

**CANDIDATE-TO-CANDIDATE CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE
2006 MARYLAND STATE ELECTIONS**

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A report by

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Executive Summary

Candidates for Maryland state offices contributed more than \$2 million to other candidates during the 2006 election cycle. This report examines who gave contributions to other candidates, who received them, and some of the different political factors that influence a candidate's likelihood of giving or receiving these contributions. In general, this report finds that candidate-to-candidate contributions function as a way for well-established incumbents to support the candidacies of financially needy candidates. In the process, these incumbents aid their party in winning elections and increase their own political influence.

Major Findings:

- Roughly 45% of all candidates for elected office in Maryland either contributed or received candidate-to-candidate contributions.
- The top 20 contributors account for 41% of all money given by candidates to other candidates.
- The top 20 recipients received 53% of all of all money given by candidates to other candidates.
- General Assembly candidates accounted for most of the flow of money among candidates, giving 45% and receiving 53% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions.
- There was a net inflow of cash into the gubernatorial race, with gubernatorial and lieutenant gubernatorial candidates giving 8% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions, but receiving 22% of all such contributions.
- Among candidates for the General Assembly, Democrats, incumbents, and general election winners were more likely to give and more likely to receive candidate-to-candidate contributions.
- Among candidates for the General Assembly, candidates who were members of more than one fundraising slate committee gave and received more than the candidates who were members of one or zero slates.
- Candidate-to-candidate contributions flowed to candidates running in competitive races and to high-profile, or institutionally powerful candidates, such as the Speaker of the House of Delegates, the President of the State Senate, and candidates for Governor.
- Among candidates for the General Assembly, candidate-to-candidate contributions were skewed toward those who eventually won their general election contest, suggesting that these funds can influence election outcomes and that those who give them may contribute to likely winners in order to curry influence with them at a later date.

Introduction

During the 2006 elections, candidates for office in the State of Maryland contributed nearly \$2 million to each other. This total accounted for roughly 5% of all funds raised in Maryland. This, in conjunction with the roughly \$12 million candidates transferred to and from fundraising slate committees, totals \$14 million transferred among candidates during the 2006 elections ([click here](#) to view a report on slate committee activity during the 2006 elections).

There are two main reasons why candidates would give money to other candidates. First, established incumbents, party leaders, and other high profile candidates with large campaign war chests give to candidates who are in financial or electoral need, thereby aiding their chances of success and helping their party win more seats in the legislature or elsewhere. Second, money flows as a form of influence—candidates give to other candidates in order to create obligations, allowing them to call in favors later, whether in the form of support for a specific bill, a committee assignment, or even the reciprocal return of campaign cash.

Candidate-to-candidate contributions are defined as contributions from one candidate's campaign finance committee to another's. These contributions are similar to contributions from individuals, PACs, or businesses; however, Maryland election law sets a limit of \$6,000 in total contributions from one candidate to another. Candidates are free to give to and receive from as many other candidates as they please.

This report examines candidate-to-candidate contributions during the 2006 election in detail, highlighting patterns in giving and receiving relating to factors such as partisanship, incumbency, and electoral success.

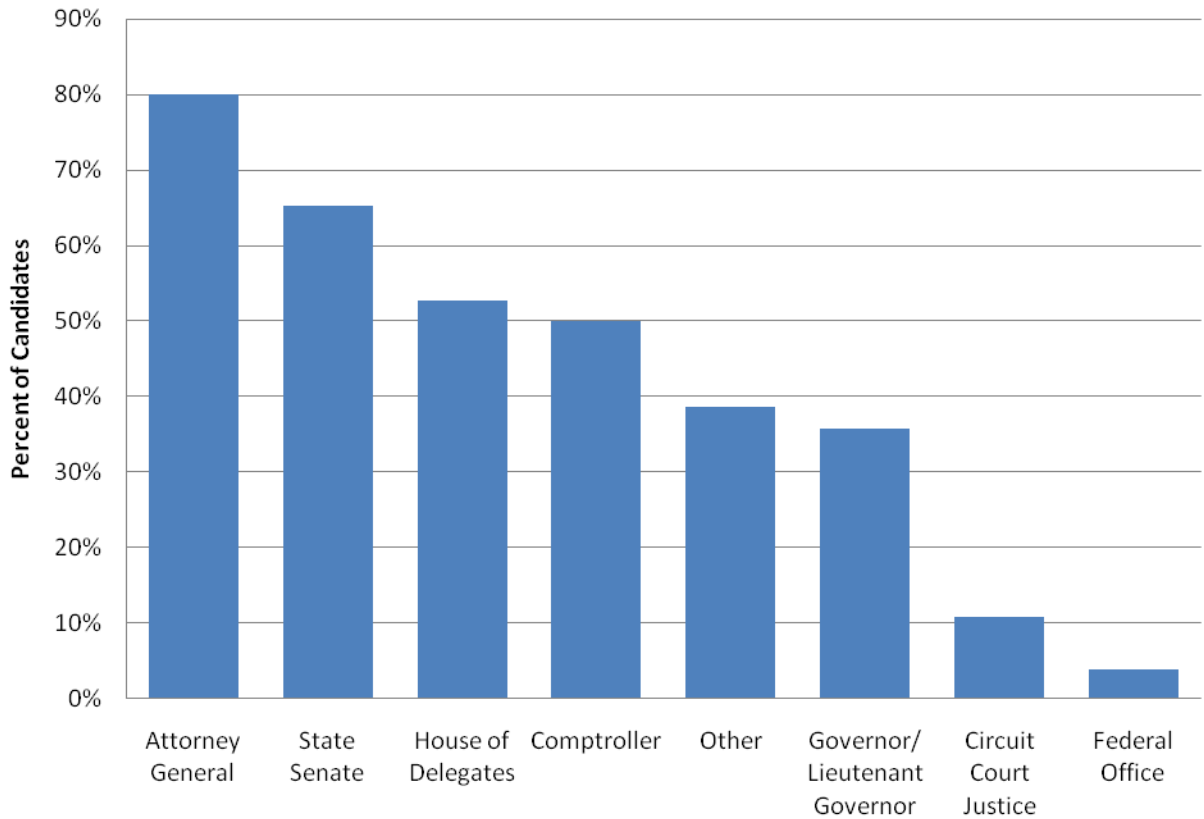
Candidate-to-candidate Transfers in 2006

In 2006, there were 1,545 total candidates seeking office in the State of Maryland. Approximately 650 of these candidates, or 45%, either gave or received candidate-to-candidate contributions. Among these candidates, 410 gave money to other candidates (27% of all candidates), and 515 received money (33% of all candidates). Just 215 candidates, or about 14% of all candidates, both gave and received money.

Those involved in candidate-to-candidate giving ran for a variety of offices. However, candidates running for certain offices were more likely to have given or received (see Figure 1). Candidates for Attorney General were most likely to have been involved in candidate-to-candidate contributing, with three of the five candidates (80%) for that office either giving or receiving funds. State Senate and House of Delegates candidates were also likely to have been involved, with 65% and 52% giving or receiving funds, respectively. Exactly half of the eight candidates for Comptroller gave or received candidate-to-candidate donations. Approximately 39% of candidates running for other offices were involved in the transfer of funds among candidates. This includes candidates for county executive, county council, and a myriad of other local level offices, as well as candidates who did not actively seek a specific office in 2006.

Five of the fourteen candidates for Governor or Lieutenant Governor, about 36%, were involved in distributing or accepting candidate-to-candidate contributions. Candidates for the Circuit Courts and individuals running for federal offices (the U.S. House and U.S. Senate) in the State of Maryland were less likely to have been involved in candidate-to-candidate contributing, with just 11% and 4% giving or receiving such funds, respectively.

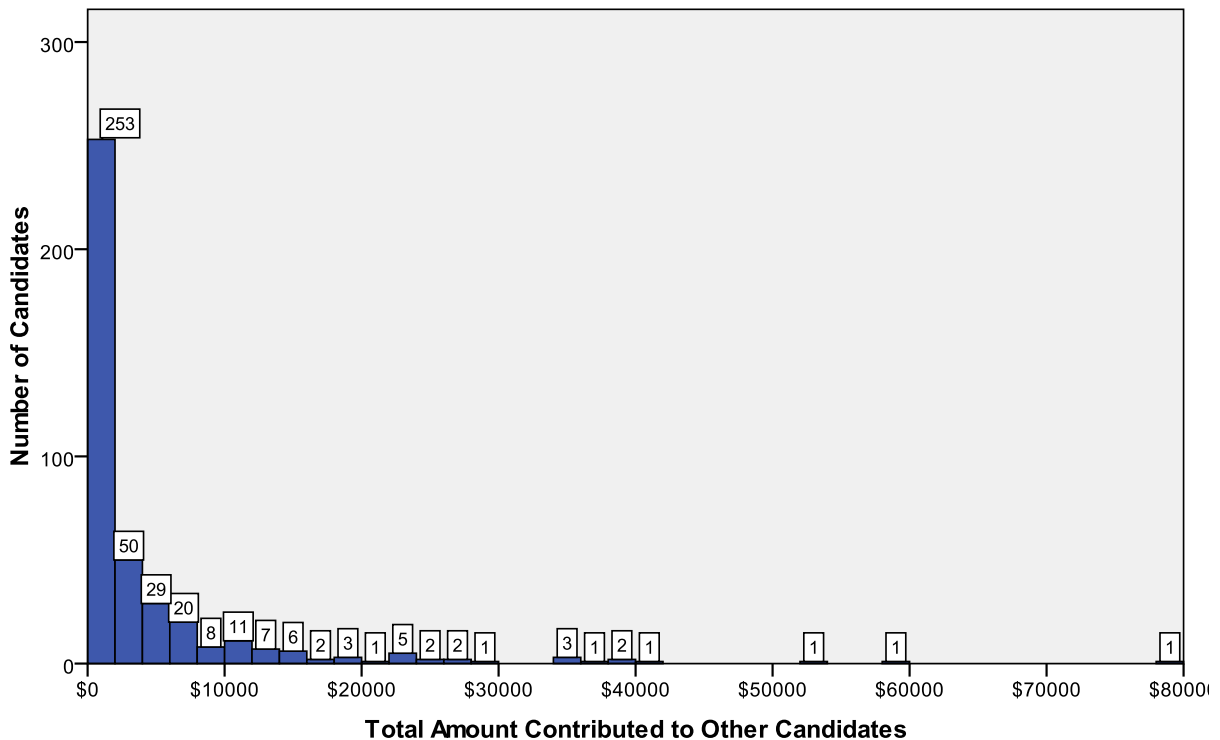
Figure 1: Candidates that Make or Receive Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions by Office



Sources of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions

In 2006, 410 candidates (or about 27% of all candidates) reported contributing a total of approximately \$1.7 million to other candidates in Maryland. Of these contributing candidates, each gave an average of approximately \$4,200 to other candidates. However, most candidates gave exceedingly less than this amount (see Figure 2). Roughly 253 of the contributing candidates, or 62%, gave less than \$2,000. In total, just 50 candidates, or 12% of all contributors, gave more than \$10,000 to other candidates.

Figure 2: The Distribution of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions in 2006



While most candidates gave very little or nothing to other candidates in 2006, a small group of influential candidates gave very large amounts. Table 1 presents the twenty largest candidate-to-candidate givers in 2006 cycle. Among the top givers were some of the most powerful political figures in Maryland. Senate President Thomas V. “Mike” Miller was the top donor, giving almost \$80,000 to other candidates. Gubernatorial candidate Martin O’Malley and former Governor Parris Glendening also gave more than \$50,000 each. State Senator Andrew Harris was the largest contributing Republican in 2006, giving roughly \$34,000 to other candidates. Altogether, these top twenty contributors, combined, gave just over \$700,000, or approximately 41% of all the money given by candidates to other candidates in 2006.

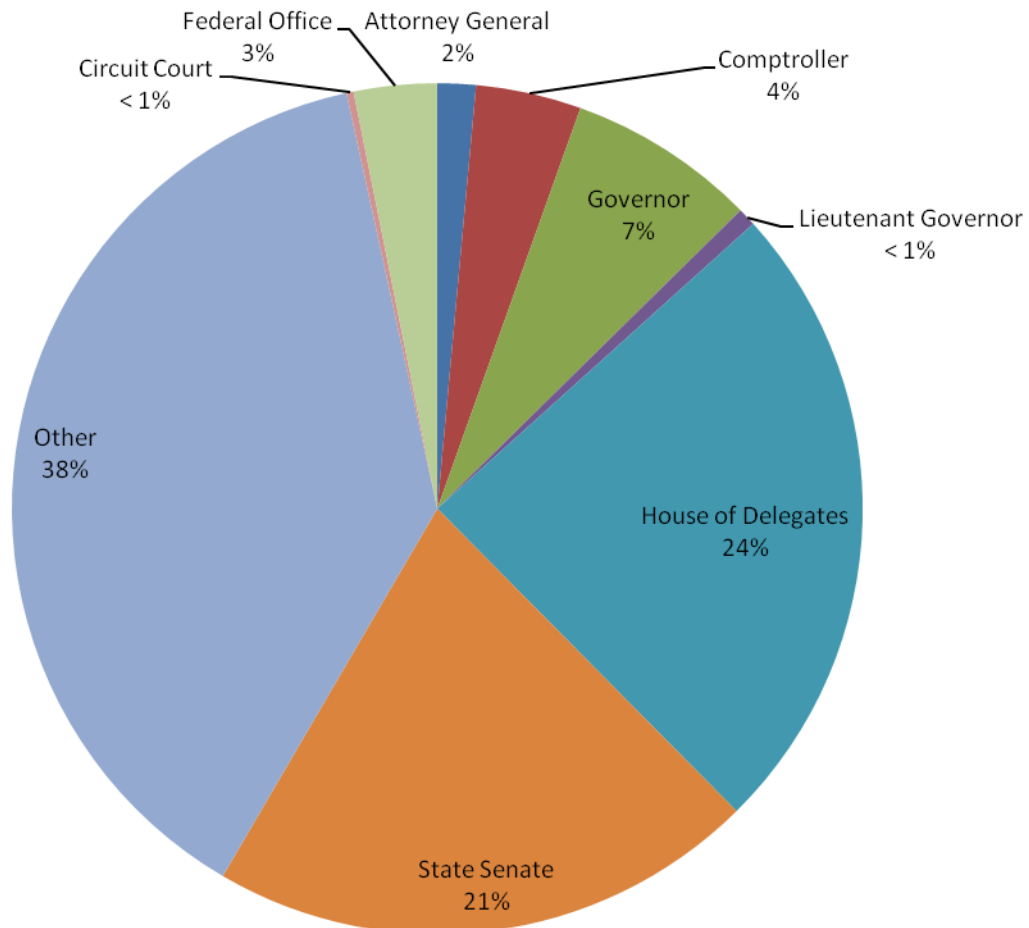
Table 1: Top Candidate-to-Candidate Contributors in 2006

Candidate	Office	Amount given
Thomas V. Mike Miller (D)	State Senate	\$79,530
Martin O'Malley (D)	Governor	\$59,135
Paula Hollinger (D)	U.S. House of Representatives	\$52,480
Douglas Duncan (D)	Governor	\$41,100
Parris Glendening (D)	Former Governor	\$39,600
Wayne Curry (D)	Former County Executive	\$39,299
Brian Frosh (D)	State Senate	\$37,975
Maggie McIntosh (D)	House of Delegates	\$35,550
William Donald Schaefer (D)	Comptroller	\$34,036
Andrew Harris (R)	State Senate	\$34,000
Allan Kittleman (R)	State Senate	\$29,300
Peter Hammen (D)	House of Delegates	\$27,350
Thomas Bromwell (D)	Former State Senator	\$26,214
Dereck Davis (D)	House of Delegates	\$25,750
Michael Busch (D)	House of Delegates	\$25,000
Guy Guzzone (D)	House of Delegates	\$23,760
Robert Ehrlich (R)	Governor	\$23,500
James Stoltzfus (R)	State Senate	\$22,900
Jean Roesser (R)	Secretary of Aging	\$22,750
Peter Franchot (D)	Comptroller	\$22,705

Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions by Office

Candidates running for different offices in Maryland gave money at different rates (see Figure 3). Combined, candidates for the General Assembly accounted for 45% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions. Candidates running for “other” offices, which include candidates for county executive, county council, and a myriad of other local level offices, as well as candidates who did not actively seek a specific office in 2006, gave the next largest proportion, nearly 38%. That candidates seeking General Assembly or other offices account for the majority of contributions is unsurprising, given that the vast majority of all candidates fell into these categories. Candidates for Governor or Lieutenant Governor, despite being few in number, accounted for 8% of all giving, a large amount per candidate. Candidates for other executive offices, federal offices, and judicial offices gave less than 11% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions, combined.

Figure 3: Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions by Office Sought



Candidate-to-Candidate Giving by Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor accounted for 8% of all candidate-to-candidate giving in 2006. Most of this money was contributed by candidates for Governor. Three of the eight gubernatorial candidates, Martin O'Malley, Douglas Duncan, and Robert Ehrlich, contributed a substantial amount to other candidates, each earning themselves a position among the top twenty contributors (see Table 2). O'Malley gave the most, contributing almost \$60,000 to other candidates. Duncan, O'Malley's opponent in the Democratic primary, also gave a substantial amount – more than \$40,000. Incumbent Governor Ehrlich gave less than his Democratic opponents, but still gave a substantial sum – almost \$24,000. Three gubernatorial write-in candidates – Charles Smith, Ralph Jaffe, and John Simmins – gave nothing. Altogether, gubernatorial candidates gave nearly \$124,000 to candidates in 2006. Contributing to other candidates' campaigns appeared to be important to the top gubernatorial candidates, most likely because they wanted to build a base of support among politicians who could help them get elected, increase the number of offices members of their party held, or spread favors that they hoped to collect on when trying to enact their preferred legislation.

Table 2: Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Made by Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidate	Amount given
Martin O'Malley (D)*	\$59,135
Douglas Duncan (D)	\$41,100
Robert Ehrlich (R)*	\$23,500
Charles Smith (D)*	\$0
Ralph Jaffe (D)*	\$0
Eddie Boyd (G)*	\$0
Christopher Driscoll (P)*	\$0
John Simmins (R)*	\$0
Total	\$123,735
Percent of All Giving	7.2%

* Indicates the candidate ran in the general election contest.

Among candidates for Lieutenant Governor, Kristen Cox was the only one to contribute to other candidates, giving \$12,000 (see Table 3). It is important to note, however, that Anthony Brown contributed nearly \$2 million to slates during the 2006 election cycle. Aaron Wilkes and Freda Jaffe were write-in candidates and gave no candidate-to-candidate contributions.

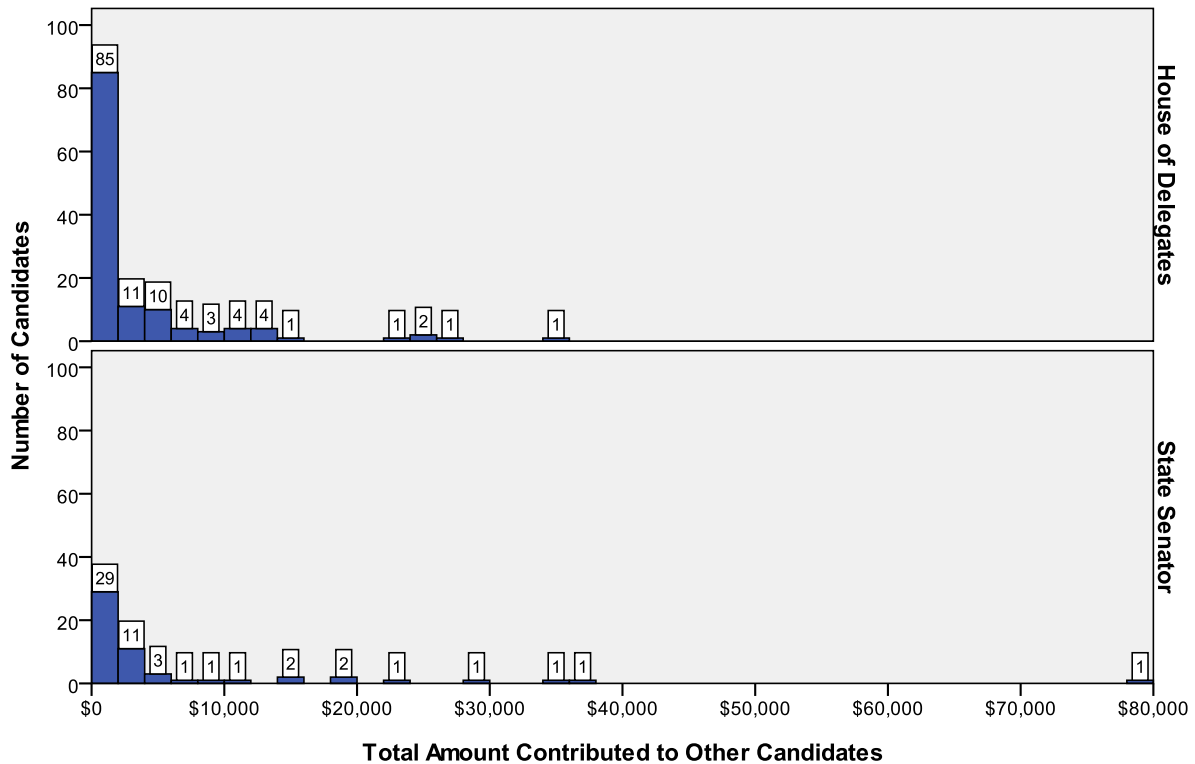
Table 3: Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Made by Lieutenant Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidate	Amount given
Kristen Cox (R)	\$12,000
Anthony Brown (D)	\$0
Aaron Wilkes (D)	\$0
James Madigan (G)	\$0
Ed Rothstein (P)	\$0
Freda Jaffe (D)	\$0
Total	\$12,000
Percent of All Giving	0.7%

Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions by General Assembly Candidates

Altogether, 185 candidates actively seeking election to the General Assembly contributed approximately \$778,000 to other candidates during the 2006 election cycle. Specifically, candidates for the House of Delegates gave a total of approximately \$419,000, and candidates to the State Senate gave a total of roughly \$360,000. Candidates for the House of Delegates gave more in total, but State Senate candidates gave more on average. Specifically, among contributing candidates for the House, the average amount given was \$3,297 while among contributors running for the Senate the average was roughly double that amount at \$6,539. In general, most candidates gave very little (see Figure 4). Specifically, 85 of the contributing House of Delegates candidates (70%) and 29 of the contributing Senate candidates (53%) contributed \$2,000 or less to other candidates. In total, just 23 of the 185 contributing candidates for the General Assembly (roughly 12%) gave more than \$10,000 to their fellow candidates.

Figure 4: The Distribution of Candidate-to-Candidate Giving Among Candidates for the General Assembly



Some candidates, however, gave significantly larger amounts. Table 4 presents the twenty largest candidate-to-candidate contributors among candidates running for each chamber of the General Assembly. Among candidates for the House, these twenty candidates accounted for 70% of all funds given by House candidates. Most of the top twenty House candidates were incumbents and Democrats; only four Republicans and two nonincumbents are on the list. Delegate Maggie McIntosh, the top giver, chaired the Environmental Matters Committee in 2006. Also on the list are House Speaker Michael Busch, Majority Leader Kumar Barve, and several other institutionally powerful individuals. The top Republican contributor was Delegate Anthony O'Donnell, who became House minority leader following the 2006 election. Just two of the twenty candidates listed were nonincumbents in 2006.

Table 4: Top Candidate-to-Candidate Contributors Among Candidates for the General Assembly

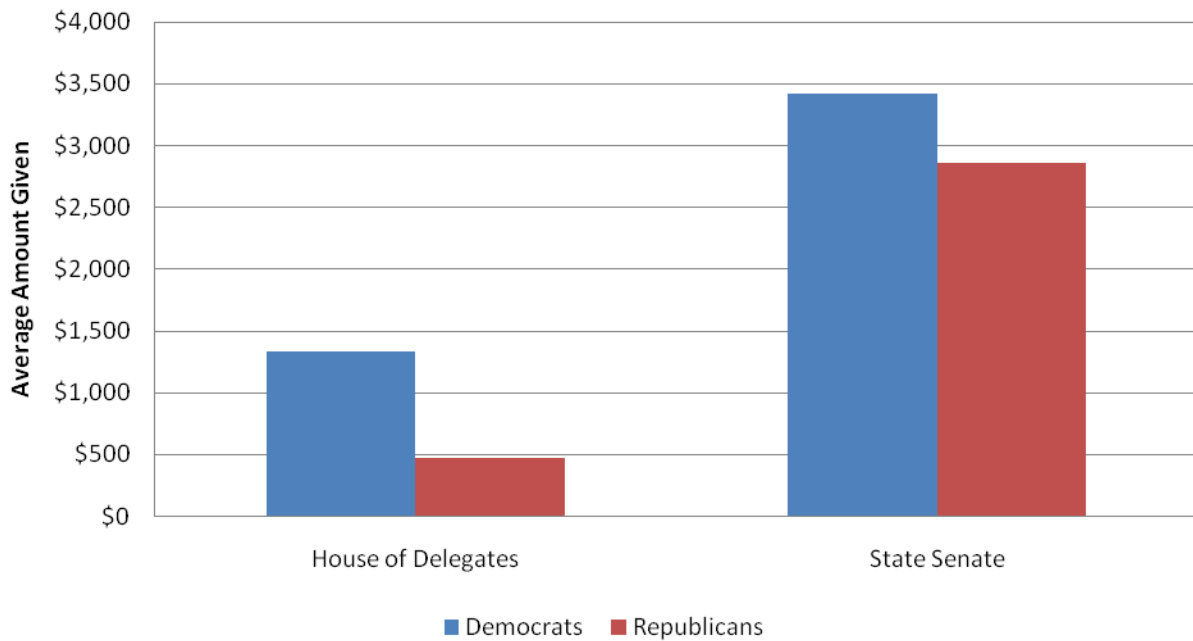
House of Delegates		State Senate	
Candidate	Amount	Candidate	Amount
Maggie McIntosh (D)	\$35,550	Thomas Miller (D)	\$79,530
Peter Hammen (D)	\$27,350	Brian Frosh (D)	\$37,975
Dereck Davis (D)	\$25,750	Andrew Harris (R)	\$34,000
Michael Busch (D)	\$25,000	Allan Kittleman (R)	\$29,300
Guy Guzzone (D)**	\$23,760	James Stoltzfus (R)	\$22,900
Joseph Vallario (D)	\$14,575	David Brinkley (R)	\$18,550
Anthony O'Donnell (R)	\$13,400	Delores Kelley (D)	\$18,150
Ann Doory (D)	\$13,000	Ulysses Currie (D)	\$15,173
Justin Ross (D)	\$12,620	Alexander Mooney (R)	\$14,325
Brian McHale (D)	\$12,100	Thomas Middleton (D)	\$10,080
Shane Pendergrass (D)	\$11,900	Nathaniel Exum (D)	\$9,161
Nathaniel Oaks (D)	\$11,300	Richard Madaleno (D)**	\$6,500
Anne Healey (D)	\$10,591	Norman Stone (D)	\$5,220
Russell Pope (R)**	\$10,000	Edward Pipkin (R)	\$4,600
Warren Miller (R)	\$8,675	James Degrange (D)	\$4,320
Kumar Barve (D)	\$8,600	Paul Pinsky (D)	\$3,950
Joseph Minnick (D)	\$8,000	James Rosapepe (D)**	\$3,690
Dan Morhaim (D)	\$7,650	Sandra Schrader (R)	\$3,320
Robert Costa (R)	\$6,793	Scott Rifkin (D)**	\$3,000
John Bohanan (D)	\$6,270	Edward Kasemeyer (D)	\$2,779

** denotes nonincumbent candidates.

The top twenty contributors among State Senate candidates distributed an even larger proportion of candidate-to-candidate giving, accounting for 90% of the contributions given by Senate candidates. The top giver was Senate President Miller and the second highest giver was Judicial Proceedings Committee chair Brian Frosh. Just three of the candidates on the list were nonincumbents. Altogether, Table 4 suggests that powerful, established candidates tend to give the most to other candidates.

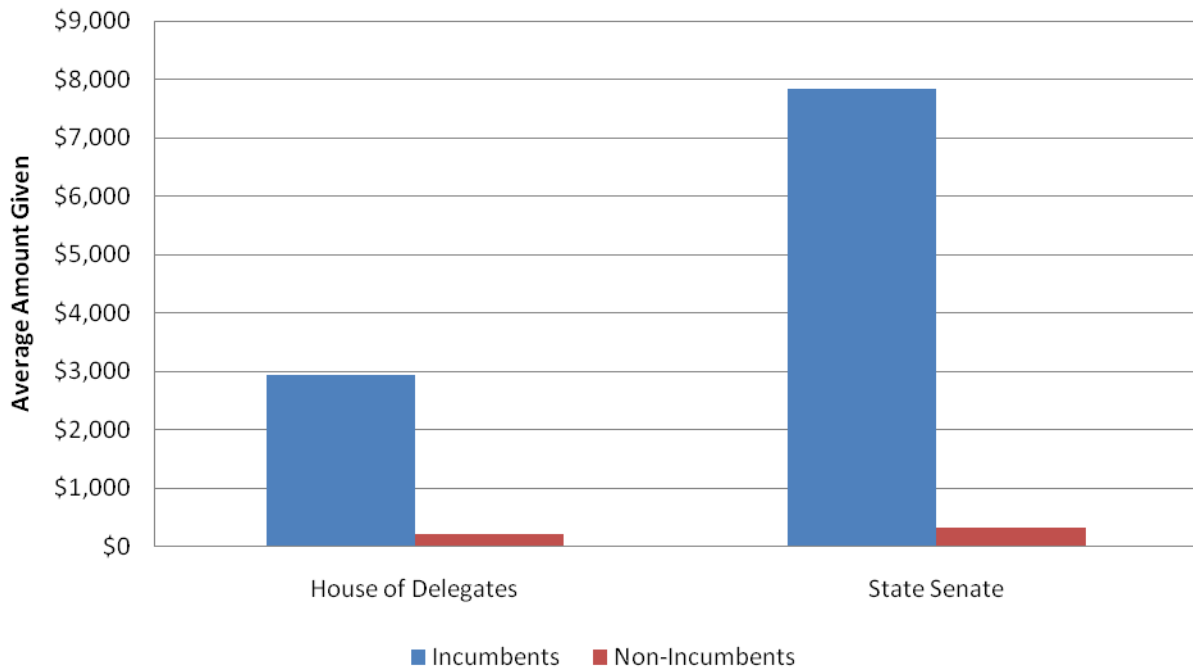
Several candidate attributes influence how much money a General Assembly candidate contributes to other candidates. One such attribute is partisanship. Democrats running for either chamber of the General Assembly gave more, on average (see Figure 5). This difference is starker in the House of Delegates, where Democrats gave an average of \$1,338 and Republicans gave an average of \$473. In the Senate, Democrats gave an average of \$3,419 while the Republicans averaged \$2,863. The difference in candidate-to-candidate giving between the parties is likely due to the Democrats' long-standing control over the General Assembly. Majority status, and their dominance in Maryland politics more generally, allows Democrats to generally raise more money than Republicans in Maryland, giving them more money to spend on candidate-to-candidate contributing.

Figure 5: Partisanship and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly



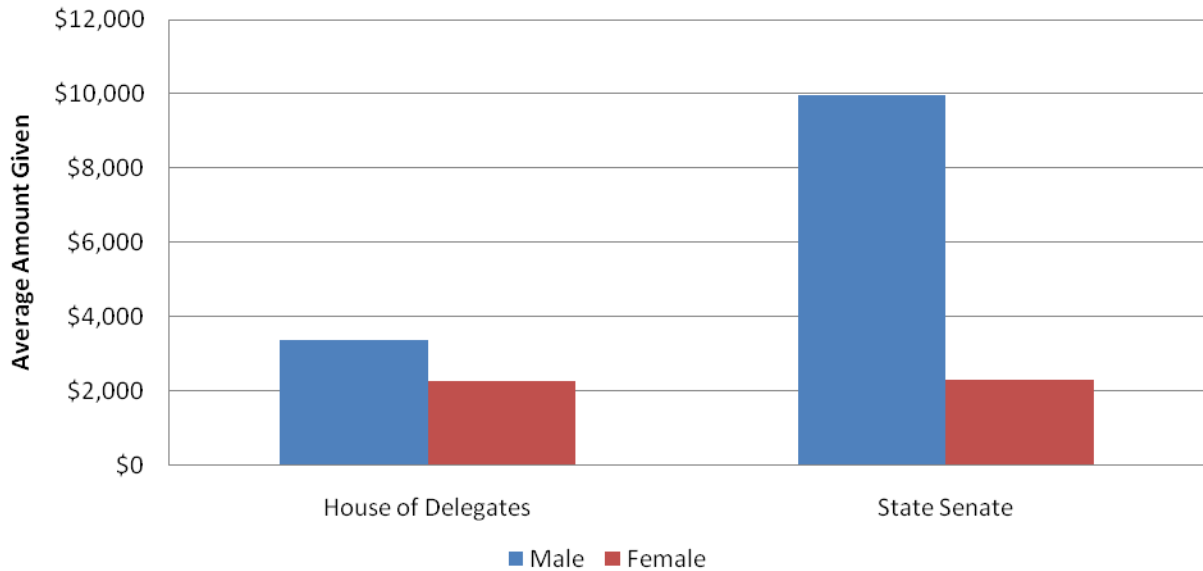
Incumbency is another factor that influences how much a candidate gives. Incumbents running for either chamber gave much more, on average, than nonincumbents. In fact, nonincumbents gave very little, on average (see Figure 6). The typical incumbent running for reelection in the House or Senate gave \$2,937 and \$7,829, respectively, while the typical House nonincumbent gave just \$203 and the typical Senate nonincumbent just \$319. That nonincumbents generally raise far less money than incumbents likely inhibits their ability to give to other candidates.

Figure 6: Incumbency and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly



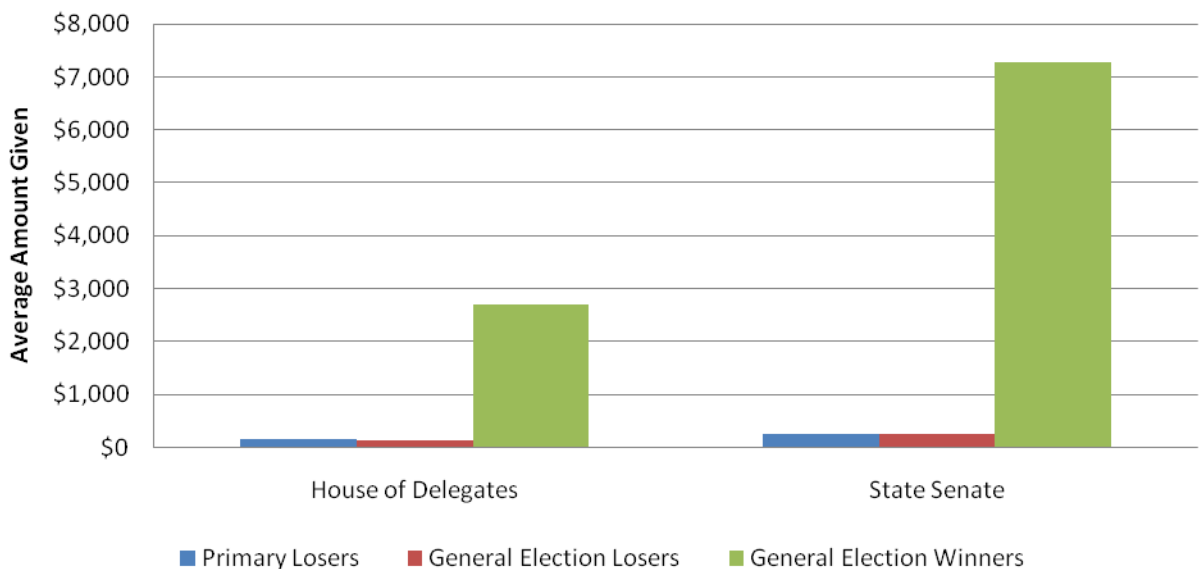
The gender of candidates was also related to candidate-to-candidate giving in 2006. Among incumbent candidates for both the House and the Senate, men gave more, on average, to other candidates than women (see Figure 7). In the Senate, the difference was more dramatic. This likely owes to there being a smaller number of institutionally powerful women in the State Senate. In 2006, the House of Delegates had three female committee chairs: Environmental Matters Committee Chair McIntosh, Rules Committee Chair Hattie Harrison, and Ways and Means Committee Chair Sheila Hixson. On the other hand, the Senate only had one female committee chair: Education Committee Chair Paula Hollinger. Candidates holding institutionally powerful positions generally have more money to donate to their fellow candidates. The larger disparity between men and women running for the Senate is likely related to the large disparity between the number of men and women in institutionally powerful positions.

Figure 7: Gender and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly



The amount of candidate-to-candidate money a candidate gives is also related to their electoral success. Candidates who won the general election gave the bulk of all candidate-to-candidate money among candidates for both the House of Delegates and the State Senate. On average, general election winners for the House gave about \$2,700 each, while general election winners for the Senate gave about \$7,300 each (see Figure 8). Losers of either the primary or general elections, by comparison, gave between \$100 and \$300, on average. General election winners supplied 91% of all funds given by candidates for the House of Delegates, and 95% of all funds given by candidates for the State Senate.

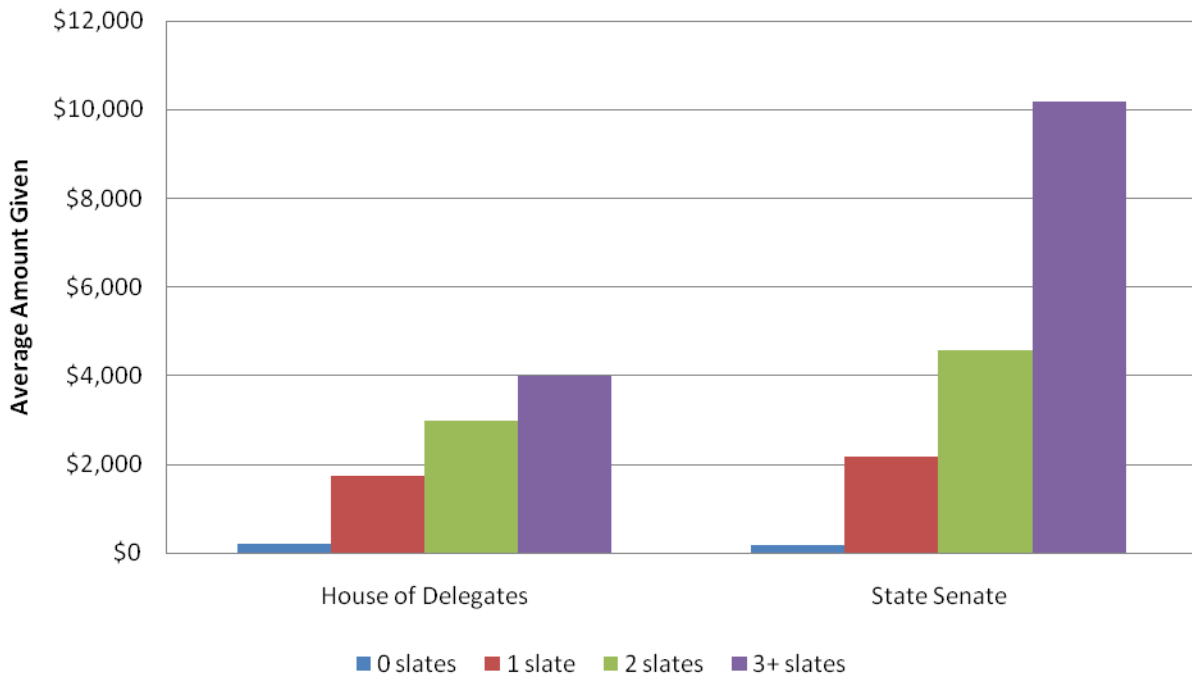
Figure 8: Electoral Success and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly



Membership in fundraising slate committees is also related to how much a candidate contributes. Slates committees are joint fundraising committees formed by candidates to share financial resources. Established politicians with many political contacts and a great deal of fundraising experience are more likely to join slates than less experienced candidates. They are also more likely to be a part of several slates. Consequentially, slate committees are composed primarily of candidates with large campaign war chests who are able to contribute that money to others. As demonstrated in Figure 9, candidates with more slate committee memberships gave more candidate-to-candidate contributions. House candidates who were members of three or more slates gave roughly \$4,000, on average, while Senate candidates who were members of three or more slates gave more than \$10,000, on average. Candidates who were not part of any slate gave the least—less than \$300, on average, among candidates for the House, and less than \$200, on average, among candidates for the Senate.

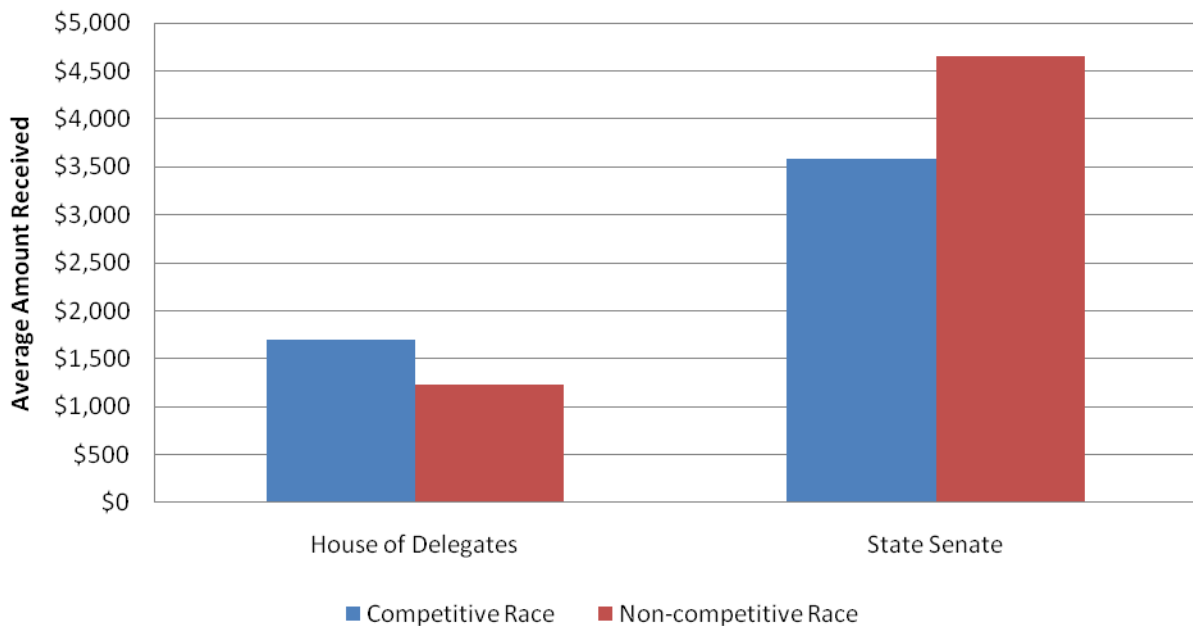
It is also important to note that many slate committee members also donated significant amounts of funds directly to the slate to either be redistributed to other candidates or to be spent on joint campaigning ventures. More on the campaign finance activities of slate committees during the 2006 election cycle can be found by [clicking here](#).

Figure 9: Slate Membership and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly



The competitiveness of the race a candidate ran in also influenced the amount of money a candidate gave to other candidates in 2006. However, the pattern differed across chambers (see Figure 10). General election candidates for the House of Delegates gave more funds to candidates, on average, if they were running in a competitive race. General election candidates for the Senate, by contrast, gave more to other candidates, on average, if they were running in non-competitive races. The difference between chambers is likely a consequence of the difference in the frequency of competitive races. Roughly 80% of House candidates ran in a competitive race compared to just 20% of Senate candidates. Among the biggest candidate-to-candidate contributors, most running for the House were saddled in competitive races, while most of those running for the Senate were not, simply because the odds of having a competitive race varied by chamber. As a consequence, we find the relationship between candidate-to-candidate giving and electoral competitiveness differed across chambers.

Figure 10: Competitiveness and Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Candidates for the General Assembly

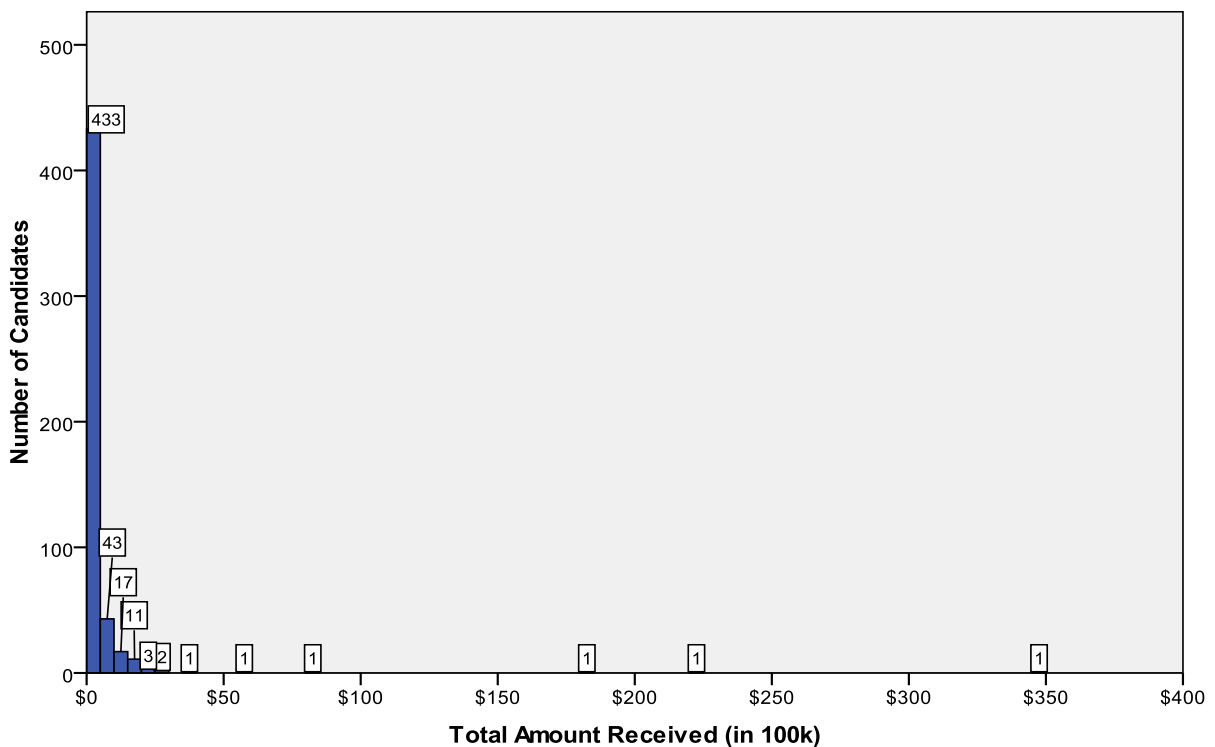


In sum, during the 2006 election cycle just 28% of all candidates for elected office in Maryland gave a total of \$1.7 million to other candidates within the state. Most of this money was contributed by a small number of powerful politicians in Maryland—the top twenty candidate-to-candidate donors contributed over 41% of all candidate-to-candidate funds. Among General Assembly candidates, specifically, we find that candidate-to-candidate contributions came primarily from incumbent Democrats who were members of slate committees. The money also flowed mainly from candidates who eventually won their general election contest. In all, candidate-to-candidate funds flow primarily from well-established candidates, who may want to help their party by contributing to tight races or make certain candidates feel indebted.

The Recipients of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions

In 2006, 515 candidates (or about 33% of all candidates) reported receiving a total of approximately \$2.3 million from other candidates in Maryland.¹ Among recipient candidates, the average amount received was \$4,439. However, most candidates received exceedingly less than this amount (see Figure 11). Roughly 433 of the recipient candidates, or 84%, received less than \$5,000 from other candidates. Just 17 of the receptive candidates, or 8%, received more than \$10,000 from other candidates during the 2006 election cycle. Altogether just a small number of all candidates received significant amounts of money from their fellow candidates. Of the 1,545 total candidates running for Maryland office in 2006, just 1% reported receiving more than \$10,000 in candidate-to-candidate donations.

Figure 11: Distribution of Money Received from Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions in 2006



¹ There was a difference in the amount of candidate-to-candidate money reported to have been contributed and received by Maryland candidates in 2006. This difference is due to reporting requirements. Candidates separately record how much they give and how much they receive from each source. As a result there can be discrepancies in the amount reported to have been given by a source and the total to have been received. During the 2006 election cycle, this amounted to a \$600,000 difference between the amount reported given by candidates (\$1.7 million) and the amount reported received (\$2.3 million).

While most candidates received very little, or nothing, from other candidates in 2006, a small group of influential candidates received large sums. Table 5 presents the twenty largest recipients of candidate-to-candidate funds in 2006. Many of the top recipients are some of the most powerful political figures in Maryland. House Speaker Busch was the top recipient in Maryland, receiving almost \$350,000 from other candidates. The Democratic gubernatorial ticket of O'Malley and Brown also received substantial amounts: \$182,000 and \$221,000, respectively. Ehrlich was also among the top Republican recipients, taking in more than \$82,000 from other candidates. The list is composed primarily of Democrats (16 out of 20). The four Republicans on the list were Ehrlich, U.S. Senate candidate Michael Steele, State Senator Douglas Riley, and State Senator Sandra Schrader. Altogether, the top twenty recipients, combined, received just over \$1.2 million, or roughly 53% of all the candidate-to-candidate money received in 2006. Combined, Figure 11 and Table 5 make it clear that candidate-to-candidate funds flowed largely to a small number of candidates during the 2006 election cycle.

Table 5: Top Candidate-to-Candidate Recipients in 2006

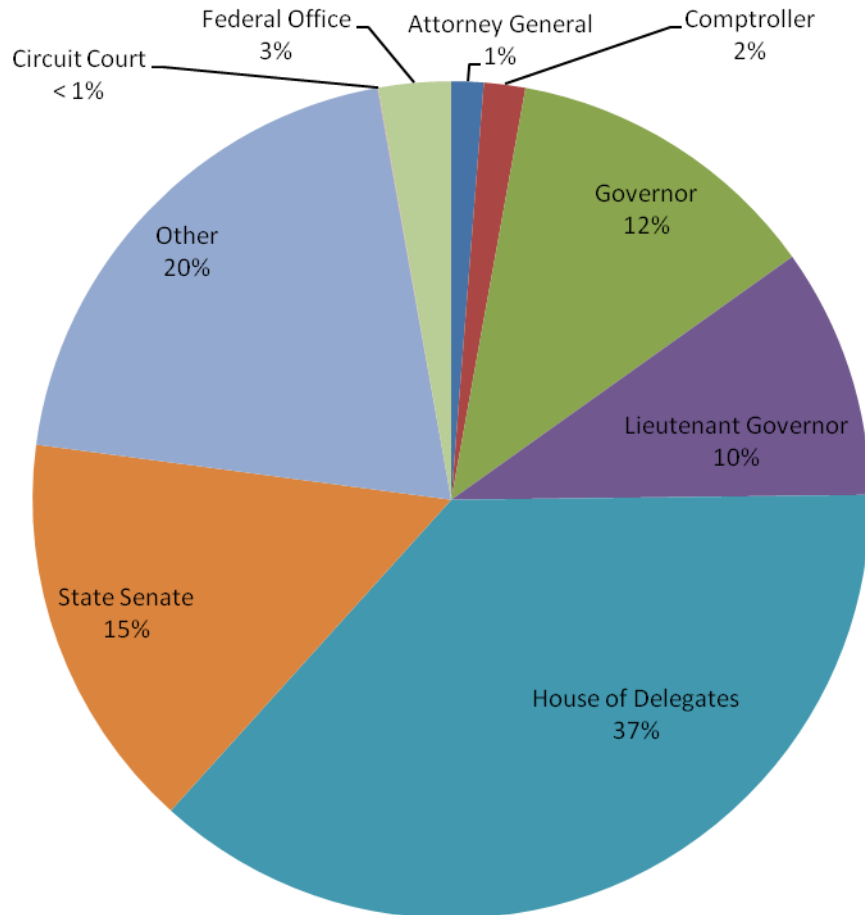
Candidate	Office Sought	Amount received
Michael Busch (D)	House of Delegates	\$346,625
Anthony Brown (D)	Lieutenant Governor	\$220,801
Martin O'Malley (D)	Governor	\$182,324
Robert Ehrlich (R)	Governor	\$82,023
Michael Steele (R)	U.S. Senate	\$59,020
Norman Conway (D)	House of Delegates	\$36,209
William Donald Schaefer (D)	Comptroller	\$26,650
Rushern Baker (D)	Prince George's County Executive	\$26,355
Douglas Riley (R)	State Senate	\$22,700
Katherine Klausmeier (D)	State Senate	\$21,540
Stuart Simms (D)	Attorney General	\$20,325
Marshall Goodwin (D)	House of Delegates	\$19,265
James Robey (D)	State Senate	\$19,250
Sandra Schrader (R)	State Senate	\$18,850
Gareth Murray (D)	House of Delegates	\$18,150
James Brochin (D)	State Senate	\$17,500
Douglas Duncan (D)	Governor	\$17,110
Kenneth Ulman (D)	Howard County Executive	\$16,620
George Johnson (D)	Anne Arundel County Executive	\$16,375
Royden Dyson (D)	State Senate	\$15,800

Among the top twenty largest recipients of candidate-to-candidate contributions were some of the largest donors of such funds. O'Malley, House Speaker Busch, Governor Ehrlich, Comptroller Schaefer, and Duncan each were among the top twenty donors as well as recipients. Each of these candidates raised a lot of money for their elections, and each has a large statewide profile. Furthermore, with the exception of Duncan, each of these candidates was involved in a highly competitive race in 2006. This suggests that candidate-to-candidate money flows from candidates with means to candidates in need and to politicians in powerful positions.

Recipients of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions by Office

Candidates running for different offices in Maryland received money at different rates (see Figure 12). Combined, candidates for the General Assembly received 53% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions. Candidates running for “other” offices received a large proportion as well—20%. That candidates seeking General Assembly or other offices, which include candidates for county executive, county council, and a myriad of other local level offices, account for the majority of contributions is unsurprising given that the vast majority of all candidates fall into these categories. Candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, despite being few in number, accounted for 22% of funds received—a large sum per candidate. Candidates for other executive offices, federal offices, and judicial offices received less than 5% of all candidate-to-candidate transfers, combined.

Figure 12: Recipients of Candidate-to-Candidate Transfers by Office Sought



Recipients of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor collected 22% of all of the candidate-to-candidate funds raised in 2006. A little more than half of this money was received by gubernatorial candidates. Three of the eight gubernatorial candidates, O'Malley, Duncan, and Ehrlich, received money from other candidates—the same three who gave money to candidates (see Table 6). All three of these candidates were also among the top twenty recipients statewide. Smith, Jaffe, and Simmins were write-in candidates and each received no contributions from other candidates. O'Malley received the most, taking in more than \$180,000 from other candidates. Duncan also received a substantial amount – more than \$17,000. Incumbent Governor Ehrlich received less than O'Malley, but still took in a substantial sum – more than \$82,000.

Table 6: Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts by Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidate	Amount received
Martin O'Malley (D)*	\$182,324
Robert Ehrlich (R)*	\$82,023
Douglas Duncan (D)	\$17,110
Charles Smith (D)	\$0
Ralph Jaffe (D)	\$0
Eddie Boyd (G)*	\$0
Christoph Driscoll (P)*	\$0
John Simmins (R)	\$0
Total	\$281,458
Percent of All Giving	12.3%

* Indicates the candidate ran in the general election contest.

Among lieutenant gubernatorial candidates, only Brown received money from other candidates, collecting over \$220,000 (see Table 7). Of this, about 71% was transferred from Brown's State Senate candidacy account. Altogether, candidates for Governor or Lieutenant Governor received more than \$501,000 from candidates in 2006. Candidates for various offices in Maryland clearly found the gubernatorial race important, and gave large sums in this competitive race.

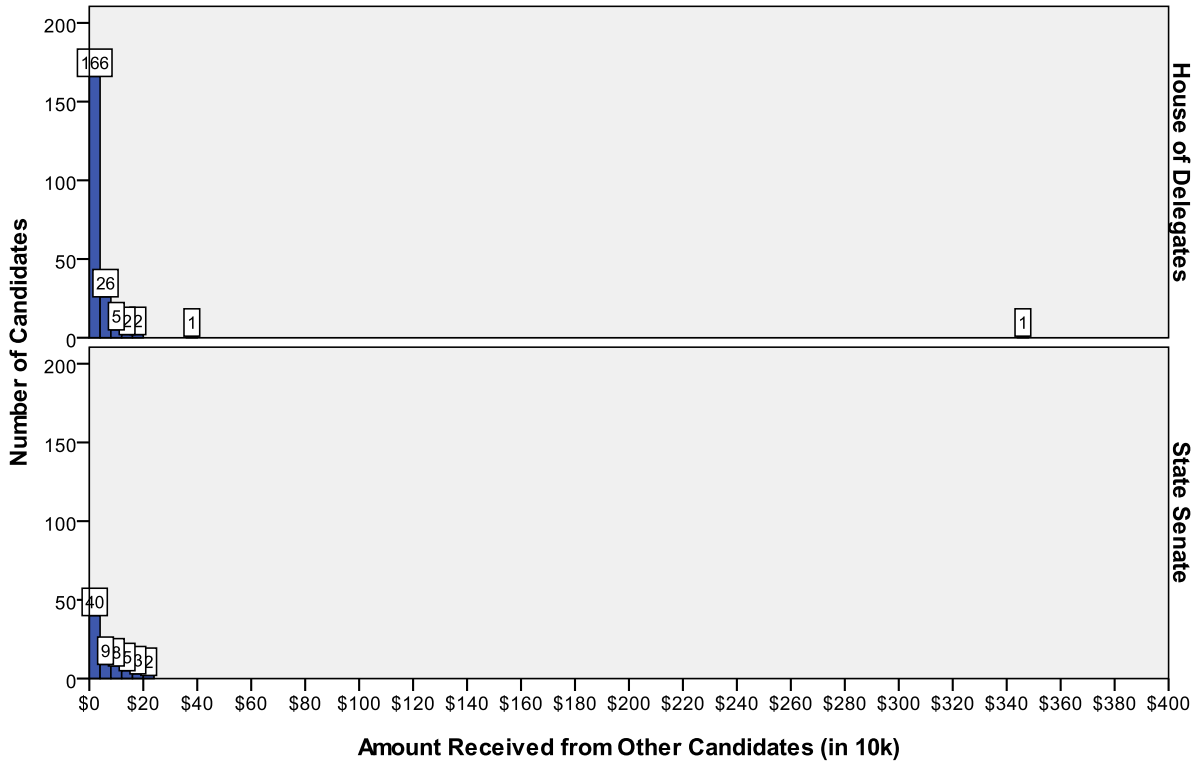
Table 7: Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts by Lieutenant Gubernatorial Candidates

Candidate	Amount received
Anthony Brown (D)	\$220,801
Kristen Cox (R)	\$0
Aaron Wilkes (D)	\$0
James Madigan (G)	\$0
Ed Rothstein (P)	\$0
Freda Jaffe (D)	\$0
Total	\$220,801
Percent of All Giving	9.5%

Recipients of Candidate-to-Candidate Contributions Among General Assembly Candidates

Altogether, 270 candidates actively seeking election to the General Assembly received about \$1.2 million from other candidates during the 2006 election cycle. Candidates for the House of Delegates received a total of about \$843,000, and candidates to the State Senate received a total of about \$352,000. Candidates for the House of Delegates received more in total, but State Senate candidates received more on average. Specifically, among contributing candidates for the House, the average amount received was \$4,153, while among contributors running for the Senate, the average was \$5,258. In general, most candidates received very little (see Figure 13). Specifically, 166 of the recipient House of Delegates candidates (82%) and 40 of the recipient Senate candidates (60%) received \$4,000 or less from other candidates. In total, just 4 of the 270 recipient candidates for the General Assembly (roughly 1%) received more than \$20,000 from their fellow candidates.

Figure 13: Distribution of Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



Some candidates, however, received significant amounts. Table 8 presents the twenty largest recipients of candidate-to-candidate recipients among candidates running for each chamber of the General Assembly. Among candidates for the House, these twenty recipients accounted for 65% of all funds received by House candidates. Most of the top twenty House candidates were incumbents and Democrats; only 5 Republicans and 6 nonincumbents are on the list. The top recipient by far among candidates for the House of Delegates was House Speaker Busch. Busch received roughly \$347,000 from other candidates—almost 10 times as much as the second largest recipient. The top Republican recipient was Stephen Schuh who won his first election to the House of Delegates in 2006, beating an incumbent Democrat to account for 2006’s only Republican pickup in the House.

Table 8: Top Candidate-to-Candidate Recipients Among Candidates for the General Assembly

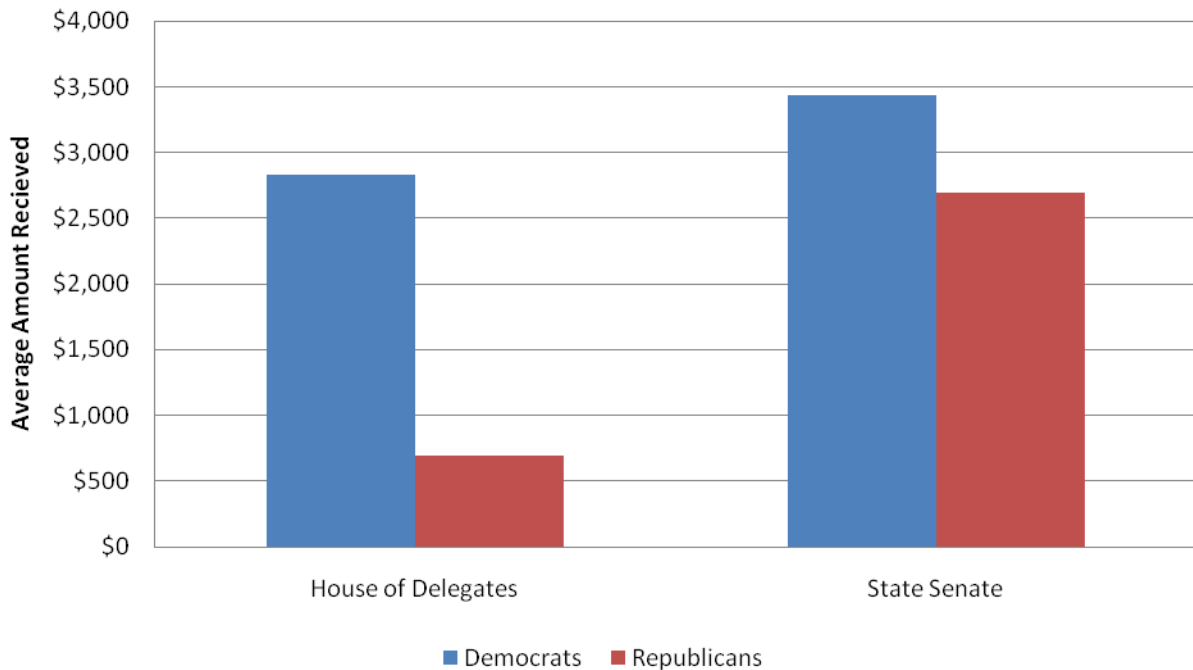
House of Delegates		State Senate	
Candidate	Amount	Candidate	Amount
Michael Busch (D)	\$346,625	Douglas Riley (R)**	\$22,700
Norman Conway (D)	\$36,209	Katherine Klausmeier (D)	\$21,540
Marshall Goodwin (D)	\$19,265	James Robey (D)	\$19,250
Gareth Murray (D)	\$18,150	Sandra Schrader (R)	\$18,850
Vladimir Koyfman (D)**	\$13,339	James Brochin (D)	\$17,500
Kathleen Dumais (D)	\$12,450	Royden Dyson (D)	\$15,800
James Mathias (D)	\$10,851	John Astle (D)	\$15,400
Steven Schuh (R)**	\$10,100	Ulysses Currie (D)	\$14,553
Benjamin Barnes (D)**	\$9,425	Rob Garagiola (D)	\$13,915
Patricia Kullen (D)	\$9,325	Craig Borne (R)**	\$13,450
Donald Dwyer (R)	\$8,275	Patricia Foerster (D)**	\$11,155
Andrew Smarick (R)**	\$7,400	Richard Colburn (R)	\$11,150
Warren Miller (R)	\$7,225	Bryan Simonaire (R)**	\$10,000
Stephen Lafferty (D)**	\$6,900	Ronald Miller (R)**	\$9,652
James Gilchrist (D)**	\$6,750	George Edwards (R)**	\$9,600
Kevin Kelly (D)	\$6,500	Ida Ruben (D)	\$9,588
Patrick Hogan (R)	\$6,450	Herbert McMillan (R)**	\$8,190
Darryl Kelley (D)	\$6,425	Andrew Harris (R)	\$8,000
Eric Bromwell (D)	\$6,375	Nathaniel McFadden (D)	\$7,328
Ruth Kirk (D)	\$6,350	James DeGrange (D)	\$6,876

** denotes nonincumbent candidates.

Candidate-to-candidate contributions were more concentrated among Senate candidates than House candidates: The top twenty recipients received 75% of all funds received by State Senate candidates. The top recipient was Riley, a challenger who lost in a highly competitive race. The second biggest recipient was Rules Committee Chair Katherine Klausmeier. Nonincumbent candidates for the Senate were much more likely to have been large recipients of candidate-to-candidate contributions than candidates for the House—seven of the twenty top recipients were nonincumbents. Similarly, Republican candidates were more prevalent among candidates for the Senate than for the House, accounting for nine of the twenty top recipients.

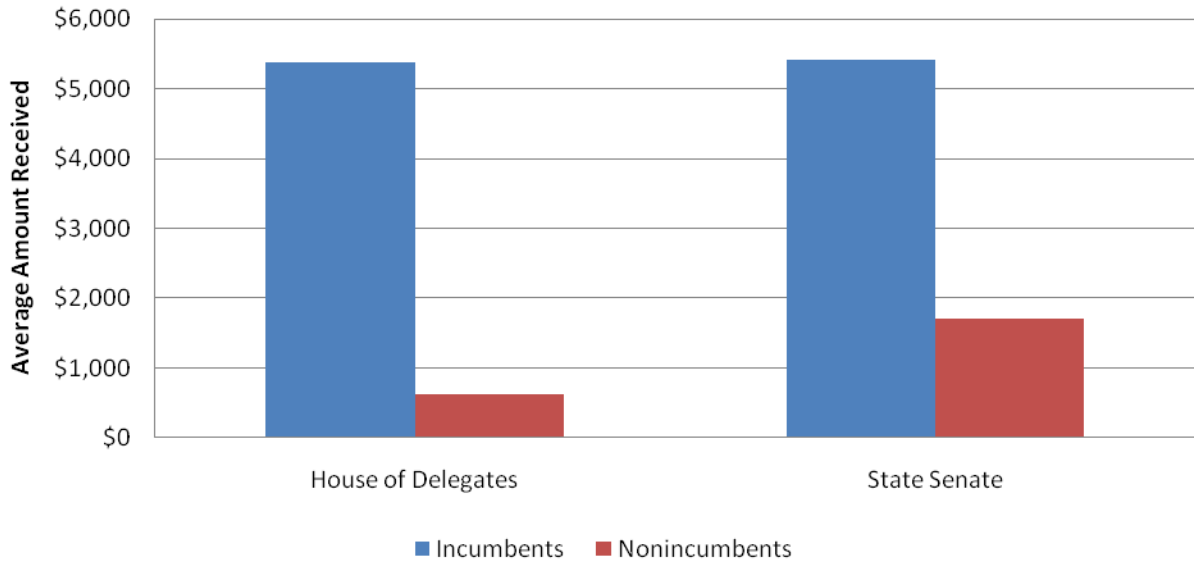
Many of the same factors influencing candidate-to-candidate contributing also influence candidate-to-candidate receiving. Partisanship was one such influence. Democrats running for either chamber of the General Assembly received more, on average, than Republicans (see Figure 14). This difference is starker among candidates for the House of Delegates, where Democrats received an average of \$2,800 and Republicans received an average of about \$700. In the Senate, Democrats received an average of \$3,400 and Republicans, \$2,670. As with contributing, money flowed more heavily to Democrats because their fellow partisans had more money to spend.

Figure 14: Partisanship and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



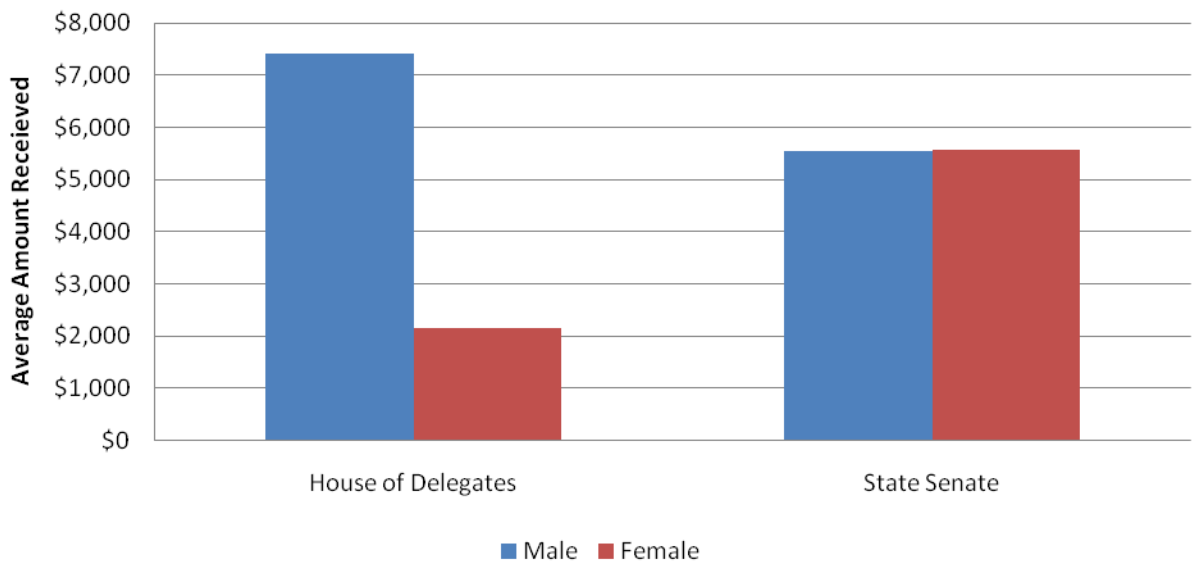
Incumbency also influenced how much a candidate received in candidate-to-candidate funds. Among candidates for both chambers, money flowed much more heavily to incumbents than nonincumbents (see Figure 15). This relationship was most stark among candidates for the House of Delegates, where the average incumbent received \$5,400 in candidate-to-candidate contributions compared to roughly \$630 for the average nonincumbent. Among candidates for the State Senate, the typical incumbent received roughly \$5,400, compared to the approximately \$1,700 received by the typical nonincumbent.

Figure 15: Incumbency and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



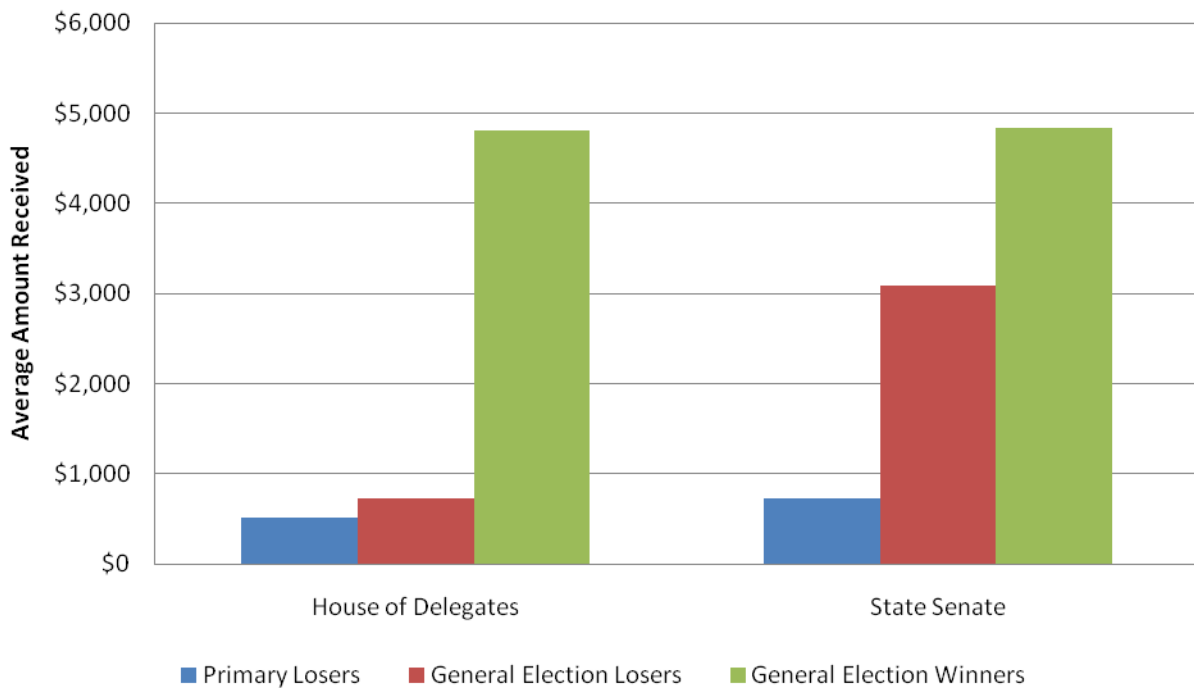
The amount of candidate-to-candidate money contributed to a candidate also varied by his or her gender. Among incumbent candidates for the House, men received much more, on average, from candidates than did women (see Figure 16). However, among State Senate incumbent candidates, men and women received roughly equal amounts, on average. This is because the more than \$340,000 received by House Speaker Busch influenced the disparity among candidates for the House. If Busch’s total is removed from the analysis, the average amount received for male candidates in the House would fall to \$1,178, which is actually slightly less than the average for female candidates, but still nearly equal. Thus, excluding Busch, male and female candidates received similar amounts of money from other candidates.

Figure 16: Gender and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



The amount of candidate-to-candidate contributions a candidate received is also related to their electoral success. Candidates who won the general election received the bulk of all candidate-to-candidate money among candidates, especially among candidates for the House of Delegates (see Figure 17). On average, general election winners for the House received about \$4,800 each, while general and primary election losers each received less than \$750. Altogether general election winners received 80% of all candidate-to-candidate contributions to House candidates. Among Senate candidates, the discrepancy between winners and losers was much less pronounced. The typical general election winner for the Senate received about \$4,800 while the average general election losers received roughly \$3,000. These figures are much closer than they were among candidates for the House. Primary losers still received very little—around \$735, on average.

Figure 17: Electoral Success and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly

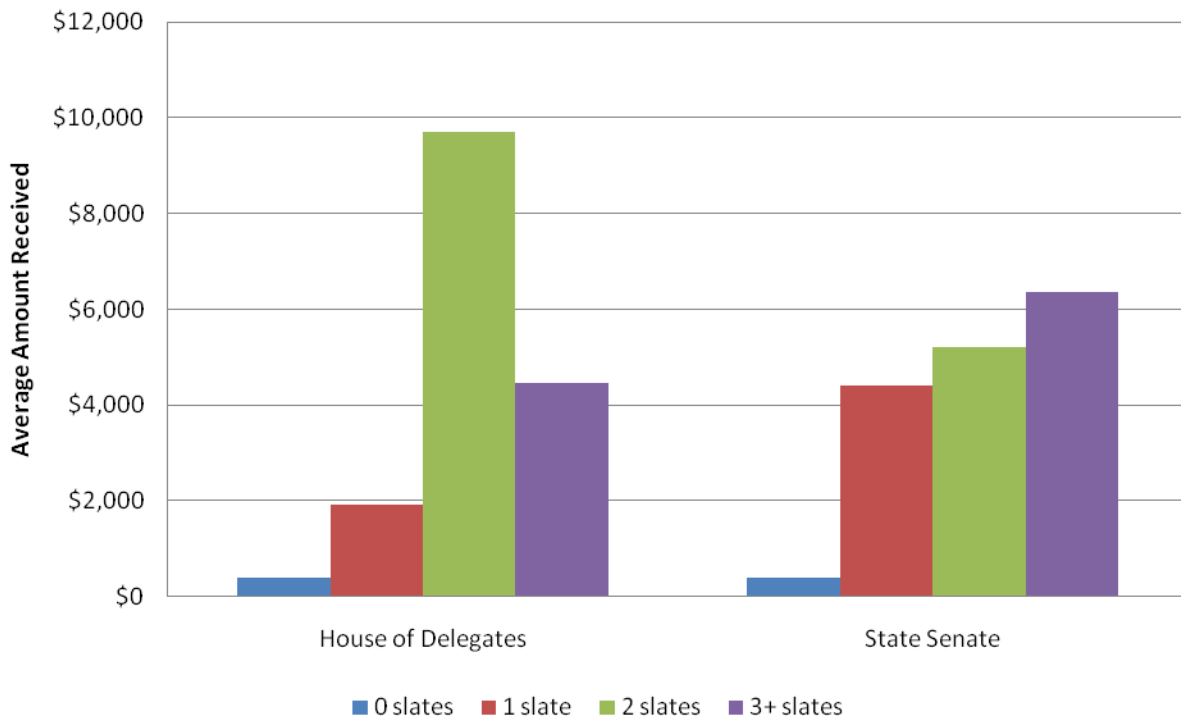


Membership in slate committees was also related to how much a candidate received in candidate-to-candidate contributions, but the relationship is not as clear as it is among candidate-to-candidate contributors. Among candidates for the House of Delegates, being a member of any slate committees meant receiving more in candidate-to-candidate contributions, on average. However, candidates who had membership in two slate committees received the most, nearly \$10,000, on average—more than that average amount received by candidates with membership in three or more committees. This is because House Speaker Busch, who received over \$340,000, was a member of two slates.

Among candidates for the Senate, the relationship between slate committee membership and the amount of candidate-to-candidate funds received is clearer. The more slate memberships a candidate had, the more he or she received, on average. Candidates who were members of three or more slates received the most—\$6,300, on average.

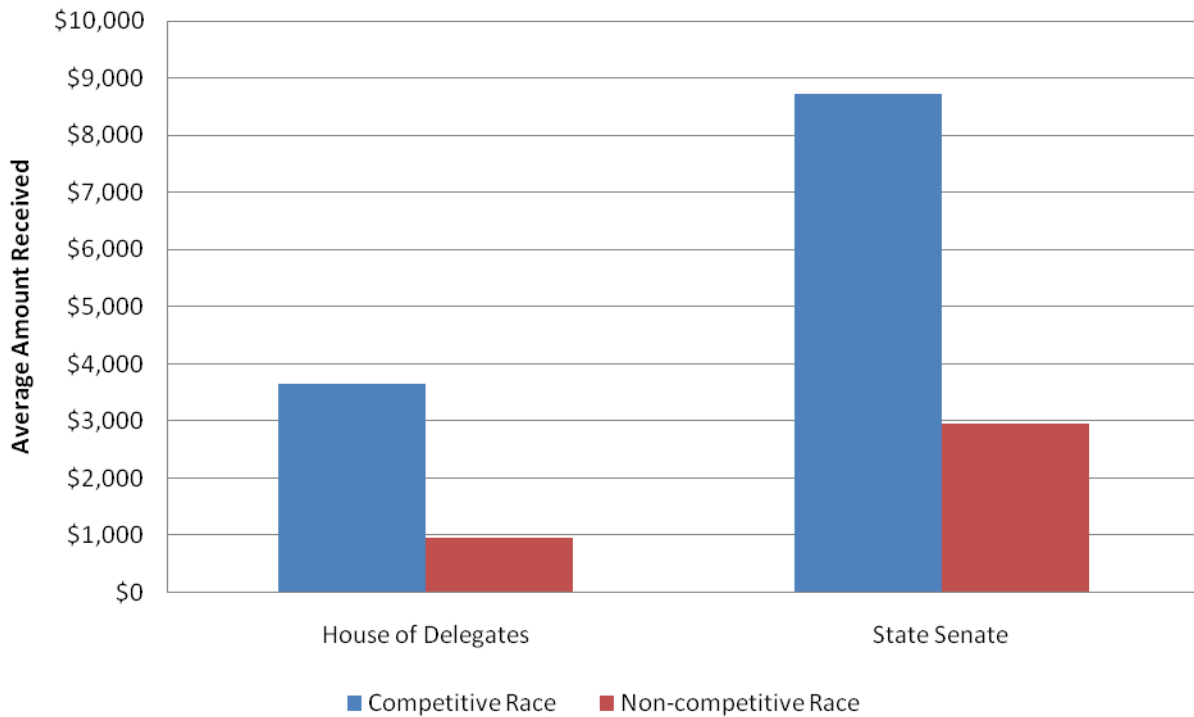
It is also important to note that many slate committee members also benefited from direct transfers and joint campaigning expenditures made by these slate committees. More on the campaign finance activities of slate committees during the 2006 election cycle can be found by [clicking here](#).

Figure 18: Slate Membership and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



The relationship between electoral competitiveness and the amount of candidate-to-candidate contributions a candidate received is much clearer than the relationship between competitiveness and the candidate-to-candidate giving. Among general election candidates for both chambers, candidate-to-candidate funds flowed primarily towards candidates in competitive races (see Figure 19). The typical candidate for the House of Delegates or the State Senate running in a competitive race received about \$3,600 and \$8,700, respectively. By comparison, the average candidate running in a non-competitive race for either the House or the Senate received roughly \$960 and \$3,000, on average.

Figure 19: Competitiveness and Candidate-to-Candidate Receipts Among Candidates for the General Assembly



In sum, just as candidate-to-candidate contributions flowed from a small number of candidates, money flowed to a small number of beneficiaries. Just 33% of all candidates in Maryland received candidate-to-candidate contributions during the 2006 election. Among these, 53% of the funds flowed to just twenty major recipients. These recipients included candidates running for high profile races, like the governorship, as well as candidates running in competitive races around the state. Among General Assembly candidates, candidate-to-candidate contributions flowed primarily to incumbents, Democrats, slate members, and candidates running in competitive races. Furthermore, the money flowed in a strategic fashion as most of the money went to recipients who eventually won their general election contest.

In general, candidate-to-candidate contributions flow from well-established, politically powerful candidates to candidates in tight election races in need of additional funds or to other politically powerful candidates as a means to bolster the donor's political influence. These funds are important in that they can influence the outcomes of Maryland elections and affect the policymaking process.

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.

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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.

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