

**CAMPAIGN FUNDRAISING AND SPENDING BY 2010**  
**MARYLAND GENERAL ASSEMBLY CANDIDATES**

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**A report by**

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## Executive Summary

During the 2010 election cycle, 518 candidates ran for office in the General Assembly. This report takes a closer look at trends in the fundraising, expenditures, and slate activities among these candidates. In general, this report provides statistical support for the expected advantages in fundraising and spending for Democrats and incumbents. It also shows that a large majority of the contributions to candidates came from the Baltimore-Washington corridor and Washington D.C. This report also discusses how slates activity is influencing the outcomes of elections as increasing slate memberships are correlating to higher total contributions for candidates.

### Major Findings:

- The 404 candidates for the House of Delegates raised \$19.4 million and spent \$19.6 million. The 114 candidates for the State Senate raised \$13.8 million and spent \$14.2 million.
- 69% of House candidates and 44% of Senate candidates raised less than \$50,000. Similarly, 68% of House candidates and 42% of Senate candidates spent less than \$50,000. Only 3% of House candidates and 22% of Senate candidates both raised and spent more than \$200,000.
- The Baltimore-Washington Corridor accounted for 82% and 84% of the total contributions from inside Maryland to candidates for the House and Senate, respectively. Nearby Washington D.C. accounted for 37% and 41% of all out-of-state funding for candidates for the House and Senate, respectively.
- As the number of slate memberships per candidates increases from zero to one, total contributions increase from \$61,000 to \$79,000. As memberships increase from one to five, the total contributions increase gradually from \$79,000 to \$205,000.
- Of the candidates who won the General Election, 54% of the candidates received slate transfers.
- The typical House candidate spent 43% of funds on communications and 34% on overhead costs. The typical Senate candidate spent 39% of funds on communications and 36% on overhead costs.
- General election winners in the House and Senate outraised general election losers by \$82,000 and \$157,000, respectively. General election winners in the House and Senate outspent general election losers by \$82,000 and \$137,000, respectively.

## **I. Introduction**

Every four years, the 141 members of the Maryland House of Delegates and the 47 members of the State Senate are up for re-election. During re-election, incumbents in the General Assembly are often largely successful in retaining their seats. Vacancies created by retirements or departures of incumbents allow nonincumbent candidates to fill various positions. By delving into fundraising and expenditure trends, it becomes easier to understand why certain candidates are more successful in elections than others.

Maryland is a state with clear geographical distinctions. The majority of Maryland's population and wealth reside within the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area, which has historically supported Democratic candidates for the Maryland General Assembly. Constituents of rural areas, such as the Eastern-Shore and northwestern counties, typically support greatly different candidates and interests than those in the metropolitan corridor. By concentrating their efforts in the counties between Baltimore and Washington DC, Democrats have been able to consistently retain the majority in both houses of the General Assembly.

This report provides data for the 404 House of Delegates candidates and 114 State Senate candidates who ran for office during the 2010 election cycle, which started on January 1, 2007, and ended on December 31, 2010. In addition to providing information on each of the houses in the Maryland Legislature, this report provides data which may lead to interesting conclusions concerning the role of partisanship, incumbency, and slates in determining electoral outcomes.

## II. Contributions in the 2010 Elections

In 2010, 518 candidates ran for the Maryland General Assembly, raising more than \$33 million. Among those candidates, 404 ran for a seat in the House of Delegates, raising a total of \$19.4 million, while the 114 candidates running for the State Senate raised \$13.8 million.

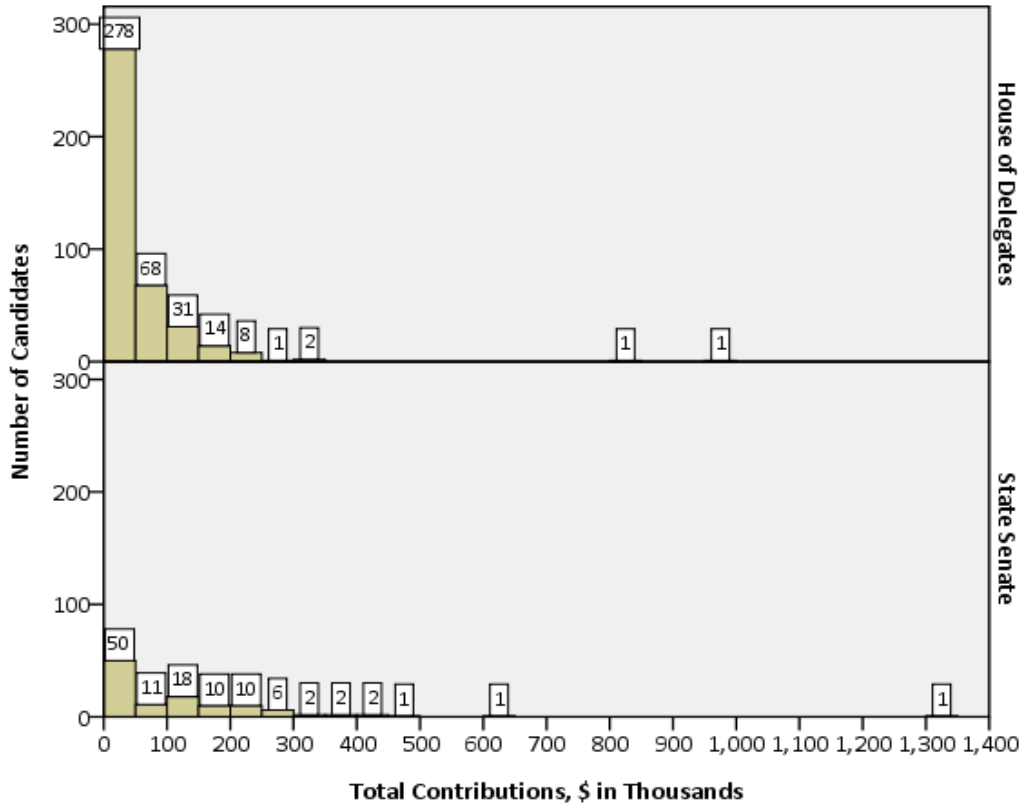
Among candidates for the House of Delegates, the average candidate raised almost \$48,000, while the average Senate candidate raised more than \$120,000. However, some candidates raised substantial amounts. Table 1 shows the top fundraisers among candidates for each chamber. Senate President Mike Miller raised the most of any candidate, raising over \$1.3 million. Keiffer Mitchell, a Democratic House candidate, raised almost \$1 million; however, a large portion of these funds were raised in support of a failed bid for Mayor of Baltimore. Also among the top fundraisers were many institutionally-powerful candidates, including House Speaker Michael Busch, Senate Majority Leader Robert Garagiola, Senate Finance Committee Chair Thomas Middleton, Senate Judicial Proceedings Committee Chair Brian Frosh, House Health and Government Operations Committee Chair Peter Hammen, and House Economic Matters Committee Chair Dereck Davis. Altogether, eight and nine of the top ten spots among candidates for the House and Senate, respectively, were Democrats (See Table 1).

**Table 1: Top Ten Fundraisers among General Assembly Candidates**

House of Delegates		State Senate	
Candidate	Total Raised	Candidate	Total Raised
Keiffer Mitchell (D)	\$964,775	Michael V. "Mike" Miller (D)	\$1,332,039
Michael E. Busch (D)	\$814,632	Alexander X. Mooney (R)	\$615,131
Dereck E. Davis (D)	\$349,629	Thomas M. Middleton (D)	\$469,097
Peter A. Hammen (D)	\$316,846	Ulysses Currie (D)	\$424,146
Heather Mizeur (D)	\$294,071	James E. DeGrange (D)	\$403,075
Mary-Dulany James (D)	\$246,270	James Brochin (D)	\$380,976
Steven R. Schuh (R)	\$243,073	Robert J. Garagiola (D)	\$371,941
Maggie L. McIntosh (D)	\$241,292	James N. Mathias (D)	\$328,077
Justin Ross (D)	\$237,574	Brian E. Frosh (D)	\$313,025
Douglas P. Elmore (R)	\$232,088	Nancy J. King (D)	\$284,056

Most candidates, however, raised much smaller amounts of money. A majority of General Assembly candidates amassed less than \$50,000 in total contributions. Roughly 69% of all House candidates (278 candidates), and 44% of all Senate candidates (50 candidates) raised less than \$50,000 (see Figure 1). Alternatively, 3% of candidates for the House (13 candidates), and 22% of candidates for the Senate (25 candidates) raised totals greater than \$200,000.

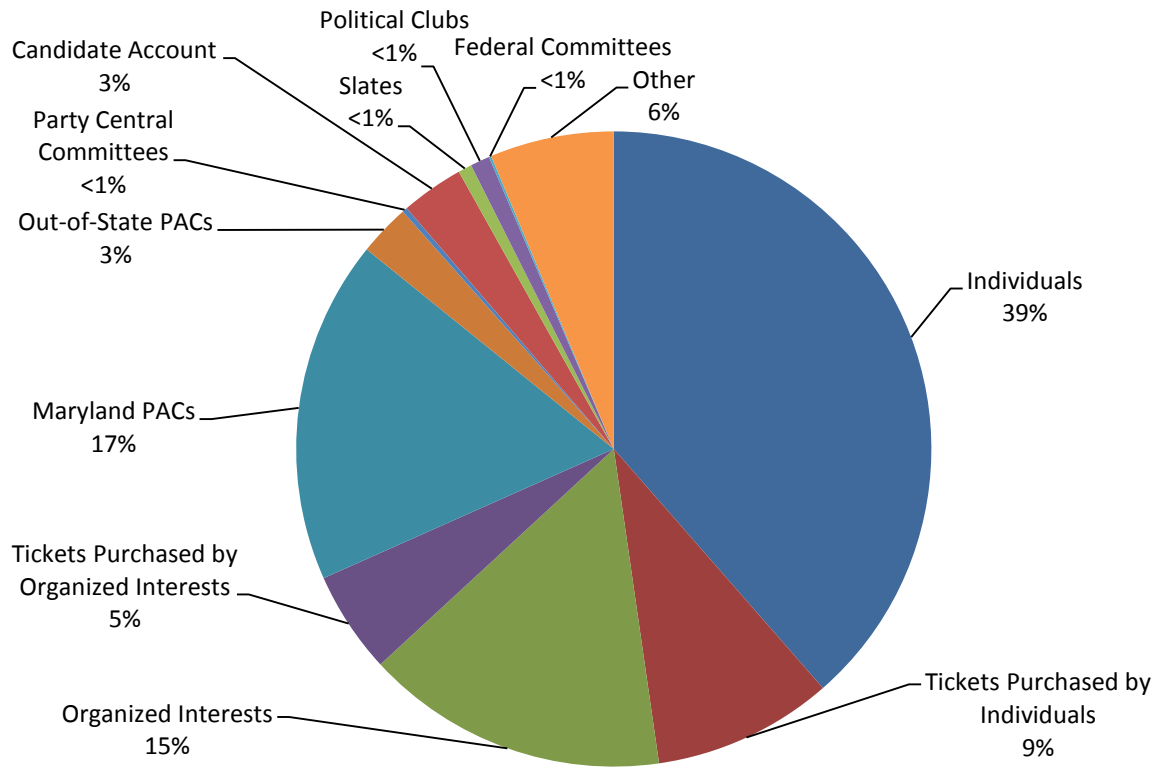
**Figure 1: Distribution of Total Contributions Raised by General Assembly Candidates**



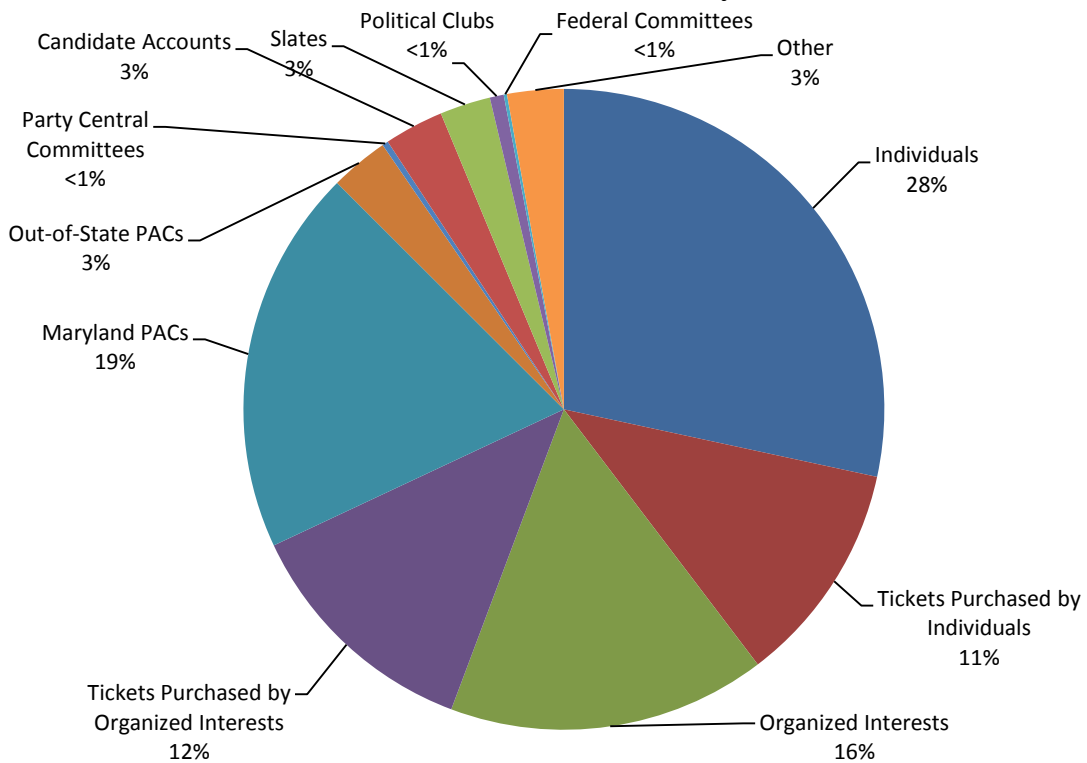
*Contribution Sources*

Candidates for the General Assembly raised their funds from a variety of sources, however, most funds were raised from individuals and interest groups (see Figures 2 and 3). Candidates for the House of Delegates relied most heavily on individual contributions, raising 48% of their funds from individual donors, while candidates for the State Senate raised 39% from individuals. By contrast, Senate candidates raised larger percentages of their funds from interest groups, which include contributions from organized interests and Political Action Committee (PACs). Approximately 50% of Senate candidates’ funds came from these groups, compared to approximately 40% among House candidates. Small portions of funds came from other candidates, slates, party central committees, political clubs, and federal committees. Additionally, between 3% and 6% of contributions were described as “other”.

**Figure 2: Sources of Contributions to Candidates for the Maryland House of Delegates**



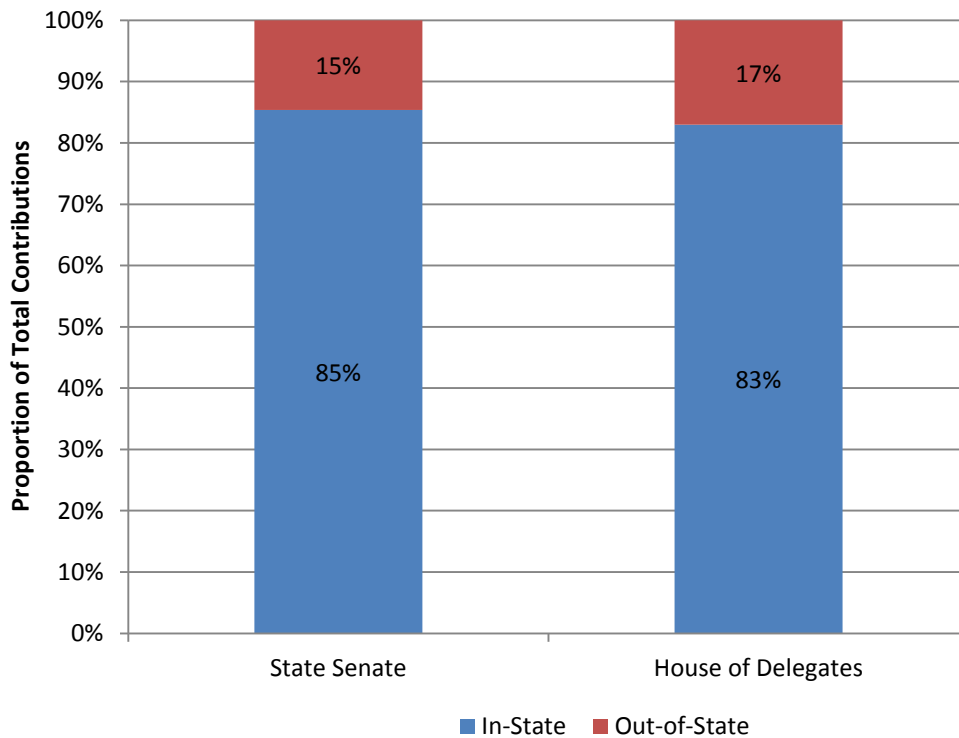
**Figure 3: Sources of Contributions to Candidates for the Maryland State Senate**



### *In- and Out-Of-State Contributions*

The overwhelming majority of campaign contributions to candidates of both the House and Senate came from within the state of Maryland. Figure 4 shows that in-state contributions accounted for 85% of the contributions to Senate candidates (totaling about \$11.7 million), and 83% of the contributions made to House candidates (totaling about \$16 million).

**Figure 4: Origin of Contributions to General Assembly Candidates**



Both Republican and Democratic candidates for the House and Senate received over 80% of their contributions from inside the state of Maryland. The candidates for the House of Delegates raised over \$14 million and the candidates for the State Senate raised over \$10 million in Maryland. Figures 5 and 6 show the geographic distribution of contributions in Maryland on a district level for the House and Senate, respectively. A majority of the contributions for both houses came from the districts that reside in the Baltimore-Washington corridor (see Appendix for a list of districts in this region). This metropolitan area accounts for 82% of the total in-state contributions for House candidates, and 84% of the total in-state contributions for Senate candidates. In addition, areas such as Annapolis (9%), Downtown Baltimore (9%), Towson (5%), and Columbia (5%) accounted for a large percentage of the corridor's total contributions to House candidates. For Senate candidates, Downtown Baltimore (9%), Annapolis (9%), Towson (6%), and Bethesda (6%) accounted for a large percentage of the corridor's total contributions

(Insert both maps here).

Having identified areas of major contributions in Maryland, we will identify a significant regions located out-of-state that contributed to candidates for the Maryland General Assembly. Table 2 lists the top 5 out-of-state areas in terms of percentage of total out-of-state contributions. Washington DC (41%), New York (11%), Philadelphia (4%), Chicago (3%), and Miami (2%) and their surrounding areas combined to account for more than 60% of all out-of-state contributions to all House candidates. For Senate Candidates, contributions from Washington DC (37%), New York (10%), Philadelphia (5%), Chicago (4%), and Richmond (Virginia, 2%) accounted for 59% of the total out-of-state contributions.

**Table 2: Out-of-State Metropolitan Areas with Highest Contributions Totals**

House of Delegates			State Senate		
Metropolitan Area	Total Raised	Percent	Metropolitan Area	Total Raised	Percent
Washington D.C.	\$605,875	37%	Washington D.C.	\$1,437,844	41%
New York, NY	\$163,439	10%	New York, NY	\$374,688	11%
Philadelphia, PA	\$84,484	5%	Philadelphia, PA	\$144,532	4%
Chicago, IL	\$63,392	4%	Chicago, IL	\$89,213	3%
Richmond, VA	\$39,577	2%	Miami, FL	\$64,395	2%

### *Incumbency*

Incumbents often enjoy numerous fundraising advantages over their opponents, including greater name recognition among voters and interest groups, experience in office, and existing donor lists to use when fundraising. In 2010, incumbent House candidates averaged \$107,600 in total contributions while nonincumbents averaged just \$23,900 (see Figure 7). Similarly, Senate incumbents outraised nonincumbent candidates \$233,600 to \$49,900, on average.

Incumbents and nonincumbents also raised their funds largely from different types of sources. Both House and Senate nonincumbents relied more heavily on contributions from individuals than interest groups. Specifically, the typical House nonincumbent raised about \$14,600 from individuals while raising just \$5,500 from interest groups. Similarly, Senate nonincumbents raised \$25,200 from individuals and \$17,500 from interest groups. In contrast, incumbent candidates raised a higher percentage of their funds from interest groups than from individuals. The typical House incumbent raised \$43,400 from individuals and \$54,300 from interest groups, and the typical Senate incumbent raised \$84,000 from individuals and \$131,100 from interest groups.

**Figure 7: Sources of Contributions to General Assembly Candidates**

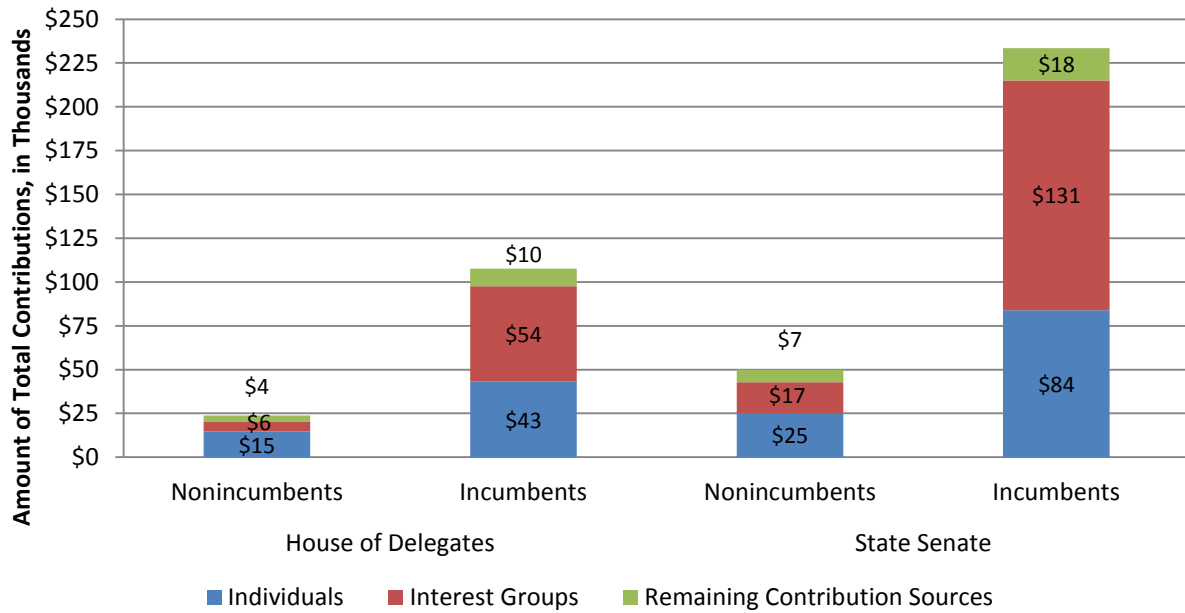
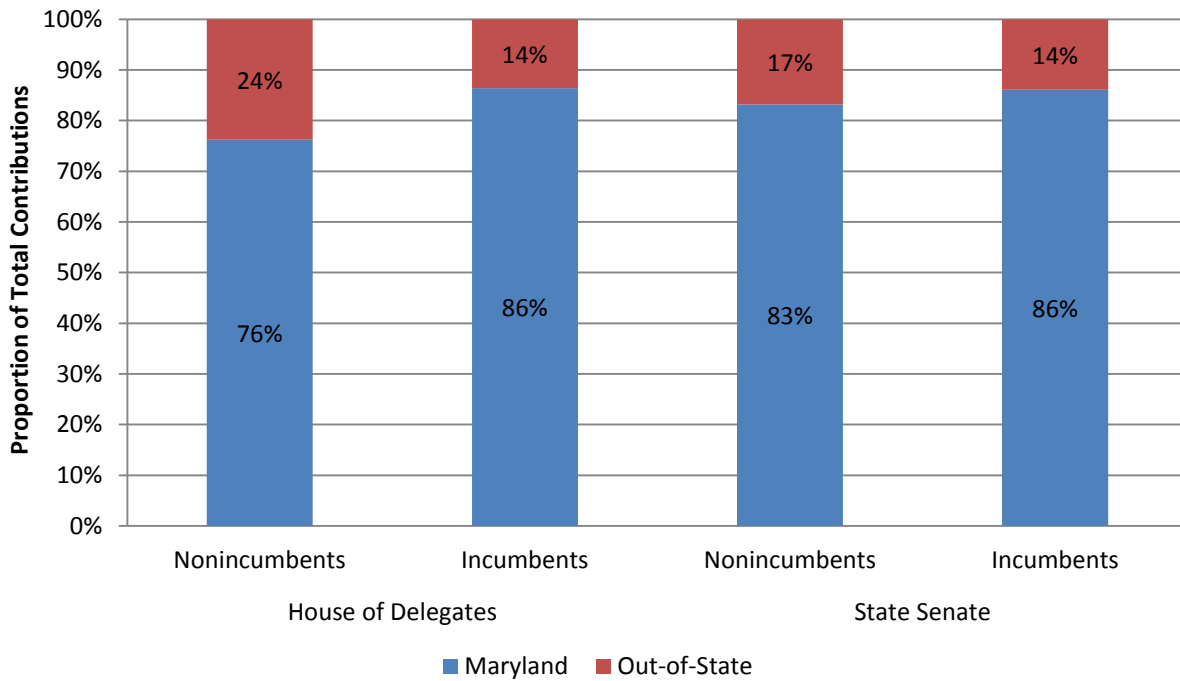


Figure 8 shows the proportion of in-state and out-of-state contributions made to incumbent and nonincumbent candidates for the General Assembly. Among House candidates, the typical nonincumbent raised a larger proportion of his funds from out-of-state than the typical incumbent. Specifically, nonincumbents raised 24% of their contributions from out-of-state, while incumbents raised 14% of the contributions from out-of-state. Among Senate candidates, however, the difference was less stark. Senate nonincumbents raised 17% of their funds from out-of-state while incumbents raised 14%.

**Figure 8: Origin of Contributions to General Assembly Candidates**



### *Partisanship*

The Democratic Party has held the majority of seats in both chambers of the Maryland General Assembly for decades. As a result, Democrats typically field more candidates than Republicans. In 2010, 59% of the candidates running for the House and 60% of those running for the State Senate were Democrats. The majority party typically outraises the minority party, as well. In 2010, Democratic candidates for the House of Delegates raised about \$14.5 million in contributions, with the typical Democrat raising \$61,300. Republican candidates as a whole raised about \$4.8 million, with the typical Republican raising \$30,100. Democrats running for the Senate raised a total about \$10.1 million, with the typical Democrat raising \$147,800. Republican candidates for the Senate raised about \$3.7 million, with the typical candidate raising \$80,800.

Democrats and Republicans also differed in the sources they relied upon. Figure 9 shows that Democratic candidates relied more heavily on interest group contributions than did Republican candidates, who received a majority of their contributions from individuals. Specifically, the typical Democratic candidate for the house received 44% of their contributions from interest groups and 47% from individuals, while their Republican counterpart relied on interest groups for only 30% of their total contributions.

For the typical Democratic candidate for the Senate, 55% of the contributions came from interest groups while 35% came from individuals. The typical Republican candidate for the Senate showed a different trend, relying on individuals for 51% of their contributions and on interest groups for only 39% of their total contributions.

**Figure 9: Sources of Contributions to General Assembly Candidates**

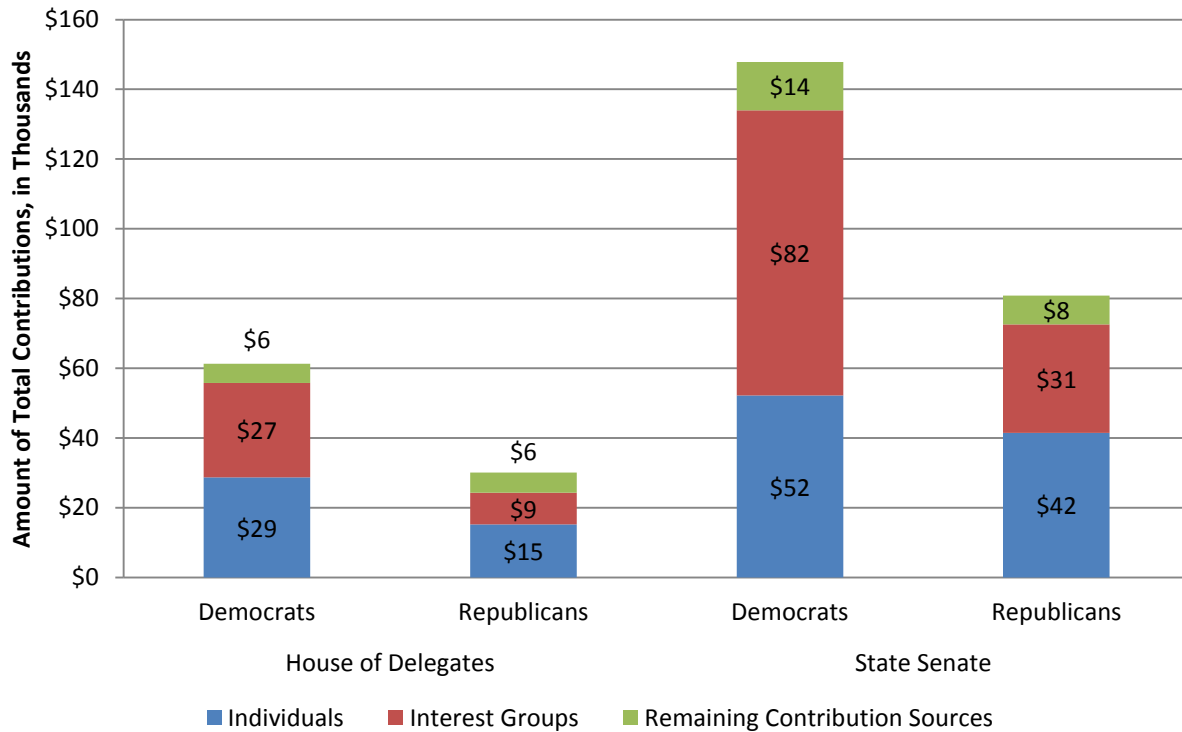
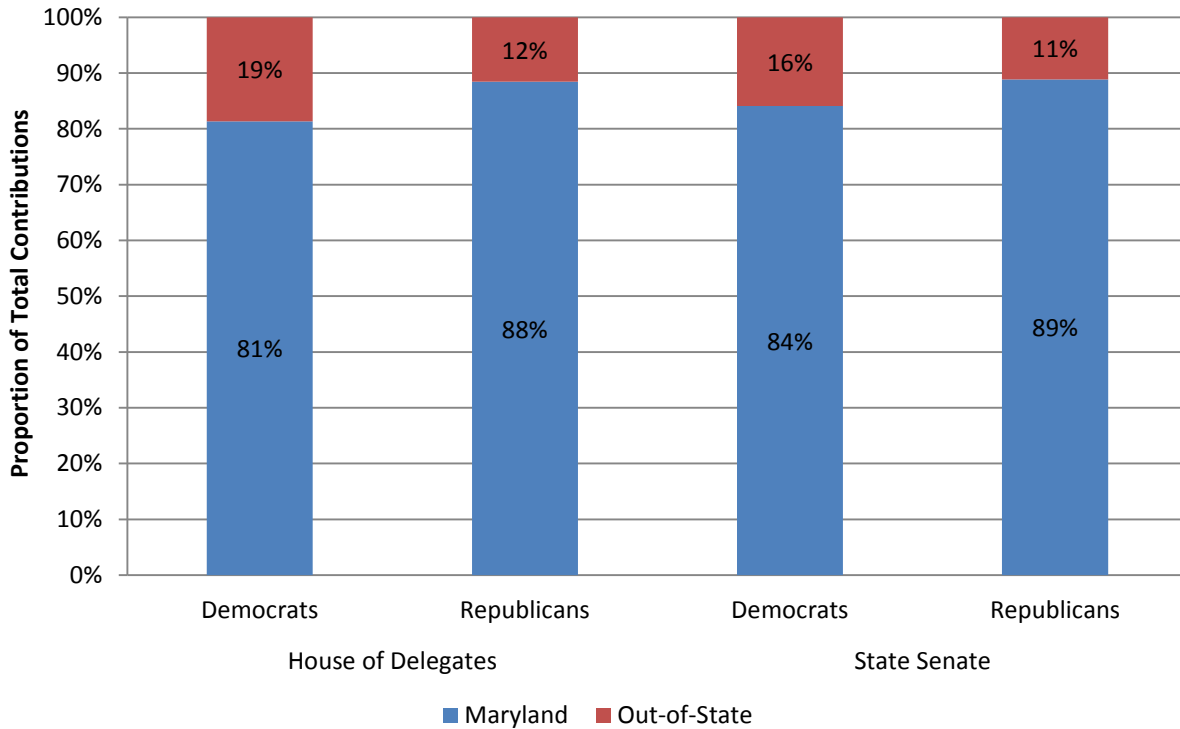


Figure 10 demonstrates that, among House candidates, Democrats raised more of their funds from outside of Maryland than did Republicans. Specifically, Democratic candidates raised 19% of their contributions outside of Maryland while Republican candidates raised 12% of their totals outside the state borders. Among Senate candidates, the difference was similar. Democrats raised 5 percentage-points more of their funds from outside Maryland than did Republicans for the Senate. Out-of-state contributions comprised 16% of Democratic candidates' contributions and 11% of Republican candidates' contributions (see Figure 10).

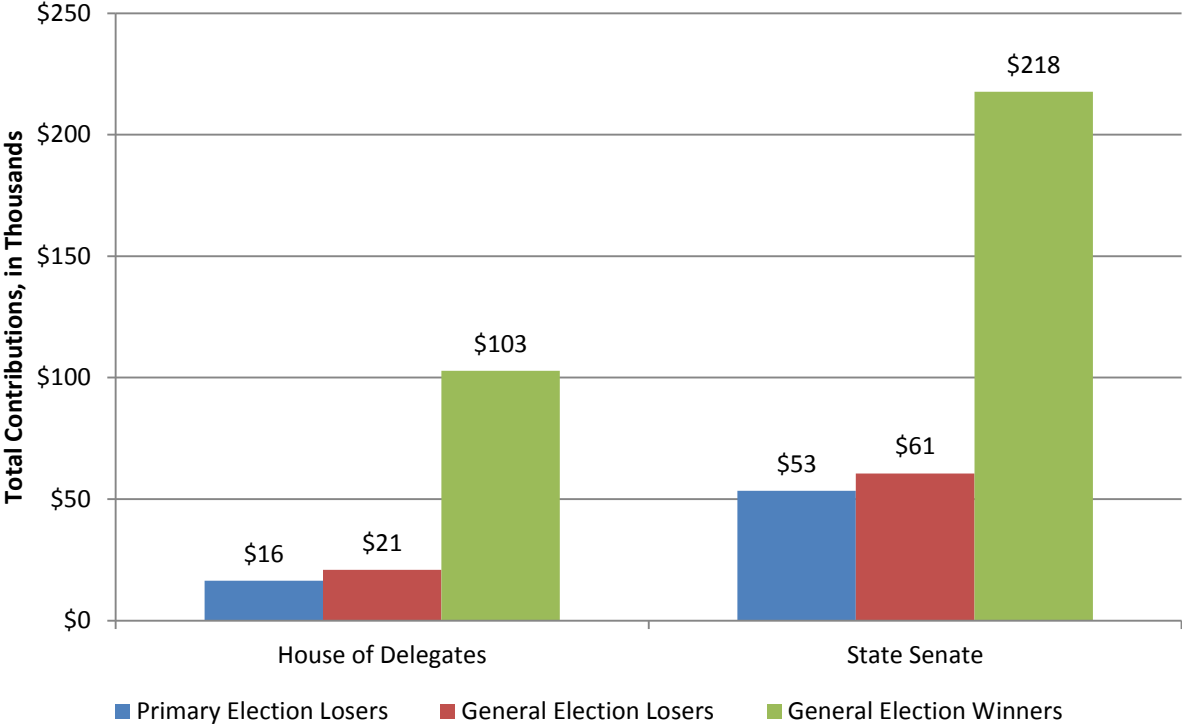
**Figure 10: Origin of Contributions to General Assembly Candidates**



*Electoral Success and Contributions*

Electoral success is typically related to the amount of money a candidates raises. Figure 11 shows that among House candidates, the typical general election winners raised \$103,000 while the typical general election loser and primary loser raised much less, raising \$21,000 and \$16,000, respectively. Among Senate candidates the pattern was similar. The typical Senate general election winner raised about \$218,000 while the typical general election loser and primary loser raised much less – about \$61,000 and \$53,000, respectively.

**Figure 11: Electoral Success and Average Total Contributions**



## Slates

Slates are “political committee[s] of two or more candidates that join together to conduct and pay for joint campaign activities.” This allows candidates more flexibility in raising and spending campaign funds, as there is no limit of how many monetary transfers between candidates can occur.

In 2010, 303 of the 518 candidates for the General Assembly were not a member of any of the 246 existing slates. Figure 12 shows there were 62 candidates with membership in a single slate, with the number of candidates with successively more memberships decreasing. Only three candidates were members of more than six slates: James DeGrange (7), Pamela Beidle (7), and Justin Ross (11).

**Figure 12: Frequency of Candidates with Slate Memberships**

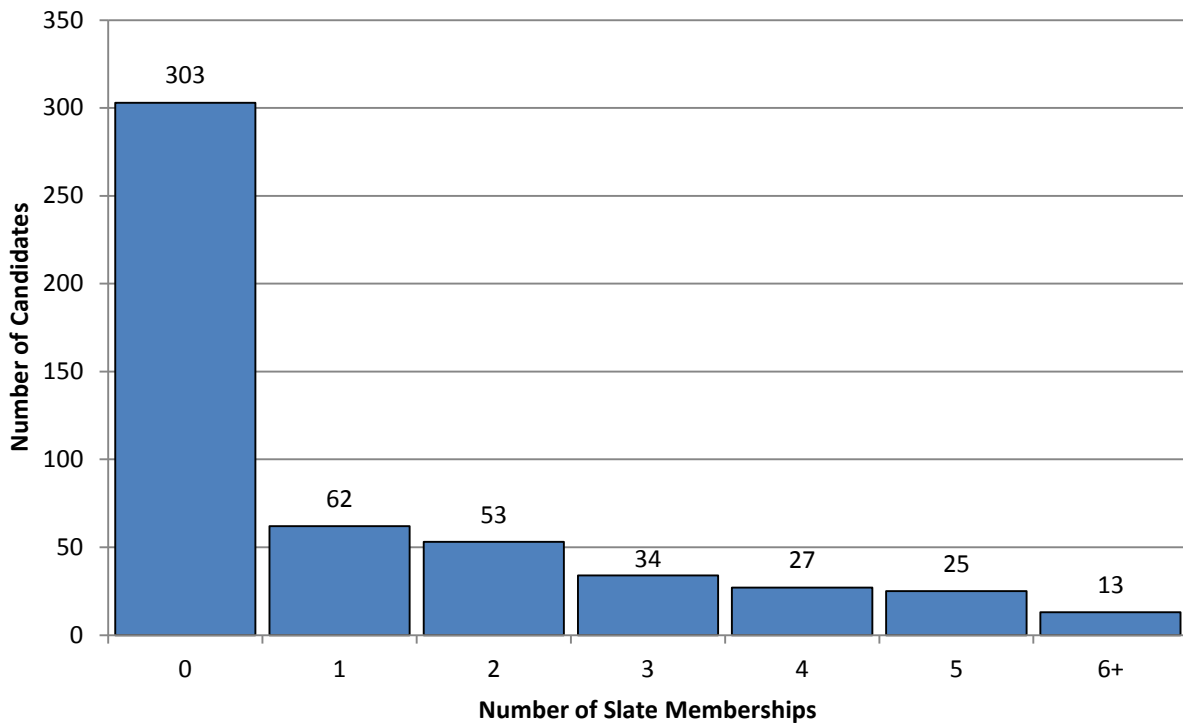
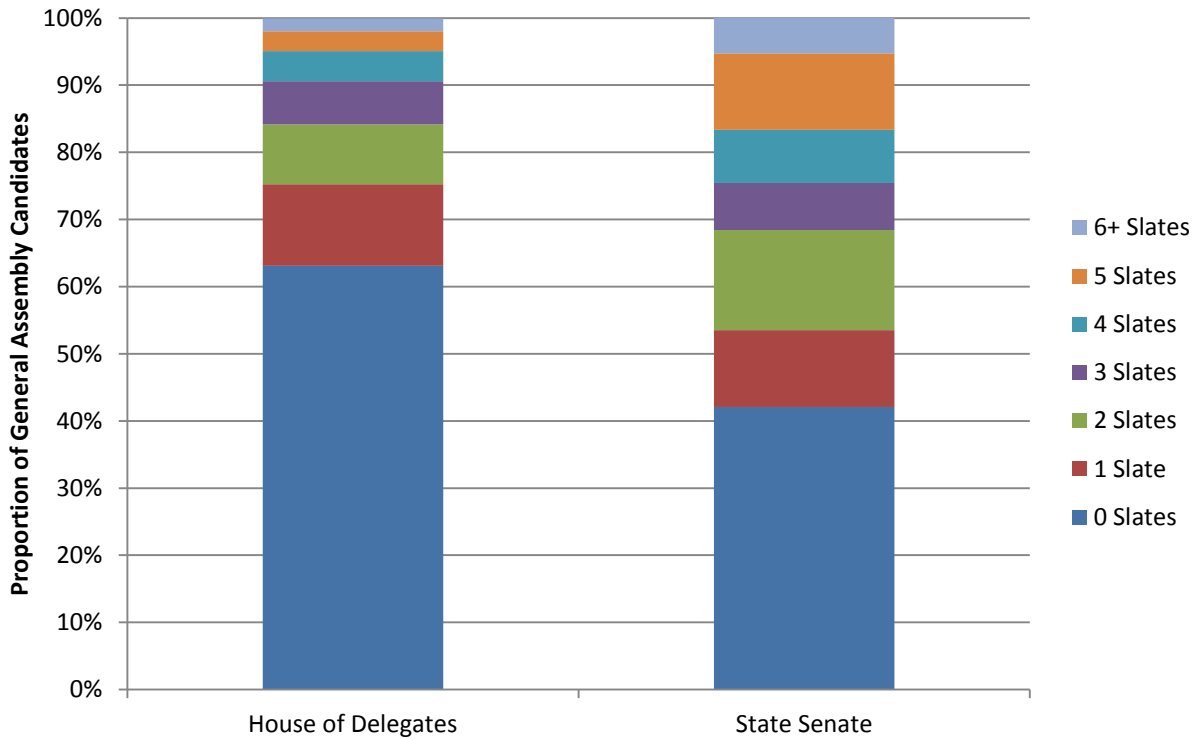


Figure 13 represents slate membership by chamber in the General Assembly. More than 63% of the candidates for the House were not members of any slate; more than 27% of House candidates were members of one, two, or three slates; and only about 9% of House candidates were members of four or more slates. The Senate, by comparison, had fewer candidates with no slate memberships and a greater number of candidates with multiple memberships. Only 42% of Senate candidates were not members of a slate; approximately one-third of candidates were members of one, two or three slates; and 25% of candidates were members of four or more slates. Incumbents of the General Assembly had a much greater likelihood of being a member or at least one slate.

**Figure 13: Slate Memberships by House**



Generally, if a candidate is a member of more slates, the candidate will raise more in total contributions. As seen in Figure 14, among all candidates for the General Assembly, those with no slate memberships raised \$18,000, on average. The typical candidate with just one slate membership raised about \$79,000, an increase of about \$61,000 over members with no slate membership. As the number of slate memberships per candidate increases, the total contributions of the candidate increases. The typical candidate who was a member of five slates raised about \$205,000, which was the highest total. There was a slight decrease of about \$9,000 between the typical candidates with six or more slate memberships as compared to those with five.

**Figure 14: Slate Memberships and Average Total Contributions of All Candidates**



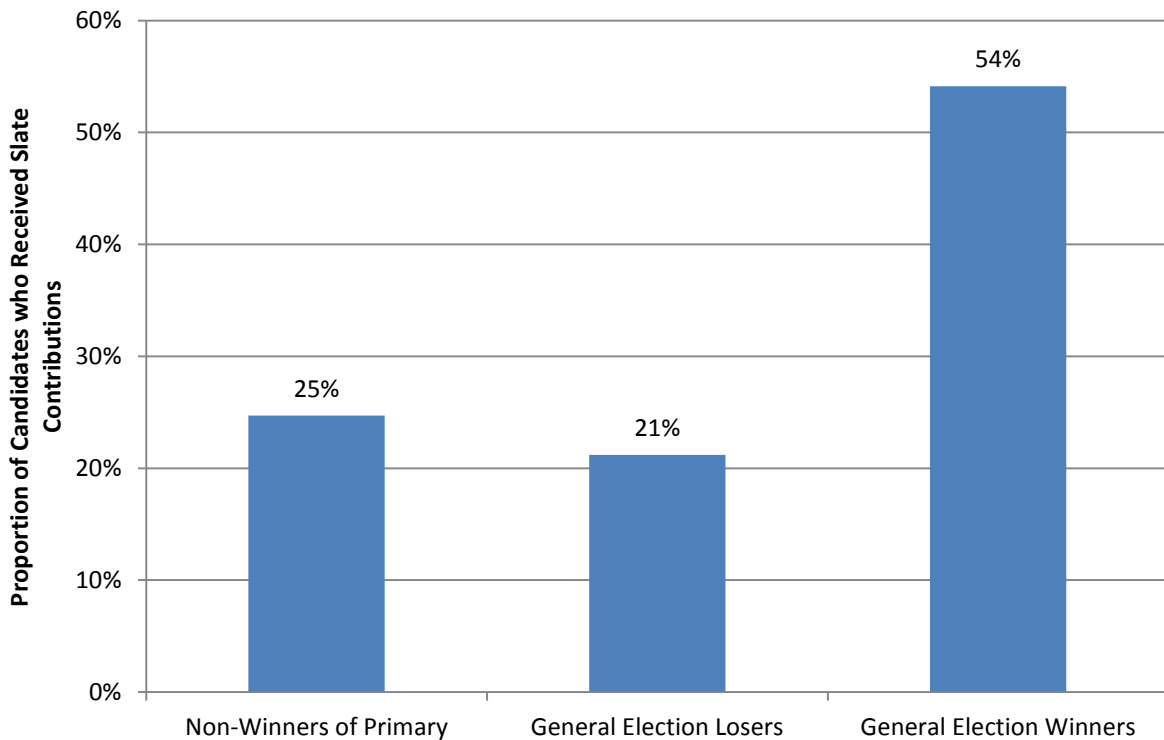
Contributions from slates do not guarantee victory in the elections, but can certainly help a candidate's campaign. Slates tend to contribute more heavily to candidates who are in competitive races to increase the probability of a successful campaign. Nathaniel Exum, an incumbent and Democratic candidate for the House in Prince George's County received \$120,000 in slate contributions. This amount was double the second highest recipient of slate contributions, however Exum ended up losing in the primary election. David Harrington, another Democratic candidate for the House in Prince George's County, lost his primary election despite receiving \$15,000 from slates. Both of these individuals, and many other candidates in Table 3, were in competitive contests.

**Table 3: Top Ten Recipients of Slate Transfers among General Assembly Candidates**

Candidate	Result	Amount
Nathaniel Exum (D)	Lost Primary	\$120,000
Nancy J. King (D)	Won General Election	\$61,166
Douglas J. Peters (D)	Won General Election	\$58,900
Alexander X. Mooney (R)	Lost General Election	\$18,975
Adrienne Jones (D)	Won General Election	\$16,134
David Harrington (D)	Lost Primary	\$15,000
Justin Ross (D)	Won General Election	\$14,200
Delores Kelley (D)	Won General Election	\$11,800
Allan H. Kittleman (R)	Won General Election	\$10,465
Shirley Nathan-Pulliam (D)	Won General Election	\$10,000
Joanne C. Benson (D)	Won General Election	\$10,000

Although receiving funds from slate does not ensure electoral victory, there is a strong correlation between receiving slate contributions and winning in the General Election. Figure 15 shows that 54% of the candidates who received slate contributions ended up winning the General Election. In addition, 21% of slate transfer recipients lost the General Election and 25% of candidates receiving slate contributions lost the primary, withdrew, or were disqualified.

**Figure 15: Proportion of All Candidates which Received Slate Transfers**



### III. Expenditures in the 2010 Elections

The 404 candidates for the House of Delegates spent a total of about \$19.6 million during the election cycle while 114 Senate candidates spent a total of about \$14.2 million.

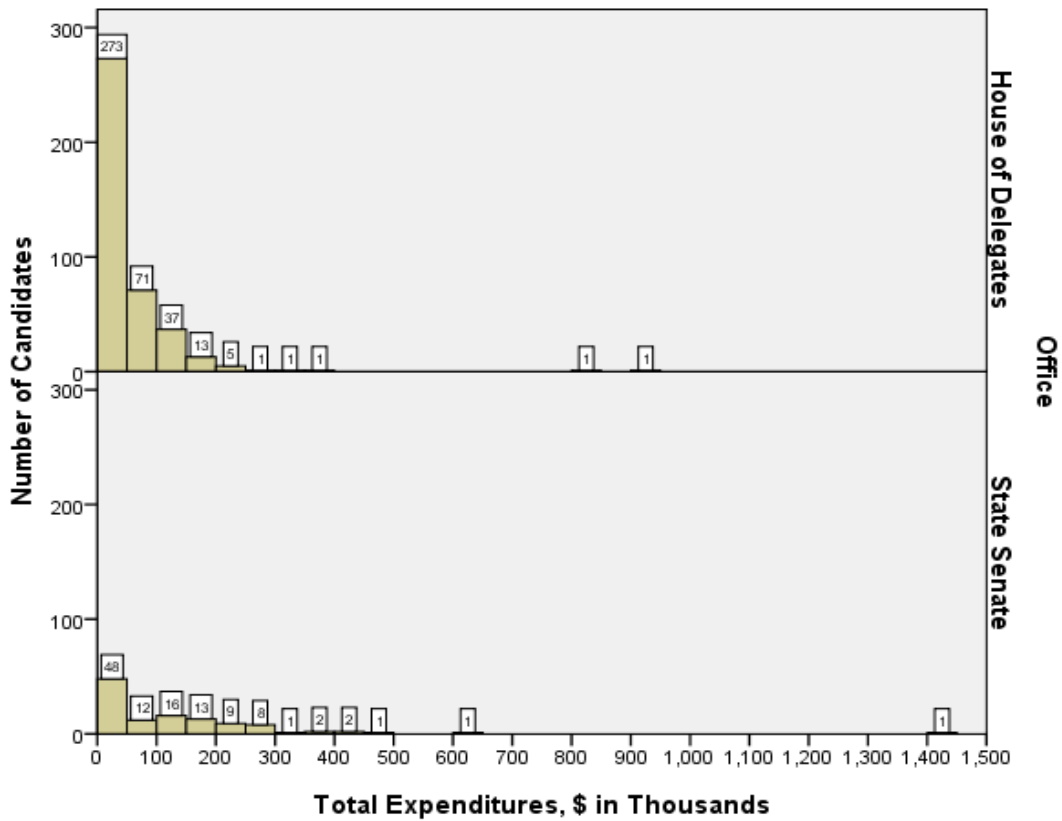
The typical candidate for the House of Delegates spent about \$49,000, while the typical Senate candidate spent approximately \$125,000. Table 4 lists the top spenders among candidates in each house of the General Assembly. Keiffer Mitchell led all House candidates in expenditures in addition to contributions. Senate President Mike Miller led all Senate candidates with over \$1.4 million spent. House Speaker Michael Busch, Senate Finance Committee Chair Thomas Middleton, Senate Judicial Proceedings Committee Chair Brian Frosh, House Health and Government Operations Committee Chair Peter Hammen, and House Economic Matters Committee Chair Dereck Davis also appeared in the top ten for expenditures in their respective houses. Overall, nine of the top ten spenders in each house were Democrats.

**Table 4: Top Ten Spenders among General Assembly Candidates**

House of Delegates		State Senate	
Candidate	Spent	Candidate	Spent
Keiffer Mitchell (D)	\$947,019	Thomas V. "Mike" Miller (D)	\$1,444,996
Michael E. Busch (D)	\$826,657	Alexander X. Mooney (R)	\$635,519
Dereck E. Davis (D)	\$351,888	Thomas M. Middleton (D)	\$464,859
Peter A. Hammen (D)	\$306,614	Douglas J. Peters (D)	\$419,278
Justin Ross (D)	\$264,050	Syed S. Ali (D)	\$415,034
Mary-Dulany James (D)	\$241,093	James E. DeGrange (D)	\$395,255
John F. Wood (D)	\$238,995	James Brochin (D)	\$376,943
Steven R. Schuh (R)	\$238,851	James N. Mathias (D)	\$307,549
Maggie L. McIntosh (D)	\$235,790	Ulysses Currie (D)	\$291,260
Norman H. Conway (D)	\$229,163	Brian E. Frosh (D)	\$290,511

The distribution of spending by candidates, displayed in Figure 16, closely resembles the distribution of candidate contributions shown in Figure 1. About 68% of House candidates (273 candidates) and about 42% of Senate candidates (48 candidates) spent less than \$50,000. Only 3% of House candidates and 22% of Senate candidates spent more than \$200,000 on their campaigns.

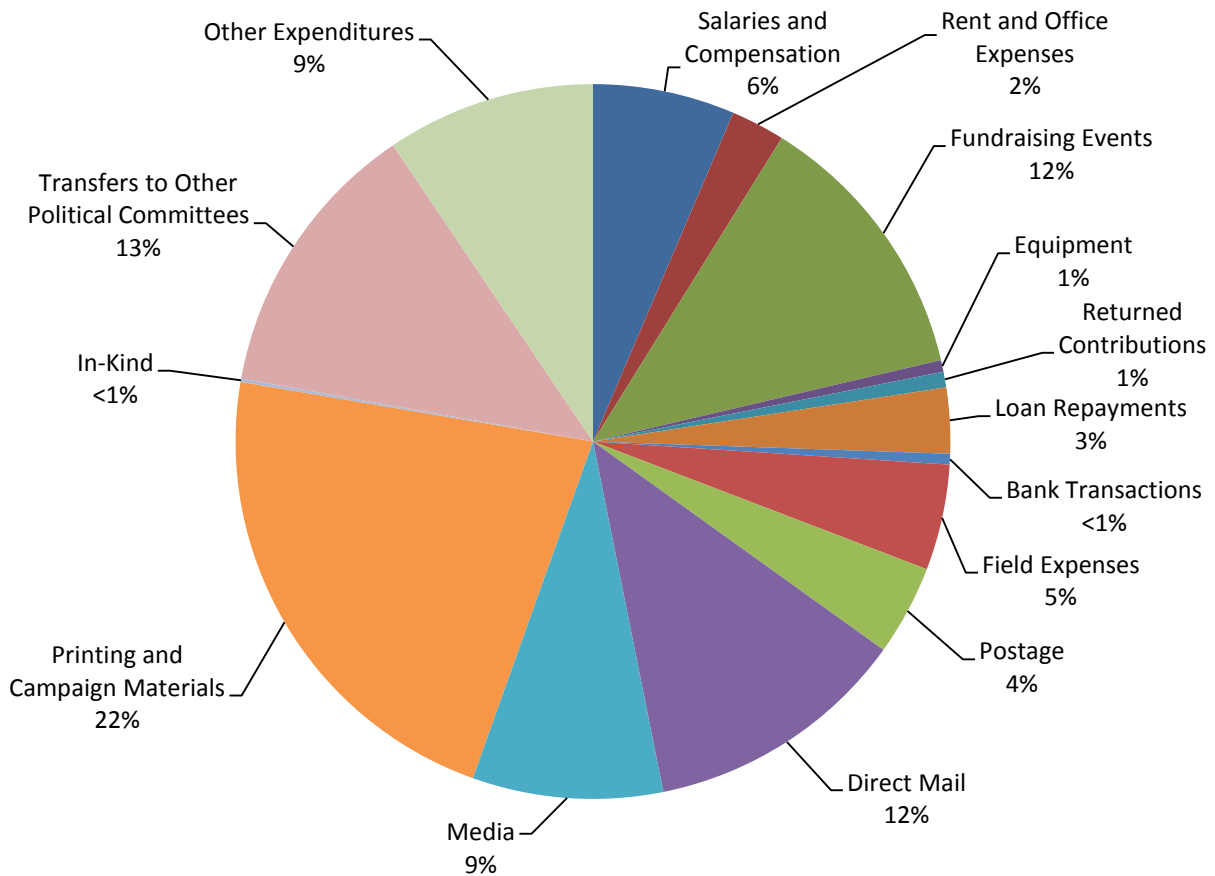
**Figure 16: Distribution of Spending by General Assembly Candidates**



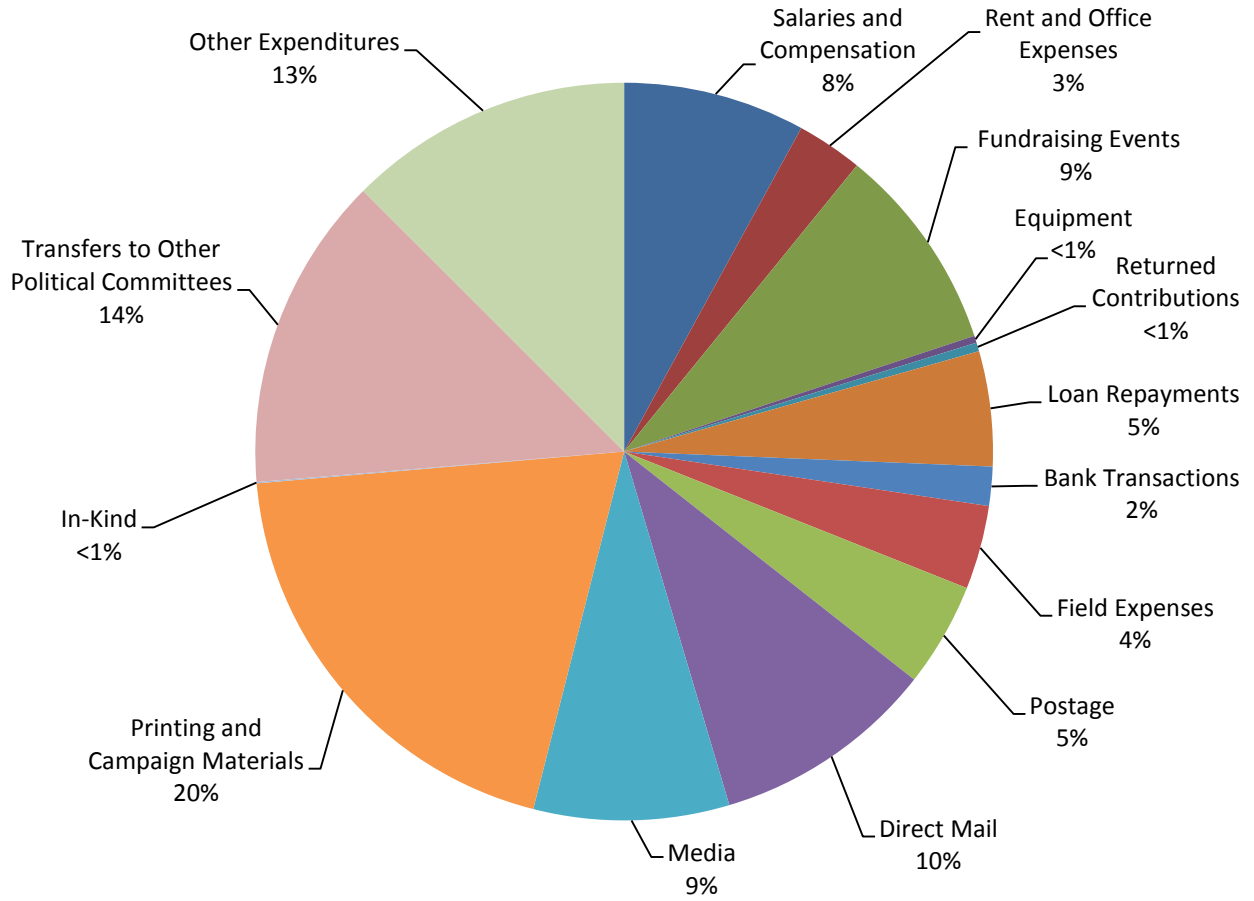
## Types of Expenditures

Candidates for the House of Delegates and State Senate spent funds in similar ways during their 2010 campaigns. Overhead costs account for salaries and compensation, rent and office expenses, fundraising events, equipment, returned contributions, loan repayments, bank transactions, field expenses, and postage. Communication expenses include costs associated with direct mail, media, printing and campaign materials and in-kind. House candidates spent about 34% of their funds on overhead costs, 43% on communications, 13% on transfers to other political committees, and 9% in other areas (see Figure 17). Senate candidates spent 36% of their funds on overhead costs, 39% on communications, 14% on transfers to other political committees, and 13% in other areas (see Figure 18). Despite these similar ratios of spending, the typical Senate candidate outspent the typical House candidate by almost \$76,000.

**Figure 17: Types of Expenditures Made by Candidates for the House of Delegates**



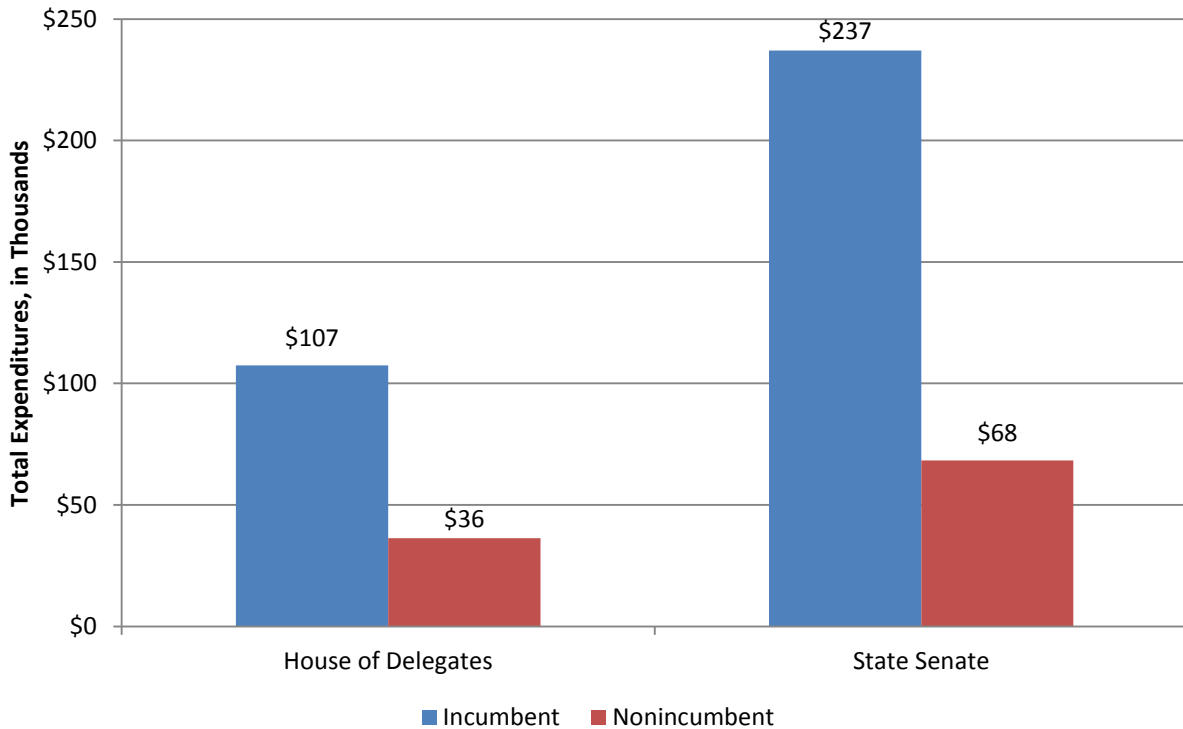
**Figure 18: Types of Expenditures Made by Candidates for the State Senate**



### *Incumbent Spending Advantages*

Due to the advantages that incumbent candidates in the General Assembly have in raising higher amounts of contributions, incumbent candidates are typically able to spend larger sums. The typical House incumbent candidate spent around \$107,000 and the typical House nonincumbent spent about \$36,000 (see Figure 19). Senate candidates spent much larger amounts, with the typical incumbent spending about \$237,000 and the typical nonincumbent spending about \$68,000.

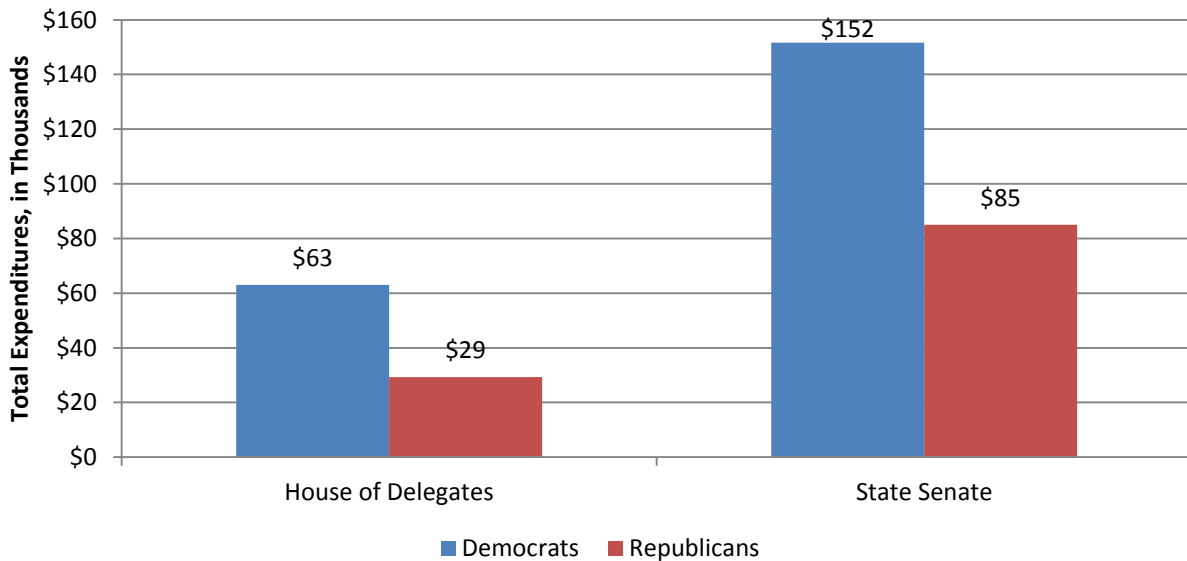
**Figure 19: Incumbency and Spending Averages of General Election Candidates**



### Partisan Advantages

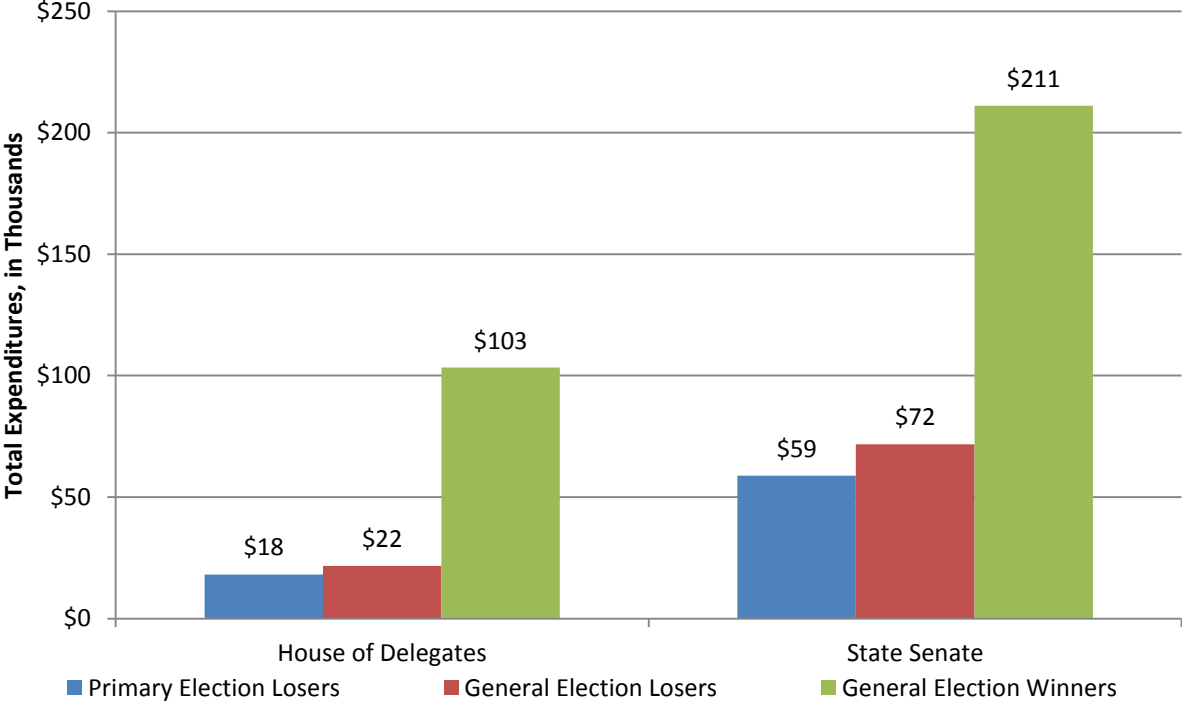
The partisan difference in average spending closely mirrors the trend of partisan differences in contributions discussed earlier. With respect to candidates for the House, the typical Democrat spent \$63,000 while the typical Republican spent \$29,000. Concerning the candidates for the Senate, the typical Democrat spent \$152,000 while the typical Republican spent \$85,000 (see Figure 20). House Democratic candidates spent \$2,000 more than the average amount raised of \$61,300. The typical Senate Democratic and Republican candidates both spent about \$4,000 more than they raised in contributions.

**Figure 20: Partisan Differences in Average Spending of All Candidates**



The amount that a candidate spends during a campaign does not always give a clear indication of electoral success. Candidates such as Ulysses Currie run unopposed in the general election, and did not spend the funds he had raised before the primary election. But more generally, the amount of money a candidate spends during a campaign seems to be correlated with electoral success. Figure 21 shows that among House candidates, the typical general election winner spent \$103,000 while the typical general election loser and primary loser spent \$22,000 and \$18,000, respectively. For Senate candidates, general election winners spent \$211,000, on average while, the typical general election loser and primary loser spent \$72,000 and \$59,000, respectively.

**Figure 21: Electoral Success and Average Total Expenditures**



## Appendix A: Baltimore-Washington Corridor

In this report, some counties and districts were identified as being within the “Baltimore-Washington corridor.” These areas are thought to be the primary urban-suburban areas within the Baltimore-Washington metropolitan area within Maryland. Table A-1 lists all of the districts considered to in the Baltimore-Washington corridor.

**Table A-1: Districts Included in the Baltimore-Washington Corridor**

District	Counties	Major Jursidictions
5B	Baltimore	Hereford-Monkton
6	Baltimore	Dundalk
7	Baltimore, Harford	Fallston
8	Baltimore	Overlea
9A	Howard	Ellicott City
10	Baltimore	Randallstown
11	Baltimore	Owings Mills
12A	Baltimore, Howard	Arbutus
12B	Howard	Columbia
13	Howard	Columbia
14	Montgomery	Burtonsville
15	Montgomery	Poolesville
16	Montgomery	Bethesda
17	Montgomery	Rockville
18	Montgomery	Chevy Chase
19	Montgomery	Aspen Hill
20	Montgomery	Silver Spring
21	Prince George’s, Anne Arundel	College Park
22	Prince George’s	Greenbelt
23A	Prince George’s	Bowie
23B	Prince George’s	Bowie
24	Prince George’s	Capitol Heights
25	Prince George’s	Forestville
26	Prince George’s	Oxon Hill
27A	Prince George’s, Calvert	Brandywine
30	Anne Arundel	Annapolis
31	Anne Arundel	Pasadena
32	Anne Arundel	Severn
33A	Anne Arundel	Crofton
33B	Anne Arundel	Davidsonville
34A	Harford	Aberdeen
35A	Harford	Jarrettsville
35B	Harford	Bel Air
39	Montgomery	Germantown
40	Baltimore City	West Baltimore
41	Baltimore City	Northwest Baltimore
42	Baltimore	Towson
43	Baltimore City	Northeast Baltimore
44	Baltimore City	West Baltimore
45	Baltimore City	Northeast Baltimore
46	Baltimore City	Downtown Baltimore
47	Prince George’s	Langley Park

## **Appendix B**

### **The Study**

The campaign finance data used in this report were obtained from the Maryland State Board of Elections and cover the full 2010 election cycle defined as the period between January 1, 2007 and December 31, 2010. The data are compiled from all reports filed during this time period. 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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### **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, education, and outreach 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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