

# The “Centrist Premium”: The High Price of Moderation



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BY ANNE KIM

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For most of the last 30 years, self-described ideological moderates have comprised a plurality of the American electorate. While the share of moderates has dropped slightly in recent years, 38 percent of voters in 2010 still described themselves as such.<sup>1</sup>

In Congress, on the other hand, moderates are decidedly—and increasingly—a minority. Among Democrats, the moderate New Democrat and Blue Dog Coalitions suffered heavy losses among their respective memberships in 2010 and are now outnumbered by their liberal counterparts in the Progressive Caucus. Among Republicans, moderate members are an even rarer species. In fact, there are only 33 members of the moderate Republican Main Street Partnership who are not also part of the 177-member conservative Republican Study Committee.

Analysts have offered up structural explanations—such as gerrymandering and the current political primary system—for why there aren’t more moderates in elected office to reflect America’s true ideological complexion.<sup>2</sup> This paper looks at another structural disadvantage that moderate candidates and incumbents face: campaign finance.

For better or for worse, financing plays a major role in a candidate’s viability and success. Financing buys the ads and ability to raise a candidate’s profile, counter the opposition and turn out the vote. A hefty campaign war chest can be enough in itself to discourage potential rivals. According to the Federal Election Commission, House Congressional races cost a grand total of nearly \$1.1 billion in 2010—or \$2.5 million per seat.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, elections are becoming increasingly expensive. The spending in 2010 was nearly double the \$563 million spent just a decade ago in 2000.<sup>4</sup>

But as this analysis shows, the burden of fundraising falls much more heavily on moderates. While it’s axiomatic in today’s politics that winning and keeping a seat is more expensive in “moderate” districts than in more

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reliably red or blue turf, this analysis provides a case study that quantifies just how much the “centrist premium” costs.

In particular, this analysis draws on Federal Election Commission data to compare the campaign expenditures made by Democratic candidates and their opponents in “moderate” versus “liberal” districts in the House. To avoid ideological judgment calls, self-selected members of the New Democrat and Blue Dog Coalitions and the Progressive Caucus were used as proxies for defining “moderate” and “liberal.”

Among the key findings:

1. **Moderate Democrats and their opponents spent more than twice as much on their campaigns in 2010 as their counterparts in liberal districts.**<sup>5</sup> Blue Dogs, New Democrats and their opponents spent an average of \$3.3 million on their campaigns, compared to an average of \$1.6 million spent by candidates and opponents in Progressive Caucus districts. Not only did moderate candidates spend more to defend their seats, they faced better-financed challengers.
2. **Moderate candidates were much more likely to draw outside spending in their districts.** On average, outside groups spent a district-by-district average of \$1.46 million in Blue Dog and New Democratic races, versus an average of just \$257,000 on Progressive Caucus campaigns. With the inclusion of outside spending, the total cost of campaigning in moderate districts soars to an average per district of \$4.76 million, compared to a grand total average of \$1.87 million in liberal districts.
3. **“Safer” moderate members still pay a premium.** On the whole, veteran moderates spend less on their campaigns than newcomers. Nevertheless, among Blue Dog, New Democratic and Progressive candidates who won by similar margins, moderate candidates and their opponents still outspent liberal candidates and their opponents by an average of almost \$900,000.<sup>6</sup>

These findings raise one immediate question: Isn’t this simply the price of competition?

Yes, probably. Moderate swing districts are by definition more competitive than liberal seats and therefore more expensive for a variety of reasons: First, because they’re “winnable” by the opposition, they’re worth a large investment of resources, and once the battle is joined, the arms race on spending escalates. Second, moderate districts tend to be suburban and more sprawling in their geography (versus safer liberal seats that tend to be more dense and urban), which means more ground to cover and more media markets to saturate. And third, if a moderate candidate’s strategy is to differentiate himself or herself from a national political party that is perceived as too extreme, that can be a resource-intensive proposition.

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The problem isn't competition—in fact, our political system needs more competition as the number of competitive seats has dwindled over time and polarization has increased. Rather, the problem is that the price of competition falls disproportionately on moderates. Moderates need more money to win seats and more money to defend them, which in turn has several destructive impacts.

For one thing, it means higher opportunity costs for moderates, who must spend more time chasing funding than their safer counterparts. As a consequence, this means less time learning, formulating, and developing policy expertise.

The centrist premium also increases the barriers to entry for candidates without deep pockets of their own. As it is, the political class is increasingly less representative of middle-class Americans. But if the price of a House campaign is in the multi-millions of dollars, ordinary Americans are effectively shut out from running for office. Moreover, “good” candidates would be defined not by their ideas and policy chops but by their ability to raise money.

Finally, moderates may pay an ideological price as well. Because moderate candidates are more likely to attract outside spending—typically funded by interests from the extreme left or right—moderates may face intense pressure to move away from the center in their policy views, which only contributes to polarization.

## **1. Total candidate spending: Purple versus blue**

In terms of candidate spending, House campaigns in moderate districts cost roughly twice as much on average in 2010 as their counterparts in more liberal territory.<sup>6</sup>

Among the 100 Blue Dog and New Democratic seats up for grabs in 2010,<sup>7</sup> Democratic candidates and their general election opponents spent an average of \$3.3 million. This includes an average of \$2.11 million spent by Democratic candidates and an average of \$1.19 million spent by opponents. (See Appendices A and B for detailed data on these races.)

In contrast, the 72 contests in Progressive Caucus districts cost candidates an average of \$1.61 million per district, including average expenditures by Democrats of \$1.28 million per district and \$336,237 by Republicans.

**House candidate expenditures in 2010—Moderate versus liberal districts**

	Average Democratic disbursements	Average Republican disbursements	Average total disbursements
<b>Moderate districts</b>	\$2,106,353	\$1,190,016	\$3,296,369
<b>Liberal districts</b>	\$1,276,366	\$336,237	\$1,612,603
<b>Difference (“Centrist premium”)</b>	<b>\$829,987</b>	<b>\$853,779</b>	<b>\$1,683,766</b>

*Source: PPI analysis of data from the Federal Election Commission*

While a few highly competitive (and very expensive) races skewed these averages slightly, the impact of these hyper-pricey campaigns was actually more pronounced in liberal districts. While median total candidate spending was \$3.07 million in moderate districts (versus an average of \$3.3 million), median spending in liberal districts was \$1.17 million (versus an average of \$1.61 million).

In fact, total candidate spending was under \$1 million in 29 of the 72 liberal districts (compared to just four of the moderate district campaigns). Much of this was due to the fact that few serious Republican challengers surfaced in liberal districts. In 39 of the liberal district races—or nearly half—Republican challengers spent under \$100,000. Seventeen of these challengers reported spending zero.

**Top 10 most expensive races by candidate disbursements**  
**Moderate districts**

	District	Candidates (winners in bold)	Total Disbursements
<b>1.</b>	FL-22	Ron Klein (D) <b>Allen West (R)</b>	\$11,839,384
<b>2.</b>	NY-20	Scott Murphy (D) <b>Chris Gibson (R)</b>	\$7,305,964
<b>3.</b>	VA-02	Glenn Nye (D) <b>Edward Rigell (R)</b>	\$6,874,406
<b>4.</b>	PA-08	Patrick Murphy (D) <b>Michael Fitzpatrick (R)</b>	\$6,349,977
<b>5.</b>	CO-04	Betsy Markey (D) <b>Cory Gardner (R)</b>	\$6,020,298

6.	ND-AL	Earl Pomeroy (D) <b>Rick Berg (R)</b>	\$5,785,493
7.	CT-04	<b>Jim Himes (D)</b> Dan DeBicella (R)	\$5,660,543
8.	AZ-08	<b>Gabby Giffords (D)</b> Jesse Kelly (R)	\$5,541,959
9.	TN-08	Roy Herron (D)* <b>Stephen Fincher (R)</b>	\$5,434,504
10.	IL-14	Bill Foster (D) <b>Randy Hultgren (R)</b>	\$5,416,317

\*Open seat formerly held by Rep. John Tanner

### Top 10 most expensive races by candidate disbursements Liberal districts

	District	Candidates (winners in bold)	Total Disbursements
1.	FL-08	Alan Grayson (D) <b>Daniel Webster (R)</b>	\$7,330,047
2.	MA-04	<b>Barney Frank (D)</b> Sean Bielat (R)	\$6,749,221
3.	VA-05	Tom Perriello (D) <b>Robert Hurt (R)</b>	\$6,324,956
4.	NY-19	John Hall (D) <b>Nan Hayworth (R)</b>	\$4,422,260
5.	NY-15	<b>Charles Rangel (D)</b> Michel Faulkner (R)	\$4,359,647
6.	NY-14	<b>Carolyn Maloney (D)</b> David Brumberg (R)	\$3,747,958
7.	NJ-06	<b>Frank Pallone (D)</b> Anna Little (R)	\$3,052,232
8.	OH-09	<b>Marcy Kaptur (D)</b> Richard Iott (R)	\$3,017,648
9.	IL-17	Phil Hare (D) <b>Bobby Schilling (R)</b>	\$2,876,809
10.	RI-01	<b>David Cicilline (D)**</b> John Loughlin (R)	\$2,828,864

\*\*Open seat formerly held by Rep. Patrick Kennedy

## 2. Outside spending: Another thumb on the scales

Moderate district campaigns were much more likely than liberal districts in 2010 to draw significant outside spending (i.e. “independent expenditures”) from both party campaign committees and outside groups such as Americans for Limited Government, the 60 Plus Association and other conservative organizations.

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On average, outside spending effectively added \$1.46 million per district to these campaigns. Among liberal districts, on the other hand, outside spending per district averaged just \$257,400. (See Appendix B for details.)

	Average total outside spending	Average total candidate disbursements	Average grand total (candidate plus outside spending)
<b>Moderate districts</b>	\$1,464,637	\$3,296,369	\$4,761,005
<b>Liberal districts</b>	\$257,399	\$1,612,603	\$1,870,002

Source: PPI analyses of data from the Center for Responsive Politics

Because much of this outside spending was hostile to Democrats, its effect in some campaigns was to provide Republican opponents with a significant boost.

In the race for New York’s 25th District, for example, outside expenditures effectively doubled the spending on behalf of Republican challenger Ann Marie Buerkle. While the candidate herself spent \$760,000 on the race, outside groups spent \$561,561 in opposition to the Democratic incumbent Rep. Dan Maffei and an additional \$123,766 in support of Buerkle.<sup>8</sup> Buerkle now holds the seat.

Future analysis will examine in greater detail the impact of outside spending on moderate district campaigns, particularly given the Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, which holds that limits on outside spending in campaigns by corporations and unions are unconstitutional.

According to the Center for Responsive Politics, outside spending increased dramatically in 2010 in the wake of this decision, particularly by conservative groups.<sup>9</sup> In 2008, outside conservative groups spent about \$120 million on campaigns; in 2010, spending by these organizations, led by the likes of the American Action Network and American Crossroads, approached the \$200 million mark.

As the following chart shows, outside money nearly tripled the total spending in the moderate districts.

### Top 10 most expensive races in moderate districts (candidate disbursements plus outside spending)

		Candidates (winners in bold)	Total Candidate Disbursements	Total outside spending (for/against both candidates)	Grand total (candidate disbursements plus outside spending)
1.	MI-07	Mark Schauer (D) <b>Timothy Walberg (R)</b>	\$4,925,510	\$8,898,928	\$13,824,438
2.	OH-16	John Bocchieri (D) <b>Jim Renacci (R)</b>	\$4,506,117	\$7,335,351	\$11,841,468
3.	AZ-05	Harry Mitchell (D) <b>David Schweikert (R)</b>	\$4,029,764	\$4,359,354	\$8,389,118
4.	WA-3	Denny Heck (Baird) (D)* <b>Jaime Herrera Beutler (R)</b>	\$3,500,647	\$4,173,483	\$7,674,130
5.	MD-01	Frank M. Kratovil, Jr. <b>Andy Harris (R)</b>	\$5,005,292	\$4,162,224	\$9,167,516
6.	MI-09	<b>Gary Peters (D)</b> Andrew Raczkowski (R)	\$5,233,350	\$4,071,808	\$9,305,158
7.	NM-01	<b>Martin Heinrich (D)</b> Jon Barela (R)	\$4,191,786	\$4,053,409	\$8,245,195
8.	CO-03	John Salazar <b>Scott Tipton (R)</b>	\$3,682,394	\$4,025,964	\$7,708,358
9.	VA-11	<b>Gerry Connolly (D)</b> Keith Fimian (R)	\$5,336,193	\$3,983,265	\$9,319,458
10.	CO-07	<b>Ed Perlmutter (D)</b> Ryan Frazier (R)	\$4,715,536	\$3,763,852	\$8,479,388

\*Open seat; former member in parentheses

Source: Center for Responsive Politics

### 3. “Safe” moderates: Still not safe from the centrist premium

One question the preceding data may raise in some minds is whether the additional fundraising burden moderates must bear is the price of *competition*, not moderation. Because moderate seats are inherently more competitive, they should logically be more expensive.

While this is no doubt true, the data also show that “safe” moderate members—veteran incumbents who won re-election in 2010 with a comfortable margin of at least 4 percentage-points—still faced more expensive campaigns than their liberal counterparts who won with similar margins.

While the premium for these moderate seats was lower than it was for either moderate races as a whole or races in which a moderate Democratic

candidate won with a slimmer margin or lost,<sup>10</sup> total candidate spending in “safe” moderate seats still averaged \$2.3 million—versus \$1.45 million in liberal districts with comparable margins of victory. The following chart compares candidate spending in moderate and liberal districts.

**Comparison of moderate versus liberal campaign disbursements in “safe” Democratic districts (excludes outside spending)**  
(Moderate districts highlighted in purple)

District	Candidate	Disbursements	Total Disbursements (including challenger)	Margin of win
IA-03	Leonard Boswell	\$1,556,855	\$2,238,725	4.0%
AZ-07	Raúl Grijalva	\$1,463,648	\$2,141,106	4.3%
UT-02	Jim Matheson	\$2,465,527	\$2,851,994	4.8%
NY-22	Maurice Hinchey	\$1,151,834	\$1,758,216	4.8%
IA-02	David Loebsack	\$1,225,837	\$2,417,705	5.0%
OR-05	Kurt Schrader	\$1,914,023	\$3,067,733	5.6%
RI-01	David Cicilline (Kennedy)*	\$2,015,847	\$2,828,864	6.0%
CT-04	Jim Himes	\$3,698,702	\$5,660,543	6.2%
NJ-12	Rush Holt	\$2,958,135	\$5,061,706	6.8%
NY-04	Carolyn McCarthy	\$1,726,969.27	\$2,030,118	7.4%
NC-07	Mike McIntyre	\$1,886,262	\$3,111,108	7.6%
CT-05	Christopher Murphy	\$3,079,678	\$4,388,877	8.6%
NC-11	Heath Shuler	\$2,212,737	\$3,010,382	8.6%
MO-05	Emanuel Cleaver	\$607,575	\$871,402	8.7%
OH-10	Dennis Kucinich	\$946,086	\$1,357,894	8.7%
OR-04	Peter DeFazio	\$1,484,241	\$2,800,269	8.9%
WA-09	Adam Smith	\$1,355,512	\$1,598,722	9.2%
ME-02	Mike Michaud	\$1,244,848	\$1,774,631	10.2%
MA-04	Barney Frank	\$4,305,447	\$6,749,221	10.5%
NJ-06	Frank Pallone	\$2,573,747	\$3,052,232	10.9%
CO-07	Ed Perlmutter	\$2,943,593	\$4,715,536	11.0%
CA-47	Loretta Sánchez	\$2,303,722	\$3,699,285	11.1%
PA-17	Tim Holden	\$1,864,924	\$2,239,650	11.2%
PA-13	Allyson Schwartz	\$3,481,643	\$4,414,121	12.8%
OR-01	David Wu	\$1,824,957	\$2,837,825	12.9%
OK-02	Dan Boren	\$1,833,029	\$1,937,799	13.0%
GA-12	John Barrow	\$1,905,568	\$2,152,360	13.4%
ME-01	Chellie Pingree	\$1,290,522	\$1,784,556	13.6%
NM-03	Ben Ray Lujan	\$1,169,389	\$1,515,467	13.6%
MA-06	John Tierney	\$1,996,269	\$2,822,708	13.8%
NY-02	Steve Israel	\$3,941,248	\$4,345,359	14.0%
TN-05	Jim Cooper	\$1,173,955	\$1,529,234	14.1%
TX-28	Henry Cuellar	\$1,152,109	\$1,296,988	14.1%
WA-01	Jay Inslee	\$1,270,456	\$1,610,226	15.0%
CA-18	Dennis Cardoza	\$1,420,230	\$2,349,892	15.2%
AR-04	Mike Ross	\$3,012,727	\$3,608,582	17.3%
MA-03	James McGovern	\$2,145,195	\$2,254,000	17.3%
MN-07	Collin Peterson	\$1,269,568	\$1,655,938	17.6%

<b>OH-09</b>	Marcy Kaptur	\$1,041,035	\$3,017,648	18.0%
<b>CA-51</b>	Bob Filner	\$1,006,288	\$1,367,301	19.4%
<b>CA-23</b>	<b>Lois Capps</b>	\$991,079	\$1,598,378	19.5%
<b>CT-02</b>	<b>Joe Courtney</b>	\$2,171,904	\$2,441,572	21.2%
<b>NY-27</b>	<b>Brian Higgins</b>	\$1,350,836	\$1,500,571	21.6%
<b>FL-20</b>	<b>Debbie Wasserman Schultz</b>	\$2,018,504	\$2,392,622	22.1%
<b>WI-02</b>	Tammy Baldwin	\$1,084,311	\$1,214,171	23.4%
<b>CA-36</b>	<b>Jane Harman</b>	\$1,301,448	\$1,469,531	24.5%
<b>MS-02</b>	Bennie Thompson	\$1,343,456	\$1,384,303	24.5%
<b>MA-01</b>	John Olver	\$908,834	\$962,182	25.3%
<b>NV-01</b>	<b>Shelley Berkley</b>	\$1,992,403	\$2,064,885	26.4%
<b>CA-53</b>	<b>Susan Davis</b>	\$718,077	\$861,416	27.7%
<b>FL-03</b>	Corinne Brown	\$1,003,553	\$1,157,103	28.5%
<b>TX-20</b>	<b>Charles Gonzalez</b>	\$970,471	\$1,133,150	29.1%
<b>NC-12</b>	Mel Watt	\$591,204	\$591,204	29.6%
<b>CA-43</b>	<b>Joe Baca</b>	\$697,007	\$721,776	29.6%
<b>NY-28</b>	Louise Slaughter	\$843,659.09	\$863,957	30.4%
<b>CA-01</b>	<b>Mike Thompson</b>	\$1,901,460	\$2,010,737	31.0%
<b>LA-02</b>	<b>Cedric Richmond</b>	\$1,134,506	\$3,240,531	31.1%
<b>CA-39</b>	Linda Sanchez	\$741,142	\$791,707	31.3%
<b>CT-03</b>	Rosa DeLauro	\$1,373,230	\$1,559,348	31.4%
<b>MA-07</b>	Ed Markey	\$1,291,210	\$1,335,931	31.8%
<b>VT-00</b>	Peter Welch	\$698,547	\$729,826	32.6%
<b>CA-29</b>	<b>Adam Schiff</b>	\$1,222,795	\$1,894,023	33.2%
<b>CA-07</b>	George Miller	\$1,008,838	\$1,139,353	34.8%
<b>IL-09</b>	Jan Schakowsky	\$1,633,678	\$2,336,950	34.9%
<b>CA-15</b>	Michael Honda	\$850,364	\$917,231	35.0%
<b>CA-06</b>	Lynn Woolsey	\$898,627	\$1,050,470	35.1%
<b>CA-17</b>	Sam Farr	\$718,569	\$895,323	35.9%
<b>AZ-04</b>	Ed Pastor	\$1,092,555	\$1,175,413	38.1%
<b>CO-01</b>	<b>Diana DeGette</b>	\$822,289	\$1,019,282	38.6%
<b>WI-04</b>	Gwen Moore	\$623,775	\$669,470	39.5%
<b>GA-13</b>	<b>David Scott</b>	\$811,744	\$954,958	41.0%
<b>CA-32</b>	Judy Chu	\$1,910,357	\$1,910,357	42.2%
<b>TX-18</b>	Sheila Jackson-Lee	\$1,130,371	\$1,386,849	42.9%
<b>CA-13</b>	Pete Stark	\$371,119	\$371,119	43.2%
<b>MN-05</b>	Keith Ellison	\$1,295,839	\$1,385,570	43.6%
<b>AL-07</b>	<b>Terri Sewell (Davis)*</b>	\$1,766,600	\$1,809,291	45.0%
<b>OR-03</b>	Earl Blumenauer	\$1,230,380	\$1,363,899	45.7%
<b>HI-02</b>	Mazie Hirono	\$1,102,377	\$1,133,445	46.9%
<b>GA-05</b>	John Lewis	\$1,115,868	\$1,215,537	47.4%
<b>NY-17</b>	<b>Elliot Engel</b>	\$1,063,388	\$1,196,271	48.6%
<b>TN-09</b>	Steve Cohen	\$843,236	\$1,060,664	48.9%
<b>GA-04</b>	Hank Johnson	\$589,780	\$711,205	49.2%
<b>MO-01</b>	William "Lacy" Clay	\$635,944	\$660,102	49.8%
<b>NY-08</b>	Jerrold Nadler	\$1,509,0812	\$1,552,592	50.0%
<b>MD-07</b>	Elijah Cummings	\$627,515	\$637,885	51.9%
<b>NY-14</b>	Carolyn Maloney	\$3,532,298	\$3,747,958	53.2%
<b>TX-30</b>	Eddie Bernice Johnson	\$572,968	\$1,235,732	54.2%
<b>CA-34</b>	Lucille Roybal-Allard	\$611,209	\$611,209	54.4%
<b>MI-14</b>	John Conyers	\$1,227,587	\$1,245,236	56.8%

In terms of candidate spending, House campaigns in moderate districts cost roughly twice as much on average in 2010 as their counterparts in more liberal territory.

<b>CA-35</b>	Maxine Waters	\$723,305	\$743,675	58.4%
<b>NY-07</b>	<b>Joe Crowley</b>	\$2,100,428	\$2,108,457	60.7%
<b>MI-13</b>	Hansen Clarke (Kilpatrick)*	\$421,510	\$438,365	60.8%
<b>IL-04</b>	Luis Gutierrez	\$378,842	\$378,842	63.9%
<b>IL-01</b>	Bobby Rush	\$555,188	\$555,188	64.2%
<b>OH-11</b>	Marcia Fudge	\$579,778	\$579,778	65.0%
<b>IL-07</b>	Danny Davis	\$864,982	\$864,982	65.2%
<b>WA-07</b>	Jim McDermott	\$568,649	\$568,649	66.0%
<b>IL-02</b>	Jesse Jackson, Jr.	\$1,032,506	\$1,094,788	66.6%
<b>MD-04</b>	Donna Edwards	\$675,839.95	\$681,564	67.2%
<b>CA-31</b>	Xavier Becerra	\$1,699,465	\$1,713,917	68.0%
<b>NY-06</b>	<b>Greg Meeks</b>	\$977,683	\$1,041,926	69.8%
<b>NY-15</b>	Charles Rangel	\$4,139,258	\$4,359,647	69.9%
<b>NJ-10</b>	Donald Payne	\$530,170	\$530,170	72.0%
<b>CA-09</b>	Barbara Lee	\$1,156,304	\$1,156,304	72.2%
<b>CA-33</b>	Karen Bass	\$768,919	\$768,919	72.4%
<b>FL-17</b>	<b>Frederica Wilson (Meek)*</b>	\$401,645	\$510,431	72.6%
<b>Average (moderate districts)</b>		<b>\$1,770,710</b>	<b>\$2,344,480</b>	
<b>Average (liberal districts)</b>		<b>\$1,185,954</b>	<b>\$1,454,463</b>	

Source: PPI analysis of data from the Federal Election Commission.

\* Open seat; retiring member in parentheses

## Conclusion

Without question, 2010 was an anomalous year—not only was it a “wave” election that attracted more spending than usual, it came on the heels of the Supreme Court’s decision in *Citizens United*, which opened the floodgates to outside spending. These two factors no doubt exacerbated the centrist premium.

But by all indications, 2012 promises to be at least more of the same—in fact, 2010 may turn out to be the “new normal” of campaign politics. And as campaign spending increases, the burden will continue to fall more heavily on moderates.

As noted at the start of this paper, the right answer isn’t to make races less expensive by making them less competitive. In fact, we want more competition, not less.

Thus, the wrong solution would be policies that have the effect of reducing the number of moderate districts. Not only would this exacerbate the problem of political polarization, it would worsen the static nature of incumbency. Congress is already less competitive than it should be. Even though Democrats lost 65 seats in 2010, this amounts to just 15 percent of the House changing hands.

On the other hand, increasing the number of moderate districts could have some beneficial impacts. While it could lead to a greater number of more expensive campaigns, it could also shift the center of gravity in both parties toward the center, where a plurality of American voters are.

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Polarization is perhaps the most destructive force in modern politics today. It contributes to gridlock and lack of progress on some of the most critical issues facing the country. It leads to bitter partisan disputes that disgust the public and diminish faith in the institution of government. It also discourages moderate, common-sense problem-solving in favor of easy political wins.

Campaign finance and the “centrist premium” are just one aspect of the myriad forces contributing to polarization. But if policymakers are to take on the challenge of reducing political polarization and succeed, addressing the centrist premium could be a piece of the solution.

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## Methodology

This analysis sets out to compare campaign expenditures between “moderate” and “liberal” candidates among House Democrats to determine the existence of a “centrist” premium on moderates.

This analysis focused on House Democrats for several reasons: (1) Because of the ideological makeup of the party coalitions, there are many more moderates among House Democrats than among House Republicans; (2) House districts are more ideologically cohesive than entire states; and (3) the House, unlike the Senate, has a variety of self-described coalitions based on ideology.

To avoid independent judgments on whether a particular member is a “moderate” or a “liberal,” this analysis used membership in the New Democratic Coalition or the Blue Dog Coalition as a proxy for “moderate,” and membership in the Progressive Caucus as a proxy for “liberal.” To avoid double counting, four members with joint memberships in the New Democrat Coalition and Progressive Caucus were excluded; a separate analysis of these four members is in Appendix B.

The districts included in this analysis were districts whose representatives were either members of these caucuses in 2010 (the 111th Congress) or districts with open races where a caucus member was retiring. For example, the seat of long-time Progressive Caucus member Carolyn Cheeks Kilpatrick was considered a “Progressive Caucus seat” for purposes of this analysis. Likewise, the seat of now-retired Blue Dog Rep. John Tanner was considered a “Blue Dog seat” for purposes of this analysis.

Total disbursements include only those made by the Democratic and Republican nominees in the general election and exclude any expenditures made by other candidates in primaries. Figures are taken from Federal Election Commission (FEC) data as reported by the FEC for total expenditures during the 2009-2010 campaign cycle. Outside spending figures were taken from the Center for Responsive Politics analyses of independent expenditures reported to the FEC.

## Appendix A 2010 Candidate Disbursements—Moderate Districts

District	Democratic Candidate (winners in bold)	Disbursements	Republican Candidate (winners in bold)	Disbursements	Total Disbursements
AL-02	Bobby Bright	\$1,435,626	<b>Martha Roby</b>	\$1,240,276	\$2,675,902
AL-05	Steve Raby (Griffith)*	\$777,837	<b>Mo Brooks</b>	\$910,790	\$1,688,627
AL-07	<b>Terri Sewell (Davis)*</b>	\$1,766,600	Donald Chamberlain	\$42,691	\$1,809,291
AR-01	Chad Causey (Berry)*	\$1,613,863	<b>Eric Crawford</b>	\$1,249,963	\$2,863,826
AR-02	Joyce Elliott (Snyder)*	\$1,019,386	<b>John Griffin</b>	\$1,774,143	\$2,793,529
AR-04	<b>Mike Ross</b>	\$3,012,727	Beth Anne Rankin	\$595,855	\$3,608,582
AZ-05	Harry Mitchell	\$2,308,400	<b>David Schweikert</b>	\$1,721,364	\$4,029,764
AZ-08	<b>Gabrielle Giffords</b>	\$3,888,406	Jesse Kelly	\$1,653,553	\$5,541,959
CA-01	<b>Mike Thompson</b>	\$1,901,460	Loren Hanks	\$109,277	\$2,010,737
CA-18	<b>Dennis Cardoza</b>	\$1,420,230	Michael Berryhill	\$929,662	\$2,349,892
CA-20	<b>Jim Costa</b>	\$2,126,986	James Vidak	\$894,969	\$3,021,955
CA-23	<b>Lois Capps</b>	\$991,079	Thomas Watson	\$607,299	\$1,598,378
CA-29	<b>Adam Schiff</b>	\$1,222,795	John Colbert	\$671,228	\$1,894,023
CA-36	<b>Jane Harman</b>	\$1,301,448	Mattie Fein	\$168,083	\$1,469,531
CA-43	<b>Joe Baca</b>	\$697,007	Scott Folkens	\$24,769	\$721,776
CA-47	<b>Loretta Sánchez</b>	\$2,303,722	Van Tran	\$1,395,563	\$3,699,285
CA-53	<b>Susan Davis</b>	\$718,077	Michael Crimmins	\$143,339	\$861,416
CO-01	<b>Diana Degette</b>	\$822,289	Michael Fallon	\$196,993	\$1,019,282
CO-03	John Salazar	\$2,474,562	<b>Scott Tipton</b>	\$1,207,832	\$3,682,394
CO-04	Betsy Markey	\$3,612,696	<b>Cory Gardner</b>	\$2,407,602	\$6,020,298
CO-07	<b>Ed Perlmutter</b>	\$2,943,593	Ryan Frazier	\$1,771,943	\$4,715,536
CT-02	<b>Joe Courtney</b>	\$2,171,904	Janet Peckinpaugh	\$269,668	\$2,441,572
CT-04	<b>Jim Himes</b>	\$3,698,702	Dan Debicella	\$1,961,841	\$5,660,543
CT-05	<b>Christopher Murphy</b>	\$3,079,678	Sam Caligiuri	\$1,309,199	\$4,388,877
FL-02	Allen Boyd	\$3,814,064	<b>William Southerland II</b>	\$1,290,929	\$5,104,993
FL-17	<b>Frederica Wilson (Meek)*</b>	\$401,645	Roderick Vereen	\$108,786	\$510,431
FL-20	<b>Debbie Wasserman Schultz</b>	\$2,018,504	Karen Harrington	\$374,118	\$2,392,622
FL-22	Ron Klein	\$5,319,671	<b>Allen West</b>	\$6,519,713	\$11,839,384
FL-24	Suzanne Kosmas	\$2,561,831	<b>Sandra Adams</b>	\$1,266,664	\$3,828,495
GA-02	<b>Sanford Bishop</b>	\$1,776,500	Mike Keown	\$1,154,740	\$2,931,240

<b>GA-12</b>	<b>John Barrow</b>	\$1,905,568	Raymond McKinney	\$246,792	\$2,152,360
<b>GA-13</b>	<b>David Scott</b>	\$811,744	Mike Crane	\$143,214	\$954,958
<b>GA-08</b>	Jim Marshall	\$1,820,049	<b>James Scott</b>	\$1,024,631	\$2,844,680
<b>IA-03</b>	<b>Leonard Boswell</b>	\$1,556,855	Brad Zaun	\$681,870	\$2,238,725
<b>ID-01</b>	Walt Minnick	\$2,534,139	<b>Raul Labrador</b>	\$771,293	\$3,305,432
<b>IL-11</b>	Debbie Halvorson	\$2,509,211	<b>Adam Kinzinger</b>	\$1,827,192	\$4,336,403
<b>IL-14</b>	Bill Foster	\$3,843,739	<b>Randy Hultgren</b>	\$1,572,578	\$5,416,317
<b>IL-08</b>	Melissa Bean	\$2,451,348	<b>Joe Walsh</b>	\$624,903	\$3,076,251
<b>IN-08</b>	Van Haaften, William Trent (Ellsworth)*	\$762,359	<b>Larry Bucshon</b>	\$1,079,952	\$1,842,311
<b>IN-09</b>	Baron Hill	\$2,172,570	<b>Todd Young</b>	\$1,950,159	\$4,122,729
<b>IN-02</b>	<b>Joe Donnelly</b>	\$1,988,563	Jackie Walorski (Swihart)	\$1,316,805	\$3,305,368
<b>KS-03</b>	Moore, Stephene Ann (Moore)*	\$965,853	<b>Kevin Yoder</b>	\$1,946,871	\$2,912,724
<b>KY-06</b>	<b>Ben Chandler</b>	\$2,665,906	<b>Andy Barr</b>	\$1,554,522	\$4,220,428
<b>LA-02</b>	<b>Cedric Richmond</b>	\$1,134,506	Joseph Cao	\$2,106,025	\$3,240,531
<b>LA-03</b>	Sangisetty, Ravi (Melancon)*	\$836,316	<b>Jeffrey Landry</b>	\$1,421,461	\$2,257,777
<b>MD-01</b>	Frank M. Kratovil, Jr.	\$2,622,108	<b>Andrew Harris</b>	\$2,383,184	\$5,005,292
<b>ME-02</b>	<b>Mike Michaud</b>	\$1,244,848	Jason Levesque	\$529,783	\$1,774,631
<b>MI-07</b>	Mark Schauer	\$3,278,131	<b>Tim Walberg</b>	\$1,647,379	\$4,925,510
<b>MI-09</b>	<b>Gary Peters</b>	\$3,237,452	Andy Raczowski	\$1,995,898	\$5,233,350
<b>MN-07</b>	<b>Collin Peterson</b>	\$1,269,568	Vidar Byberg	\$386,370	\$1,655,938
<b>MO-03</b>	<b>Russ Carnahan</b>	\$2,276,619	Edward Martin	\$1,514,663	\$3,791,282
<b>MS-01</b>	Travis W. Childers	\$1,846,376	<b>Patrick Nunnelee</b>	\$1,617,120	\$3,463,496
<b>MS-04</b>	Gene Taylor	\$968,943	<b>Steven Palazzo</b>	\$1,058,476	\$2,027,419
<b>NC-07</b>	<b>Mike McIntyre</b>	\$1,886,262	Ilario Pantano	\$1,224,846	\$3,111,108
<b>NC-11</b>	<b>Heath Shuler</b>	\$2,212,737	Jeffery Miller	\$797,645	\$3,010,382
<b>NC-02</b>	Bob Etheridge	\$1,904,688	<b>Renee Ellmers</b>	\$908,108	\$2,812,796
<b>ND-AL</b>	Earl Pomeroy	\$3,690,646	<b>Rick Berg</b>	\$2,094,847	\$5,785,493
<b>NJ-03</b>	John Adler	\$3,285,638	<b>Jon Runyan</b>	\$1,618,073	\$4,903,711
<b>NJ-12</b>	<b>Rush Holt</b>	\$2,958,135	Scott Sippelle	\$2,103,571	\$5,061,706
<b>NM-01</b>	<b>Martin Heinrich</b>	\$2,770,752	Jon Barea	\$1,421,034	\$4,191,786
<b>NV-01</b>	<b>Shelley Berkley</b>	\$1,992,403	Kenneth Wegner	\$72,482	\$2,064,885
<b>NY-02</b>	<b>Steve Israel</b>	\$3,941,248	John Gomez	\$404,111	\$4,345,359
<b>NY-04</b>	<b>Carolyn McCarthy</b>	\$1,726,969	Francis Becker	\$303,149	\$2,030,118
<b>NY-06</b>	<b>Greg Meeks</b>	\$977,683	Asher Taub	\$64,243	\$1,041,926
<b>NY-07</b>	<b>Joe Crowley</b>	\$2,100,428	Kenneth Reynolds	\$8,029	\$2,108,457
<b>NY-13</b>	Michael McMahon	\$2,910,115	<b>Michael Grimm</b>	\$1,249,139	\$4,159,254
<b>NY-17</b>	<b>Elliot Engel</b>	\$1,063,388	Anthony Mele	\$132,883	\$1,196,271
<b>NY-20</b>	Scott Murphy	\$5,571,745	<b>Chris Gibson</b>	\$1,734,219	\$7,305,964
<b>NY-24</b>	Mike Arcuri	\$1,886,555	<b>Richard Hanna</b>	\$1,260,258	\$3,146,813

<b>NY-25</b>	Dan Maffei	\$3,114,128	<b>Ann Marie Buerkle</b>	\$759,777	\$3,873,905
<b>NY-27</b>	<b>Brian Higgins</b>	\$1,350,836	Leonard Roberto	\$149,735	\$1,500,571
<b>OH-01</b>	Steve Driehaus	\$1,971,653	<b>Steve Chabot</b>	\$2,039,474	\$4,011,127
<b>OH-06</b>	Charlie Wilson	\$1,236,213	<b>Bill Johnson</b>	\$668,670	\$1,904,883
<b>OH-16</b>	John Boccieri	\$2,102,854	<b>James Renacci</b>	\$2,403,263	\$4,506,117
<b>OH-18</b>	Zachary Space	\$2,931,978	<b>Roberts Gibbs</b>	\$1,090,872	\$4,022,850
<b>OK-02</b>	<b>Dan Boren</b>	\$1,833,029	Charles Thompson	\$104,770	\$1,937,799
<b>OR-01</b>	<b>David Wu</b>	\$1,824,957	Robert Cornilles	\$1,012,868	\$2,837,825
<b>OR-05</b>	<b>Kurt Schrader</b>	\$1,914,023	Lorentz Bruun	\$1,153,710	\$3,067,733
<b>PA-03</b>	Kathy Dahlkemper	\$2,024,801	<b>George Kelly</b>	\$1,306,960	\$3,331,761
<b>PA-04</b>	<b>Jason Altmire</b>	\$2,507,513	Keith Rothfus	\$1,267,139	\$3,774,652
<b>PA-08</b>	Patrick Murphy	\$4,287,244	<b>Michael Fitzpatrick</b>	\$2,062,733	\$6,349,977
<b>PA-07</b>	Bryan Lentz (Sestak)*	\$1,629,783	<b>Patrick Meehan</b>	\$2,986,713	\$4,616,496
<b>PA-10</b>	Chris Carney	\$1,657,586	<b>Thomas Marino</b>	\$705,071	\$2,362,657
<b>PA-13</b>	<b>Allyson Schwartz</b>	\$3,481,643	Carson Adcock	\$932,478	\$4,414,121
<b>PA-17</b>	<b>Tim Holden</b>	\$1,864,924	David Argall	\$374,726	\$2,239,650
<b>SD-AL</b>	Stephanie Herseht Sandlin	\$2,180,569	<b>Kristi Noem</b>	\$2,284,548	\$4,465,117
<b>TN-04</b>	Lincoln Davis	\$1,411,746	<b>Scott Desjarlais</b>	\$957,680	\$2,369,426
<b>TN-05</b>	<b>Jim Cooper</b>	\$1,173,955	David Hall	\$355,279	\$1,529,234
<b>TN-06</b>	Brett Carter (Gordon)*	\$204,332	<b>Diane Black</b>	\$2,328,658	\$2,532,990
<b>TN-08</b>	Roy Herron (Tanner)*	\$2,569,502	<b>Steve Fincher</b>	\$2,865,002	\$5,434,504
<b>TX-20</b>	<b>Charles Gonzalez</b>	\$970,471	Clayton Trotter	\$162,679	\$1,133,150
<b>TX-28</b>	<b>Henry Cuellar</b>	\$1,152,109	Bryan Underwood	\$144,879	\$1,296,988
<b>UT-02</b>	<b>Jim Matheson</b>	\$2,465,527	Morgan Philpot	\$386,467	\$2,851,994
<b>VA-02</b>	Glenn Nye	\$2,274,753	<b>Edward Rigell</b>	\$4,599,653	\$6,874,406
<b>VA-11</b>	<b>Gerry Connolly</b>	\$2,466,046	Keith Fimian	\$2,870,147	\$5,336,193
<b>WA-01</b>	<b>Jay Inslee</b>	\$1,270,456	James Watkins	\$339,770	\$1,610,226
<b>WA-02</b>	<b>Rick Larsen</b>	\$2,080,326	John Koster	\$1,110,191	\$3,190,517
<b>WA-03</b>	Denny Heck (Baird)*	\$1,965,997	<b>Jaime Herrera</b>	\$1,534,650	\$3,500,647
<b>WA-09</b>	<b>Adam Smith</b>	\$1,355,512	Richard Muri	\$243,210	\$1,598,722
<b>WI-03</b>	<b>Ron Kind</b>	\$2,577,371	Dan Kapanke	\$1,029,166	\$3,606,537
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>\$2,106,353</b>		<b>\$1,190,016</b>	<b>\$3,296,369</b>
<b>MEDIAN</b>		<b>\$1,980,108</b>		<b>\$1,100,531</b>	<b>\$3,071,992</b>

\*Open seat; former member in parentheses

## 2010 Candidate Disbursements—Liberal Districts

District	Democratic Candidate (winners in bold)	Disbursements	Republican Candidate (winners in bold)	Disbursements	Total Disbursements
AZ-04	<b>Ed Pastor</b>	\$1,092,555	Janet Contreras	\$82,858	\$1,175,413
AZ-07	<b>Raúl Grijalva</b>	\$1,463,648	Ruth McClung	\$677,458	\$2,141,106
CA-06	<b>Lynn Woolsey</b>	\$898,627	James Judd	\$151,843	\$1,050,470
CA-07	<b>George Miller</b>	\$1,008,838	Richard Tubbs	\$130,515	\$1,139,353
CA-09	<b>Barbara Lee</b>	\$1,156,304	Gerald Hashimoto	\$0	\$1,156,304
CA-13	<b>Pete Stark</b>	\$371,119	Forest Baker	\$0	\$371,119
CA-15	<b>Michael Honda</b>	\$850,364	Scott Kirkland	\$66,867	\$917,231
CA-17	<b>Sam Farr</b>	\$718,569	Jeff Taylor	\$176,754	\$895,323
CA-31	<b>Xavier Becerra</b>	\$1,699,465	Stephen Smith	\$14,452	\$1,713,917
CA-32	<b>Judy Chu</b>	\$1,910,357	Edward Schmerling	\$0	\$1,910,357
CA-33	<b>Karen Bass</b>	\$768,919	James Andion	\$0	\$768,919
CA-34	<b>Lucille Roybal-Allard</b>	\$611,209	Wayne Miller	\$0	\$611,209
CA-35	<b>Maxine Waters</b>	\$723,305	Bruce Brown	\$20,370	\$743,675
CA-39	<b>Linda Sanchez</b>	\$741,142	Larry Andre	\$50,565	\$791,707
CA-51	<b>Bob Filner</b>	\$1,006,288	Nicholas Popaditch	\$361,013	\$1,367,301
CT-03	<b>Rosa DeLauro</b>	\$1,373,230	Jerry Labriola	\$186,118	\$1,559,348
FL-03	<b>Corinne Brown</b>	\$1,003,553	Michael Yost	\$153,550	\$1,157,103
FL-08	Alan Grayson	\$5,573,272	<b>Webster, Daniel</b>	\$1,756,775	\$7,330,047
GA-04	<b>Hank Johnson</b>	\$589,780	Lisbeth Carter	\$121,425	\$711,205
GA-05	<b>John Lewis</b>	\$1,115,868	Samuel Little	\$99,669	\$1,215,537
HI-02	<b>Mazie Hirono</b>	\$1,102,377	John Willoughby	\$31,068	\$1,133,445
IA-02	<b>David Loebsack</b>	\$1,225,837	Mariannette Miller-Meeks,	\$1,191,868	\$2,417,705
IL-01	<b>Bobby Rush</b>	\$555,188	Raymond Wardingley	\$0	\$555,188
IL-02	<b>Jesse Jackson, Jr.</b>	\$1,032,506	Isaac Hayes	\$62,282	\$1,094,788
IL-04	<b>Luis Gutierrez</b>	\$378,842	Israel Vasquez	\$0	\$378,842
IL-07	<b>Danny Davis</b>	\$864,982	Mark Weiman	\$0	\$864,982
IL-09	<b>Jan Schakowsky</b>	\$1,633,678	Joel Pollak	\$703,272	\$2,336,950
IL-17	Phil Hare	\$1,759,078	<b>Bobby Schilling</b>	\$1,117,731	\$2,876,809
MA-01	<b>John Olver</b>	\$908,834	William Gunn	\$53,348	\$962,182
MA-03	<b>James McGovern</b>	\$2,145,195	Martin Lamb	\$108,805	\$2,254,000
MA-04	<b>Barney Frank</b>	\$4,305,447	Sean Bielat	\$2,443,774	\$6,749,221
MA-06	<b>John Tierney</b>	\$1,996,269	William Hudak	\$826,439	\$2,822,708
MA-07	<b>Ed Markey</b>	\$1,291,210	Gerry Dembrowski	\$44,721	\$1,335,931
MA-08	<b>Michael Capuano</b>	\$1,939,043	None	\$0	\$1,939,043
MD-04	<b>Donna Edwards</b>	\$675,840	Robert Broadus	\$5,724	\$681,564
MD-07	<b>Elijah Cummings</b>	\$627,515	Frank Mirabile	\$10,370	\$637,885

ME-01	<b>Chellie Pingree</b>	\$1,290,522	Dean Scontras	\$494,034	\$1,784,556
MI-13	<b>Hansen Clarke (Kilpatrick)*</b>	\$421,510	John Hauler	\$16,855	\$438,365
MI-14	<b>John Conyers</b>	\$1,227,587	Donald Ukrainec	\$17,649	\$1,245,236
MN-05	<b>Keith Ellison</b>	\$1,295,839	Joel Demos	\$89,731	\$1,385,570
MO-01	<b>William “Lacy” Clay</b>	\$635,944	Robyn Hamlin	\$24,158	\$660,102
MO-05	<b>Emanuel Cleaver</b>	\$607,575	Jacob Turk	\$263,827	\$871,402
MS-02	<b>Bennie Thompson</b>	\$1,343,456	William Marcy	\$40,847	\$1,384,303
NC-12	<b>Mel Watt</b>	\$591,204	Greg Dority	\$0	\$591,204
NJ-06	<b>Frank Pallone</b>	\$2,573,747	Anna Little	\$478,485	\$3,052,232
NJ-10	<b>Donald Payne</b>	\$530,170	Michael Alonso	\$0	\$530,170
NM-03	<b>Ben Ray Lujan</b>	\$1,169,389	Thomas Mullins	\$346,078	\$1,515,467
NY-08	<b>Jerrold Nadler</b>	\$1,509,082	Susan Kone	\$43,510	\$1,552,592
NY-11	<b>Yvette Clarke</b>	\$714,585	Hugh Carr	\$0	\$714,585
NY-12	<b>Nydia Velazquez</b>	\$690,875	Alice Gaffney	\$0	\$690,875
NY-14	<b>Carolyn Maloney</b>	\$3,532,298	David Brumberg	\$215,660	\$3,747,958
NY-15	<b>Charles Rangel</b>	\$4,139,256	Michel Faulkner	\$220,389	\$4,359,647
NY-16	<b>Jose Serrano</b>	\$385,796	Frank Della Valle	\$0	\$385,796
NY-19	John Hall	\$2,292,623	<b>Nan Hayworth</b>	\$2,129,637	\$4,422,260
NY-22	<b>Maurice Hinchey</b>	\$1,151,834	George Phillips	\$606,382	\$1,758,216
NY-28	<b>Louise Slaughter</b>	\$843,659	Jill Rowland	\$20,298	\$863,957
OH-09	<b>Marcy Kaptur</b>	\$1,041,035	Richard Iott	\$1,976,613	\$3,017,648
OH-10	<b>Dennis Kucinich</b>	\$946,086	Peter Corrigan	\$411,808	\$1,357,894
OH-11	<b>Marcia Fudge</b>	\$579,778	Thomas Pekarek	\$0	\$579,778
OR-03	<b>Earl Blumenauer</b>	\$1,230,380	Delia Lopez	\$133,519	\$1,363,899
OR-04	<b>Peter DeFazio</b>	\$1,484,241	Arthur Robinson	\$1,316,028	\$2,800,269
PA-01	<b>Robert Brady</b>	\$747,603	None	\$0	\$747,603
PA-02	<b>Chaka Fattah</b>	\$483,674	Rick Hellberg	\$15,099	\$498,773
RI-01	<b>David Cicilline (Kennedy)*</b>	\$2,015,847	John Loughlin	\$813,017	\$2,828,864
TN-09	<b>Steve Cohen</b>	\$843,236	Charlotte Bergmann	\$217,428	\$1,060,664
TX-18	<b>Sheila Jackson-Lee</b>	\$1,130,371	John Faulk	\$256,478	\$1,386,849
TX-30	<b>Eddie Bernice Johnson</b>	\$572,968	Stephen Broden	\$662,764	\$1,235,732
VA-05	Tom Perriello	\$3,782,680	<b>Robert Hurt</b>	\$2,542,276	\$6,324,956
VT-00	<b>Peter Welch</b>	\$698,547	Paul Beaudry	\$31,279	\$729,826
WA-07	<b>Jim McDermott</b>	\$568,649	Bob Jeffers-Schroder (Independent)	\$0	\$568,649
WI-02	<b>Tammy Baldwin</b>	\$1,084,311	Chad Lee	\$129,860	\$1,214,171
WI-04	<b>Gwen Moore</b>	\$623,775	Daniel Sebring	\$45,695	\$669,470
AVERAGE		<b>\$1,276,366</b>		<b>\$336,237</b>	<b>\$1,612,603</b>
MEDIAN		<b>\$1,020,672</b>		<b>\$74,863</b>	<b>\$1,166,258</b>

*\*Open seat; former member in parentheses*

## Appendix B

### 2010 Outside Spending—Moderate Districts

District	Democratic Candidate (winners in bold)	Total Disbursements (Democrat and Republican)	Outside spending (for/against Democrat)	Outside spending (for/against Republican)	Total outside spending	Grand total: disbursements plus outside spending
AL-02	Bobby Bright	\$2,675,902	\$1,876,415	\$1,433,718	\$3,310,133	\$5,986,035
AL-05	Steve Raby (Griffith)*	\$1,688,627	\$8,877	\$3,210	\$12,087	\$1,700,714
AL-07	<b>Terri Sewell (Davis)*</b>	\$1,809,291	\$137,827	\$0	\$137,827	\$1,947,118
AR-01	Chad Causey (Berry)*	\$2,863,826	\$1,444,873	\$2,071,443	\$3,516,316	\$6,380,142
AR-02	Joyce Elliottt (Snyder)*	\$2,793,529	\$131,699	\$105,781	\$237,480	\$3,031,009
AR-04	<b>Mike Ross</b>	\$3,608,582	\$358,924	\$22	\$358,946	\$3,967,528
AZ-05	Harry Mitchell	\$4,029,764	\$1,913,224	\$2,446,130	\$4,359,354	\$8,389,118
AZ-08	<b>Gabrielle Giffords</b>	\$5,541,959	\$769,749	\$729,705	\$1,499,454	\$7,041,413
CA-01	<b>Mike Thompson</b>	\$2,010,737	\$1,207	\$0	\$1,207	\$2,011,944
CA-18	<b>Dennis Cardoza</b>	\$2,349,892	\$677,686	\$0	\$677,686	\$3,027,578
CA-20	<b>Jim Costa</b>	\$3,021,955	\$824,788	\$728,274	\$1,553,062	\$4,575,017
CA-23	<b>Lois Capps</b>	\$1,598,378	\$2,897	\$3,545	\$6,442	\$1,604,820
CA-29	<b>Adam Schiff</b>	\$1,894,023	\$22	\$0	\$22	\$1,894,045
CA-36	<b>Jane Harman</b>	\$1,469,531	\$5,121	\$0	\$5,121	\$1,474,652
CA-43	<b>Joe Baca</b>	\$721,776	\$49	\$0	\$49	\$721,825
CA-47	<b>Loretta Sánchez</b>	\$3,699,285	\$276,989	\$230,061	\$507,050	\$4,206,335
CA-53	<b>Susan Davis</b>	\$861,416	\$636	\$7,983	\$8,619	\$870,035
CO-01	<b>Diana DeGette</b>	\$1,019,282	\$19,854	\$0	\$19,854	\$1,039,136
CO-03	John Salazar	\$3,682,394	\$1,674,333	\$2,351,631	\$4,025,964	\$7,708,358
CO-04	Betsy Markey	\$6,020,298	\$1,467,640	\$979,428	\$2,447,068	\$8,467,366
CO-07	<b>Ed Perlmutter</b>	\$4,715,536	\$3,065,833	\$698,019	\$3,763,852	\$8,479,388
CT-02	<b>Joe Courtney</b>	\$2,441,572	\$30,302	\$257	\$30,559	\$2,472,131
CT-04	<b>Jim Himes</b>	\$5,660,543	\$169,011	\$124,979	\$293,990	\$5,954,533
CT-05	<b>Christopher Murphy</b>	\$4,388,877	\$1,139,443	\$467,254	\$1,606,697	\$5,995,574
FL-02	Allen Boyd	\$5,104,993	\$1,680,032	\$1,247,445	\$2,927,477	\$8,032,470

<b>FL-17</b>	<b>Frederica Wilson (Meek)*</b>	\$510,431	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$510,431
<b>FL-20</b>	<b>Debbie Wasserman Schultz</b>	\$2,392,622	\$27	\$0	\$27	\$2,392,649
<b>FL-22</b>	Ron Klein	\$11,839,384	\$417,667	\$934,861	\$1,352,528	\$13,191,912
<b>FL-24</b>	Suzanne Kosmas	\$3,828,495	\$1,031,441	\$121,255	\$1,152,696	\$4,981,191
<b>GA-02</b>	<b>Sanford Bishop</b>	\$2,931,240	\$973,912	\$1,086,392	\$2,060,304	\$4,991,544
<b>GA-12</b>	<b>John Barrow</b>	\$2,152,360	\$82,116	\$19	\$82,135	\$2,234,495
<b>GA-13</b>	<b>David Scott</b>	\$954,958	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$954,958
<b>GA-08</b>	Jim Marshall	\$2,844,680	\$1,418,255	\$337,309	\$1,755,564	\$4,600,244
<b>IA-03</b>	<b>Leonard Boswell</b>	\$2,238,725	\$442,927	\$1,005,785	\$1,448,712	\$3,687,437
<b>ID-01</b>	Walt Minnick	\$3,305,432	\$432,490	\$140,454	\$572,944	\$3,878,376
<b>IL-11</b>	Debbie Halvorson	\$4,336,403	\$846,987	\$91,274	\$938,261	\$5,274,664
<b>IL-14</b>	Bill Foster	\$5,416,317	\$1,541,743	\$1,664,043	\$3,205,786	\$8,622,103
<b>IL-08</b>	Melissa Bean	\$3,076,251	\$187,368	\$1,303	\$188,671	\$3,264,922
<b>IN-08</b>	Van Haaften, William Trent (Ellsworth)*	\$1,842,311	\$540,784	\$186,900	\$727,684	\$2,569,995
<b>IN-09</b>	Baron Hill	\$4,122,729	\$1,708,681	\$1,762,201	\$3,470,882	\$7,593,611
<b>IN-02</b>	<b>Joe Donnelly</b>	\$3,305,368	\$2,754,879	\$911,123	\$3,666,002	\$6,971,370
<b>KS-03</b>	Moore, Stephene Ann (Moore)*	\$2,912,724	\$233,624	\$150,791	\$384,415	\$3,297,139
<b>KY-06</b>	<b>Ben Chandler</b>	\$4,220,428	\$1,326,363	\$628,592	\$1,954,955	\$6,175,383
<b>LA-02</b>	<b>Cedric Richmond</b>	\$3,240,531	\$494,330	\$94,875	\$589,205	\$3,829,736
<b>LA-03</b>	Sangisetty, Ravi (Melancon)*	\$2,257,777	\$54,000	\$6,472	\$60,472	\$2,318,249
<b>MD-01</b>	Frank M. Kratovil, Jr.	\$5,005,292	\$1,673,915	\$2,488,309	\$4,162,224	\$9,167,516
<b>ME-02</b>	<b>Mike Michaud</b>	\$1,774,631	\$220,913	\$413	\$221,326	\$1,995,957
<b>MI-07</b>	Mark Schauer	\$4,925,510	\$3,540,231	\$5,358,697	\$8,898,928	\$13,824,438
<b>MI-09</b>	<b>Gary Peters</b>	\$5,233,350	\$3,295,908	\$775,900	\$4,071,808	\$9,305,158
<b>MN-07</b>	<b>Collin Peterson</b>	\$1,655,938	\$7,458	\$0	\$7,458	\$1,663,396
<b>MO-03</b>	<b>Russ Carnahan</b>	\$3,791,282	\$487,498	\$126,031	\$613,529	\$4,404,811
<b>MS-01</b>	Travis W. Childers	\$3,463,496	\$1,578,391	\$1,051,806	\$2,630,197	\$6,093,693
<b>MS-04</b>	Gene Taylor	\$2,027,419	\$486,991	\$241,327	\$728,318	\$2,755,737
<b>NC-07</b>	<b>Mike McIntyre</b>	\$3,111,108	\$596,377	\$358,082	\$954,459	\$4,065,567

<b>NC-11</b>	<b>Heath Shuler</b>	\$3,010,382	\$1,787,781	\$325,032	\$2,112,813	\$5,123,195
<b>NC-02</b>	Bob Etheridge	\$2,812,796	\$460,317	\$31,696	\$492,013	\$3,304,809
<b>ND-AL</b>	Earl Pomeroy	\$5,785,493	\$1,930,982	\$1,363,681	\$3,294,663	\$9,080,156
<b>NJ-03</b>	John Adler	\$4,903,711	\$1,337,957	\$753,250	\$2,091,207	\$6,994,918
<b>NJ-12</b>	<b>Rush Holt</b>	\$5,061,706	\$308,009	\$0	\$308,009	\$5,369,715
<b>NM-01</b>	<b>Martin Heinrich</b>	\$4,191,786	\$2,798,713	\$1,254,696	\$4,053,409	\$8,245,195
<b>NV-01</b>	<b>Shelley Berkley</b>	\$2,064,885	\$521	\$1	\$522	\$2,065,407
<b>NY-02</b>	<b>Steve Israel</b>	\$4,345,359	\$2,851	\$0	\$2,851	\$4,348,210
<b>NY-04</b>	<b>Carolyn McCarthy</b>	\$2,030,118	\$799	\$39,010	\$39,809	\$2,069,927
<b>NY-06</b>	<b>Greg Meeks</b>	\$1,041,926	\$3,170	\$0	\$3,170	\$1,045,096
<b>NY-07</b>	<b>Joe Crowley</b>	\$2,108,457	\$2,168	\$0	\$2,168	\$2,110,625
<b>NY-13</b>	Michael McMahon	\$4,159,254	\$56,293	\$89,318	\$145,611	\$4,304,865
<b>NY-17</b>	<b>Elliot Engel</b>	\$1,196,271	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,196,271
<b>NY-20</b>	Scott Murphy	\$7,305,964	\$2,040,182	\$788,951	\$2,829,133	\$10,135,097
<b>NY-24</b>	Mike Arcuri	\$3,146,813	\$1,523,149	\$1,097,414	\$2,620,563	\$5,767,376
<b>NY-25</b>	Dan Maffei	\$3,873,905	\$651,089	\$123,766	\$774,855	\$4,648,760
<b>NY-27</b>	<b>Brian Higgins</b>	\$1,500,571	\$4,669	\$0	\$4,669	\$1,505,240
<b>OH-01</b>	Steve Driehaus	\$4,011,127	\$350,503	\$290,432	\$640,935	\$4,652,062
<b>OH-06</b>	Charlie Wilson	\$1,904,883	\$1,450,918	\$716,522	\$2,167,440	\$4,072,323
<b>OH-16</b>	John Boccieri	\$4,506,117	\$3,369,779	\$3,965,572	\$7,335,351	\$11,841,468
<b>OH-18</b>	Zachary Space	\$4,022,850	\$1,779,141	\$1,865,933	\$3,645,074	\$7,667,924
<b>OK-02</b>	<b>Dan Boren</b>	\$1,937,799	\$151,821	\$0	\$151,821	\$2,089,620
<b>OR-01</b>	<b>David Wu</b>	\$2,837,825	\$117,629	\$156,714	\$274,343	\$3,112,168
<b>OR-05</b>	<b>Kurt Schrader</b>	\$3,067,733	\$1,902,244	\$1,407,560	\$3,309,804	\$6,377,537
<b>PA-03</b>	Kathy Dahlkemper	\$3,331,761	\$1,360,159	\$1,130,075	\$2,490,234	\$5,821,995
<b>PA-04</b>	<b>Jason Altmire</b>	\$3,774,652	\$603,319	\$90,184	\$693,503	\$4,468,155
<b>PA-08</b>	Patrick Murphy	\$6,349,977	\$961,685	\$2,386,115	\$3,347,800	\$9,697,777
<b>PA-07</b>	Bryan Lentz (Sestak)*	\$4,616,496	\$2,488,595	\$1,113,067	\$3,601,662	\$8,218,158
<b>PA-10</b>	Chris Carney	\$2,362,657	\$1,882,560	\$733,426	\$2,615,986	\$4,978,643
<b>PA-13</b>	<b>Allyson Schwartz</b>	\$4,414,121	\$664	\$994	\$1,658	\$4,415,779
<b>PA-17</b>	<b>Tim Holden</b>	\$2,239,650	\$37,479	\$0	\$37,479	\$2,277,129
<b>SD-AL</b>	Stephanie Herseth Sandlin	\$4,465,117	\$2,499,589	\$600,950	\$3,100,539	\$7,565,656

<b>TN-04</b>	Lincoln Davis	\$2,369,426	\$1,454,475	\$1,123,614	\$2,578,089	\$4,947,515
<b>TN-05</b>	<b>Jim Cooper</b>	\$1,529,234	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,529,234
<b>TN-06</b>	Brett Carter (Gordon)*	\$2,532,990	\$0	\$14,817	\$14,817	\$2,547,807
<b>TN-08</b>	Roy Herron (Tanner)*	\$5,434,504	\$1,169,829	\$194,493	\$1,364,322	\$6,798,826
<b>TX-20</b>	<b>Charles Gonzalez</b>	\$1,133,150	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,133,150
<b>TX-28</b>	<b>Henry Cuellar</b>	\$1,296,988	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,296,988
<b>UT-02</b>	<b>Jim Matheson</b>	\$2,851,994	\$194,114	\$110,710	\$304,824	\$3,156,818
<b>VA-02</b>	Glenn Nye	\$6,874,406	\$679,298	\$880,506	\$1,559,804	\$8,434,210
<b>VA-11</b>	<b>Gerry Connolly</b>	\$5,336,193	\$1,974,843	\$2,008,422	\$3,983,265	\$9,319,458
<b>WA-01</b>	<b>Jay Inslee</b>	\$1,610,226	\$150,278	\$950	\$151,228	\$1,761,454
<b>WA-02</b>	<b>Rick Larsen</b>	\$3,190,517	\$749,754	\$746,652	\$1,496,406	\$4,686,923
<b>WA-03</b>	Denny Heck (Baird)*	\$3,500,647	\$2,007,930	\$2,165,553	\$4,173,483	\$7,674,130
<b>WA-09</b>	<b>Adam Smith</b>	\$1,598,722	\$40,333	\$0	\$40,333	\$1,639,055
<b>WI-03</b>	<b>Ron Kind</b>	\$3,606,537	\$1,109,149	\$293,058	\$1,402,207	\$5,008,744
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>\$3,296,369</b>	<b>\$854,474</b>	<b>\$610,162</b>	<b>\$1,464,637</b>	<b>\$4,761,005</b>
<b>MEDIAN</b>		<b>\$3,071,992</b>	<b>\$490,914</b>	<b>\$153,753</b>	<b>\$710,594</b>	<b>\$4,410,295</b>

\*Open seat; former member in parentheses

## 2010 Outside Spending—Liberal Districts

District	Democratic Candidate (winners in bold)	Total Disbursements (Democrat and Republican)	Outside spending (for/against Democrat)	Outside spending (for/against Republican)	Total outside spending	Grand total: disbursements plus outside spending
AZ-04	<b>Ed Pastor</b>	\$1,175,413	\$2,718	\$0	\$2,718	\$1,178,131
AZ-07	<b>Raúl Grijalva</b>	\$2,141,106	\$900,946	\$613,539	\$1,514,485	\$3,655,591
CA-06	<b>Lynn Woolsey</b>	\$1,050,470	\$703	\$10,000	\$10,703	\$1,061,173
CA-07	<b>George Miller</b>	\$1,139,353	\$708	\$1,350	\$2,058	\$1,141,411
CA-09	<b>Barbara Lee</b>	\$1,156,304	\$1,130	\$0	\$1,130	\$1,157,434
CA-13	<b>Pete Stark</b>	\$371,119	\$1,145	\$0	\$1,145	\$372,264
CA-15	<b>Michael Honda</b>	\$917,231	\$700	\$0	\$700	\$917,931
CA-17	<b>Sam Farr</b>	\$895,323	\$672	\$0	\$672	\$895,995
CA-31	<b>Xavier Becerra</b>	\$1,713,917	\$6,020	\$0	\$6,020	\$1,719,937
CA-32	<b>Judy Chu</b>	\$1,910,357	\$406	\$0	\$406	\$1,910,763
CA-33	<b>Karen Bass</b>	\$768,919	\$5,738	\$0	\$5,738	\$774,657
CA-34	<b>Lucille Roybal-Allard</b>	\$611,209	\$570	\$0	\$570	\$611,779
CA-35	<b>Maxine Waters</b>	\$743,675	\$570	\$0	\$570	\$744,245
CA-39	<b>Linda Sanchez</b>	\$791,707	\$3,945	\$0	\$3,945	\$795,652
CA-51	<b>Bob Filner</b>	\$1,367,301	\$636	\$0	\$636	\$1,367,937
CT-03	<b>Rosa DeLauro</b>	\$1,559,348	\$3,150	\$0	\$3,150	\$1,562,498
FL-03	<b>Corinne Brown</b>	\$1,157,103	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,157,103
FL-08	Alan Grayson	\$7,330,047	\$1,137,437	\$63,517	\$1,200,954	\$8,531,001
GA-04	<b>Hank Johnson</b>	\$711,205	\$750	\$0	\$750	\$711,955
GA-05	<b>John Lewis</b>	\$1,215,537	\$43,500	\$0	\$43,500	\$1,259,037
HI-02	<b>Mazie Hirono</b>	\$1,133,445	\$307	\$0	\$307	\$1,133,752
IA-02	<b>David Loebsack</b>	\$2,417,705	\$164,136	\$844,036	\$1,008,172	\$3,425,877
IL-01	<b>Bobby Rush</b>	\$555,188	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$555,188
IL-02	<b>Jesse Jackson, Jr.</b>	\$1,094,788	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,094,788
IL-04	<b>Luis Gutierrez</b>	\$378,842	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$378,842
IL-07	<b>Danny Davis</b>	\$864,982	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$864,982
IL-09	<b>Jan Schakowsky</b>	\$2,336,950	\$57,143	\$0	\$57,143	\$2,394,093
IL-17	Phil Hare	\$2,876,809	\$1,612,589	\$2,340,329	\$3,952,918	\$6,829,727
MA-01	<b>John Olver</b>	\$962,182	\$111	\$0	\$111	\$962,293
MA-03	<b>James McGovern</b>	\$2,254,000	\$18,615	\$1,560	\$20,175	\$2,274,175
MA-04	<b>Barney Frank</b>	\$6,749,221	\$203,714	\$30,655	\$234,369	\$6,983,590
MA-06	<b>John Tierney</b>	\$2,822,708	\$136,737	\$0	\$136,737	\$2,959,445
MA-07	<b>Ed Markey</b>	\$1,335,931	\$20	\$0	\$20	\$1,335,951
MA-08	<b>Michael Capuano</b>	\$1,939,043	\$114,795	\$0	\$114,795	\$2,053,838

MD-04	<b>Donna Edwards</b>	\$681,564	\$10	\$0	\$10	\$681,574
MD-07	<b>Elijah Cummings</b>	\$637,885	\$16	\$0	\$16	\$637,901
ME-01	<b>Chellie Pingree</b>	\$1,784,556	\$758,493	\$260,000	\$1,018,493	\$2,803,049
MI-13	<b>Hansen Clarke (Kilpatrick)*</b>	\$438,365	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$438,365
MI-14	<b>John Conyers</b>	\$1,245,236	\$22	\$0	\$22	\$1,245,258
MN-05	<b>Keith Ellison</b>	\$1,385,570	\$3,546	\$0	\$3,546	\$1,389,116
MO-01	<b>William “Lacy” Clay</b>	\$660,102	\$10	\$0	\$10	\$660,112
MO-05	<b>Emanuel Cleaver</b>	\$871,402	\$14,711	\$0	\$14,711	\$886,113
MS-02	<b>Bennie Thompson</b>	\$1,384,303	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,384,303
NC-12	<b>Mel Watt</b>	\$591,204	\$5,228	\$0	\$5,228	\$596,432
NJ-06	<b>Frank Pallone</b>	\$3,052,232	\$114,274	\$27,928	\$142,202	\$3,194,434
NJ-10	<b>Donald Payne</b>	\$530,170	\$3,600	\$0	\$3,600	\$533,770
NM-03	<b>Ben Ray Lujan</b>	\$1,515,467	\$14,464	\$4,459	\$18,923	\$1,534,390
NY-08	<b>Jerrold Nadler</b>	\$1,552,592	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$1,552,592
NY-11	<b>Yvette Clarke</b>	\$714,585	\$5	\$0	\$5	\$714,590
NY-12	<b>Nydia Velazquez</b>	\$690,875	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$690,875
NY-14	<b>Carolyn Maloney</b>	\$3,747,958	\$5,878	\$1,442	\$7,320	\$3,755,278
NY-15	<b>Charles Rangel</b>	\$4,359,647	\$1,439	\$0	\$1,439	\$4,361,086
NY-16	<b>Jose Serrano</b>	\$385,796	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$385,796
NY-19	John Hall	\$4,422,260	\$1,363,402	\$892,112	\$2,255,514	\$6,677,774
NY-22	<b>Maurice Hinchey</b>	\$1,758,216	\$628,218	\$95,852	\$724,070	\$2,482,286
NY-28	<b>Louise Slaughter</b>	\$863,957	\$1,264	\$0	\$1,264	\$865,221
OH-09	<b>Marcy Kaptur</b>	\$3,017,648	\$35,037	\$317	\$35,354	\$3,053,002
OH-10	<b>Dennis Kucinich</b>	\$1,357,894	\$10	\$16,371	\$16,381	\$1,374,275
OH-11	<b>Marcia Fudge</b>	\$579,778	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$579,778
OR-03	<b>Earl Blumenauer</b>	\$1,363,899	\$978	\$1,416	\$2,394	\$1,366,293
OR-04	<b>Peter DeFazio</b>	\$2,800,269	\$223,915	\$440,182	\$664,097	\$3,464,366
PA-01	<b>Robert Brady</b>	\$747,603	\$1,252	\$0	\$1,252	\$748,855
PA-02	<b>Chaka Fattah</b>	\$498,773	\$204	\$0	\$204	\$498,977
RI-01	<b>David Cicilline (Kennedy)*</b>	\$2,828,864	\$59,289	\$20,103	\$79,392	\$2,908,256
TN-09	<b>Steve Cohen</b>	\$1,060,664	\$19,595	\$0	\$19,595	\$1,080,259
TX-18	<b>Sheila Jackson-Lee</b>	\$1,386,849	\$636	\$0	\$636	\$1,387,485
TX-30	<b>Eddie Bernice Johnson</b>	\$1,235,732	\$18,530	\$0	\$18,530	\$1,254,262
VA-05	Tom Perriello	\$6,324,956	\$3,102,745	\$2,070,092	\$5,172,837	\$11,497,793

<b>VT-00</b>	<b>Peter Welch</b>	\$729,826	\$43	\$0	\$43	\$729,869
<b>WA-07</b>	<b>Jim McDermott</b>	\$568,649	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$568,649
<b>WI-02</b>	<b>Tammy Baldwin</b>	\$1,214,171	\$486	\$0	\$486	\$1,214,657
<b>WI-04</b>	<b>Gwen Moore</b>	\$669,470	\$533	\$0	\$533	\$670,003
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>\$1,612,603</b>	<b>\$149,964</b>	<b>\$107,434</b>	<b>\$257,399</b>	<b>\$1,870,001</b>
<b>MEDIAN</b>		<b>\$1,166,258</b>	<b>\$1,054</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$1,352</b>	<b>\$1,167,783</b>

*\*Open seat; former member in parentheses*

## Analysis of Members with Joint Membership in the Progressive Caucus and New Democrat Coalition

District	Democratic Candidate	Disbursements	Total Disbursements (Democratic and Republican)	Total outside spending (Democratic and Republican)	Grand Total: Disbursements plus outside spending
IN-07	<b>Andre Carson</b>	\$787,203	\$1,015,309	\$0	\$1,015,309
CA-37	<b>Laura Richardson</b>	\$663,731	\$2,490,577	\$11,532	\$2,502,109
CO-02	<b>Jared Polis</b>	\$895,953	\$1,026,700	\$96,128	\$1,122,828
VA-08	<b>Jim Moran</b>	\$1,376,173	\$1,819,095	\$7,777	\$1,826,872
<b>Average</b>		<b>\$930,765</b>	<b>\$1,587,920</b>	<b>\$28,859</b>	<b>\$1,616,780</b>

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<sup>1</sup> CNN 2010 House National Exit Polls, available at <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2010/results/polls/#val=USH00p1>

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, William A. Galston and Elaine C. Kamarck, *The Still-Vital Center: Moderates, Democrats and the Renewal of American Politics*, Third Way, February 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Federal Election Commission, 2010 House and Senate Campaign Finance, available at <http://www.fec.gov/disclosurehs/hsnational.do?electionYr=2010>.

<sup>4</sup> Data from the Center for Responsive Politics, available at <http://www.opensecrets.org/bigpicture/stats.php?display=T&type=A&cycle=2000>. Total candidate spending in House races was roughly \$608 million in 2002, \$645 million in 2004, \$855 million in 2006 and \$938 million in 2008.

<sup>5</sup> To avoid double-counting, all calculations exclude the four members who are members of both the Progressive Caucus and the New Democrat Coalition. See the Appendix for a complete description of the methodology and a separate analysis of these four races.

<sup>6</sup> This report does not maintain that races in “moderate” districts as defined here were the most expensive races in 2010—as a bloc, they were simply more expensive than races in liberal districts. Some of 2010’s more expensive races occurred in competitive districts, such as Ohio’s 13th District, where the Democratic incumbent was not a member of either the moderate or liberal caucuses. Excluding outside spending, the race in Ohio’s 13th District cost roughly \$10 million.

<sup>7</sup> As noted above, this number excludes the four members who are members of both the Progressive Caucus and the New Democrat Coalition.

<sup>8</sup> Data drawn from Center for Responsive Politics, available at <http://www.opensecrets.org/races/index.php?cycle=2010&id=NY25>.

<sup>9</sup> See Center for Responsive Politics at <http://www.opensecrets.org/outsidespending/index.php>.

<sup>10</sup> In moderate districts where the margin of victory was less than 4-percentage points or the candidate lost, average candidate spending was \$4.04 million.

## About the Author

Anne Kim is a senior fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute.

## About the Progressive Policy Institute

The Progressive Policy Institute (PPI) is an independent research institution that seeks to define and promote a new progressive politics in the 21st century. Through research and policy analysis, PPI challenges the status quo and advocates for radical policy solutions.