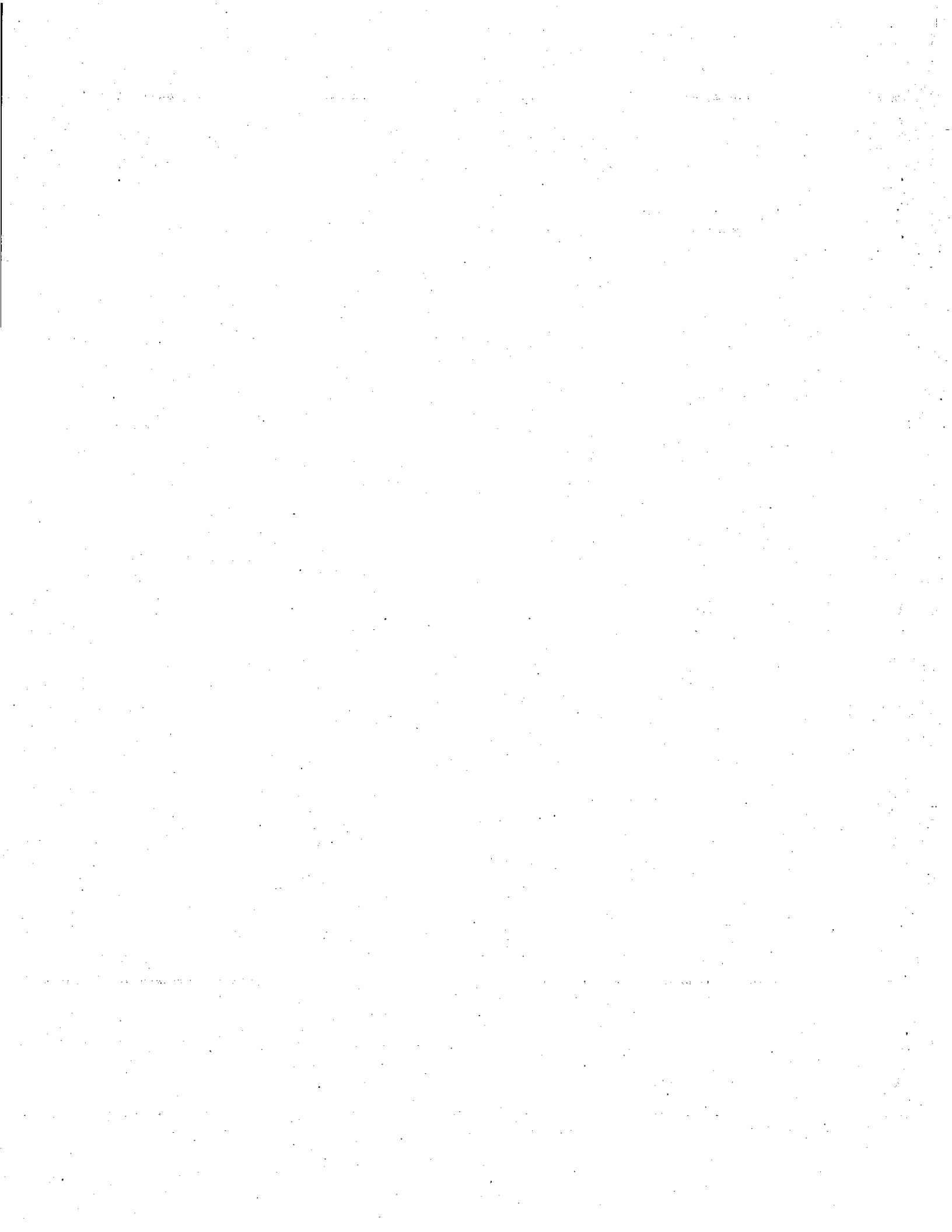


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## INTRODUCTION

This report examines campaign finance activity undertaken by candidates for the Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives (known collectively as The General Court) in 1996. It is the fourth time the Office of Campaign and Political Finance has issued such a report. Previously, however, activity for the two chambers has been reviewed separately. This is the first time the two reports are being issued under the same cover.

The Office of Campaign and Political Finance (OCPF) is an independent state agency that administers Massachusetts General Laws Chapter 55, the Campaign Finance Law. The law provides for disclosure and regulation of campaign finance activity on the state, county and municipal levels. Candidates who report directly to OCPF include those running for state and county office and some citywide offices in Boston, Lowell, Springfield and Worcester, as well as state and municipal party committees, political action committees, people's committees and ballot question committees. The reports filed by these candidates and committees are available for public inspection at OCPF's office at the McCormack State Office Building, Boston.

The information contained in this legislative spending report is based on data compiled from campaign finance reports filed by candidates and treasurers of political committees organized on behalf of candidates for the Massachusetts Senate and House in 1996. The campaign finance law defines a "candidate" as a person who takes steps to advance himself or herself for nomination or election to an office, whether through gathering signatures to be placed on the ballot or mounting a write-in campaign. In 1996, a total of 343 candidates sought legislative office and filed disclosure reports with OCPF: 63 running for the Senate and 280 running for the House.

Legislative candidates and their committees are required to file reports once during a non-election year and three times during an election year. Reports must be filed with OCPF eight days prior to the September primary election; eight days prior to the November election; and on January 20. Candidates and committee treasurers are required to disclose on those reports their account balances at the beginning of each reporting period; receipts and expenditures for the reporting period; in-kind contributions for the reporting period and all liabilities.

The campaign finance law allows legislative candidates and committees to make expenditures for "the enhancement of the political future of the candidate," as long as the expenditure is not primarily for the personal use of a candidate or any other person. Some of the expenditures that are included in the totals contained in this report, especially expenditures by incumbents, may not have been directly related to campaigning. For example, candidates may use campaign funds for purposes such as constituent or

legislative services, opening or maintaining a legislative district office, charitable contributions, transportation and other activity that is for an identifiable political purpose.

OCPF has taken steps to ensure that the information contained in this report is accurate as of the time of its compilation, the early summer of 1997. For the first time this report takes into account corrections, additions or deletions occurring as a result of any review conducted by OCPF or amendments filed by candidates or political committees. Nevertheless, the information used for this report may not necessarily reflect all amendments. In addition, the information provided by candidates and committees may include some mathematical errors and balance inconsistencies. Finally, comparative data are not adjusted for inflation.

This report was compiled and written by Denis Kennedy, OCPF's Director of Public Information, based on information gathered by the office staff. Anyone wishing further information on this report, individual legislative spending reports or any other facet of the Massachusetts campaign finance law may contact the Office of Campaign and Political Finance, McCormack Building, One Ashburton Place, Room 411, Boston, MA 02108, or call (617) 727-8352 or (800) 462-OCPF.

September 1997

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 1996 election saw a marked decline in the number of candidates seeking election to the General Court compared to previous years. The 343 candidates who ran for the Senate or House of Representatives, a total of 200 seats, represented a decline of 16 percent from the 408 who ran in 1994 and a continued drop from 1990, when OCPF began publishing its legislative spending reports.

- Of the 343 **candidates** for the General Court, 178, or 52 percent, were incumbents and 165, or 48 percent, were non-incumbents. Of the incumbents, 109, or 62 percent, were unopposed, while the remaining 69 incumbents faced opposition in either the primary or general election or both. Sixty of those opposed incumbents, or 87 percent, were re-elected. Of the non-incumbents, 31 out of 165 were elected, for a success rate of 19 percent. Therefore, the composition of the Legislature seated in January 1997 was 169 re-elected lawmakers and 31 newcomers.
- The drop in candidates in 1996 over previous years had its most immediate manifestation in a decrease in the **total amount of money raised and spent**. Senate and House candidates combined raised a total of \$8,676,756 in 1996, which was 17 percent less than the 1994 figure. On the spending side, the 1996 figure was \$8,276,953, a drop of 21 percent from 1994. The aggregate figures for each individual chamber also showed a decrease from 1994 and were the lowest ever recorded in OCPF reports.
- While total figures were consistently down, the **average receipts and expenditures** for each chamber went in completely different directions. The average Senate candidate raised \$55,727, 2 percent less than in 1994, and spent \$50,981, 14 percent less. The trend was in the opposite direction in the House, where the average candidate raised \$18,450, 5 percent more than in 1994, and spent \$18,090, 6 percent more than the average 1994 candidate. The increase in House spending is more noteworthy because it marks the first time that figure has risen in the four reports compiled by OCPF since 1990.
- The data also show a continuing advantage for certain **types of candidates**. As in past years, Democrats and incumbents showed significantly more campaign finance activity than their opponents: The top fundraisers and spenders also topped the ticket at the polls: in 1996, the candidate spending the most money won 71 of the 90 contested races, for a success rate of 79 percent.

There are many possible reasons for the changes in the averages. Each election year is different, with a varying mix of incumbents and challengers and contested and uncontested races. In the Senate, for example, there was a higher percentage of

unopposed incumbents (25 of the 35 seeking re-election, or 71 percent) versus those in the House (84 of 143 seeking re-election, or 59 percent). The average amount spent by a Senate incumbent in 1994 was 24 percent less than in 1996, while a House incumbent spent just over 1 percent more in 1996 than in 1994.

Another possible reason for the decline in some receipts is a change in the campaign finance law that took effect in January 1995 and is reflected for the first time in this report. The new law reduced the maximum allowable contribution from an individual or political action committee (PAC) to a candidate from \$1,000 to \$500. The drop in the contribution ceiling may have caused some candidates to collect and spend a smaller amount of money -- reducing both the totals and the averages -- though there is no direct causal evidence.

## SECTION I: THE SENATE

This section reviews campaign finance activity for the 63 candidates for the Senate in 1996. In addition to analysis, the report includes a breakdown of beginning balances, total receipts, total expenditures and ending balances for each candidate. (*See Appendix A.*)

The roster of candidates in this report includes 56 who were listed on the primary ballot in September and/or the general election ballot in November as well as 7 who were not listed on either ballot but ran write-in or sticker campaigns.<sup>1</sup> The schedule for reporting is detailed in the Introduction to this report.

Of the 40 Senate races, 25 featured unopposed incumbents. The other 15 races featured 38 candidates, including 10 incumbents. Each of the 10 opposed incumbents won re-election. The five new senators won open seats.

### OVERVIEW OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE ACTIVITY FOR SENATE CANDIDATES 1994 & 1996

1994		1996
85	Candidates	63
\$ 2,043,462	Total cash on hand at start	\$ 1,995,024
\$ 4,829,019	Total receipts for all candidates	\$ 3,510,827
\$ 6,872,481	Total available to candidates in year	\$ 5,505,852
\$ 5,044,959	Total expenditures for all candidates	\$ 3,211,888
\$ 56,812	Average receipts per candidate	\$ 55,727
\$ 59,352	Average expenditures per candidate	\$ 50,981

<sup>1</sup> This report does not include campaign finance activity in the two special elections for Senate seats in the Worcester & Norfolk district and the 1<sup>st</sup> Suffolk district in 1996. The figures for the winners of those elections, Richard Moore and Stephen Lynch, reflect activity after their respective elections. The two senators are also considered incumbents for purposes of this report. Figures for the two special elections are available from OCPF.

## FINDINGS

The 1996 election for state Senate was relatively quiet compared to past years, both in the number of candidates and campaign finance activity. The 63 Senate candidates in 1996 represented a decrease of 26 percent from 1994 and the lowest since OCPF began compiling legislative spending reports in 1990.

Likewise, total fundraising and spending dropped to their lowest levels in that period. The \$3.5 million raised represented a 27 percent decrease from 1994. On the expenditure side, the \$3.2 million total represented a drop of 36 percent from 1994.

The average amount collected by candidates in 1996 represented a drop of 2 percent over 1994 and reversed the steady increase over the last four elections (*see Appendix B*).<sup>2</sup>

The slowdown was more evident on the expenditure side of the ledger. The average amount spent by a candidate in 1996 was a 14 percent drop from 1994 and even lower than the 1992 figure.

In addition to lower totals for receipts and expenditures, the 1996 election year also featured for the first time a drop in the average amount collected by a candidate and the average spent compared to the previous election year.

The greatest amount of campaign finance activity in 1996 once again was shown by groups that have traditionally been strong: incumbents, Democrats and those who spent the most money. Incumbents outspent non-incumbents more than two to one. Democrats outspent Republicans almost three to one. And in the 15 contested races, the top spender won all but one time.

A breakdown and analysis of the totals for the 63 candidates follows.

### I. Winners vs. Losers

Winners almost always outspent their opponents in 1996, continuing a trend from recent years. Of the 15 contested Senate seats in 1996, the candidate who spent the most money won in all but one of the races, or 93 percent of the time. (The sole exception was in the Plymouth & Norfolk district, where incumbent and winner Robert Hedlund was outspent by challenger Robert Delahunt by \$2,749.) The top spenders' winning

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<sup>2</sup> The total receipts for candidates do not include in-kind contributions, which are things of value other than money. Senate candidates reported receiving \$36,351 in in-kind contributions in 1996.



percentage was up from 1994, when the candidates who spent the most money won 76 percent of the time (19 of 25 seats).

As a group, the 40 successful candidates, including the 25 unopposed incumbents, in 1996 outraised the 23 losing candidates more than three-to-one and outspent them more than two-to-one. (Some candidates were able to spend more than they raised due to existing balances with which they began the year.)

While winners continued to lead the way in spending, it took less money to win office in 1996. A successful candidate spent on average 22 percent less in 1996 than one did in 1994. An unsuccessful candidate's average 1996 expenditures were 33 percent less than in 1994.

**CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES  
BY SUCCESS OF CAMPAIGNS  
1996**

	<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>
Candidates	40	23
Total Receipts	\$ 2,993,936	\$ 516,892
Average Receipts	\$ 74,848	\$ 22,474
Total Expenditures	\$ 2,634,888	\$ 577,000
Average Expenditures	\$ 65,872	\$ 25,087

**II. Incumbents vs. Non-Incumbents**

Incumbents continued to account for the bulk of campaign finance activity in 1996. The 35 incumbents on the ballot accounted for 56 percent of all candidates, but raised 77 percent and spent 72 percent of the total for the year. In addition, incumbents as a group outspent non-incumbents more than two to one.

Both incumbents and non-incumbents raised and spent less on average in 1996 than in 1994. The amount raised by the average incumbent in 1996 was 5 percent less than in 1994, while the amount spent was 24 percent less. The average non-incumbents raised 28 percent less and spent 21 percent less in 1996 than in 1994.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY INCUMBENCY  
1996**

	<u>Incumbents</u>	<u>Non-incumbents</u>
Number	35	28
Total Receipts	\$ 2,710,848	\$ 799,980
Average Receipts	\$ 77,453	\$ 28,571
Total Expenditures	\$ 2,329,413	\$ 882,755
Average Expenditures	\$ 66,555	\$ 31,527

(For the purposes of this report, incumbents are defined as those individuals holding the office of Senate at the time of the 1996 election.)

**III. Party Affiliation**

An analysis of activity by party affiliation shows a continued dominance by Democrats, who accounted for the majority of the candidates, including those who won. In 1996, the 41 Democrats (65 percent of the candidates) accounted for 79 percent of funds raised and 74.7 percent of those spent. The 20 Republican candidates (32 percent of the total) accounted for 20 percent of the fundraising and 25.2 percent of the spending, while the two independent candidates accounted for less than 1 percent in both categories. The Democratic advantage was also reflected in the average amounts raised and spent per candidate.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES  
BY PARTY AFFILIATION  
1996**

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Others</u>
Candidates	41	20	2
Total Receipts	\$ 2,790,425	\$ 719,166	\$ 1,256
Average Receipts	\$ 68,059	\$ 35,958	\$ 618

Total Expenditures	\$ 2,400,531	\$ 810,121	\$ 1,236
Average Expenditures	\$ 58,550	\$ 40,506	\$ 618

\* "Other" affiliations include Libertarian, unenrolled, independents and other minor party affiliations.

The above figures represent a decrease in averages from 1994, with one exception. The average Democratic candidate raised 6 percent more than in 1994, but spent 13 percent less. Both numbers went down for the average Republican candidate, who raised 26 percent less and spent 21 percent less. The average for independent candidates varies from election to election, due largely to the small size of the category, in which just one or two candidates can cause a significant change.

#### **IV. Starting Balances**

A chief reason for the greater amount of campaign spending by incumbents was a sizable edge in cash on hand at the start of the election year. The 35 incumbents who were on the 1996 ballot showed a total starting balance of almost \$1.9 million, which was 93 percent of the total for all candidates and more than 16 times the cash on hand for non-incumbents. The average amount on hand in an incumbent's account also reflected that advantage.

#### **STARTING BALANCES FOR INCUMBENTS AND NON-INCUMBENTS 1996**

	<u>INCUMBENTS</u>	<u>NON-INCUMBENTS</u>
Number	35	28
Total Beginning Balances	\$ 1,879,722	\$ 115,302
Average Beginning Balance	\$ 53,706	\$ 4,118

It should be remembered that many challengers are first-time candidates and begin their campaign with zero balances. The starting balance figures therefore have traditionally favored incumbents.

All of the 10 candidates with the largest starting balances in 1996 were incumbents. Six of those 10 ultimately had no opposition that year.

**CANDIDATES WITH HIGHEST STARTING BALANCES  
1996**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Beginning Balance</u>
1.	Thomas Birmingham (D)	Y	Y	\$ 311,968
2.	Lois Pines (D)	Y	Y	\$ 272,205
3.	Mark Montigny (D)	Y	Y	\$ 199,858
4.	Warren Tolman (D)	Y	Y	\$ 91,203
5.	Marc Pacheco (D)	Y	Y	\$ 88,885
6.	Cheryl Jacques (D)	Y	Y	\$ 80,594
7.	Robert Durand (D)	Y	Y	\$ 77,983
8.	William Keating (D)	Y	Y	\$ 76,912
9.	Thomas Norton (D)	Y	Y	\$ 75,255
10.	Charles Shannon (R)*	Y	Y	\$ 67,980

\* Senator Shannon changed his party affiliation to Democrat in December 1996.

**V. Most Active Candidates and Races**

The most expensive contested Senate race in 1996 was in the Middlesex, Norfolk and Worcester district, where three candidates – Michelle Flaherty, John Moran and incumbent and winner David Magnani -- raised a total of \$223,332 and spent \$269,919.

Of the top 10 most expensive contested Senate races, seven were won by incumbents and three by non-incumbents (all of whom were seeking open seats).

**SENATE RACES WITH THE HIGHEST SPENDING  
1996**

	<u>District</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Winner</u>
1.	Middlesex, Norfolk & Worcester	\$ 269,919	3	David Magnani (I)
2.	1 <sup>st</sup> Middlesex	\$ 237,123	3	Steven Panagiotakos
3.	Plymouth & Norfolk	\$ 195,363	2	Robert Hedlund (I)
4.	Berkshire, Hampden, Hampshire & Franklin	\$ 194,922	7	Andrea Nuciforo
5.	5 <sup>th</sup> Middlesex	\$ 193,382	2	Susan Fargo
6.	1 <sup>st</sup> Plymouth & Bristol	\$ 121,583	2	Marc Pacheco (I)
7.	Middlesex & Worcester	\$ 102,680	3	Robert Durand (I)

8. Suffolk & Middlesex	\$ 96,980	2	Robert Travaglini (I)
9. Middlesex & Suffolk	\$ 95,530	2	Warren Tolman (I)
10. Norfolk, Bristol & Middlesex	\$ 83,919	2	Cheryl Jacques (I)

The least expensive contested race was in the 1st Essex & Middlesex district, where two candidates – Klaus Kubierschky and incumbent and winner Bruce Tarr – raised a total of \$29,206 and spent a total of \$32,565.

\* \* \* \* \*

The list of candidates who raised and spent the most money in 1996 is made up largely of incumbents who gained re-election. All of the Top 10 in fundraising were elected; all were Democrats; all but three were incumbents.

The three new senators also made the Top 10 list for spending, joined by six Democratic incumbents who were re-elected. There was one unsuccessful candidate, non-incumbent Robert Delahunt, who placed 10<sup>th</sup> in spending.

### CANDIDATES RAISING AND SPENDING THE MOST MONEY IN 1996

#### RECEIPTS

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Total Receipts</u>
1.	Thomas Birmingham (D)	Y	Y	\$ 200,459
2.	Thomas Norton (D)	Y	Y	\$ 148,097
3.	Dianne Wilkerson (D)	Y	Y	\$ 146,651
4.	Mark Montigny (D)	Y	Y	\$ 143,410
5.	Lois Pines (D)	Y	Y	\$ 116,342
6.	Steven Panagiotakos (D)	N	Y	\$ 115,926
7.	Andrea Nuciforo (D)	N	Y	\$ 115,554
8.	Susan Fargo (D)	N	Y	\$ 113,138
9.	David Magnani (D)	Y	Y	\$ 112,653
10.	Cheryl Jacques (D)	Y	Y	\$ 105,603

## EXPENDITURES

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Total Expenditures</u>
1.	Thomas Norton (D)	Y	Y	\$ 140,167
2.	Steven Panagiotakos (D)	N	Y	\$ 138,403
3.	Dianne Wilkerson (D)	Y	Y	\$ 137,448
4.	David Magnani (D)	Y	Y	\$ 129,724
5.	Thomas Birmingham (D)	Y	Y	\$ 128,828
6.	Susan Fargo (D)	N	Y	\$ 113,013
7.	Marc Pacheco (D)	Y	Y	\$ 111,792
8.	Andrea Nuciforo (D)	N	Y	\$ 107,267
9.	Robert Durand (D)	Y	Y	\$ 102,656
10.	Robert Delahunt (D)	N	N	\$ 99,056

## VI. Contested and Uncontested Races

### CONTESTED SEATS

Fifteen Senate races in 1996 featured two or more candidates. They can be grouped in two categories: contests for open seats being vacated by incumbents and contests featuring an incumbent facing opposition.

In 1996, 17 candidates ran for five open Senate seats in the following districts:

<u>District</u>	<u>Winner</u>
• Berkshire, Hampden, Hampshire & Franklin	Andrea Nuciforo
• 1 <sup>st</sup> Middlesex	Steven Panagiotakos
• 5 <sup>th</sup> Middlesex	Susan Fargo
• 2 <sup>nd</sup> Plymouth & Bristol	Robert Creedon
• Worcester, Hampden, Hampshire and Franklin	Stephen Brewer

These 17 candidates raised a total of \$682,041, or \$40,120 per candidate, and spent \$694,658, or \$40,862 per candidate.

\* \* \* \* \*

Ten contested races featured the incumbent, who won each time:

### District

- Cape & Islands
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Essex
- 1<sup>st</sup> Essex & Middlesex
- Middlesex, Norfolk & Worcester
- Middlesex & Suffolk
- Middlesex & Worcester
- Norfolk, Bristol & Middlesex
- 1<sup>st</sup> Plymouth & Bristol
- Plymouth & Norfolk
- Suffolk & Middlesex

(\* denotes winner)

### Candidates

- Bleicken, Rauschenbach\*
- Berry\*, Glovsky
- Kubierschky, Tarr\*
- Flaherty, Magnani\*, Moran
- Averback, Tolman\*
- Durand\*, Monnie
- Flanagan, Jacques\*
- Pacheco\*, Smith
- Delahunt, Hedlund\*
- Sheinfeld, Travaglini\*

In the 10 contested races featuring the incumbent, the 21 candidates raised a total of \$1,078,383, or \$51,352 per candidate, and spent \$1,133,157, or \$53,960 per candidate.

Of the two types of contested races, therefore, those featuring incumbents were the most active in terms of funds raised and spent. Both types, however, were exceeded by activity of the unopposed incumbents.

### **UNCONTESTED SEATS**

In 1996, 25 incumbents ran unopposed:

- 1<sup>st</sup> Bristol – Thomas Norton
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Bristol – Mark Montigny
- 1<sup>st</sup> Essex – Edward Clancy
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Essex – James Jajuga
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Essex & Middlesex – John O'Brien
- Hampden – Linda Melconian
- 1<sup>st</sup> Hampden & Hampshire – Brian Lees
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Hampden & Hampshire – Michael Knapik
- Hampshire & Franklin – Stanley Rosenberg
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Middlesex – Charles Shannon
- 3<sup>rd</sup> Middlesex – Richard Tisei
- 4<sup>th</sup> Middlesex – Robert Havern
- 1<sup>st</sup> Middlesex & Norfolk – Lois Pines
- Middlesex, Suffolk & Essex – Thomas Birmingham
- Norfolk, Bristol & Plymouth – William Keating
- Norfolk & Plymouth – Michael Morrissey
- Norfolk & Suffolk – Marian Walsh
- Plymouth & Barnstable – Therese Murray
- 1<sup>st</sup> Suffolk – Stephen Lynch
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Suffolk – Dianne Wilkerson
- Suffolk & Norfolk – W. Paul White
- 1<sup>st</sup> Worcester – Robert Bernstein
- 2<sup>nd</sup> Worcester – Matthew Amorello
- Worcester & Middlesex – Robert Antonioni
- Worcester & Norfolk – Richard Moore

These candidates accounted for a total of \$1,750,403 in receipts, raising an average of \$70,016, and a total of \$1,383,994 in expenditures, which is an average of \$55,360 per candidate.



# Appendix A

## Senate Candidates' Campaign Finance Totals 1996

Winner	Start	Receipts	Expenditures	Ending Balance
<b><u>Berkshire, Hampden,</u></b>				
<b><u>Hampshire &amp; Franklin</u></b>				
Abair Peter	\$ 0	\$ 14,760.00	\$ 14,760.00	\$ 0
Babeu Paul	1,668.51	61,321.30	64,943.15	0
Donovan William	0	175	175	0
Miller Daniel	0	111.15	111.15	0
Nuciforo Andrea	0	115,554.05	107,266.90	8,287.15
Reilly Edward	15,445.85	2,637.12	7,415.89	10,667.08
Zelazo John	0	250	250	0
	<u>17,114.36</u>	<u>194,808.62</u>	<u>194,922.09</u>	<u>18,954.23</u>
<b><u>1st Bristol</u></b>				
Norton Thomas	75,255.49	148,097.11	140,167.27	83,185.33
<b><u>2nd Bristol</u></b>				
Montigny Mark	199,858.47	143,409.53	78,572.07	264,695.93
<b><u>1st Plymouth &amp; Bristol</u></b>				
Pacheco Marc	88,885.22	101,591.68	111,792.25	78,684.65
Smith Thomas	521.86	9,308.96	9,790.47	40.35
	<u>89,407.08</u>	<u>110,900.64</u>	<u>121,582.72</u>	<u>78,725.00</u>
<b><u>Cape &amp; Islands</u></b>				
Bleicken Eric	0	1,125.00	1,125.00	0
Rauschenbach Henri	4,980.74	53,457.08	57,017.00	1,420.82
	<u>4,980.74</u>	<u>54,582.08</u>	<u>58,142.00</u>	<u>1,420.82</u>

<b><u>1st Essex</u></b>								
Clancy Edward	X	20,171.08	56,436.00	38,991.46	37,615.62			
<b><u>2nd Essex</u></b>								
Berry Frederick	X	27,771.34	54,400.34	62,996.59	19,175.09			
Glovsky Steven		0	13,569.47	13,569.47	0			
		<u>27,771.34</u>	<u>67,969.81</u>	<u>76,566.06</u>	<u>19,175.09</u>			
<b><u>3rd Essex</u></b>								
Jajuga James	X	12,121.88	57,586.00	55,917.77	13,709.11			
<b><u>1st Essex &amp; Middlesex</u></b>								
Tarr Bruce	X	\$ 5,211.75	\$ 26,401.11	\$ 28,844.12	\$ 2,768.74			
Kubierschky Klaus		916.44	2,804.42	3,720.85	64.00			
		<u>6,128.19</u>	<u>29,205.53</u>	<u>32,564.97</u>	<u>2,832.74</u>			
<b><u>2nd Essex &amp; Middlesex</u></b>								
O'Brien John	X	14,247.39	29,275.25	36,688.65	6,833.99			
<b><u>Hampden</u></b>								
Melconian Linda	X	45,889.10	53,724.36	54,470.03	45,143.43			
<b><u>Hampshire &amp; Franklin</u></b>								
Rosenberg Stanley	X	6,860.37	34,613.90	26,523.55	14,950.72			
<b><u>1st Hampden &amp; Hampshire</u></b>								
Lees Brian	X	60,224.26	53,343.35	72,195.28	41,372.33			
<b><u>2nd Hampden &amp; Hampshire</u></b>								
Knapik Michael	X	10,674.93	24,325.20	31,498.37	3,501.76			

<b><u>1st Middlesex</u></b>							
Donahue	Matthews		824.54	93,500.66	92,828.49	1,496.71	
Dwyer	Kenneth		948.00	5,608.41	5,890.83	665.58	
Panagiotakos	Steven	X	22,516.75	115,925.68	138,403.41	39.02	
			<u>24,289.29</u>	<u>215,034.75</u>	<u>237,122.73</u>	<u>2,201.31</u>	
<b><u>2nd Middlesex</u></b>							
Shannon	Charles	X	67,978.89	76,911.74	75,623.98	69,266.65	
<b><u>3rd Middlesex</u></b>							
Tisei	Richard	X	55,513.43	86,120.39	83,256.76	58,377.06	
<b><u>4th Middlesex</u></b>							
Havern	Robert	X	18,050.43	26,860.00	7,760.74	37,149.69	
<b><u>5th Middlesex</u></b>							
Evans	Nancy		10,617.64	70,352.53	80,368.36	601.81	
Fargo	Susan	X	416.61	113,138.13	113,013.15	541.59	
			<u>11,034.25</u>	<u>183,490.66</u>	<u>193,381.51</u>	<u>1,143.40</u>	
<b><u>1st Middlesex &amp; Norfolk</u></b>							
Pines	Lois	X	272,204.73	116,342.28	40,275.63	348,271.38	
<b><u>Middlesex, Norfolk &amp; Worcester</u></b>							
Flaherty	Michelle		22,979.67	65,683.98	87,652.03	1,011.62	
Magnani	David	X	28,634.45	112,653.15	129,723.83	11,563.77	
Moran	John		6,690.00	44,995.18	52,543.38	805.09	
			<u>58,304.12</u>	<u>223,332.31</u>	<u>269,919.24</u>	<u>13,380.48</u>	

**Middlesex & Suffolk**

Averbuck	Philip	0	2,710.00	2,707.00	3.00
Tolman	Warren	91,203.40	102,198.74	92,822.96	100,579.18
		<u>91,203.40</u>	<u>104,908.74</u>	<u>95,529.96</u>	<u>100,582.79</u>

**Middlesex & Worcester**

Durand	Robert	77,983.13	99,916.09	102,656.00	75,243.20
Monnie	William	0	50.00	24.20	25.80
		<u>77,983.13</u>	<u>99,966.09</u>	<u>102,680.20</u>	<u>75,269.02</u>

**Norfolk & Plymouth**

Morrissey	Michael	13,909.90	59,550.25	33,593.53	39,866.62
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**Norfolk, Bristol  
& Middlesex**

Flanagan	Thomas	0	29,281.64	29,281.64	0
Jacques	Cheryl	80,594.19	105,603.44	54,636.93	131,560.70
		<u>80,594.19</u>	<u>134,885.08</u>	<u>83,918.57</u>	<u>131,560.70</u>

**Norfolk, Bristol  
& Plymouth**

Keating	William	76,911.82	84,754.03	35,313.02	126,352.83
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**Plymouth & Norfolk**

Delahunt	Robert	11,953.53	87,525.57	99,055.73	423.37
Hedlund	Robert	25,803.93	72,605.07	96,306.87	2,102.13
		<u>37,757.46</u>	<u>160,130.64</u>	<u>195,362.60</u>	<u>2,525.50</u>

**2nd Plymouth & Bristol**

Allen	George	0	9,432.98	9,219.21	213.77
Benjamin	Michael	0	1,275.00	1,275.00	0
Creedon	Robert	0	25,783.74	25,438.80	344.94
		<u>0</u>	<u>36,491.72</u>	<u>35,933.01</u>	<u>558.71</u>

<b><u>Plymouth &amp; Barnstable</u></b>							
Murray	Therese	X	12,806.37	40,159.96	45,594.03	7,372.30	
<b><u>1st Suffolk</u></b>							
Lynch	Stephen	X	5,370.48	36,973.67	27,342.37	15,001.78	
<b><u>2nd Suffolk</u></b>							
Wilkerson	Dianne	X	321.42	146,650.74	137,448.70	5,036.32	
<b><u>Middlesex,</u></b>							
<b><u>Suffolk &amp; Essex</u></b>							
Birmingham	Thomas	X	311,967.59	200,458.55	128,828.23	383,597.91	
<b><u>Suffolk &amp; Middlesex</u></b>							
Sheinfeld	Peter		0	218.00	218.00	0	
Travaglino	Robert	X	4,496.48	92,284.23	96,672.20	108.51	
			<u>4,496.48</u>	<u>92,502.23</u>	<u>96,890.20</u>	<u>108.51</u>	
<b><u>Norfolk &amp; Suffolk</u></b>							
Walsh	Marian	X	16,963.91	47,374.64	39,144.87	25,193.68	
<b><u>Suffolk &amp; Norfolk</u></b>							
White	W. Paul	X	54,312.92	47,931.64	48,038.33	54,206.23	
<b><u>1st Worcester</u></b>							
Bernstein	Robert	X	20,603.68	41,505.00	29,592.14	32,516.54	
<b><u>Worcester, Hampden</u></b>							
<b><u>Hampshire &amp; Franklin</u></b>							
Alivoni	Joanne		0	195.45	195.45	0	
Brewer	Stephen	X	38,017.30	52,019.59	33,103.29	56,933.60	
			<u>38,017.30</u>	<u>52,215.04</u>	<u>33,298.74</u>	<u>56,933.60</u>	

**2nd Worcester**

Amorello Matthew X 14,231.00 43,705.00 46,954.59 10,981.41

**Worcester & Middlesex**

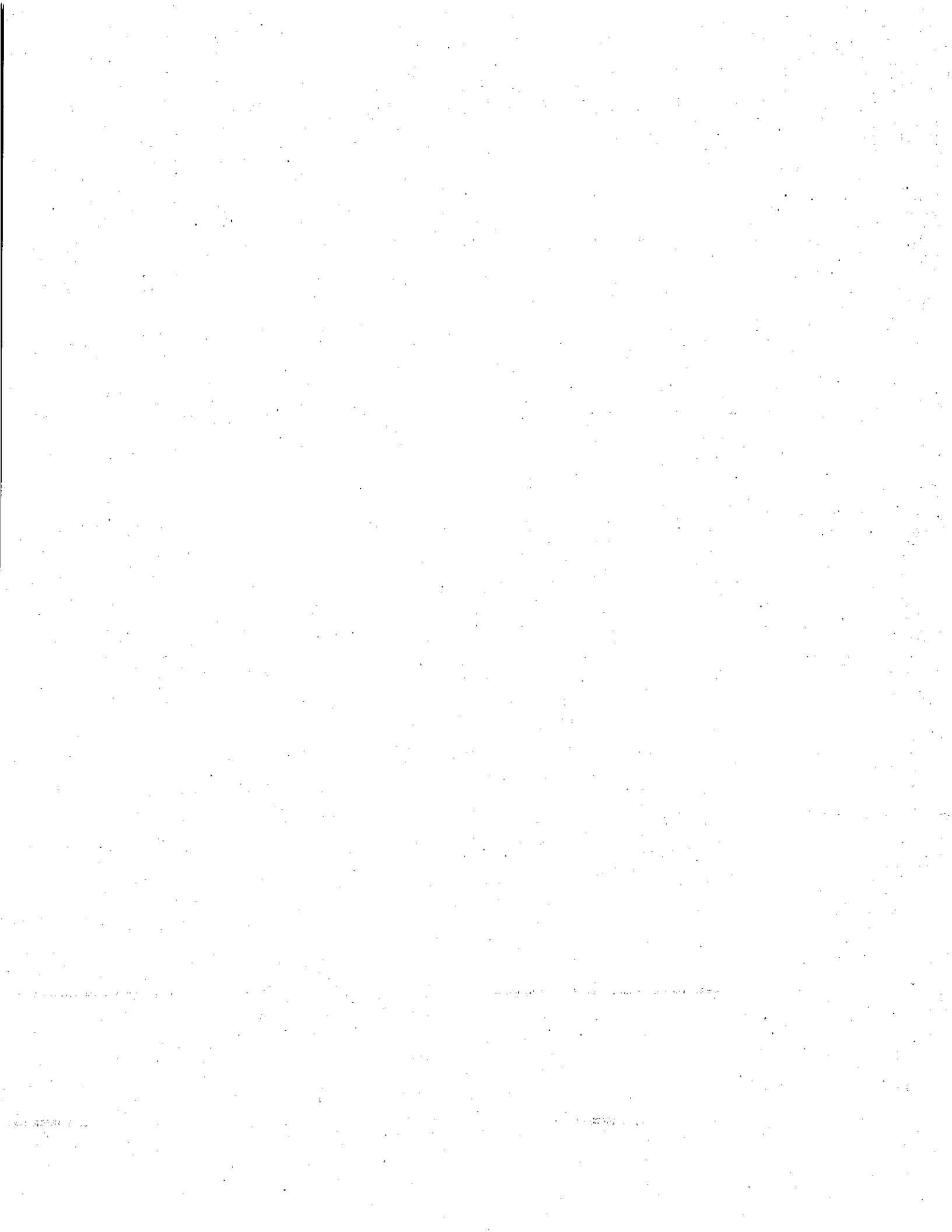
Antonioni Robert X 32,261.61 59,557.83 38,900.67 52,918.77

**Worcester & Norfolk**

Moore Richard X 7,231.77 34,737.07 31,301.59 10,366.52

**Appendix B**  
**Campaign Finance Activity by Senate Candidates**  
**1990 - 1996**

	1990	1992	1994	1996
Candidates	106	111	85	63
Total received	\$ 4,530,863	5,674,643	4,829,019	3,510,827
Average received	\$ 42,744	51,123	56,812	55,727
Total spent	\$ 5,060,968	6,086,061	5,044,959	3,211,888
Average spent	\$ 47,745	54,829	59,352	50,981





## SECTION II: THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

This section reviews campaign finance activity for the 280 candidates for the state House of Representatives in 1996. The roster of candidates in this report includes 271 who were listed on the primary ballot in September and/or the general election ballot in November as well as 9 who were not listed on either ballot but ran write-in or sticker campaigns.<sup>3</sup> The schedule for reporting, which is the same as that for Senate candidates, is detailed in the Introduction to this report.

Of the 160 races for a House seat, 85 featured only one candidate, which in all but one case was an incumbent. The remaining 75 races were contested, featuring at least two candidates. Of the 195 candidates in contested races, 58 were incumbents. Of that number, 50 were re-elected, seven were defeated and one withdrew from the ballot after winning his party's nomination. Incumbents were re-elected in 135 of the 160 races, for an 84 percent success rate.

### OVERVIEW OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE ACTIVITY FOR HOUSE CANDIDATES 1994 & 1996

1994	Candidates	1996
323		280
\$ 1,751,296	Total cash on hand at start	\$ 1,668,215
\$ 5,662,804	Total receipts for all candidates	\$ 5,165,929
\$ 7,414,100	Total available to candidates	\$ 6,834,144
\$ 5,488,771	Total expenditures for all candidates	\$ 5,065,065
\$ 17,532	Average receipts per candidate	\$ 18,450
\$ 16,993	Average expenditures per candidate	\$ 18,090

<sup>3</sup> This report does not include campaign finance activity in the two special elections for House seats in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plymouth district and the 8<sup>th</sup> Bristol district in 1996. The figures for the winners of those elections, Samuel Corbitt and Michael Rodrigues, and another candidate in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plymouth, Ruth Provost, reflect activity after their respective special elections. The two winners in the special elections are also considered incumbents for purposes of this report. Figures for the two special elections are available from OCPF.

## FINDINGS

The 280 candidates for House seats in 1996 represented a drop of 16 percent from 1994 and the lowest in the eight years covered in OCPF studies.

Though the total amounts raised and spent were reflective of the relatively low number of candidates, candidates still raised and spent more than \$5 million.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, those figures reflected a drop in total funds raised of 9 percent from 1994 and a decrease in total spending of 8 percent.

Despite the lower total numbers, the average candidate who ran in 1996 was more active than his or her 1994 counterpart: the average amounts raised and spent rose, with receipts increasing 5 percent and expenditures up 6 percent over 1994.

Winners once again outspent losers in 1996, often bolstered by a substantial starting balance. The candidate who spent the most money in a race won more than three-quarters of the time in 1996.

Incumbents also had greater financial activity, with office-holders usually outspending challengers. In total funds, incumbents outspent challengers by a 30 percent margin. Incumbents accounted for seven of the top 10 spending candidates, with three non-incumbents in highly contested races rounding out the list.

Democrats continued to account for the bulk of fundraising and spending in 1996, which was not surprising given their continued predominance in legislative races. Democrats led Republicans in both receipts and expenditures by more than 30 percent.

A breakdown and analysis of the totals for the 280 candidates follows:

### **I. Winners vs. Losers**

Winners continued to account for most of the total fundraising and spending in House campaigns. In 1996, the 160 successful candidates raised about 70 percent of the money and spent a comparable proportion, outspending losers more than two-to-one.

Though the winners still raised and spent significantly more than challengers, the gap narrowed in 1996. The average spent by the winners dropped more than \$2,000 from its 1994 level, while the average spent by those who did not win rose by about the same amount. Receipts showed a similar trend.

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<sup>4</sup> The total receipts for candidates do not include in-kind contributions, which are things of value other than money. House candidates reported receiving \$144,473 in in-kind contributions in 1996.

In the 75 contested races for a House seat in 1996, the candidate who spent the most money won 57 times, for a success rate of 76 percent. The percentage is down from 1994, when top spenders won 87 percent of the time, and 1992, which showed a success rate of 81 percent.

**CANDIDATES' RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES  
BY SUCCESS OF CAMPAIGNS  
1996**

	<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>
Number	160	120
Total Receipts	\$ 3,597,039	\$ 1,568,890
Average Receipts	\$ 22,481	\$ 13,074
Total Expenditures	\$ 3,465,649	\$ 1,599,416
Average Expenditures	\$ 21,660	\$ 13,328

There is also evidence to suggest that having substantial cash on hand at the start of the campaign is conducive to winning. The \$1.5 million held by the 160 eventual winners at the start of the year was 12 times the amount held at the start of the year by the eventual losers.

**II. Incumbents vs. Challengers**

Incumbents enjoyed a fundraising and spending advantage over their challengers once again in 1996. The 143 incumbents seeking re-election raised and spent about 60 percent of the total in 1996. In total, incumbents outspent challengers by a 30 percent margin.

The average amounts both incumbent and non-incumbent candidates spent in 1996 rose a few hundred dollars, or about 1 percent, from their 1994 level. But the gap between amounts raised by those two groups narrowed. The average amount raised by an incumbent was down 2 percent from 1994, while the average amount raised by non-incumbents went up by 7 percent.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES BY INCUMBENCY  
1996**

	<u>Incumbents*</u>	<u>Non-Incumbents</u>
Number	143	137
Total Receipts	\$ 3,030,894	\$ 2,135,035
Average Receipts	\$ 21,195	\$ 15,584
Total Expenditures	\$ 2,990,938	\$ 2,074,127
Average Expenditures	\$ 20,916	\$ 15,140

\*For the purposes of this report, incumbents are defined as those individuals holding the office of state representative at the time of the 1996 election. One candidate, 1<sup>st</sup> Essex district Rep. Frank Cousins, is included in this report even though he left office to become Essex County sheriff and ultimately did not seek re-election to the House. Cousins won the Republican primary but withdrew from the general election ballot. Though he is included in the totals, his withdrawal from the ballot meant his seat was considered open for the purposes of this report.

### **III. Party Affiliation**

Democrats once again accounted for most of the financial activity of candidates, due in part to the fact that they greatly outnumbered Republicans and other designations on the ballot in 1996. Sixty-eight percent of the candidates were Democrats, but they accounted for 78 percent of the total funds raised and 77 percent of the total spending.

The predominance of Democrats is also reflected in the fundraising and spending averages, which showed Democrats leading Republicans in both categories by more than 30 percent.

The average amounts raised by Democrats and Republicans showed increases by a few hundred dollars over 1994. On the expenditure side, the amount spent by the average rose \$1,631, or 9 percent. In contract, the average spending by a Republican rose only \$730, or 5 percent. Spending by those in the "Other" category, which includes third parties and unaffiliated candidates, showed the greatest decrease, but the makeup of this category varies from year to year and often includes candidates with little or no campaign finance activity.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES  
BY PARTY AFFILIATION  
1996**

	<u>Democrats</u>	<u>Republicans</u>	<u>Others</u>
Number of Candidates	192	70	18
Total Receipts	\$ 4,028,199	\$ 1,030,512	\$ 107,219
Average Receipts	\$ 20,980	\$ 14,722	\$ 5,957
Total Expenditures	\$ 3,895,456	\$ 1,062,768	\$ 106,841
Average Expenditures	\$ 20,289	\$ 15,182	\$ 5,936

\* For the purpose of this report, "Other" affiliations include unenrolled, independents and other political designations.

**IV. Starting Balances**

As a rule, incumbents and well-established or returning challengers usually have money on hand at the start of an election season. Generally, non-incumbent candidates do not organize their campaigns until the year in which the election is held, accounting for significantly lower beginning balances among non-incumbents.

The largest starting balances in 1996 were therefore usually held by incumbents, many of whom ultimately had no opposition. Incumbents controlled 96 percent of the \$1.668 million on hand at the start of the election year.

**STARTING BALANCES  
FOR INCUMBENTS AND NON-INCUMBENTS  
1996**

	<u>Incumbents</u>	<u>Non-incumbents</u>
Number	143	137
Total Beginning Balances	\$ 1,602,085	\$ 66,130
Average Beginning Balance	\$ 11,203	\$ 483

The list of the candidates with the 10 highest starting balances is made up solely of incumbent Democrats, all of whom won their 1996 elections.

**CANDIDATES WITH HIGHEST STARTING BALANCES  
(As of Jan. 1, 1996)**

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Beginning Balance</u>
1.	Thomas Finneran (D)	Y	Y	\$ 186,911
2.	Salvatore DiMasi (D)	Y	Y	\$ 76,507
3.	Paul Caron (D)	Y	Y	\$ 66,681
4.	Antonio Cabral (D)	Y	Y	\$ 51,572
5.	Thomas Petrolati (D)	Y	Y	\$ 42,044
6.	Dennis Murphy (D)	Y	Y	\$ 41,833
7.	A. Stephen Tobin (D)	Y	Y	\$ 39,557
8.	Thomas Kennedy (D)	Y	Y	\$ 32,005
9.	Daniel Bosley (D)	Y	Y	\$ 29,896
10.	Robert DeLeo (D)	Y	Y	\$ 27,806

**V. Contested and Uncontested Races**

Of the 160 races for House seats, 85 featured only one candidate, which in all but one case was the incumbent. The remaining 75 were contested, featuring two or more candidates.

Candidates in contested races continued to raise and spend more money than unopposed candidates in 1996. On average, the 195 candidates vying for 75 seats raised a few hundred dollars more than the 85 unopposed candidates. The difference was more pronounced on the spending side, where the average spent by an opposed candidate was \$3,257 more than the average spent by an unopposed candidate.

The amount raised by the candidates in contested elections rose \$1,620, or 9.3 percent, over 1994 and the average spent rose \$1,710, or 9.8 percent.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR  
HOUSE CANDIDATES IN CONTESTED RACES IN 1996**

Number	195
Total Receipts	\$ 3,695,507
Average Receipts	\$ 18,951
Total Expenditures	\$ 3,720,078
Average Expenditures	\$ 19,078

For unopposed candidates, the average amount raised dipped by about \$900 from 1994, while average expenditures rose slightly, by less than \$100.

**RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR  
HOUSE CANDIDATES WHO WERE UNOPPOSED IN 1996**

Number	85*
Total Receipts	\$ 1,470,422
Average Receipts	\$ 18,197
Total Expenditures	\$ 1,344,856
Average Expenditures	\$ 15,821

\*All but one of the unopposed candidates were incumbents. The sole unopposed newcomer was Christopher Fallon, who won an open seat in the 36<sup>th</sup> Middlesex district.

The highest amount spent by an unopposed candidate was \$155,965 by Rep. Thomas Finneran (12<sup>th</sup> Suffolk district), while the lowest total was \$173 spent by Rep. James Marzilli (25<sup>th</sup> Middlesex).

## VI. Most Active Candidates and Races

The race in the 27<sup>th</sup> Middlesex district in 1996 was notable for two reasons: it was the most expensive of all the contests and it also produced the candidate with the most campaign finance activity.

In that district three candidates -- Democrats Michael Cavallo, Anthony Galluccio and (winner) Alice Wolf -- raised \$187,450 and spent \$184,969 in their bid for an open seat. Wolf was also the top fundraiser of all of the 280 House candidates in 1996, marking the first time since OCPF started issuing legislative spending reports that a non-incumbent candidate has topped the list. On the spending side, Wolf placed second, but was the top spender in any contested race. Wolf is also the first woman to top either the fundraising or spending lists.

### CANDIDATES RAISING AND SPENDING THE MOST MONEY IN 1996

#### RECEIPTS

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Total Receipts</u>
1.	Alice Wolf (D)	N	Y	\$ 93,328
2.	Paul Caron (D)	Y	Y	\$ 84,446
3.	M. Joseph Manning (D)	Y	N	\$ 79,420
4.	Paul Demakis (D)	Y	Y	\$ 77,252
5.	Thomas Finneran (D)	Y	Y	\$ 73,285
6.	John Hart (D)	N	Y	\$ 73,126
7.	Angelo Scaccia (D)	Y	Y	\$ 72,633
8.	Paul Haley (D)	Y	Y	\$ 68,844
9.	Anthony Galluccio (D)	N	N	\$ 68,232
10.	Barry Finegold (D)	N	Y	\$ 59,063

#### EXPENDITURES

<u>No.</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Incumbent?</u>	<u>Elected?</u>	<u>Total Expenditures</u>
1.	Thomas Finneran (D)	Y	Y	\$ 155,965
2.	Alice Wolf (D)	N	Y	\$ 89,971
3.	M. Joseph Manning (D)	Y	N	\$ 78,057
4.	Angelo Scaccia (D)	Y	Y	\$ 73,794
5.	Anthony Galluccio (D)	N	N	\$ 69,107
6.	John Hart (D)	N	Y	\$ 68,054
7.	Paul Demakis (D)	Y	Y	\$ 66,639



8.	Paul Caron (D)	Y	Y	\$ 66,138
9.	Steven Angelo (D)	Y	Y	\$ 63,736
10.	Joan Menard (D)	Y	Y	\$ 59,316

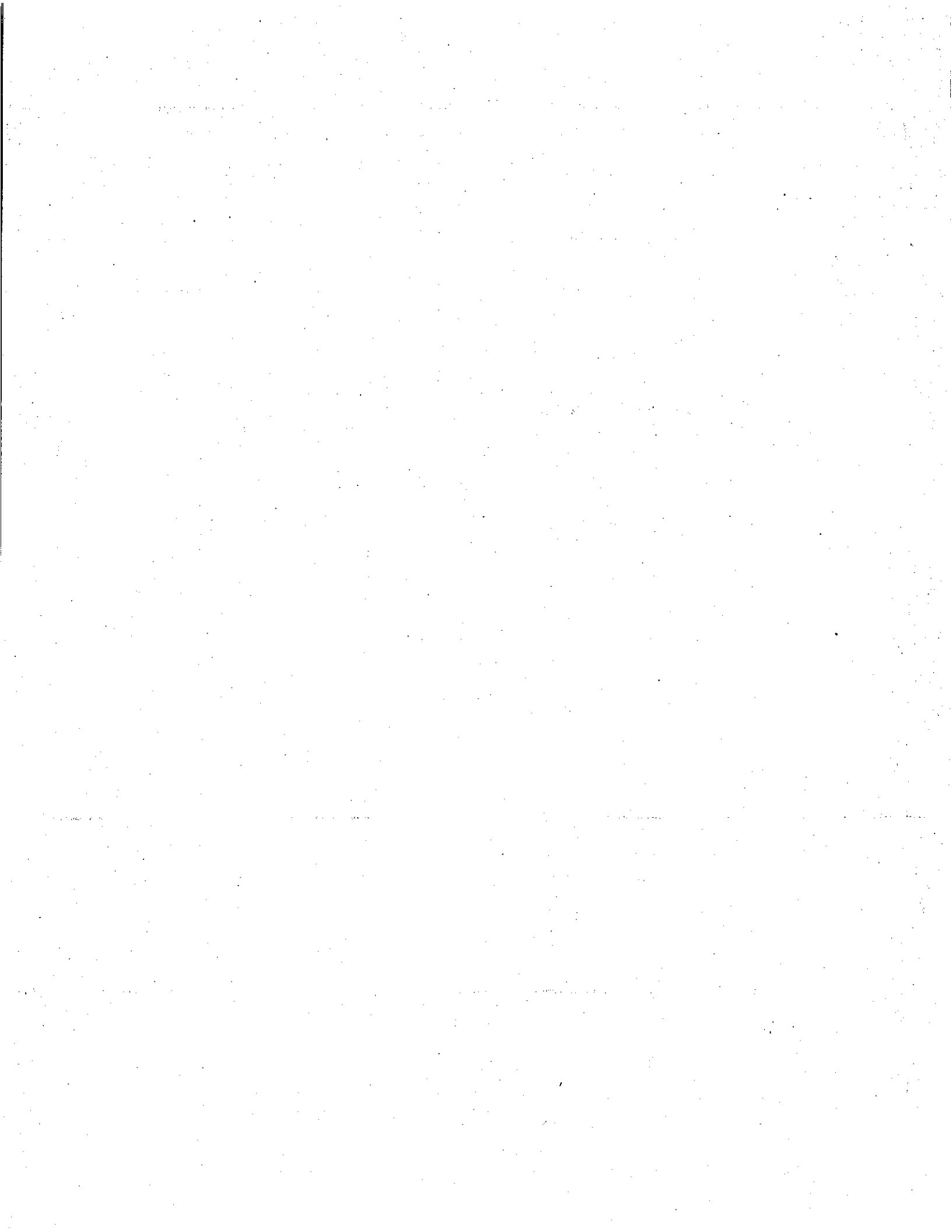
Of the top 10 most expensive races, five were won by incumbents and five by non-incumbents. One, the 7<sup>th</sup> Norfolk, featured the defeat of an incumbent; the other four winning non-incumbents were seeking open seats.

### MOST EXPENSIVE HOUSE RACES 1996

	<u>District</u>	<u>Amount</u>	<u>Candidates</u>	<u>Winner</u>
1.	27 <sup>th</sup> Middlesex	\$ 184,969	3	Alice Wolf
2.	7 <sup>th</sup> Norfolk	\$ 131,304	2	Brian Joyce
3.	13 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	\$ 115,209	6	James Brett (I)*
4.	4 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	\$ 111,332	2	John Hart
5.	14 <sup>th</sup> Suffolk	\$ 102,521	2	Angelo Scaccia (I)
6.	28 Middlesex	\$ 101,039	6	Alvin Thompson (I)
7.	17 <sup>th</sup> Essex	\$ 94,884	3	Barry Finegold
8.	2 <sup>nd</sup> Middlesex	\$ 87,960	2	Brian Cresta (I)
9.	2 <sup>nd</sup> Essex	\$ 87,126	2	Harriett Stanley (I)
10.	19 <sup>th</sup> Middlesex	\$ 86,142	4	Kevin Murphy

\*James Brett, the sole candidate on the ballot, announced his intention to resign his seat shortly before the general election, but was too late to be taken off the ballot. Five write-in and sticker candidates entered the race, but Brett won the most votes. A special election was held to fill his seat in the spring of 1997.

The least expensive contested race was in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Hampshire, where independent Terry Franklin and Democratic incumbent (and winner) Ellen Story raised a combined \$8,916 and spent \$5,139.



**Appendix C**  
**Campaign Finance Activity by House Candidates**  
**1990 - 1996**

	1990	1992	1994	1996
Candidates	401	361	323	280
Total received	\$ 6,787,691	6,342,000	5,662,804	5,165,929
Average received	\$ 16,927	17,568	17,532	18,450
Total spent	\$ 7,129,457	6,250,385	5,488,771	5,065,065
Average spent	\$ 17,779	17,314	16,993	18,090

