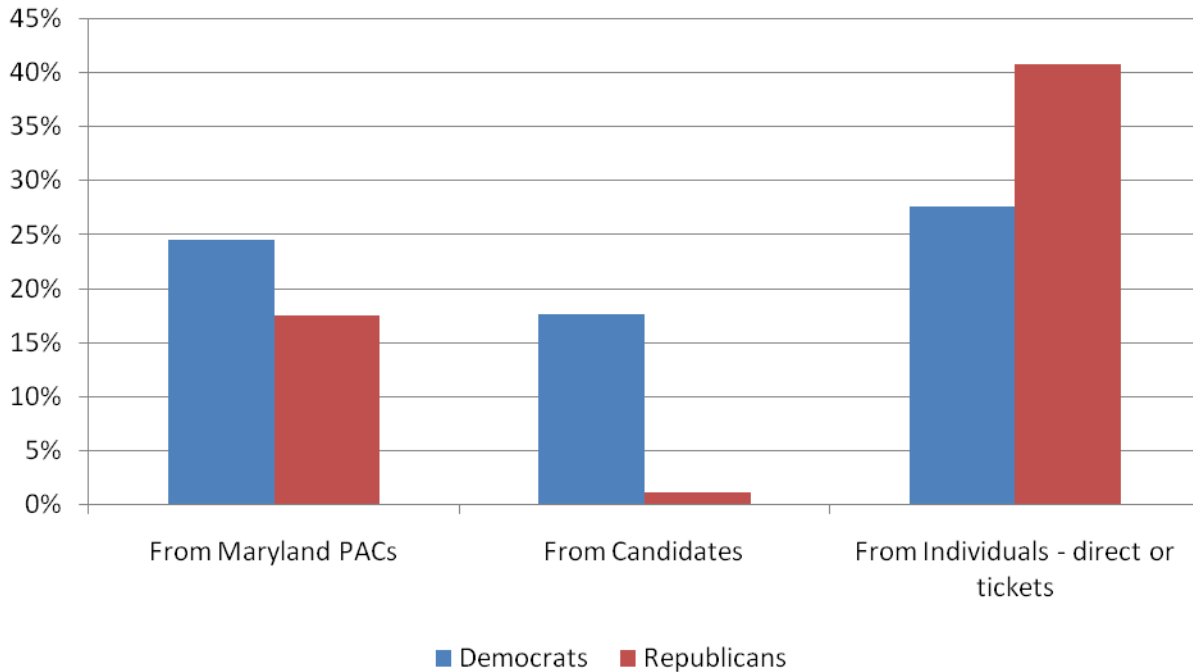
State Senators that held leadership positions raised their funds differently than typical Senators. Party leaders raised a much larger proportion of their campaign funds by selling tickets to fundraising events than did rank-and-file incumbents (see Figure 7). This is especially true among the chief party leaders; they raised, on average, 50% of their funds from ticket sales. However, in the Senate, it was committee chairs rather than rank-and-file incumbents that raised the smallest proportion of their money from fundraisers, totaling just 15%. Unlike in the House, chief party leaders did not raise much campaign money from other candidates. Lastly, party leaders in the Senate raised a much smaller proportion of their funds from individual donors than did rank-and-file incumbents. However, unlike in the House, committee chairs, on average, also raised a large proportion of their funds from individual donors, with these monies totaling almost 37% of their total contributions. It is important to keep in mind, however, that party leaders and committee leaders alike raised more total dollars from individuals than did rank-and-file Senators.

**Figure 9. Sources of Campaign Funds Among Different Categories of State Senators**



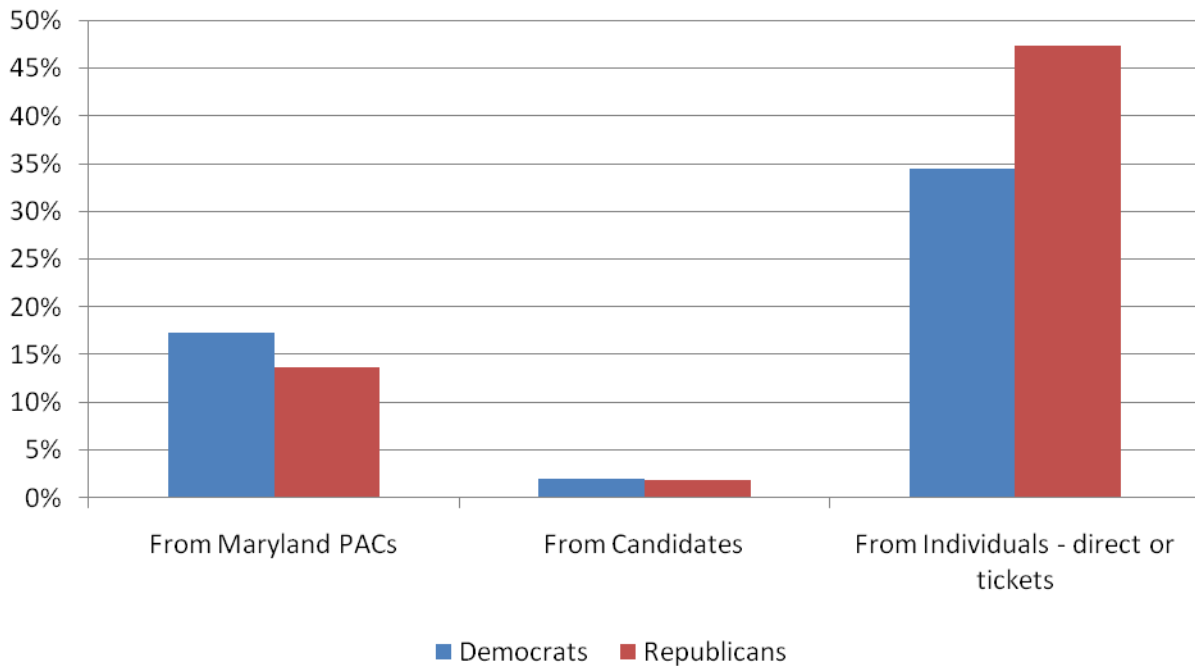
There were also important differences across parties. Democratic leaders in the House raised, on average, more money than their Republican counterparts. Specifically, Democratic leaders raised an average of \$231,638 while Republican leaders raised, on average, \$115,568. These funds also came from different sources. Democratic leaders raised larger proportions of their funds from Maryland PACs and from other candidates, while Republican leaders raised a larger proportion of their funds from individual donors (whether through direct donations or through ticket sales).

**Figure 10. Sources of Campaign Funds to Leaders by Partisanship in the House of Delegates**



Among Senate leaders the differences were not as stark. Democratic leaders in the Senate raised more money on average than their Republican colleagues, but the difference was not as great. Specifically, Senate Democratic leaders raised an average of \$364,899 while Republican leaders raised, on average, \$307,020. Democratic and Republican leaders also raised similar proportions of their funds from Maryland PACs and other candidates. The biggest difference was in funds received from individual donors. Here, Republican leaders received a significantly larger proportion of their funds from individuals (either through direct donations or through ticket sale) than their Democratic colleagues.

**Figure 11. Sources of Campaign Funds to Leaders by Partisanship in the State Senate**

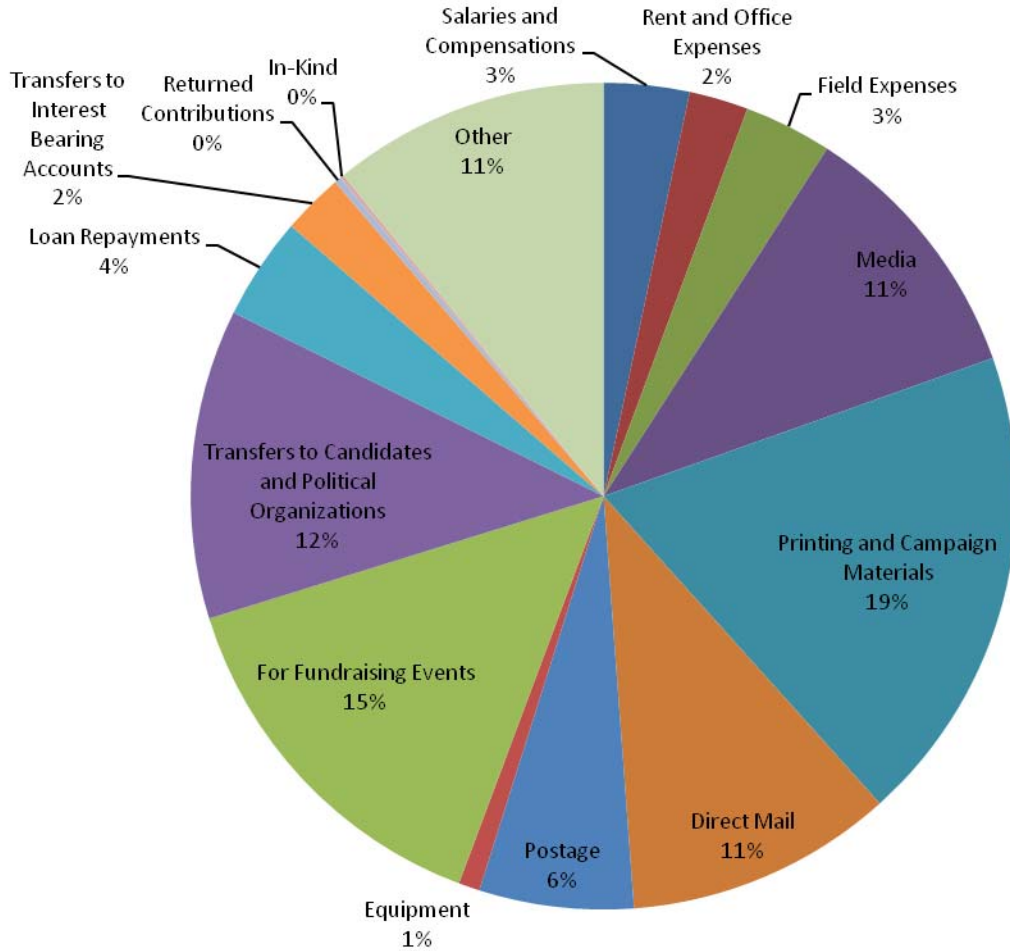


Combined, these results suggest a few conclusions. First, leaders of both parties and committee chairs were able to raise much larger sums of money, on average, in 2006 than did rank-and-file legislators. This was especially the case for the Speaker of the House and the Senate President. Second, members who held institutional positions of power raised more money through fundraising events than other legislators, largely because they were able to tap into large contributions from donors desiring political access to those at the center of power in Annapolis. Third, Democratic leaders in the House of Delegates raised a great deal of money from their fellow candidates. These leaders appear to operate much like parties do at the federal level, raising and redistributing campaign funds in order to aid the overall prospects of the party.

*How the Money Was Spent*

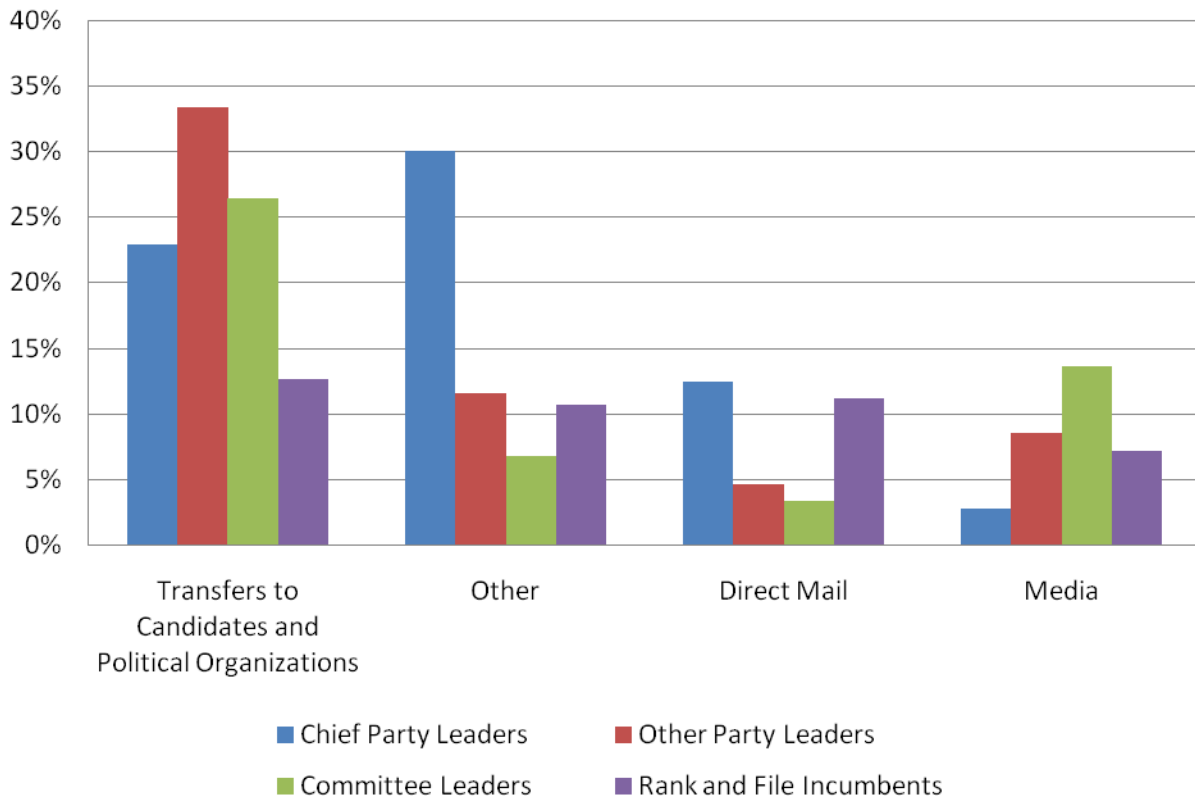
Not surprisingly given their unique fundraising and spending patterns, legislative leaders spent their funds differently than other legislators. Figure 12 presents the campaign expenditures made by a typical rank-and-file member of the House of Delegates. Spending on media advertising, printing and campaign materials, mailing, fundraising events, and transfers to candidates and other political organizations account for 75% of the typical House member's expenditures.

**Figure 12. Distribution of Expenditures by the Typical Rank-and-File Delegate**



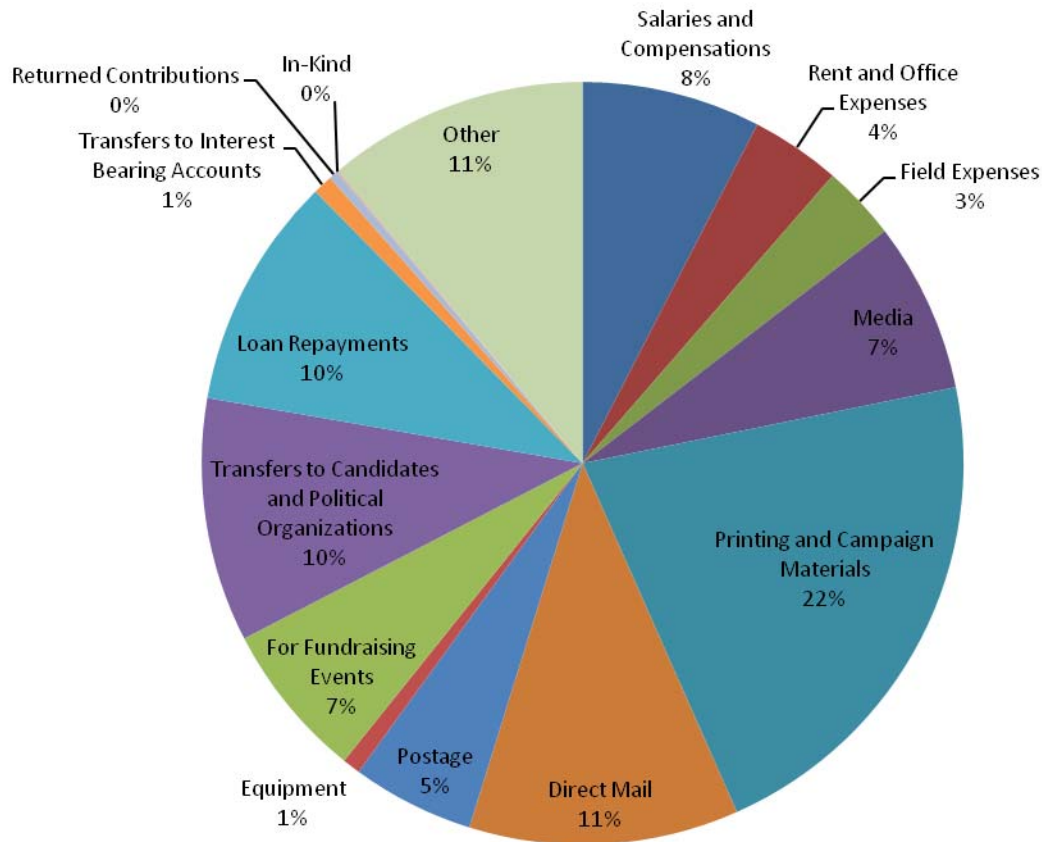
The differences between House leaders' spending patterns and those of other members are highlighted in Figure 13. House party leaders and committee chairs transferred a much larger percentage of their funds to other candidates and political organizations than rank-and-file incumbents. Chief party leaders spent a much larger proportion of their funds on "other" expenditures, such as banking costs, local outreach events, charitable donations and events, and receptions. Chief party leaders and rank-and-file incumbents also spent larger proportions of their funds on direct mail. Finally, the chief party leaders spent much smaller proportion of funds on media advertising than other incumbents.

**Figure 13. Distribution of Expenditures Among Different Categories of Delegates**



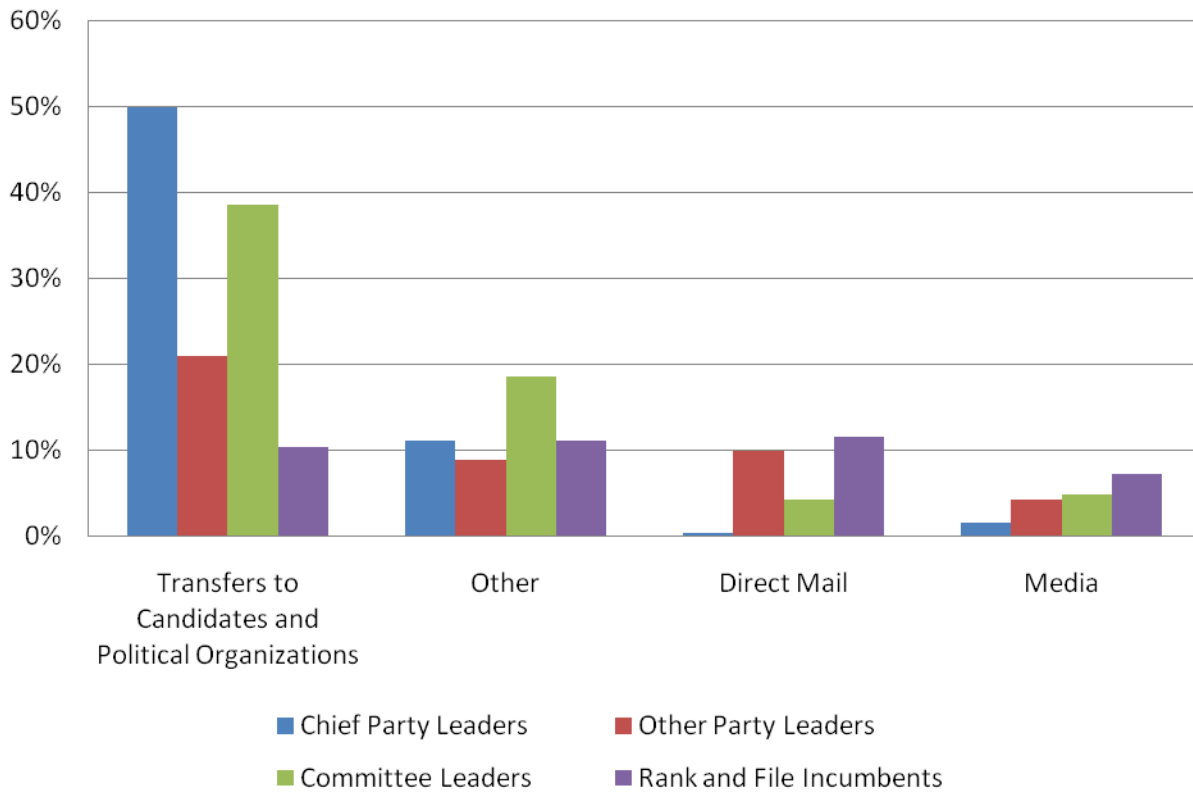
Similar patterns were apparent among State senators. Figure 14 presents the expenditures of a typical rank-and-file State Senator. The largest percentage of funds was spent on printing and campaign materials followed by expenditures on mailings. Senators also spent a fair amount on salaries and compensations, fundraising events, and transfers to candidates and other political organizations.

**Figure 14. Distribution of Expenditures by the Typical Rank-and-File State Senator**



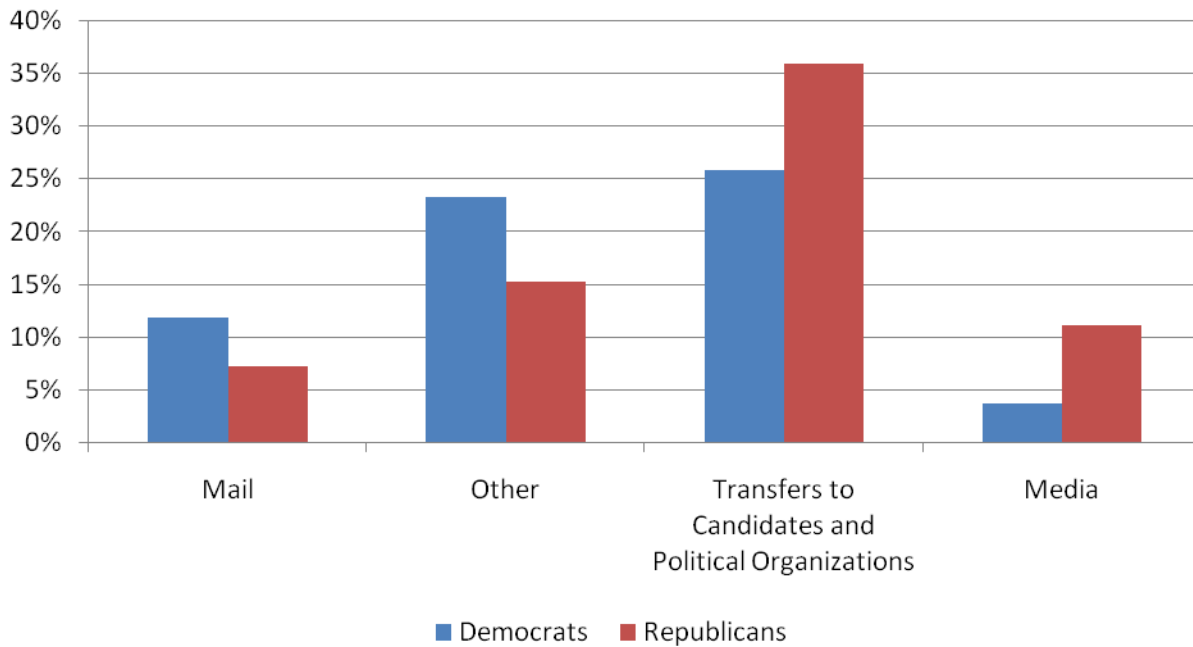
Senate leaders spent their money somewhat differently than the typical Senator. Party leaders and committee chairs transferred larger proportions of their funds to other candidates and political organizations than other Senators. This was especially true among the chief party leaders and committee chairs, who transferred, on average, roughly 50% and 39% of their funds, respectively, to other candidates and organizations.

**Figure 15. Distribution of Expenditures Among Different Categories of State Senators**



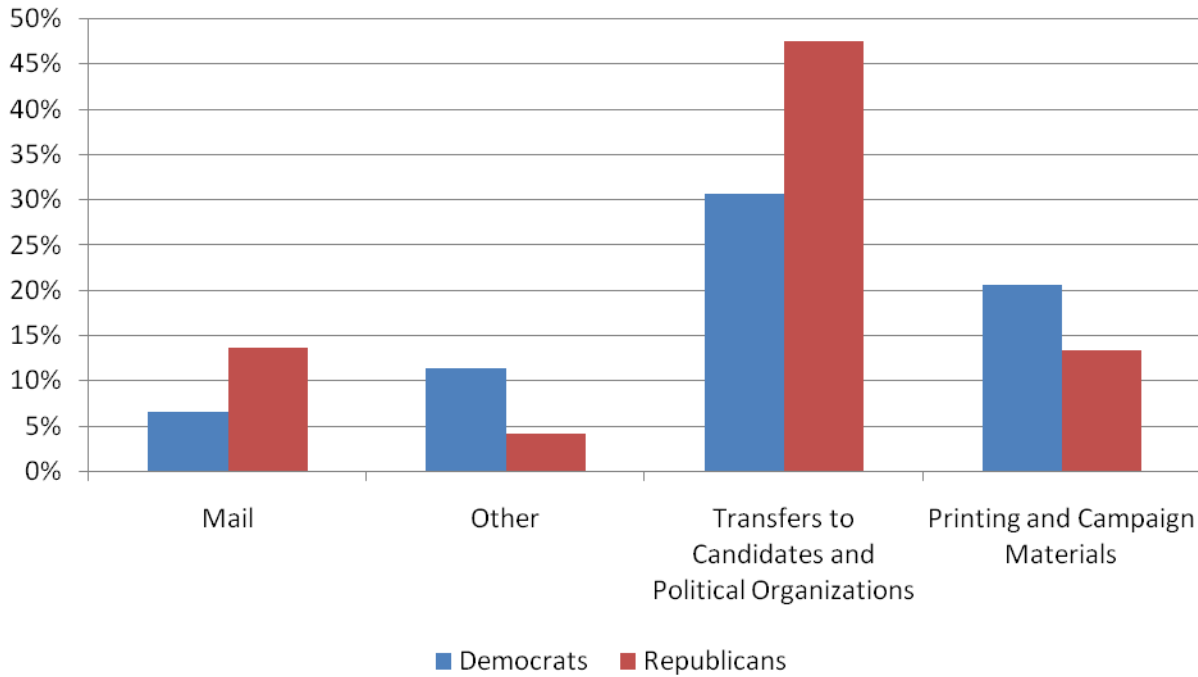
There were differences in spending between the leaders of each party as well. In the House, Democratic leaders (both party leaders and committee leaders) spent more money, on average, than their Republican colleagues. Specifically, Democratic leaders spent \$231,838, on average, and Republican leaders spent \$116,948, on average. Democratic leaders spent larger portions of their funds on mail and on expenditures categorized as “other” (see Figure 16). Leaders from both parties made large transfers to other candidates and political organizations; however Republican leaders transferred significantly more. Finally, Republican leaders spent a larger proportion of their funds on media advertising costs.

**Figure 16. Distribution of Expenditures by Leaders by Partisanship in the House of Delegates**



There were also differences in spending patterns among leaders in the State Senate. Again, Democratic leaders outspent Republican leaders. On average, Democratic leaders spent \$394,033, while Republican leaders spent \$287,497. Unlike in the House where Democratic leaders spent more on mail, in the Senate Republican leaders spent more than twice as much on mail than their Democratic counterparts. Republican leaders also transferred a larger portion of their funds to other candidates and political organizations, although leaders of both parties transferred substantial sums to others. As was the case in the House, Democratic leaders spent a larger portion of their funds on “other” expenditures. Finally, Democratic leaders spent larger portions of their money on printing and campaign materials than their Republican counterparts.

**Figure 17. Distribution of Expenditures by Leaders by Partisanship in the State Senate**



These data suggest a few conclusions. First, just as leaders raised more money, they also spent more money. Second, incumbents holding leadership positions spend substantial portions of their funds in ways that do not appear to directly affect their own prospects for reelection. Legislative leaders in Maryland have assumed the roles of financial conduits. That is, leaders in both parties and in both chambers raise large sums of money from donors seeking influence in the legislature and then redistribute much of that money to their fellow candidates and allied organizations. This enables them to improve the overall prospects of their party's candidates in election years.

## **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**

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