# MONEY IN POLITICS PROJECT

MAINE CITIZENS FOR CLEAN ELECTIONS

### REPORT #17

Clean Elections Participation Rates and Outcomes



## MONEY IN POLITICS PROJECT

The Money in Politics Project is a program of **Maine Citizens for Clean Elections**, a nonpartisan nonprofit organization working to ensure that Maine's campaign finance laws, elections, and government serve the public interest, both in principle and in practice. We engage Maine people from across the political spectrum, using research, education, and outreach to further fairness, inclusion, and opportunity in our politics.

MCCE is a 501(c)(3) organization.

www.MaineCleanElections.org

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### REPORT #17

Clean Election Participation Rates and Outcomes

#### INTRODUCTION

In 2020, the Maine Clean Election Act marked a major milestone: twenty years successfully providing over 2500 general election candidates a way to campaign without raising private contributions. Maine was the first state in the nation to offer full public funding to qualified legislative and gubernatorial candidates who agree to limit their spending.

The core principle of the MCEA has remained firm since voters first approved the law in 1996: candidates who are willing to forgo special interest contributions and can show support in their communities are eligible for a limited amount of public funding. The program allows candidates to compete for office even if they object to the fundraising imperative or lack wealthy friends and contacts who could fuel their efforts. Many candidates have stepped forward and served distinguished careers even though before MCEA they never considered running for office. The innovative program also encourages issue-based campaigns maximizing direct contact between voters and candidates.

Although the core of the Act has remained unchanged, some of its features have evolved to meet the changing landscape. The original Act allowed participating candidates to receive "matching funds" when they were outspent by opponents or by independent spenders. Courts initially upheld the matching funds system in 1999, but changing winds in the judiciary resulted in a 2011 ruling eliminating this provision.

In 2015 Maine citizens took to the voting booth to defend the law they had created, approving a replacement "supplemental funding" system — the first of its kind in the country. The successful 2015 citizen initiative designed by Mainers, for Mainers reaffirmed Maine voters' commitment to publicly funded elections and reversed a temporary decline in candidate participation in the program.

The revised program has now worked well through three legislative election cycles (2016 through 2020) and one gubernatorial cycle (2018). Participation rates fluctuate but generally remain strong, and a new political culture has emerged in which Clean Election funding is a way of life. An entire generation of candidates and elected leaders has passed through Augusta knowing that there is a better way to fund campaigns than dialing for dollars. And the public has reaped the benefits of a more responsive, inclusive democracy.

MCCE believes it is important to continue to tell the unfolding story of Clean Elections and the movement to retain and strengthen public control of our democracy. It is the story of individuals who run for office for the first time, and of citizen-voters who are reconnected to their government by a simple request for a \$5 qualifying contribution. Part of the story can also be told through data. For this report MCCE collected and analyzed publicly available data including information about which candidates participated in the Clean Elections public funding option, how they fared in the general

elections in 2018 and 2020, success rates of Clean Elections candidates against privately funded candidates, and participation and success rates by gender. This data paints a full picture of the success of the program, and allows us to examine trends that shed light on the program's strengths and point to opportunities to enhance its provisions.

This report is part of MCCE's ongoing efforts to analyze the Clean Elections program and educate the public about significant campaign finance issues in Maine. Along with our partner, the League of Women Voters of Maine, MCCE will continue to report on related topics such as the role of corporate contributions in Maine elections, giving patterns by major industries with interests before the state legislature, the influence of independent expenditures, voter participation, and the health of our democracy in general.

The 2022–2023 biennial budget proposed by Governor Mills and enacted by the legislature includes continued full funding for the Maine Clean Election Act. This is a good investment in our democracy, and we will be following the budget process this year to ensure that Clean Elections remains a priority, as the voters have twice demanded. Even in times of a tight budget, our democracy remains a sound investment of public dollars. MCCE seeks to ensure that the benefits of publicly funded elections continue to accrue for Mainers and the elected officials we trust to represent our best interests throughout this legislative cycle and long into the future.



This report covers the 2018 and 2020 legislative races in Maine, focusing on the general elections. We highlight trends that have emerged since we last reported on MCEA participation following the 2016 election cycle. MCCE has analyzed a wide range of metrics regarding races for the 186 seats in the legislature to shed light on Clean Election participation, success rates, and demographic trends. The data shows some interesting highlights pointing toward the continued success of Clean Elections, but also hinting at some possible trends which only time will confirm:

• Our data looked at a total of 721 candidates on the ballot in the 2018 and 2020 election cycles. There were 375 candidates on the 2018 general election ballot, and 346 candidates in the 2020 general election.

• A total of 206 candidates in the 2018 general election used Clean Elections. In 2020 a total of 192 used the program. The all-time participation high occurred in the 2006 cycle when 314 general election candidates qualified and used the program.

Over the years many women have told us that Clean Elections allowed them to fulfill their goal of running for the legislature. More women — a total of 83 — were elected to the legislature in 2020 than ever in Maine history. • Women candidates fared well in the general election. Their success rate of 63% is the highest in our data going back to 2002.

• Fewer (214) male candidates appeared on the ballot in the general election than ever in Maine history.

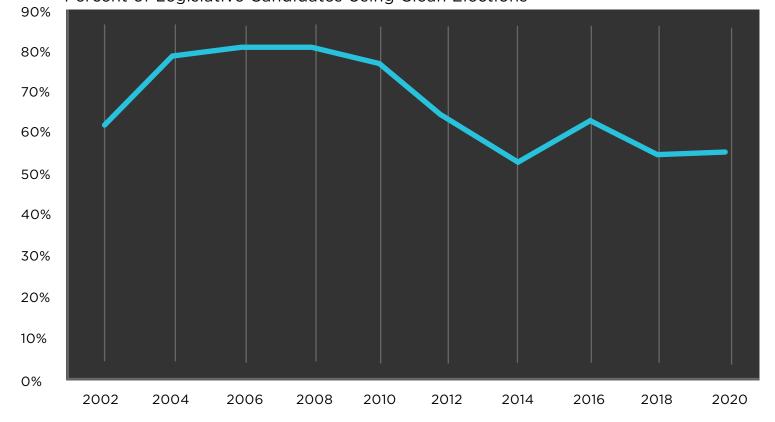
• Democratic participation continues to outpace Republican. There were 62 Republican candidates in the Clean Election program (39% of Republican candidates) and 122 Democratic candidates in the Clean Election program (72% of Democratic candidates). Republican participation remains substantial, especially in the Senate.

There were fewer open seats in 2020 than in most election cycles — only 41, as compared to 59 the previous cycle.
73% of the open seat winners used Clean Elections.

2020 was a good year for incumbents.
122 House incumbents sought reelection, and 106 of them succeeded.
28 incumbent Senators sought reelection, with 25 winning their contests.



#### **CLEAN ELECTIONS PARTICIPATION TREND** Percent of Legislative Candidates Using Clean Elections





The following tables illustrate rates of participation in the Clean Election program and related metrics. The data includes participation rates since 2002, detail on House and Senate candidate demographics and trends, rates of participation by political party, and the success rates of Clean Election candidates in these groupings over the years. [KEY: CE = Clean Elections]

#### FIGURE 17-1

The total number of Clean Election candidates in the general election fell to 192, the lowest since 2002 but still well over half of all candidates. The number of winning candidates using private funding increased between the 2018 and 2020 elections.

| MCEA Participation: Summary Data                             | <b>'02</b> | <b>'</b> 08 | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b>       |
|--|------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|
| Total # of Candidates for House & Senate in General Election | 369        | 374         | 385 | 385 | 376 | 359 | 375 | 346              |
| # of Candidiates Using CE                                    | 230        | 303         | 295 | 242 | 199 | 227 | 206 | 192              |
| % of Candidates Using CE                                     | 62%        | 81%         | 77% | 63% | 53% | 63% | 55% | 55%              |
| # of Winning Candidates Using CE                             | 111        | 158         | 148 | 131 | 107 | 118 | 117 | 110              |
| % of Winning Candidates Using CE                             | 60%        | 85%         | 80% | 70% | 58% | 64% | 63% | <mark>59%</mark> |
| % of Candidates Using CE Who Won                             | 48%        | 52%         | 50% | 54% | 54% | 52% | 57% | 57%              |
| # of Candidates Using Private Funding                        | 139        | 71          | 90  | 143 | 177 | 132 | 169 | 154              |
| # of Winning Candidates Using Private Funding                | 75         | 28          | 38  | 55  | 79  | 67  | 69  | 76               |
| % of Candidates Using Private Funding Who Won                | 54%        | 39%         | 42% | 38% | 45% | 51% | 41% | 49%              |

#### FIGURE 17-2

The total number of House candidates was the lowest since we started tracking, in part due to COVID-19. Accordingly, the number of House candidates using Clean Elections was also lower than in previous years, yet still robust.

| MCEA Participation: House and Senate             | '02 | '08 | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Senate Candidates in General Election | 71  | 77  | 72  | 74  | 76  | 71  | 70  | 71         |
| # of Senate Candidiates Using Clean Elections    | 51  | 59  | 62  | 55  | 50  | 48  | 51  | 48         |
| % of Senate Candidates Using Clean Elections     | 72% | 77% | 86% | 74% | 66% | 68% | 73% | 68%        |
| # of Winning Senate Candidates Using CE          | 27  | 28  | 30  | 5   | 24  | 26  | 26  | 25         |
| % of Winning Senate Candidates Using CE          | 77% | 80% | 86% | 14% | 69% | 74% | 74% | 71%        |
| Total # of House Candidates Using CE             | 298 | 297 | 313 | 311 | 300 | 288 | 300 | 275        |
| # of House Candidates Using CE                   | 179 | 244 | 233 | 187 | 149 | 179 | 154 | 144        |
| % of House Candidates Using CE                   | 60% | 82% | 74% | 60% | 50% | 62% | 51% | 52%        |
| # of Winning House Candidates Using CE           | 84  | 130 | 118 | 128 | 83  | 93  | 91  | 85         |
| % of Winning House Candidates Using CE           | 56% | 86% | 78% | 85% | 55% | 62% | 60% | 56%        |

A total of 122 Democratic candidates used Clean Elections, while about half as many Republicans (62) qualified for the program. This continues a trend since 2000 with substantial use in both parties, but lower use among the GOP candidates. 54% of unenrolled candidates chose the Clean Elections option.

| MCEA Participation: By Party                 | <b>'02</b> | <b>'08</b> | '10 | ʻ12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|--|------------|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Republican Candidates             | 168        | 167        | 181 | 182 | 175 | 168 | 173 | 158        |
| # of Winning Republican Candidates           | 84         | 69         | 98  | 73  | 89  | 90  | 71  | 80         |
| # of Repulican Candidates Using CE           | 91         | 119        | 132 | 84  | 47  | 79  | 55  | 62         |
| % of Republican Candidates Using CE          | 54%        | 71%        | 73% | 46% | 27% | 47% | 32% | 39%        |
| # of Winning Republican Candidates Using CE  | 35         | 51         | 71  | 35  | 29  | 40  | 25  | 27         |
| % of Republican Candidates Using CE Who Won  | 38%        | 43%        | 53% | 42% | 62% | 51% | 45% | 44%        |
| % of Winning Republican Candidates Using CE  | 42%        | 74%        | 72% | 48% | 33% | 44% | 35% | 34%        |
| Total # of Democratic Candidates             | 173        | 186        | 178 | 176 | 172 | 177 | 176 | 169        |
| # of Winning Democratic Candidates           | 98         | 116        | 86  | 88  | 93  | 94  | 110 | 102        |
| # of Democratic Candidates Using CE          | 122        | 169        | 156 | 146 | 133 | 141 | 138 | 122        |
| % of Democratic Candidates Using CE          | 71%        | 91%        | 88% | 83% | 77% | 80% | 78% | 72%        |
| # of Winning Democratic Candidates Using CE  | 72         | 106        | 75  | 68  | 76  | 77  | 87  | 80         |
| % of Democratic Candidates Using CE Who Won  | 60%        | 63%        | 48% | 47% | 57% | 55% | 63% | 66%        |
| % of Winning Democratic Candidates Using CE  | 73%        | 91%        | 87% | 77% | 82% | 82% | 79% | 78%        |
| Total # of Green Party Candidates            | 11         | 9          | 12  | 7   | 13  | 1   | 6   | 6          |
| # of Green Party Candidates Using CE         | 8          | 7          | 4   | 4   | 11  | 0   | 0   | 1          |
| % of Green Party Candidates Using CE         | 73%        | 78%        | 33% | 57% | 85% | 0%  | 0%  | 17%        |
| # of Winning Green Party Candidates Using CE | 1          | 0          | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0   | 0          |
| Total # of Unenrolled Candidates             | n/a        | 12         | 14  | 20  | 16  | 13  | 19  | 13         |
| # of Unenrolled Candidates Using CE          | n/a        | 8          | 3   | 8   | 8   | 7   | 13  | 7          |
| % of Unenrolled Candidates Using CE          | n/a        | 67%        | 21% | 40% | 50% | 54% | 68% | 54%        |
| # of Winning Unenrolled Candidates Using CE  | n/a        | 1          | 2   | 17  | 2   | 2   | 5   | 3          |

KEY:

Republican Senate candidates were more likely to utilize Clean Elections than those in the House. Republicans only ran 125 candidates in the House, leaving 26 seats uncontested.

| Further Breakdown by Party: Republicans            | <b>'02</b> | <b>'08</b> | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|--|------------|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Republican Senate Candidates            | 35         | 36         | 35  | 34  | 34  | 33  | 32  | 33         |
| # of Republican Senate Candidates Using CE         | 25         | 27         | 33  | 23  | 15  | 19  | 18  | 22         |
| % of Republican Senate Candidates Using CE         | 71%        | 75%        | 94% | 68% | 44% | 58% | 56% | 67%        |
| # of Winning Republican Senate Candidates          | 17         | 15         | 20  | 15  | 21  | 18  | 14  | 13         |
| # of Winning Republican Senate Candidates Using CE | 13         | 12         | 18  | 12  | 11  | 12  | 8   | 8          |
| % of Winning Republican Senate Candidates Using CE | 77%        | 80%        | 90% | 80% | 52% | 67% | 57% | 62%        |
| Total # of Republican House Candidates             | 133        | 131        | 146 | 131 | 141 | 135 | 141 | 125        |
| # of Republican House Candidates Using CE          | 66         | 92         | 99  | 109 | 32  | 60  | 37  | 40         |
| % of Republican House Candidates Using CE          | 50%        | 70%        | 68% | 83% | 23% | 44% | 26% | 32%        |
| # of Winning Republican House Candidates           | 67         | 54         | 78  | 54  | 68  | 72  | 57  | 67         |
| # of Winning Republican House Candidates Using CE  | 22         | 39         | 53  | 50  | 18  | 28  | 17  | 19         |
| % of Winning Republican House Candidates Using CE  | 33%        | 72%        | 68% | 93% | 26% | 39% | 30% | 28%        |

#### FIGURE 17-5

26 out of 35 Senate Democratic candidates opted for Clean Elections in 2020 — a strong endorsement of the program but still a decline from the total of 31 using it in 2018. The fraction of winning Senate Democratic candidates using Clean Elections slipped to 74% in 2020 — the lowest in the data.

| Further Breakdown by Party: Democrats              | <b>'02</b> | <b>'08</b> | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|--|------------|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Democratic Senate Candidates            | 31         | 36         | 33  | 33  | 35  | 34  | 36  | 35         |
| # of Democratic Senate Candidates Using CE         | 24         | 29         | 27  | 18  | 28  | 26  | 31  | 26         |
| % of Democratic Senate Candidates Using CE         | 78%        | 81%        | 82% | 55% | 80% | 76% | 86% | 74%        |
| # of Winning Democratic Senate Candidates          | 18         | 20         | 14  | 9   | 14  | 17  | 21  | 22         |
| # of Winning Democratic Senate Candidates Using CE | 14         | 16         | 11  | 5   | 13  | 14  | 18  | 17         |
| % of Winning Democratic Senate Candidates Using CE | 78%        | 80%        | 79% | 56% | 93% | 82% | 86% | 77%        |
| Total # of Democratic House Candidates             | 142        | 150        | 145 | 137 | 137 | 143 | 140 | 134        |
| # of Democratic House Candidates Using CE          | 98         | 140        | 129 | 105 | 105 | 115 | 107 | 96         |
| % of Democratic House Candidates Using CE          | 69%        | 93%        | 89% | 77% | 77% | 80% | 76% | 72%        |
| # of Winning Democratic House Candidates           | 80         | 96         | 72  | 79  | 79  | 77  | 89  | 80         |
| # of Winning Democratic House Candidates Using CE  | 58         | 90         | 64  | 63  | 63  | 63  | 69  | 63         |
| % of Winning Democratic House Candidates Using CE  | 73%        | 94%        | 89% | 80% | 80% | 82% | 78% | 79%        |

KEY:



The following tables analyze races where one or more Clean Elections candidates ran against one or more privately funded candidates. As in previous reports, these results confirm that on average, privately funded candidates are not more likely to win against Clean Elections candidates. No doubt, many other factors contributed to this outcome.

#### FIGURE 17-6

26 out of 35 Senate Democratic candidates opted for Clean Elections in 2020 — a strong endorsement of the program but still a decline from the total of 31 using it in 2018. The fraction of winning Senate Democratic candidates using Clean Elections slipped to 74% in 2020 — the lowest in the data.

| Privately Funded Candidates versus Clean                      |        |       |
|---|--------|-------|
| Elections Candidates: 2020 Senate and House                   | Senate | House |
| Number of Privately Funded Candidate v. CE Candidate Races    | 12     | 62    |
| Number of Privately Funded Candidates Defeating CE Opponents  | 5      | 27    |
| Percent of Privately Funded Candidates Defeating CE Opponents | 42%    | 44%   |
| Number of CE Candidates Defeating Privately Funded Opponents  | 7      | 35    |
| Percent of CE Candidates Defeating Privately Funded Opponents | 58%    | 56%   |

KEY:

There were fewer open seat races in 2020, as most incumbents sought to return to legislative service. Maine's term limit law prohibits legislators from seeking more than four consecutive 2-year terms, so in a typical election cycle many races do not include an incumbent candidate seeking re-election. Only 14 open seat races featured privately funded candidates facing off against Clean Elections candidates.

| Candidates Using Clean Elections v. Privately  |            |     |            |     |     |     | _          |
|--|------------|-----|------------|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Funded Candidates: Summary Data  | <b>'08</b> | '10 | <b>'12</b> | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
| # of Races with Privately Funded Candidates v. Publicly<br>Funded Candidates                               | 57         | 61  | 90         | 101 | 82  | 105 | 74         |
| # of Candidates in Races With Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates                 | 121        | 138 | 194        | 206 | 168 | 226 | 154        |
| # of Publicly Funded Candidates in Races With Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates | 64         | 71  | 99         | 104 | 84  | 112 | 75         |
| # of Publicly Funded Candidates Who Defeated<br>Privately Funded Opponents                                 | 37         | 34  | 59         | 57  | 42  | 66  | 42         |
| # of Privately Funded Candidates Who Defeated<br>Publicly Funded Candidates                                | 20         | 27  | 31         | 44  | 40  | 39  | 32         |
| # of Open Seat Races With Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates                     | 11         | 16  | 37         | 70  | 14  | 39  | 14         |
| # of Publicly Funded Candidates in Open Seats Races<br>Who Defeated Privately Funded Opponents             | 9          | 9   | 23         | 17  | 11  | 25  | 8          |
| # of Races with Incumbents With Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates               | 46         | 45  | 57         | 68  | 32  | 58  | 52         |
| # of Races with Incumbents Where MCEA Funded<br>Incumbent Defeated Privately Funded Opponent               | 28         | 23  | 29         | 17  | 29  | 34  | 33         |
| # of Races with Incumbents Where MCEA Funded<br>Challenger Defeated Privately Funded Incumbent             | 2          | 2   | 7          | 3   | 3   | 7   | 1          |

In the two Senate races with privately funded candidates competing against publicly funded candidates, the privately funded candidate won both times.

| Candidates Using Clean Elections v. Privately<br>Funded Candidates: Senate  |            |     |     |     |     |     | _          |
|---|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
|   | <b>'08</b> | '10 | ʻ12 | ʻ14 | ʻ16 | ʻ18 | <b>'20</b> |
| # of Senate Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates   | 12         | 6   | 12  | 19  | 15  | 16  | 12         |
| # of Candidates in Senate Races With Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 27         | 13  | 26  | 40  | 31  | 35  | 27         |
| # of Publicly Funded Candidates in Senate Races With<br>Privately Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded<br>Candidates                                | 15         | 8   | 14  | 22  | 15  | 18  | 13         |
| # of Senate Publicly Funded Candidates Who Defeated<br>Privately Funded Opponents   | 7          | 3   | 10  | 12  | 10  | 9   | 7          |
| % of Senate Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates Won by Publicly Funded<br>Candidates                            | 58%        | 50% | 83% | 63% | 67% | 56% | 58%        |
| # of Privately Funded Senate Candidates Who Defeated<br>Publicly Funded Candidates  | 5          | 3   | 2   | 7   | 5   | 7   | 5          |
| % of Senate Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates Won by Privately Funded<br>Candidates                           | 42%        | 50% | 17% | 37% | 33% | 44% | 42%        |
| # of Open Seat Senate Races with Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 3          | 0   | 6   | 12  | 3   | 8   | 2          |
| # of Open Seat Senate Races with Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates won by<br>Publicly Funded Candidates                  | 2          | 0   | 5   | 5   | 1   | 3   | 0          |
| # of Senate Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 9          | 6   | 6   | 13  | 13  | 7   | 9          |
| # of Senate Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates Won<br>by Incumbent Publicly Funded Candidates  | 5          | 1   | 5   | 7   | 8   | 5   | 6          |
| # of Senate Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates Won<br>by Challenger Publicly Funded Candidates | 0          | 2   | 0   | 0   | 1   | 1   | 1          |

There were only 62 House races in 2020 where privately funded candidates ran against Clean Elections candidates — the lowest since 2010.

| Candidates Using Clean Elections v. Privately<br>Funded Candidates: House  |            |     |     |     |     |     | _          |
|--|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
|  | <b>'08</b> | '10 | ʻ12 | '14 | '16 | ʻ18 | <b>'20</b> |
| # of House Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates   | 45         | 55  | 78  | 82  | 67  | 89  | 62         |
| # of Candidates in House Races With Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 94         | 126 | 168 | 166 | 137 | 191 | 127        |
| # of Publicly Funded Candidates in House Races With<br>Privately Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded<br>Candidates                                | 49         | 63  | 85  | 82  | 69  | 94  | 62         |
| # of House Publicly Funded Candidates Who Defeated<br>Privately Funded Opponents   | 30         | 31  | 49  | 37  | 32  | 57  | 35         |
| % of House Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates Won by Publicly Funded<br>Candidates                            | 67%        | 56% | 63% | 45% | 48% | 64% | 56%        |
| # of Privately Funded House Candidates Who Defeated<br>Publicly Funded Candidates  | 15         | 24  | 29  | 37  | 35  | 32  | 27         |
| % of House Races with Privately Funded Candidates v.<br>Publicly Funded Candidates Won by Privately Funded<br>Candidates                           | 33%        | 44% | 37% | 45% | 52% | 36% | 44%        |
| # of Open Seat House Races with Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 8          | 16  | 31  | 58  | 25  | 31  | 12         |
| # of Open Seat House Races with Privately Funded<br>Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates won by<br>Publicly Funded Candidates                  | 7          | 9   | 18  | 12  | 10  | 22  | 8          |
| # of House Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates   | 37         | 39  | 51  | 55  | 52  | 51  | 43         |
| # of House Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates Won<br>by Incumbent Publicly Funded Candidates  | 21         | 22  | 24  | 30  | 21  | 29  | 27         |
| # of House Races with Incumbents with Privately<br>Funded Candidates v. Publicly Funded Candidates Won<br>by Challenger Publicly Funded Candidates | 2          | 0   | 7   | 3   | 2   | 6   | 0          |



The following tables compare the participation rates and election outcomes of incumbents, challengers, and open seat candidates using Clean Elections.

#### **FIGURE 17-10**

The number of House races in which incumbents sought to hold their seats was the highest since at least 2000. 106 out of the 122 incumbent House members seeking reelection were successful.

| Incumbents                                 | <b>'02</b> | <b>'</b> 08 | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|--|------------|-------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Incumbent Candidates            | 122        | 135         | 139 | 121 | 126 | 147 | 133 | 150        |
| # of Incumbent Candidates Using CE         | 62         | 108         | 112 | 77  | 82  | 93  | 74  | 86         |
| % of Incumbent Candidates Using CE         | 51%        | 80%         | 81% | 64% | 65% | 63% | 56% | 57%        |
| # of Incumbents Who Won Election           | 107        | 125         | 119 | 104 | 98  | 125 | 116 | 131        |
| % of Incumbents Who Won Election           | 88%        | 93%         | 86% | 86% | 78% | 85% | 87% | 87%        |
| # of CE Incumbents Who Won Election        | 57         | 100         | 94  | 66  | 66  | 82  | 71  | 73         |
| % of CE Incumbents Who Won Election        | 92%        | 93%         | 84% | 86% | 80% | 88% | 96% | 85%        |
| # of Incumbent Senate Candidates           | 27         | 27          | 25  | 22  | 25  | 26  | 25  | 28         |
| # of Incumbent Senate Candidates Using CE  | 21         | 21          | 19  | 20  | 19  | 18  | 19  | 20         |
| % of Incumbent Senate Candidates Using CE  | 78%        | 78%         | 76% | 91% | 76% | 69% | 76% | 71%        |
| # of Senate Incumbents Who Won Election    | —          | 25          | 21  | 18  | 20  | 24  | 22  | 25         |
| # of Senate CE Incumbents Who Won Election | _          | 19          | 16  | 16  | 14  | 16  | 19  | 17         |
| # of Incumbent House Candidates            | 95         | 108         | 114 | 99  | 101 | 121 | 108 | 122        |
| # of Incumbent House Candidates Using CE   | 41         | 87          | 93  | 57  | 63  | 75  | 55  | 66         |
| % of Incumbent House Candidates Using CE   | 43%        | 81%         | 82% | 58% | 62% | 62% | 51% | 54%        |
| # of House Incumbents Who Won Election     | _          | 100         | 98  | 86  | 84  | 109 | 94  | 106        |
| # of House CE Incumbents Who Won Election  | _          | 81          | 78  | 50  | 52  | 66  | 52  | 56         |

#### KEY:

Only 34% of challengers used Clean Elections – a lower figure than many expected. MCCE will analyze this trend, which may be attributed to perceived difficulties qualifying for Clean Elections during the shut-down and the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic.

| Challengers                                | <b>'02</b> | <b>'08</b> | '10 | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b>       |
|--|------------|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|
| Total # of Challengers                     | 125        | 134        | 143 | 122 | 122 | 137 | 151 | 182              |
| # of Challengers Using CE                  | 83         | 102        | 99  | 74  | 52  | 86  | 72  | 61               |
| % of Challengers Using CE                  | 66%        | 76%        | 69% | 61% | 43% | 63% | 48% | <mark>34%</mark> |
| # of Challengers Who Won Election          | 23         | 10         | 20  | 18  | 20  | 18  | 11  | 14               |
| % Challengers Who Won Election             | 18%        | 7%         | 14% | 15% | 16% | 13% | 7%  | 8%               |
| # of Challengers Using CE Who Won Election | 14         | 10         | 14  | 16  | 9   | 11  | 10  | 7                |
| % of Challengers Using CE Who Won Election | 17%        | 10%        | 14% | 22% | 17% | 13% | 14% | 11%              |
| # of Challengers in Senate                 | 24         | 33         | 26  | 24  | 30  | 27  | 26  | 41               |
| # of Challengers In Senate Using CE        | 17         | 24         | 22  | 16  | 19  | 16  | 18  | 19               |
| % of Challengers In Senate Using CE        | 71%        | 73%        | 85% | 67% | 63% | 59% | 69% | <mark>46%</mark> |
| # of Challengers in House                  | 101        | 101        | 117 | 122 | 92  | 110 | 125 | 141              |
| # of Challengers In House Using CE         | 66         | 78         | 77  | 74  | 33  | 70  | 54  | 42               |
| % of Challengers In House Using CE         | 65%        | 77%        | 66% | 61% | 36% | 64% | 43% | 30%              |

#### **FIGURE 17-12**

The percentage of open seat candidates using Clean Elections who won their races was relatively low at 43%. MCCE will analyze this data in more detail for trends or anomalies.

| Open Seats  | '02 | <b>'08</b> | '10  | '12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b> |
|---|-----|------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------|
| Total # of Open Seats                               | 56  | 51         | 47   | 65  | 60  | 39  | 59  | 41         |
| Total # of Open Seat Candidates                     | 122 | 105        | 103  | 135 | 128 | 75  | 135 | 115        |
| # of Open Seat Candidates Using CE                  | 85  | 93         | 84   | 91  | 65  | 48  | 73  | 69         |
| % of Open Seat Candidates Using CE                  | 70% | 89%        | 82%  | 67% | 51% | 64% | 54% | 60%        |
| # of Open Seat Candidates Using CE Who Won Election | 40  | 48         | 40   | 49  | 32  | 25  | 36  | 30         |
| % of Open Seat Candidates Using CE Who Won Election | 47% | 52%        | 48%  | 54% | 49% | 52% | 49% | 43%        |
| # of Open Seat Candidates Using Private Funding     | 37  | 12         | 19   | 44  | 63  | 27  | 61  | 45         |
| # of Open Seat Candidates Using Private Funding     | 16  | 3          | 7    | 15  | 30  | 8   | 23  | 11         |
| Who Won Election                                    |     |            |      |     |     |     |     |            |
| % of Open Seat Candidates Using Private Funding     | 43% | 25%        | 37%  | 34% | 48% | 30% | 38% | 24%        |
| Who Won Election                                    |     |            |      |     |     |     |     |            |
| % of Open Seats Won by Candidates Using CE          | 71% | 94%        | 85%  | 75% | 53% | 64% | 61% | 73%        |
| # of Open Seat Candidates in Senate                 | 20  | 17         | 21   | 27  | 21  | 18  | 32  | 23         |
| # of Open Seat Candidates in Senate Using CE        | 13  | 14         | 21   | 19  | 12  | 14  | 19  | 14         |
| % of Open Seat Candidates in Senate Using CE        | 65% | 82%        | 100% | 70% | 57% | 78% | 59% | 61%        |
| # of Open Seat Candidates in House                  | 102 | 88         | 82   | 91  | 107 | 57  | 103 | 92         |
| # of Open Seat Candidates in House Using CE         | 72  | 79         | 63   | 72  | 53  | 34  | 54  | 55         |
| % of Open Seat Candidates in House Using CE         | 70% | 90%        | 77%  | 79% | 50% | 60% | 52% | 60%        |



A record 63% of women candidates won their races, yielding a total of 83 women legislators, an all-time record. 69% of elected women used Clean Elections, compared to 51% of elected men.

| Women and Men / Clean Elections Funding         | '02 | <b>'08</b> | '10 | ʻ12 | '14 | '16 | '18 | <b>'20</b>       |
|---|-----|------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------------------|
| Total # of Women Legislative Candidates         | 98  | 113        | 111 | 105 | 111 | 110 | 140 | 132              |
| # of Women Legislative Candidates Using CE      | 68  | 99         | 89  | 77  | 73  | 76  | 86  | 85               |
| % of All Candidates Who Are Women               | 27% | 30%        | 29% | 27% | 29% | 31% | 37% | 38%              |
| % of Women Candidates Using CE                  | 70% | 88%        | 80% | 73% | 66% | 69% | 61% | <mark>64%</mark> |
| # of Winning Women Candidates                   | 50  | 55         | 52  | 54  | 54  | 63  | 72  | 83               |
| % of Women Candidates Who Won Election          | 51% | 49%        | 47% | 51% | 49% | 57% | 51% | 63%              |
| # of Women Candidates Using CE Who Won Election | 36  | 49         | 42  | 44  | 37  | 42  | 52  | 57               |
| % of Women Using CE Who Won Election            | 53% | 49%        | 47% | 57% | 51% | 55% | 60% | 67%              |
| % of All Women Elected Using CE                 | 72% | 89%        | 81% | 81% | 69% | 67% | 72% | 69%              |
| Total # of Men Legislative Candidates           | 271 | 261        | 274 | 280 | 265 | 249 | 235 | 214              |
| # of Men Legislative Candidates Using CE        | 162 | 204        | 206 | 165 | 126 | 151 | 120 | 107              |
| % of All Candidates Who Are Men                 | 74% | 70%        | 71% | 73% | 69% | 69% | 63% | 62%              |
| % of Men Candidates Using CE                    | 60% | 78%        | 75% | 59% | 48% | 61% | 51% | <mark>50%</mark> |
| # of Winning Men Candidates                     | 136 | 131        | 134 | 132 | 132 | 123 | 114 | 103              |
| % of Men Candidates Who Won Election            | 50% | 50%        | 49% | 47% | 50% | 49% | 49% | <mark>48%</mark> |
| # of Men Candidates Using CE Who Won Election   | 61  | 109        | 106 | 87  | 70  | 77  | 65  | 53               |
| % of Men Using CE Who Won Election              | 38% | 53%        | 51% | 53% | 56% | 51% | 54% | <mark>50%</mark> |
| % of All Men Elected Using CE                   | 55% | 83%        | 79% | 66% | 53% | 63% | 57% | 51%              |

#### KEY:

## Conclusion

Through ups and downs in participation rates and changes in the design of Clean Elections, the program continues to serve as the national benchmark for full public funding of legislative elections. An entire generation of Maine candidates has been able to wage successful campaigns while avoiding the pitfalls and compromises all too common among those raising private special interest money for their campaigns.

The 2018 and 2020 election cycles reveal some interesting trends. In the unprecedented and tumultuous 2020 election cycle, more women were elected to the legislature than ever in Maine history. Clean Elections candidate participation dipped to 192 candidates or just 55% of the total. Even so, the percentage of winning candidates who used Clean Elections in 2020 increased from 69% to 76%.

The popularity of Clean Elections is apparent not only from the victories of participating candidates, but in the thousands of Mainers who made \$5 qualifying contributions to those candidates, enabling them to meet the strict qualifying requirements of the program. **The enthusiasm of the public for Clean Elections has never wavered.** 

It has been said that 2020 was a "stress test" for our state and national election systems. Maine's Clean Elections system passed the test. MCCE will continue to analyze campaign finance reports, candidate information, and participation data as part of our ongoing effort to educate the public on the vital role of the Clean Elections law and other critical issues in our ongoing effort to secure the blessings of a more perfect democracy.

