

ELEC WHITE PAPER
LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES:
HOW THEY SPEND THEIR MONEY



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Acknowledgement and Statement of Purpose

The Commission is once again proud to offer the citizens of New Jersey its latest study on a topic of interest in the field of public disclosure. ELEC's Deputy Director Jeffrey M. Brindle wrote this analysis and it reflects his many years of campaign financing experience.

Rider College student intern Michael Harrington and Analyst Steven Kimmelman provided important background research, while Computer Assistant Jeffrey Schneider contributed essential graphical material. Legal Director Gregory E. Nagy served as a proofreader as did Director of Compliance and Information Evelyn Ford, Deputy Legal Director Nedda Gold Massar, and Associate Director of Compliance and Information Virginia Wilkes Tesser. Statistical proofreading was done by Director of Administration Barbra Fasanella and wordprocessing was contributed by Senior Secretary Josephine A. Hall. The general editor was Executive Director Frederick M. Herrmann.

Legislative Candidates: How They Spend Their Money is the ninth White Paper in a series dating back to 1988. These studies are based on staff research as well as work by outside persons such as university professors and graduate students. Analyses written by external sources are published with a disclaimer. It is ELEC's goal to contribute substantive research for the ongoing debate on improving the way our State regulates the impact of money on its political process. The Commission is not necessarily taking a position on any of the issues raised and is presenting this paper to promote discussion.

For further reading about the role of campaign financing in New Jersey's and the country's political systems, the Commission suggests referring to the "COGEL Campaign Financing and Lobbying Bibliography" compiled by ELEC's executive director. Those interested in political money may also wish to read the forthcoming: Frederick M. Herrmann and Ronald D. Michaelson, "Financing State and Local Elections: Recent Developments" in the 1994-95 edition of The Book of the States published by the Council of State Governments.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE NO.
Introduction.....	1
I	2
II	12
III	35
Conclusion	46

INTRODUCTION

This paper charts a new course. For the first time in the White Paper Series, campaign spending by legislative candidates is analyzed and systematically reviewed to provide a glimpse of how campaign contributions are utilized by Senate and Assembly candidates in New Jersey.

While expenditure activity has been categorized and documented by the Commission, it has been done in the context of gubernatorial elections. And though, in general, financial activity by legislative candidates, PACs, and parties has been studied, expenditure activity specifically has never been analyzed.

Numerous press releases and white papers, for instance, have demonstrated that fundraising is central to modern-day legislative campaigns. Whereas the county political party committees, with their volunteers and their power to select candidates, were once the dominant force in legislative campaigns, that changed in the 1970's and 1980's. It was during this period that campaigns became more candidate-centered, employing sophisticated, expensive technology to reach the voters.¹

In recent years, the United States Supreme Court, in its Eu decision dealing with the state of California's prohibition against party involvement in primary elections, ruled that parties could endorse candidates in primary elections.² This decision, which New Jersey's Attorney General ruled applied to New Jersey, may signal a period of renewed party strength, but to this

point, legislative campaigns remain chiefly candidate-centered.³ As candidate-centered efforts, utilizing mass advertising techniques, polling, and consultants, these campaigns have more and more become dependent on money.

Press releases and white papers produced by the Election Law Enforcement Commission (ELEC) have more than documented the fact that legislative campaigns are principally candidate-centered and money-intensive. In Trends in Legislative Campaign Financing: 1977-1987, it was shown that legislative general election campaign receipts rose from \$4.1 million in 1977 to \$14.8 million in 1987. Later studies have demonstrated that this trend has continued, with Senate and Assembly receipts amounting to more than \$16.6 million in the 1991 general election. And even though major campaign finance reform was enacted in 1993, fundraising activity in this most recent legislative general election continued to be extremely heavy.

Throughout the Commission's studies, whether in Trends in Legislative Campaign Financing: 1977-1987, in numerous press releases or in Is There a PAC Plague in New Jersey?, ELEC has analyzed campaign receipts in great detail. It has dealt with the financial activity of incumbents and challengers, Democrats and Republicans, Senate and Assembly candidates, and winners and losers. Moreover, contributor activity by type of contributor, be it an individual, a special interest PAC, a candidate PAC, a political party, a business, or a union, has been analyzed. And, the Commission, in comparative studies of election years, has analyzed the relative strength of contributor activity by various contributor types. Throughout these studies, ELEC has significantly, and importantly, concentrated its analysis on contributor activity in legislative elections, demonstrating the importance of

money in legislative campaigns.

Now that it has been established that large scale fundraising takes place in the context of legislative elections, it is time to evaluate how this money is spent. How is the money, raised so vigorously in legislative elections, utilized in legislative campaigns?

A study of legislative expenditures can be very revealing. By analyzing this aspect of campaign finance, a clue to the strategies of modern-day campaigns for the Senate and Assembly will be provided. It is generally thought that campaign strategies and approaches of legislative candidates have shifted from reliance on party and people to a reliance on mass advertising and technology. Studying expenditures of these campaigns can confirm or dispel this belief; or, it can modify it.

Following each gubernatorial election since 1977, the Commission has studied the campaign financial activity of gubernatorial candidates. Because most of the gubernatorial candidates have participated in the Gubernatorial Public Financing Program during that time, a program which contains guidelines on how public funds can be spent, these studies have analyzed the expenditures of gubernatorial candidates. As comparative studies, they have been able to trace this activity over a span of four elections, providing a picture of how expenditure strategies have changed during this period. In general, these studies have shown that over the years the percentage of gubernatorial money spent on broadcast advertising versus print advertising and other more traditional, volunteer-oriented campaign strategies, has grown significantly. In this study, it will be determined if legislative spending patterns echo

those of gubernatorial spending, highlighting both specific differences and similarities.

It should be emphasized that this attempt to analyze legislative expenditures is a first for the Commission. As such, it has not been an easy task. Categorizing the expenditures of legislative candidates has been painstaking, having to be accomplished manually. At times categorization of the information contained on legislative reports was straight-forward and easy. At other times, it was not. Thus, the Commission makes no claim that the analysis contained in this paper is exact or uncontestably accurate in every respect, only that the study presents a general picture of how money in legislative elections is being spent. Moreover, it is important to point out that while two legislative years are analyzed and compared, 1987 and 1991, not every candidate nor every legislative district is covered in this report. Instead, the top twenty districts in terms of spending were selected for analytical purposes. Further, candidates are not dealt with in this paper individually, but rather collectively within legislative districts. Nevertheless, by thoroughly analyzing the expenditure activity in the top twenty spending districts in two separate Senate and Assembly electoral years, the study does provide a general picture of how legislative campaign money is utilized.

It is important to note that the expenditure activity showcased in this report took place in years prior to the new Campaign Act, which was effective April 7, 1993. While expenditure patterns might change due to the one candidate and/or joint candidates committee limitation and the contribution limits, it is not expected that these patterns will change

demonstrably as the result of the new law. Perhaps spending by legislative candidates on charitable causes might decline and be transferred to civic associations or foundations, but in terms of expenditures directly related to elections, it is not expected that patterns would change or campaign strategies be altered.

This paper undertakes to provide the public with an overview of how campaign money in legislative elections is spent. It represents a logical progression from previous white papers and press releases, which, in documenting the importance of money in legislative campaigns, set the stage for the first effort to document how this money is used and the strategies employed in modern-day campaigns for Senate and Assembly.

I

While the paper's focus is legislative campaign spending, it should prove useful to review first recent trends in gubernatorial spending. This review will serve as a backdrop for an analysis of legislative expenditures, allowing the reader to discern both similarities with and differences between gubernatorial and legislative campaign strategies.

Characteristics of New Jersey Gubernatorial Elections

Gubernatorial contests are the only Statewide elections in New Jersey. They are also the only election for which a public funding program exists. Any candidate for Governor who qualifies by raising a threshold amount of private money is eligible to participate in the program and receive two public dollars for every one dollar raised privately. A public funds cap is in effect and participating candidates are subject to an expenditure limit.

The Statewide nature of gubernatorial elections distinguishes elections for governor from elections for the Legislature, which are local in character. Moreover, the Public Funding Program together with expenditure limitations adds to this distinction. By looking at the expenditure information provided by candidates for Governor and by candidates for the Legislature, it can be determined whether these characteristics distinguishing gubernatorial elections from legislative ones translate into significant differences in campaign strategies and styles.

Since 1973, at least, gubernatorial campaigns have become increasingly candidate-centered, money intensive, and decreasingly party oriented and volunteer based. In part, this situation is due to the weakening of the party system, hastened by post-Watergate reforms, which included, among other things, an open primary law effective for the 1981 gubernatorial primary election. It is also due to a gubernatorial public financing program that provides candidates, but not parties, with a 2:1 match of private dollars to public dollars and limits State party contributions to these candidates to one \$1,800 contribution per election. And finally, it is due to a changing, more mobile society that is becoming more and more dependent on mass media to provide cues to voting and less dependent on party and party identification for those cues.

Gubernatorial Campaigns Spend for Mass Media

In a report entitled Gubernatorial Cost Analysis Report, published in June, 1988, the Commission demonstrated that since the 1973 gubernatorial elections, an increasing percentage of total gubernatorial campaign money has been expended on mass communication. Conversely, the share of expenditures directed toward more traditional activities, such as volunteer recruitment for telephone and door-to-door canvasses and get-out-the-vote drives, grew ever smaller. Computers could now facilitate much of this activity.

According to the study: "This steady but significant increase in the use of mass communication techniques in Statewide campaigns for governor promises to continue. While changes could be made in the electoral system to strengthen political parties and make them more powerful players in elections

at all levels, including the gubernatorial level , the impact of the new forms of mass technology is not likely to decrease. If anything, the use of mass communication in campaigns probably will continue to increase. Society in general is reliant upon mass media. It will continue to be so with respect to the information it receives regarding elections as well. For many reasons, among them the decline in party identification by voters, socio-economic changes, and cultural developments, the sun appears to have set on the days of dependence upon volunteers." ⁴

Back in 1973, 54 percent of all general election gubernatorial expenditures went for mass communications , a figure that rose to 62 percent in the 1977 general election for governor. The mass communication share of total expenditures increased again during the 1981 general election to 76 percent and again to 84 percent in the general election of 1985. ⁵ In the 1989 gubernatorial general election, the high percentage of expenditures going toward mass communication remained steady at 82 percent. ⁶ Since 1973, then, there has been an approximate 55 percent increase in the percentage of total expenditures made for mass communication by general election candidates for governor.

Mass Media Spending on Radio and Television

At the same time that a discernible trend toward strategies that emphasize mass communication in gubernatorial contests has been evidenced since at least 1973, it is worthy of note that since the 1970's, definite patterns have emerged within this category as well.

In the Gubernatorial Cost Analysis Report cited above, mass communication was broken down into the following categories: advertising production; broadcast media, including radio and television; newspaper advertising; billboards; printing; and mailing of literature.

As might be expected, a perceptible trend toward spending on broadcast media has been apparent since 1977, the first general election covered by the gubernatorial public financing law.

According to the report: "The accent on spending for broadcast media has been increasingly evident since 1977. In fact, it was in this general election that spending on broadcast media first occupied a greater proportion of communications expenditures than all other types of media expenditures combined. Needless to say, within this broad category of communication spending, a definite trend has emerged toward the use of television and radio advertising to communicate the candidate's message to the voters." ⁷

Although a breakdown of communication expenditures in the general election of 1973 can only be obtained from the campaign of Brendan Byrne, this breakdown clearly indicates that less emphasis was placed on radio and television advertising in the early 1970's than now. Then candidate Byrne's campaign spent 45 percent of its communication money on broadcast media as opposed to the 87 percent and the 94 percent spent on broadcast media in the general elections of 1985 and 1989.⁸ Conversely, as the expenditure ratio favoring broadcast media increased dramatically during this period, the expenditure ratio's for other types of advertising dropped significantly,

especially in the areas of billboard advertising and newspaper advertising.

It should be pointed out that the trend outlined above is also discernible in primary elections for governor, though not to the degree it is in general elections. In the 1981 primary election, 60 percent of all expenditures went for broadcast media, whereas, in 1985, that figure rose to 73 percent.⁹ In primary elections, there is targeting of only party voters and therefore more direct-mail efforts.

To quote the Gubernatorial Cost Analysis Report of 1988, "Clearly [gubernatorial] campaign strategies have shifted. Mass communications techniques and technology have replaced historical ways of campaigning. In addition to the intensified use of broadcast media to communicate with the voters, candidates for governor also have employed computers to assist them with tasks previously undertaken by volunteers or paid personnel, or perhaps never undertaken at all. Thus, campaigns have become infinitely more sophisticated and automated."¹⁰

Toward Analysis of Legislative Spending

Against this backdrop, the analysis of legislative spending begins. It must be kept in mind that this is the first such study of legislative expenditures under the aegis of the Commission, and as such, the period of comparison will be considerably shorter than for the gubernatorial races. Any analysis with respect to legislative expenditures has to be done manually and would take an inordinate amount of time to complete back to 1973. Thus, the analysis, though it can be assumed that earlier legislative contests like

gubernatorial ones were more party-oriented and volunteer-based, will not contain any documentary evidence concerning this point. What it will demonstrate, however, is whether or not modern-day legislative campaigns share the same characteristics as gubernatorial contests in terms of spending and strategy; and, in the event they do not, in what ways they are dissimilar.

II

Spending in the most recent gubernatorial elections has been directed toward mass media. In the words of Herbert E. Alexander, "the candidates have generally focused on media advertising."¹¹ More specifically, the majority of these mass communication dollars have been spent on broadcast media, especially in general elections. The trend has been in the direction of television and radio and away from print media advertising such as newspapers.

Gubernatorial Patterns Not Repeated by Legislative Candidates

Legislative candidates have not fully repeated the patterns of spending displayed by gubernatorial candidates. To be sure, the largest proportion of legislative dollars spent in the twenty districts studied vis-a-vis the legislative general elections of 1987 and 1991 were directed toward mass media. But in these two elections, the bulk of the mass communication dollars went toward print media advertising as opposed to broadcast media advertising which was the medium of choice of gubernatorial campaigns.

As will be shown in this paper, spending, and therefore campaign strategy, differs between gubernatorial and legislative campaigns. These spending differences will be widely explored. However, because gubernatorial and legislative campaigns have in common the fact that both spend most heavily on mass media, this spending, and the differences in spending within this category between gubernatorial and legislative campaigns, will be reviewed in

this chapter. Other types of spending will be reviewed in subsequent pages.

Spending on Mass Media

Spending on mass media by candidates in the top 20 legislative districts totaled \$3.8 million in 1987. This amount does not include money spent on political consultants, who probably participated in the media efforts as well. Thus, out of a total \$7.6 million spent by these candidates in 1987, at least 50 percent was utilized for the purchase of mass media.

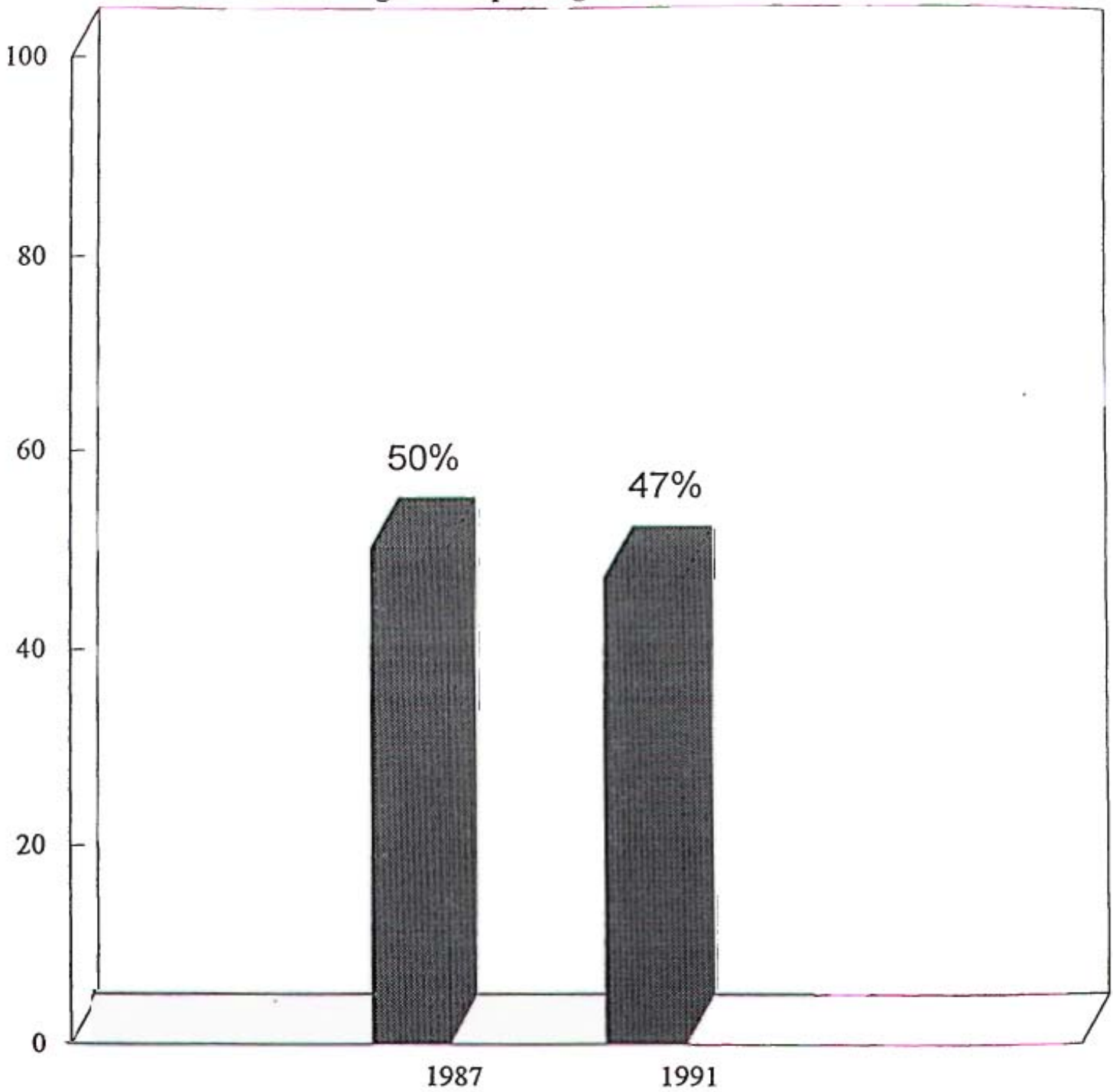
Senate and Assembly candidates in 1991 expended \$4.4 million on mass communication throughout the top 20 spending districts in that year. This sum, which, again, does not include spending for campaign consultants, amounts to 47 percent of the total expenditures made by candidates within these districts. These candidates spent a total of \$9.4 million in 1991. Figure 1 shows the percentage of total dollars spent by Senate and Assembly candidates on mass media in the general elections of 1987 and 1991.

Mass Media Amounts Reveal Gubernatorial and Legislative Differences

Although candidates for Governor and for the Legislature have in common the fact that the majority of their spending was directed toward mass media purchases, the proportions of this spending committed to this purpose by each type of contestant reveals an unevenness between the campaign strategies of legislative candidates and gubernatorial candidates.

FIGURE 1

Percent of legislative spending for mass communication



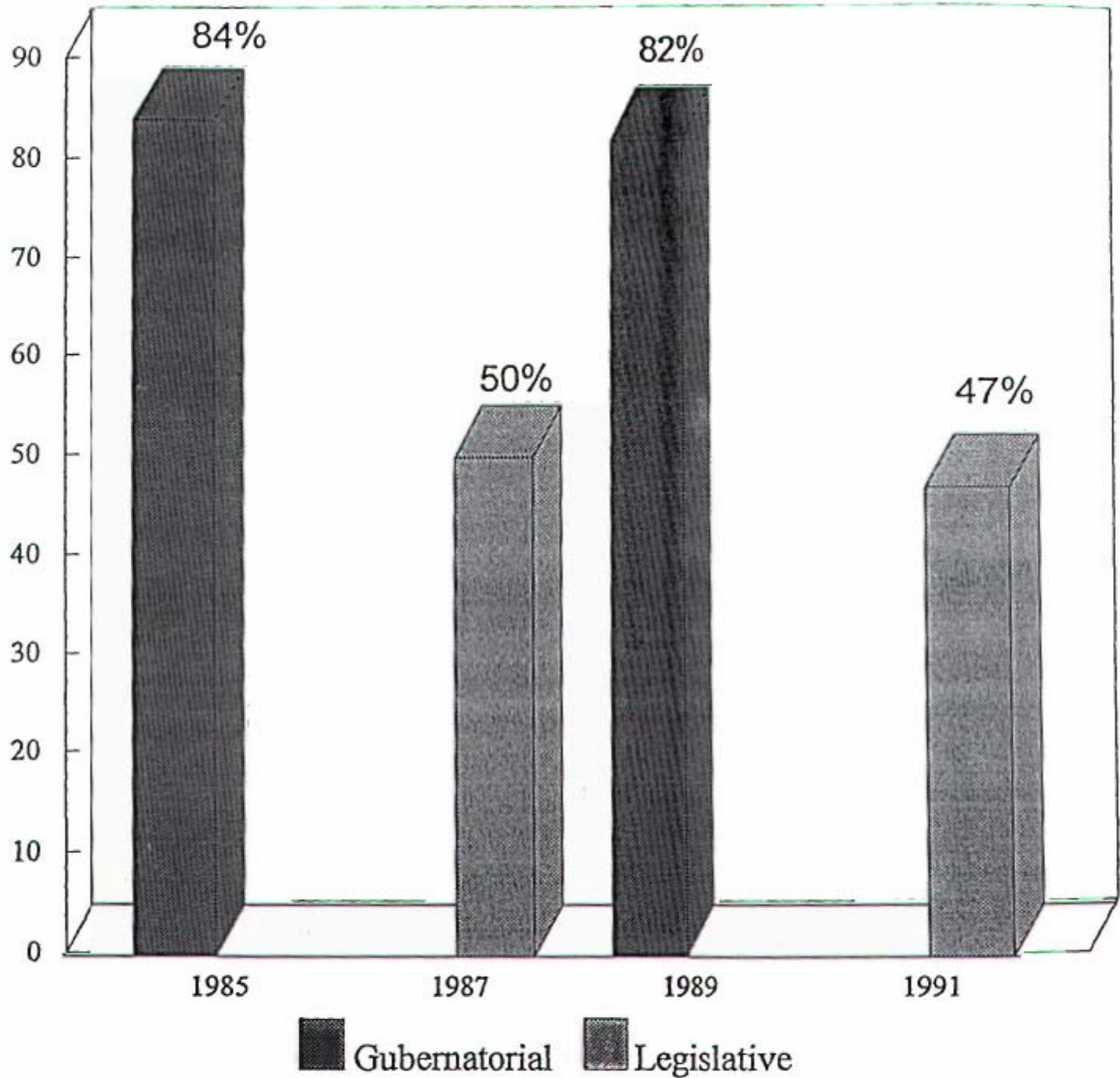
Source: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission,
1987 and 1991 legislative general election disclosure reports.

Legislative candidates spent almost half of their money on mass communication in the two most recent contests for Senate and Assembly. But this amount does not approximate the proportion of campaign dollars expended toward mass media by gubernatorial candidates in the two most recent gubernatorial contests. In those gubernatorial elections almost all of the funding went toward the purchase of mass media. Figure 2 shows the difference between recent legislative elections and gubernatorial elections in terms of the proportion of campaign dollars spent on mass media by the respective candidates.

Whereas both legislative and gubernatorial candidates have spent considerable amounts of money on mass media, the graph demonstrates that gubernatorial campaigns rely more heavily on mass advertising as the means by which they attempt to reach voters. When over 80 percent of available funds is used to purchase mass media advertising, there is very little money left to channel toward other campaign activities. Legislative candidates, on the other hand, while obviously spending substantial amounts on mass media, still utilize at least half of their money for other purposes. This fact alone suggests that legislative campaigns, though candidate-centered, still rely to an extent on traditional modes of campaigning and have not fully made the transition to technology-based campaigns.

FIGURE 2

Proportion of campaign dollars spent on mass communication by candidates



Source: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1987 and 1991 legislative general election disclosure reports and public financing 1993 Gubernatorial Cost Index Report.

Expenditure Differences Explained

Differences between gubernatorial and legislative campaigns in terms of the manner by which money is utilized are in the main traceable to the Statewide and local nature of these contests. Secondly, they can be tracked to the existence, or non-existence, of a public financing program and to an electoral system in which the Senate and/or Assembly are elected at the same time and wherein three legislators represent each district.

Today, in the age of television, a more mobile society, and a densely populated New Jersey, gubernatorial campaigns, being Statewide in nature, place the highest priority on mass media advertising to reach the voters. While the effort certainly is made, it is unrealistic to suggest that candidates for governor could meet personally enough voters needed to insure victory. Large amounts of money must necessarily be directed toward the purchase of expensive mass media advertising.

Legislative campaigns, being local in nature, are not as limited in their ability to reach personally a significant portion of voters. Therefore, their campaigns do not exploit the advantages of mass media to the degree that gubernatorial campaigns do. These campaigns more readily use campaign funds to undertake efforts that supplement mass media advertising strategies, ones that enable them to capitalize on the local dimensions of their campaigns.

The greater emphasis of the gubernatorial campaign on investing in mass communication advertising is predicated to a degree on the fact that just about every major party candidate for Governor now participates in the

gubernatorial public financing program. Though participating candidates receive two public dollars for every one dollar raised, a fact that makes fundraising easier, they are, at the same time, subject to an expenditure limit, making it absolutely necessary for these campaigns to make maximum use of these dollars. Though the statistics on spending in the 1993 gubernatorial elections are not tabulated yet, candidates for governor in recent elections have decided that the most effective way to use their money is for mass media and not for investing in more traditional campaign techniques.

Legislative candidates are not confronted with the same advantages and disadvantages presented to gubernatorial candidates participating in the public financing program. There is no public funding program available to candidates for the Legislature. Because of the campaign finance reform law, they are now covered by contribution caps and other restrictions on their activity, to which they were not subject during the two elections considered in this study. Moreover, and most importantly, they were not then, nor are they now, subject to expenditure limitations similar to those prescribed by the gubernatorial public financing program. Thus, legislative candidates have not been under the same pressure to prioritize their use of campaign dollars for mass media to the exclusion of other more traditional uses of the money.

Disparities in campaign strategies between gubernatorial and legislative candidates is also attributable to the fact that mass media advertising, with emphasis here on network television and radio, is not as effective for individual legislative candidates as for gubernatorial candidates. In any given general election in which both house of the Legislature are up for election, there are 240 major party candidates compared

with two candidates for governor. Legislative candidates, therefore, understandably would not want to sink all of their money into mass media, especially radio and television, figuring that they might get lost among the other candidates. They would not want to spend their money ineffectively. In general, except for cable television, they do not desire to advertise on television. They recognize that their messages would be viewed by thousands of viewers outside of their districts, and conversely, that the messages of candidates from other districts would be viewed by voters within their own districts. This situation generally creates a confusing atmosphere. Investing campaign money in advertising approaches that reach a broad spectrum of people, rather than in approaches that capitalize on the ability to target closely the audience, which is the case in the more local legislative campaigns, would constitute a wasteful use of campaign dollars.

Finally, and more peripherally, it may be that the high cost of mass media advertising in the expensive Philadelphia and New York media markets, to which New Jersey is exposed, mitigates against the use of mass communication to the degree that gubernatorial candidates use it. By and large, legislative candidates do not have the same ability to raise money as gubernatorial candidates do and therefore lack the purchasing power of candidates for Governor.

How Candidates Spend Mass Media Dollars

Even though legislative campaigns diverge from gubernatorial campaigns in terms of the proportion of funds spent on mass media, it must be emphasized that a full 50 percent of the campaign money, a sizeable amount, is directed toward this type of activity. As such, it is important to analyze how mass media dollars are utilized by the candidates for the Legislature.

Mass communication can be divided into two major areas: broadcast media and print media. Broadcast media includes television, both network and cable, and radio. Print media includes newspapers, magazines, billboards, and direct-mail.

As noted above, gubernatorial candidates have chosen to invest the vast majority of their mass media dollars in broadcast media advertising. In 1985 and 1989, an average 90 percent of mass communication dollars was directed toward the purchase of broadcast media advertising. The record is different for legislative campaigns. In fact, there are significant differences between legislative and gubernatorial candidates in terms of how their mass media dollars are divided.

Spending on Print Media

Reflecting the more local, personal character of the legislative campaign, spending on print media, i.e., newspaper advertisements, billboards, and direct-mail, far outdistanced spending on radio and television in both the 1987 and the 1991 legislative general elections.

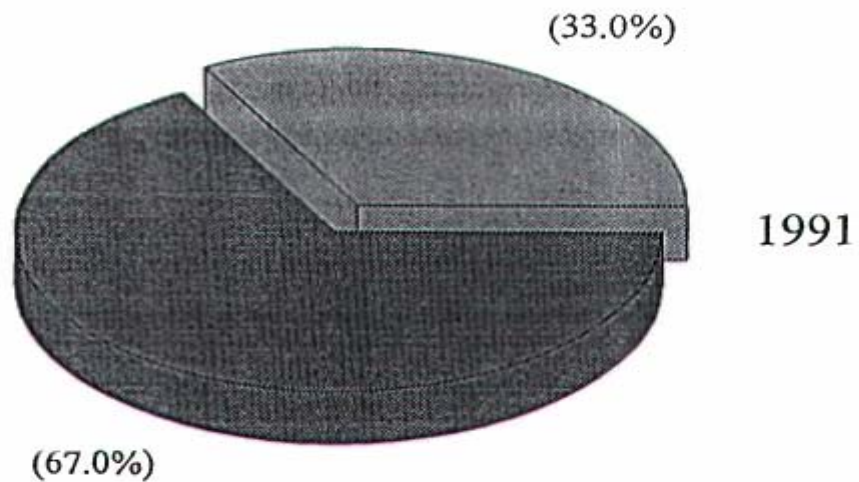
Figure 3 compares the percentage of mass communication dollars spent on broadcast media with that spent on print media in the 1987 and 1991 legislative general elections.

In 1987, legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts directed \$3.1 million toward print media advertising. The total amount spent on mass communication was \$3.8 million. Thus, 82 percent of mass media spending flowed toward direct-mail, newspapers, and billboards in 1987. Conversely, approximately \$750,000, or about 18 percent of mass media dollars, went toward television and radio advertising in the 1987 legislative general election.

The tendency toward print advertising by legislative candidates prevailed again in 1991, although to not as great an extent. Candidates for the Legislature representing the top 20 spending districts in the 1991 race expended \$2.9 million on print media advertising, or about 67 percent of total mass advertising dollars. On the other hand, these same candidates spent \$1.4 million on broadcast media advertising in the 1991 general election. This amount represents 33 percent of these expenditures.

FIGURE 3

Comparison of broadcast and print media spending by legislative candidates: 1987-1991



 Broadcast  Print

Source: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1987 and 1991 legislative general election disclosure reports.

As noted earlier, and in Figure 4, patterns of spending within the broad mass media category differ significantly between legislative and gubernatorial candidates. Gubernatorial candidates in 1985 spent 87 percent of their mass communication dollars on broadcast advertising, as opposed to 13 percent of it on print media. In 1989, they expended 93 percent of those dollars on broadcast advertising and only 7 percent on print media advertising.

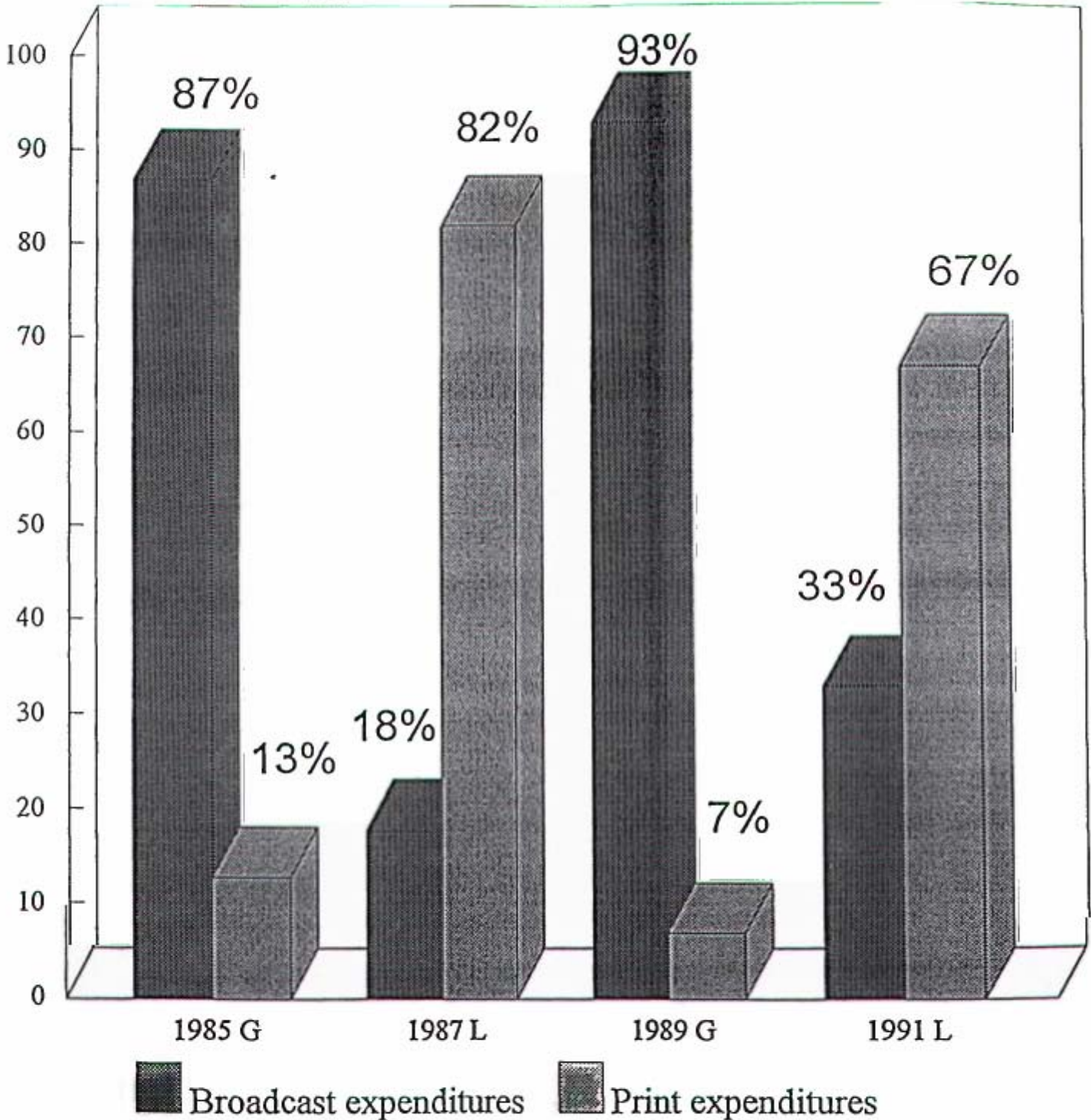
The disparate patterns of spending between legislative and gubernatorial candidates within the broad category of mass communication buttress the arguments offered above as to the reasons for the variation in their campaign strategies. Tables 1 and 2 show breakdowns in mass media spending by legislative and gubernatorial candidates.

Legislative campaigns are essentially local in nature. Gubernatorial campaigns, to the contrary, are Statewide in scope. As indicated by their spending patterns, the means of advertising chosen by the respective candidates fit the local or Statewide nature of their campaigns.

Candidates for the Legislature have opted for direct-mail, which is targeted and personally directed toward households of voters, and for local newspaper and billboard advertising. Broadcast advertising by these candidates has included local radio and presumably cable television, although this fact cannot be authenticated due to the non-specific method by which most legislative candidates have disclosed their television expenditures.

FIGURE 4

Percent of spending for print and broadcast media by gubernatorial and legislative candidates



Source: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1987 and 1991 legislative general election disclosure reports and public financing 1993 Gubernatorial Cost Index Report.

Mass Communication Expenditures
by Legislative Candidates by Type

Table 1

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1991</u>
<u>Broadcast</u>		
Television	\$265,903	\$ 45,332
Radio	212,262	361,404
Cable Television	82,243	173,784
Not identified	<u>177,823</u>	<u>858,018</u>
Subtotal	\$738,231	\$1,438,538
 <u>Print</u>		
direct-mail	\$2,015,326	\$1,718,629
Newspaper	362,162	191,242
Outdoor	239,403	180,294
Not identified	<u>467,973</u>	<u>854,256</u>
Subtotal	\$3,084,864	\$2,944,421
Total	\$3,823,095	\$4,382,959

SOURCE: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1987 and 1991 general election legislative disclosure reports.

Mass Communication Expenditures by
Gubernatorial Candidates by Type

Table 2

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1989</u>
Media Time	\$3,082,045	\$8,380,700
Advertising Production	419,384	520,354
Newspaper	2,210	12,627
Billboards	3,204	0
Printing Literature	41,794	33,777
Mailing Literature	<u>6,736</u>	<u>16,641</u>
Total	\$3,555,373	\$8,964,099

SOURCE: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1993 Gubernatorial Cost Index Report.

Gubernatorial candidates, appealing to a Statewide audience of voters, have emphasized broadcast media. They have placed the bulk of their mass communication dollars on network television and radio advertising, seeking to reach as many voters throughout the State in the most effective way possible. In an effort to maximize their use of campaign dollars, gubernatorial candidates have withdrawn them from local advertising mediums and directed them toward media designed to blanket large portions of the State.

Legislative Campaigns Emphasize Direct-Mail

To reiterate, Senate and Assembly candidates in the top 20 spending districts in 1987 and 1991 have emphasized direct-mail in their attempts to reach the voters.

Out of total mass communication spending of \$3.8 million in 1987, legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts expended approximately \$2 million for the purchase of direct-mail. Thus, 53 percent of the entire amount spent by legislative candidates on mass communication went into direct-mail advertising.

Direct-mail purchases amounted to \$1.7 million out of a total mass-communication expenditure of \$4.4 million in 1991. Although less than in 1987, the expenditures made for direct-mail still constituted the largest proportion of mass media expenditures at 39 percent.

It is understandable why direct-mail advertising is viewed as an

effective communication tool by legislative candidates. Money can be spent extremely wisely in this medium. In contrast to general broadcast advertising and even other forms of print advertising, such as newspapers and billboards, voters can be targeted with great selectivity. There is very little waste of circulation attached to this medium. In very sophisticated efforts, the candidates' messages can be shaped to fit the proclivities of the targeted audience. Direct-mail is, next to door-to-door contact by the candidate himself or herself, the most personal form of candidate promotion available. In local oriented campaigns for the Legislature, it makes sense to spend money for this type of advertising.

General election gubernatorial candidates, on the other hand, in 1985 and 1989, did not feel that direct-mail advertising was an effective way for them to reach the voters. Only \$48,530, or a mere one percent of total mass media expenditures, was expended on this medium in 1985. What is more, direct-mail advertising purchases by general election gubernatorial candidates in 1989 were even more meager. The candidates spent only \$50,000 on direct-mail, or less than one percent of mass communication expenditures. For obvious reasons, the most notable being the need of gubernatorial candidates to reach a vast amount of people, these candidates have decided that direct-mail is not the medium of choice. Because broadcast media has a major influence on most people's lives, this medium has been selected by gubernatorial campaigns in order to have the candidate's message reach a broad base of voters. In a word, the tendency of legislative candidates to utilize direct-mail versus the tendency of gubernatorial candidates to employ broadcast, or broadbased advertising, constitutes one of the major differences in campaign strategy between gubernatorial and legislative campaigns.

Newspaper and Outdoor Advertising

Legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts in 1987 and 1991 utilized other forms of print media advertising to reach the voters. As noted, they used print advertising to a much greater extent than gubernatorial candidates did.

For instance, newspaper advertising in the legislative general election of 1987 constituted ten percent of mass communications expenditures. Legislative candidates spent at least \$362,162 on this type of advertising. In 1991, the percentage of mass communication dollars spent on newspaper advertising dropped to four percent of the total, or \$191,242.

Identifiable spending on outdoor advertising amounted to \$239,403, or five percent of mass communication expenditures in 1987. Legislative candidates spent \$180,294 on billboard, or outdoor advertising in 1991, which again constituted five percent of their mass communication outlay.

In comparison, newspaper advertising and outdoor advertising was practically non-existent for gubernatorial general election candidates. In 1985, these candidates spent a mere \$2,210 and \$3,204 on newspaper and billboard advertising respectively. Four years later, these candidates spent \$12,627 on newspaper advertising. No money was spent on outdoor promotion.

Again, because of the more parochial nature of the legislative campaign versus the gubernatorial campaign, legislative candidates have a tendency to stress modes of advertising that are most suitable for their

situation. Whereas candidates for Governor virtually ignore advertising efforts made through newspapers and outdoor signs, legislative candidates, though less so in 1991, still make these mediums an essential part of their more targeted advertising strategies. Legislative candidates do not have to reach as many people as gubernatorial candidates do and their districts are not as geographically large as is the Statewide jurisdiction covered by gubernatorial candidates. Therefore, their media effort can be and is more focused and targeted. Advertising in newspapers and through billboards remains a part of that strategy.

Before progressing toward a discussion of spending on particular types of broadcast advertising, it must be pointed out that another \$467,973 in 1987 and \$854,256 in 1991 was reported as print media advertising but was so decidedly non-specific in its detailing that it was virtually impossible to identify these expenditures as being for direct-mail, newspaper, or outdoor advertising. Thus, in each category the amounts spent would undoubtedly increase but by what proportion it is difficult to tell. Suffice it to say, however, that while the amounts attributed to each category of print advertising are not exact, the above scenario does provide a general picture of the types of media decisions made by legislative candidates as well as the campaign strategies employed by these individuals.

Spending on Broadcast Media

A similar problem was encountered when attempting to analyze broadcast media advertising by legislative candidates. For instance, in 1987 \$177,823 was identified generally as broadcast advertising but could not be

categorized specifically as radio , television, or cable television. The problem was worse in 1991. Some \$858,018 was attributed to broadcast advertising but could not be pinpointed as one type or other. Nevertheless, certain assumptions can be made with respect to the direction this type of advertising is taking. Moreover, a summary of positively identifiable expenditures can be provided.

Legislative candidates in 1987 identified expenditures of \$265,903 on television, \$212,262 on radio , and \$82,243 on cable television. These identifiable broadcast advertising figures represent eight percent, five percent, and two percent of mass communication expenditures respectively. Four years later, in 1991, \$45,332 was disclosed as television, \$361,404 as radio , and \$173,784 as cable television. These figures represent .5 percent, nine percent, and five percent of total mass communication expenditures respectively.

As noted, the numbers, particularly those for 1991 , are questionable in terms of how accurately they reflect the proportion of advertising dollars consumed for specific broadcast advertising purposes. Nevertheless, based on what has been established vis-a-vis the local nature of legislative campaigns and the campaign strategies thereby employed, certain assumptions can be made. For example, placing a sizeable amount of broadcast advertising dollars with local radio would be compatible with the local-advertising strategies of legislative campaigns. Further, in terms of television, it would make sense for the bulk of commercial advertising dollars to flow toward cable television. Cable advertising, regardless of the station or programming, can be adapted for local audiences. On the other hand, network advertising,

designed to reach a much broader spectrum of people, is geared to a market much larger than a local one. Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that legislative candidates would find cable advertising to be the television advertising medium of choice.

An exact breakdown of broadcast advertising expenditures for gubernatorial candidates is also unavailable. However, even in the absence of such a breakdown, it is clear that large amounts of money were spent on network television advertising by gubernatorial candidates in the 1985 and 1989 elections. To a certain degree, cable television advertising has been utilized by these candidates, but not extensively. Radio advertising, including time purchased from regional stations out of New York and Philadelphia, was also utilized to a significant degree. Again, it follows that the broadcast advertising strategy pursued by gubernatorial campaigns would conform to an overall strategy of reaching as many people as possible using the most effective means available.

Trends in Mass Media Spending

On the basis of the findings outlined above, can patterns in mass media spending be discerned that reveal trends in legislative campaign strategy? Because of the study's limited scope, both in terms of elections analyzed and in terms of the number of districts observed, definite trends in legislative communications spending will not be identified. However, while

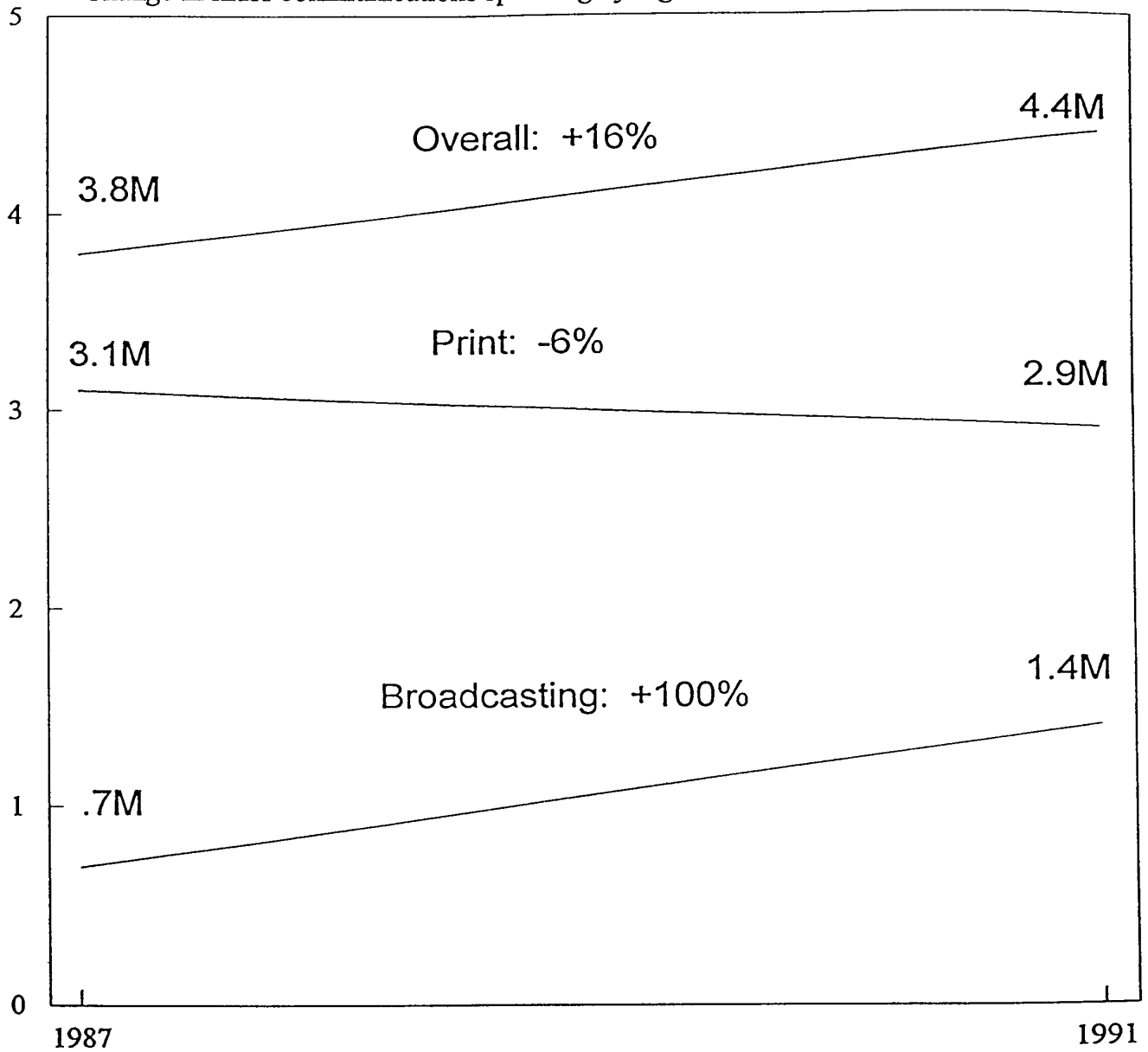
print media advertising was the dominant form of advertising in the legislative elections studied, it should be remembered that the ratio of print media advertising to total communication spending declined between 1987 and 1991.

Print media advertising, representing 82 percent of mass communication dollars in 1987 and 67 percent in 1991, decreased in relation to broadcast media advertising, which increased from 18 percent in 1987 to 33 percent in 1991. In other words, as Figure 5 demonstrates, while overall mass communication expenditures increased by 16 percent between 1987 and 1991, spending on print media advertising actually declined by six percent between these years. Spending by legislative candidates on broadcast media, on the other hand, increased by 100 percent between 1987 and 1991. Overall spending on mass communication jumped from \$3.8 million to \$4.4 million between these years. Print media advertising declined from \$3.1 million to \$2.9 million while broadcast advertising spending increased from \$738,232 to \$1.4 million.

In conclusion, because of the limited scope of this study, clear identification of trends is not indicated. However, the statistics provide fertile ground for making predictions about future media strategy. Certainly legislative campaigns will continue to stress advertising approaches that are localized and directed toward a smaller but more targeted audience. While direct-mail, newspaper advertising, and outdoor advertising will continue to

FIGURE 5

Change in mass communications spending by legislative candidates: 1987-1991



Source: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission,
1987 and 1991 legislative general election disclosure reports.

be an integral part of legislative campaigns, it is likely that cable television advertising will be increasingly used by these candidates as a means of reaching the voters in their particular districts. Expenditures for this type of advertising are likely to increase significantly. Moreover, local radio advertising budgets will likely remain stable, although they may decline somewhat in favor of cable television. In any event, unlike gubernatorial candidates, who will continue to invest millions of dollars in broadcast advertising that reaches a very wide spectrum of people, legislative candidate advertising will maintain its very distinctive local flavor.

III

The point has been made that nearly half of the expenditures made by legislative candidates in 1987 and 1991 were for the purchase of mass media advertising. To note that an almost equal percentage of overall expenditures went for other purposes is therefore stating the obvious. What may not be particularly obvious, however, is the suggestion that the spending for these "other purposes" is the place where further differences between legislative campaigns and gubernatorial campaigns can be clearly observed. Table 3 depicts the various uses of campaign money made by legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts in the General Elections of 1987 and 1991.

Contributions by Legislative Candidates

From the chart it can be seen that in both years there was a sizeable amount of money contributed by legislative candidates to other candidates, to political parties, and to legislative leadership committees. In 1987, for instance, candidates contributed \$1.3 million to these sources, or 17 percent of all the dollars they spent. Four years later, in 1991, they contributed \$1.8 million, or 19 percent of their total expenditures to them.

The tendency of legislative candidates to give to other candidates,

Table 3

Expenditures by Legislative Candidates

	<u>1987</u>	<u>1991</u>
Election Day Activities	\$ 265,867	\$ 333,793
Administration	456,839	725,944
Mass Communication	3,823,095	4,383,259
Entertainment	702,862	538,935
Consultants	248,653	982,257
Charity, gifts	118,167	77,351
Contributions	1,301,982	1,769,201
Refunds	267,446	373,353
Miscellaneous	<u>346,791</u>	<u>191,310</u>
Total	\$7,531,702	\$9,375,403

SOURCE: New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1987 and 1991 legislative disclosure reports.

political parties, and leadership committees can largely be explained from a systemic perspective. In a word, a Senator and two members of the General Assembly represent people in each of the 40 legislative districts in New Jersey. In total, there are 40 Senators and 80 members of the General Assembly elected to serve the citizenry. Typically, in a year when both the Senate and Assembly are up for an election there are at least six candidates in each district (perhaps more if there are independents). Often the candidates of the same party join together as a team. In years when only the lowerhouse is up for election, Assembly candidates typically pair off and are viewed as the Republican or Democratic candidates for the Assembly. These legislative candidates may have their own campaign committees but for all intents and purposes they are perceived as a slate.¹²

Because of this system of electing an entire Senate and/or Assembly state as a team, much money flows between aligned party candidates in the same district. Often one candidate or the other, whether it be a Senate candidate or an Assembly candidate, has a greater ability to raise campaign funds. When this situation occurs, the candidate enjoying the fundraising advantage often transfers money to his or her running mates or spends money directly on their behalf. Much of the contributor activity on the part of legislative candidates is the result of this symbiotic relationship between candidates of the same party running together for legislative offices in the same year.

Similarly, this team relationship between like party legislative candidates causes many of these candidates to embark on joint fundraising ventures and joint expenditure efforts. When fundraising is accomplished

jointly money is allocated to each candidate who benefits from the effort. Depending upon the fundraising arrangement, the transaction can be reported as a contribution from one candidate to another.

In addition to the monetary exchange between aligned party candidates within a legislative district, candidates for the Legislature, in particular incumbents, often make contributions to their party's legislative candidates outside of their legislative districts. By widely contributing to the campaigns of their party's legislative candidates outside their district, officeholders seek to enhance their standing among members of their legislative party. Whether the personal agenda involves obtaining or retaining a leadership position within the party's legislative caucus, or support for some future election to a higher office, etc., this activity is prevalent and accounts for part of the expenditures by legislative candidates that are reported as contributions to other candidates and parties. In a word, making contributions to other legislative candidates enhances a legislator's influence within his or her respective legislative party.

Candidates for the Legislature also make contributions to the political party committees and to the legislative leadership committees. This activity in part demonstrates the changing nature of legislative campaigns and their relationship to the political parties and leadership committees.

In this modern era, for instance, the State political party committees and the legislative leadership committees often undertake broadcast and direct-mail advertising campaigns on behalf of their candidates for the Legislature. For this activity, the State parties and leadership committees

are often reimbursed by individual legislative campaigns. These reimbursements are a part of the expenditure activity of legislative candidates and are included in their "contributions to others" total.

Beyond the monetary activity directed toward the State organizations, legislative candidates contribute to county and municipal political organizations as well. In many instances, legislative candidates have a greater ability to raise funds than local party organizations and their contributions to these local units are indicative of the more candidate-centered aspect of these campaigns. These contributions to local parties help to bolster the candidate's standing among the party faithful at the local level. Moreover, by helping to strengthen local campaign efforts, they are thereby promoting their own chances of being elected to the legislative office they are seeking.

Gubernatorial Contributor Activity Non-Existent

This contributor activity undertaken by legislative candidates further distinguishes legislative campaigns from gubernatorial ones. The factors that drive legislative candidates to contribute to other candidates, parties, and leadership committees are non-existent for gubernatorial candidates.

Gubernatorial campaigns are not local in nature. These candidates do not have running mates as legislative candidates do and there is no leadership position within the legislative party about which to be concerned. Most importantly, gubernatorial candidates, who lead the party ticket, are

subject to expenditure limitations when participating in the gubernatorial public financing program. Legislative candidates are not. Gubernatorial candidates, therefore, must be particularly careful in how they spend their money. As might be expected, purchasing broadcast media is a more prudent use of a gubernatorial candidate's money than is making contributions to other candidates.

The reasons given for the failure of gubernatorial candidates to give to other candidates also apply to their failure to contribute money to party organizations and leadership committees. Gubernatorial campaigns have a singular need to control carefully the use of their money. They are also Statewide in character, with the candidate being the focal point of the party's electoral effort. Legislative campaigns, on the other hand, though they must prudently use their resources, have not been under the same pressure to do so because they have not had to contend with expenditure limits. Most importantly, however, in terms of giving to party organizations, these legislative campaigns are local in nature.

Candidates for the Legislature are still very much plugged into local communities and the party organizations within those communities. While it certainly is true that legislative campaigns have become substantially candidate-centered, this evolution is not complete. Candidates for the Senate and Assembly typically spend significant amounts of time campaigning within the communities that comprise their districts. To a degree greater than that of gubernatorial candidates, they depend on the help and assistance of the people making up the local party organizations. In turn, this closer relationship results in legislative candidates giving back to those local

organizations in the form of donations. Because legislative campaigns are more local in nature, the money flows more readily between them and the political party organizations.

In addition to non-mass communication expenditures enumerated above, legislative candidates also spend campaign funds on entertainment, charity, and election day activities.

Entertainment

Entertainment costs, for instance, amounted to \$702,862 in the 1987 general election. This amount constituted nine percent of the total expenditures made by candidates in the top 20 legislative spending districts. In 1991, a total of \$538,935, or six percent of total expenditures, went toward entertainment.

Entertainment costs include expenditures associated with fundraising. They also involve costs associated with the purchase of tickets to the fundraising events of others. Finally, they include the sponsorship of a variety of functions, such as luncheons, dinners, etc., which benefit campaign staff or other individuals connected to the campaign.

Attending events like local party fundraising dinners and cocktail parties as well as the events of other candidates and local officials is standard practice for candidates for the Legislature. This activity is one of the primary ways for the candidate to get his or her message out to the voter. Moreover, any candidate who does not attend these party events is not going to

build or maintain support among the party faithful. In the main, the candidate for the Legislature is required to pay for the ticket to the local events just like any other participant. Under the newly revised campaign law, it is even more clear that candidate committee funds may be used to pay for such tickets.

Campaigns for the Legislature sometimes underwrite the cost of lunches and dinners for campaign staff. Often, these expenses are incurred as the result of a working lunch or dinner. At other times, dinners are held to reward and thank campaign workers.

Finally, legislative candidates hold fundraising events of their own. In this day and age of candidate-centered candidacies, money is at the heart of successful campaign efforts. In holding these fundraising events, certain costs are incurred, all of which are included in the entertainment category.

The fact that a noticeable amount of money is spent on entertainment sets legislative campaigns apart from gubernatorial efforts. While gubernatorial campaigns expend monies outside of the expenditure cap for their own fundraising purposes, virtually no money is expended for events involving other candidates and/or local party events. Normally, candidates for governor speak at these events or make brief campaign stops as part of a series of visits they may be making on a particular night. Under such circumstances, they are not expected to contribute to the fundraiser.

Expenditures for Charitable Gifts

Repeatedly, candidates for the Legislature spend a portion of their campaign budgets on what has been categorized as charity. In 1987, a total of \$118,167 was expended for charitable gifts compared with \$77,351 in 1991. Though only two percent of total expenditures in 1987, and less than one percent in 1991, was spent on charitable gifts, the fact that any legislative money is spent for this purpose is significant, demonstrating further the local nature of these campaigns. Charitable gifts include donations to local charities and expenditures for such items as flowers for funerals and weddings. By expending some campaign monies in this traditional fashion, legislative candidates foster goodwill with local constituents, their families, and patrons of charities. While these expenditures may not seem to be campaign related, in fact they are. This traditional use of money helps candidates for the Legislature build and maintain support among their local constituency.

Again, this type of expenditure sets legislative candidates apart from gubernatorial candidates. The nature of the gubernatorial electoral system does not permit these candidates to spend their money in this manner.

Election Day Activities

Candidates for the Legislature also pay attention to election day efforts, expending \$265,867 and \$333,793 toward these activities in 1987 and 1991 respectively. Expenditures include telephone canvassing and get-out-the-vote activities as well as the payment of workers on election day. These

workers are normally engaged in efforts designed to maximize the voter turnout of supporters of the candidate and to protect the candidate's interest at the polls. Expenditures on election day activities amounted to four percent of total in both 1987 and 1991.

These election day efforts, which, incidentally, gubernatorial candidates undertake as well, are indicative of how campaigns for the Legislature have evolved from the more party oriented to the candidate centered. The campaigns now undertake activities that once were the sole domain of the county and local party organizations.

Campaign Consultants

Another indication of the way that legislative campaigns are becoming more modern is represented in their spending on campaign consultants. These consultants, who provide advice and assistance on polling, media, research, strategy, etc., are becoming more and more prevalent at the legislative level. In 1987, for example, legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts reported spending \$248,653 on campaign consultants, or three percent of total expenditures. In 1991, expenditures reported to be on consultants amounted to \$982,257, or ten percent of total expenditures.

In these expenditures, legislative candidates again share something in common with gubernatorial candidates. Candidates for governor enlist the services of campaign consultants on a regular basis. Now legislative candidates increasingly engage these campaign professionals to help shape their campaigns and their message. This development is again indicative of

how legislative campaigns, while not disconnected from the party efforts, have become substantially candidate centered and more and more independent of the party organization, even as they have maintained their essentially local character.

Administration

In addition to expenditures that have been categorized as miscellaneous, legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts have reported a substantial amount of money expended in the form of administrative costs. In 1987, for instance, \$456,839, or six percent of total expenditures, was reported by legislative candidates as the cost of doing business. Four years later, in 1991, a total of \$725,944, or eight percent of total, went toward administration. Administration costs include costs associated with headquarter, computer, and photocopier rental as well as the costs for telephones, facsimile machines, and other office equipment. These costs can also include those directed toward the salaries or fees of individuals who staff the campaigns. The fact that legislative campaigns are incurring costs associated with administration underscores the greater sophistication of these campaigns in recent years. It also highlights a further point of commonality between these campaigns and gubernatorial ones. Gubernatorial campaigns, being sophisticated and reliant on technology, consultants, and a small cadre of staffers also invest campaign dollars in administration, albeit not a large proportion of them.

CONCLUSION

In March, 1993, major campaign finance reform legislation was signed into law. Within a month, the changes embodied in the new law became effective, encompassing both the primary and general elections.

The reform law contains a very involved system of contribution limits. There is, for instance, a \$1,500 limit on individual, corporate, and union contributions per candidate per election. There is also a \$5,000 limit on PAC contributions per candidate per election. Among other limits contained in the law is a \$25,000 cap on the amount of money contributors can give to State and county party committees, and legislative leadership committees per year. Though in general the law leaves the political party committees and the leadership committees free to contribute as much to candidates as desired, in specific instances the law even imposes contribution limits on money flowing from county, municipal, and national party organizations.

Under the new law, candidates and officeholders are limited to one candidate committee and/or joint candidates committee per office and are subject to definite guidelines on the usage of campaign funds. Moreover, by regulation, these candidates are permitted to raise money for only one election at a time. While candidates can, for instance, transfer monies from their primary account to their general election account, they are not permitted to raise money under general election contribution limits until after the primary is over.

In addition to the above changes, the reform law also establishes a

PAC registration program, in which critical information about who established the PAC and who controls it is disclosed. Included among a variety of additional requirements, the law establishes new thresholds for reporting and for disclosing the identity of contributors. It also requires all filing entities to disclose the occupation and employer of all individual contributors.

This study of legislative expenditures involves elections that occurred prior to the enactment of the reforms. Quite possibly, legislative spending and the associated strategies of legislative campaigns might be influenced by the changes. It will have to be left to a future study to measure the impact, if any, of the campaign reforms on the campaign strategies of legislative candidates as evidenced by their spending patterns. For example, will the various contribution and expenditure limitations adversely impact fundraising? If so, will legislative candidates husband their resources by spending less money on gifts and charity? Will these candidates contribute less to other candidates and to the political parties? Will the political party committees again take a more important role in the campaigns? And what of the impact of the leadership committees? These and other questions may be answered in a future comparative study of legislative expenditures. For the moment, though, this analysis of the campaign expenditure patterns of legislative candidates in the top 20 spending districts in the general elections of 1987 and 1991 stands as the only one of its kind in New Jersey and perhaps in the nation.

Legislative candidates, not ignorant of the possibilities inherent in mass media advertising, reported spending close to 50 percent of their

funds on mass communication in both the 1987 and 1991 general elections. Though substantially less than the proportion of funds spent on mass communication by gubernatorial candidates in the last two elections for governor, over 80 percent, this amount expended by Senate and Assembly candidates indicates that mass advertising has become a very important part of these campaigns. It illustrates that legislative campaigns have become more candidate-centered and less party oriented.

The fact that recent gubernatorial campaigns have used over 80 percent of their budgets for the purchase of mass communications whereas legislative campaigns have expended about half of theirs for this purpose, does, though, point to some major differences in campaigning between candidates for Governor and candidates for the Legislature.

As noted in the paper, of primary significance is the fact that gubernatorial campaigns are Statewide in character, whereas legislative campaigns are local in nature. Over 4 million registered voters must be reached by gubernatorial candidates through mass communication techniques designed to gain support from people living in a television-oriented, mobile society. Legislative candidates, on the other hand, must reach approximately only 100,000 registered voters in their districts. The more local flavor of their campaigns gives rise to other modes of campaigning than that of a heavy reliance on mass communication.

The two major party candidates for Governor in the 1993 race, because they participated in the public financing program, were allowed to spend \$5.9 million each. Thus, when considering the fact that there are

approximately 4 million registered voters Statewide, these candidates together spent approximately \$2.95 per registered voter (\$1.47 per voter each). Legislative candidates, by comparison, spending over \$15 million in 1991, averaged statewide about \$3.75 per registered voter. Therein lies another explanation for the greater emphasis on mass communications by gubernatorial candidates than by legislative candidates. Because of the expenditure limitations that affect nearly all the major gubernatorial candidates who participate in the public financing program, these candidates have to be extremely careful in terms of how they utilize campaign money. These candidates have determined that the most effective use of their money is for mass communication, in particular broadcast media. Since legislative candidates do not have expenditure limitations with which to cope, they can more readily spread their money around for other, often more traditional purposes.

As indicated, within the category of mass communication the bulk of gubernatorial spending has been on broadcast media. Approximately 90 percent of mass communication spending in both 1985 and 1989 was for broadcast media, that is, radio and television. Spending by legislative candidates within this category took a different turn. In 1987, 82 percent of mass communication expenditures went toward print media, mostly direct-mail, and in 1991, 67 percent went toward that category, again primarily for direct-mail. The spending within the mass communication category reflects the Statewide character of gubernatorial campaigns versus the local character of legislative campaigns. Gubernatorial candidates have recognized that the best way to reach a broad audience is mostly through television and to a degree, through radio. Legislative campaigns have recognized direct-mail, and to an extent

newspaper advertising, as an effective means of targeting the narrow audience they need to reach; although broadcast advertising increased from 18 percent to 33 percent of total communication spending between 1987 and 1991, perhaps indicating a shift of some monies toward cable television.

Legislative candidates also betrayed their essential local character through forms of spending other than mass communication. In legislative campaigns, large quantities of money are exchanged between candidates and between candidates and political parties. In 1987, 17 percent of all dollars spent flowed between the candidates and other candidates and their parties. In 1991, that figure was 19 percent. As noted in the text, a large portion of this money exchange is attributable to the system of electing members of the Assembly and Senators and to the desire of many of these individuals to climb onto and up the leadership ladder. In addition to this use of the money, legislative candidates also spend money on gifts and on charity. They also spend money on entertainment, i.e., purchasing tickets to political fundraisers and underwriting the costs of their own fundraisers. Utilizing campaign dollars in this manner further separates them from the campaign approaches taken by gubernatorial candidates.

The foregoing should not suggest that there are no similarities between legislative strategies in spending and gubernatorial ones, only that in the main they are different. While media strategies diverge, as do spending on other candidates and parties, charitable gifts, and entertainment, there is some similarity in the spending on administration, consultants, and election day activities. Legislative campaigns and gubernatorial campaigns both expend campaign funds for these purposes, recognizing, for instance, the

importance to modern-day campaigns of technology and get-out-the-vote efforts.

There is no doubt that legislative campaigns are becoming more sophisticated and candidate-centered. Because of the very local nature of these campaigns, however, the political parties within and throughout the municipalities and counties still do play a role, although considerably less of a one than in the past. On the State level, through underwriting the costs of advertising, polling, etc., the State political parties also offer assistance. The findings of this paper suggest legislative campaign strategies, as evidenced by their spending patterns, to be a blend of the new and the old, and centering around the local character of the contest. Mass communication techniques are utilized for these more candidate-centered efforts, but with emphasis on advertising efforts that fit the essentially local nature of the campaigns. At the same time, more traditional modes of campaigning have not been abandoned. The candidates do, through the party and through direct campaigning, try to meet as many people as possible. They do not neglect charitable giving nor the making of contributions to other candidates and to the parties, and they do not forget the importance of election day activities.

Non-professionals, then, may still be very much involved in legislative campaigns, but these campaigns are becoming more and more sophisticated and modernized with each passing election.

NOTES

1. See Stephen A. Salmore and Barbara G. Salmore, Candidates, Parties, and Campaigns. (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press 1985) , pp. 37-58; Maureen W. Moakley, "Political Parties," The Political State of New Jersey, edited by Gerald M. Pomper, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press 1986), pp. 45-65.
2. Eu v. San Francisco County Democratic Central Committee, 489 U.S. 214 (1989).
3. Attorney General Consent Order, New Jersey Republican State Committee v. Del Tufo, et al., L-91-1645, Superior Court, Mercer County, April 12, 1991.
4. New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, Gubernatorial Cost Analysis Report, (June, 1988), p. 7.
5. Ibid., Figure 3, p. 7.
6. New Jersey Election Law Enforcement Commission, 1993 Gubernatorial Cost Index Report, December, 1992, Table I, p. 16.
7. See Note 4, p. 9.
8. See Note 4, Figure 5, p. 9, and see Note 6, Table II.
9. See Note 4, p. 9.
10. See Note 4, p. 11.
11. Herbert E. Alexander, Eugene R. Goss , and Jeffrey A. Schwartz, Public Financing of State Elections: A Data Book on Tax-Assisted Funding of Political Parties and Candidates in Twenty-Five States, (Los Angeles: Citizens' Research Foundation, 1992), p. 130.
12. For a discussion of the Legislature see Alan Rosenthal, "The Legislature," The Political State of New Jersey, edited by Gerald M. Pomper, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986), pp. 118-138.