

1998 GEORGIA CAMPAIGN-FINANCE ANALYSIS

By Mark Dixon
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The Georgia 1998 elections covered nine statewide offices and the entire General Assembly. The General Assembly consists of 180 seats in the House of Representatives, and 56 seats in the Senate.

The following table shows the breakdown of total money raised for the 1998 races by office.

OFFICE	CANDIDATES	TOTAL RAISED
GOVERNOR	11	\$31,830,019
LT. GOVERNOR	13	\$14,578,381
HOUSE	317	\$9,240,532
SENATE	124	\$7,242,708
ATTORNEY GENERAL	6	\$2,481,578
INSURANCE COMMISSIONER	4	\$1,619,748
LABOR COMMISSIONER	6	\$1,416,976
SECRETARY OF STATE	4	\$1,028,254
AGRICULTURE COMMISSIONER	4	\$885,620
STATE SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT	5	\$714,223
PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER	4	\$200,266
1998 ELECTIONS TOTAL		\$71,238,306

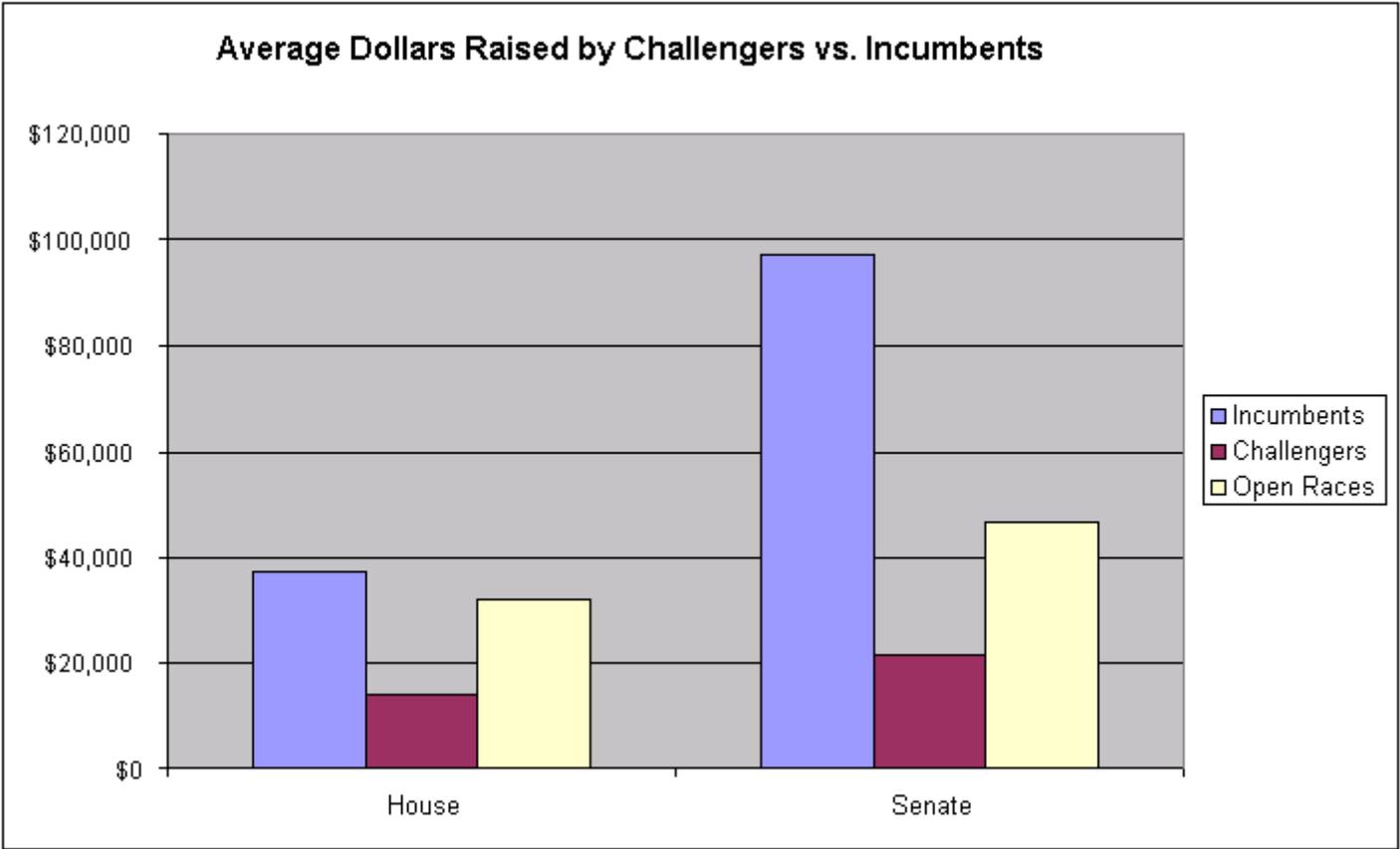
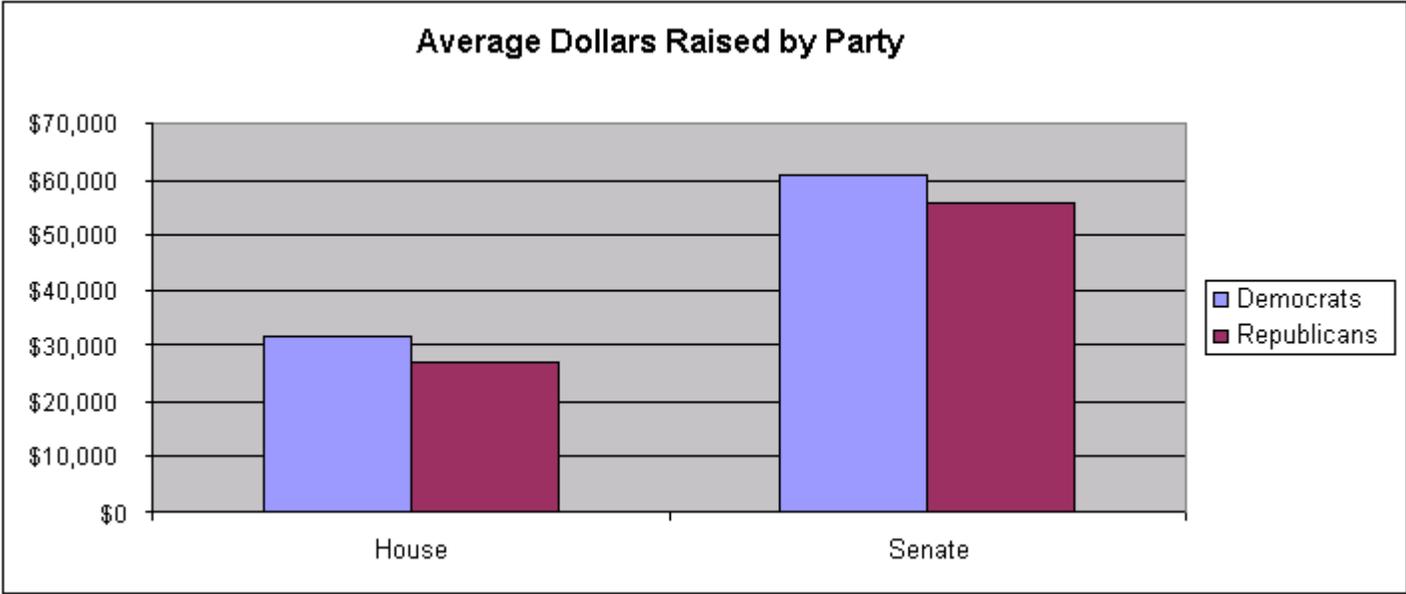
LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES

The following table shows the makeup of the Assembly and totals raised by party.

CANDIDATES	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	THIRD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	164	153	0	317	157	96	64
SENATE	55	69	0	124	44	31	49
TOTAL	219	222	0	441	201	127	113

TOTAL \$	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	THIRD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	\$4,425,325	\$4,815,207	\$0	\$9,240,532	\$5,839,794	\$1,343,372	\$2,057,366
SENATE	\$3,051,760	\$4,190,948	\$0	\$7,242,708	\$4,280,499	\$670,019	\$2,292,190
TOTAL	\$7,477,085	\$9,006,156	\$0	\$16,483,240	\$10,120,293	\$2,013,392	\$4,349,556

Numbers from the two previous tables were averaged to create the graphs below.



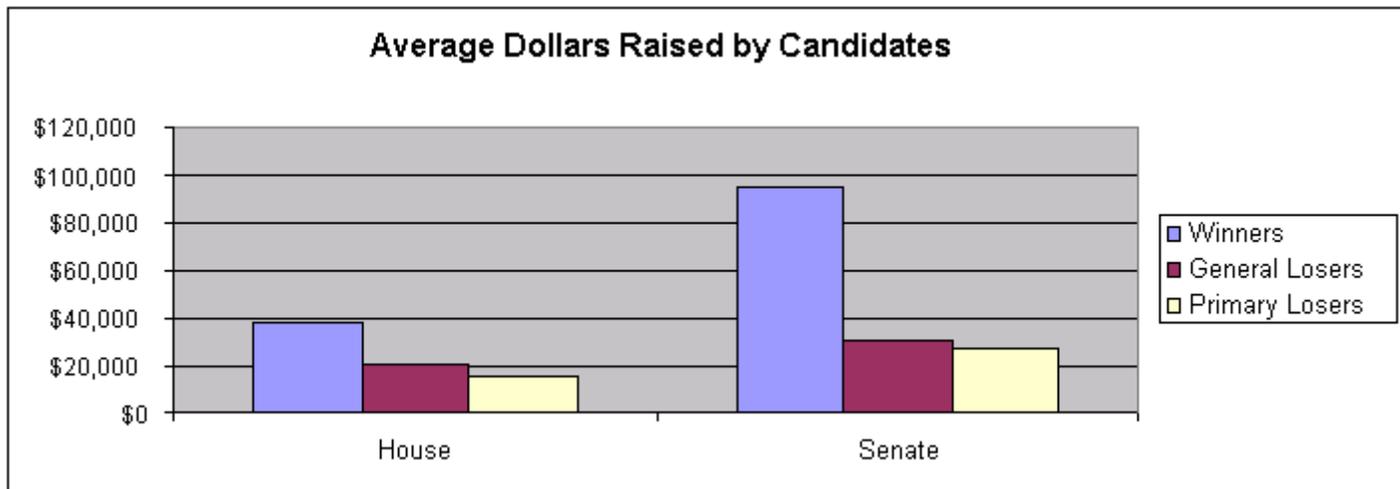
LEGISLATIVE WINNERS & LOSERS

WINNERS	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	78	102	180	155	2	23
SENATE	21	35	56	44	0	12
TOTAL	99	137	236	199	2	35

TOTAL \$	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	\$6,727,529	\$1,564,856	\$948,148
SENATE	\$5,337,800	\$868,348	\$1,036,559
TOTAL	\$12,065,329	\$2,433,204	\$1,984,707

CANDIDATES	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	180	76	61
SENATE	56	29	39
TOTAL	236	105	100

The last two tables above, which show total dollars raised and total number of candidates in each category, were used to create the averages shown in the graph below. The graph shows how much was raised, on average, by candidates who won, lost in the general and lost in the primary in the House and Senate.



THE HOUSE

Democrats controlled the House in Georgia after the 96 elections by a margin of 106 seats to the Republicans 74 seats. Republicans won back four seats in 1998. After the 98 elections, Republicans held 78 seats and the Democrats held 102 seats.

Of the 180 House races, 23 were open and 78 were uncontested. Two of those uncontested races were open and all the rest were won by the only candidate running, the incumbent. Candidates running in the uncontested races raised, on average, \$25,223. Candidates running in the contested races raised \$30,431 on average.

The table below details the top five fund-raising candidates in the House.

TOP 5 HOUSE FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Larry Walker - D	141 - Incumbent Winner	\$342,543
Tommy Smith - D	169 - Incumbent Winner	\$204,618
Thomas Buck III - D	135 - Uncontested Inc Win	\$172,846
Harry D Dixon - D	168 - Incumbent Winner	\$140,321
Buddy Childers - D	13 - Incumbent Winner	\$131,537
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$991,865

Republican candidates for the House, as a group, raised \$4,425,325 and won 78 seats. Democratic candidates for the House together raised \$4,815,207 and won 102 seats.

THE SENATE

Democrats gained one Senate seat in the 1998 elections. The Democratic majority after the 98 elections was 35 to the Republicans 21 seats.

Of the 56 Senate races in 1998, 12 were open and 21 races were uncontested. The incumbents were re-elected in all the uncontested races. Candidates in the uncontested races raised, on average, \$52,674. Candidates in the contested races raised \$59,578, on average.

The table below details the top five fund-raising candidates in the Senate.

TOP 5 SENATE FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Hugh Gillis Sr - D	20 - Incumbent Winner	\$1,024,949
Tom Price - R	56 - Incumbent Winner	\$248,144
Nathan Dean - D	31 - Incumbent Winner	\$207,219
Bill Stephens - R	51 - Open Race Winner	\$200,672
Tommie Williams - R	6 - Open Race Winner	\$185,829
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$1,866,813

Republican candidates for the Senate, as a group, raised \$3,051,760 and won 21 seats. Democratic candidates for the House together raised \$4,190,948 and won 35 seats.

THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

The race for governor of Georgia was open in 1998, which encouraged many candidates to run. The table below lists the candidates and how much money each raised.

CANDIDATES	PARTY	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED
Guy Millner	Republican	Lost in General	\$12,559,702
Roy E Barnes	Democrat	Won	\$11,083,834
Lewis A Massey	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$2,870,082
Michael Bowers	Republican	Lost in Primary	\$2,477,551
David Poythress	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$1,554,515
Steve Langford	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$1,021,342
Nancy Schaefer	Republican	Lost in Primary	\$197,571
Bruce Hatfield	Republican	Lost in Primary	\$30,861
Morris James	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$17,094
Carlton Myers	Democrat	Lost in Primary	\$9,500
Jack Cashin	Libertarian	Lost in General	\$7,967
1998 GUBERNATORIAL TOTAL			\$31,830,019

The following two tables show which five economic sectors gave the most to Roy Barnes and Guy Millner, and what percentage of their totals those top five sectors represented.

BARNES' TOP ECONOMIC SECTORS	\$ CONTRIBUTED	% OF TOTAL
Balance Forward and Interest	\$2,252,902	20%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,858,678	17%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$1,409,121	13%
Construction	\$920,930	8%
Health	\$871,475	8%
TOTAL	\$7,313,106	66%

MILLNER'S TOP ECONOMIC SECTORS	\$ CONTRIBUTED	% OF TOTAL
Candidate's own funds	\$10,304,068	82%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$411,880	3%
General Business	\$256,947	2%
Health	\$150,526	1%
Construction	\$141,856	1%
TOTAL	\$11,265,276	90%

THE STATEWIDE ELCTIONS

Along with the gubernatorial contest, candidates ran for eight other statewide offices. Four of the eight races were open, as is shown in the table below. The other four races were incumbent vs. challengers and are shown in the table on the next page. Notice that in the open races, fund-raising was closer between candidates, and in the incumbent races, the incumbent generally out-raises the competition significantly. Also the open races tend to encourage more candidates to run.

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED
Attorney General	Thurbert Baker - D	Won	\$1,041,268
Attorney General	David Ralston - R	Lost in General	\$1,015,465
Attorney General	Kip Klein - R	Lost in Primary	\$242,464
Attorney General	Jim Harper - R	Lost in Primary	\$148,455
Attorney General	Stephen E Boswell - R	Lost in Primary	\$26,501
Attorney General	Walker Chandler - Lib	Lost in General	\$7,424
Labor Commissioner	Steve Henson - D	Lost in Primary	\$517,384
Labor Commissioner	Richard McGee - D	Lost in Primary	\$477,601
Labor Commissioner	Mike Thurmond - D	Won	\$302,619
Labor Commissioner	John F Collins - R	Lost in General	\$107,907
Labor Commissioner	Rick Millsaps - R	Lost in Primary	\$8,500
Labor Commissioner	Kerrie Lee Dickson - Green	Lost in General	\$2,965
Lt. Governor	Mark Taylor - D	Won	\$5,368,109
Lt. Governor	Mitch Skandalkis - R	Lost in General	\$2,733,092
Lt. Governor	Clint Day - R	Lost in Primary	\$1,936,152
Lt. Governor	Mary M Oliver - D	Lost in Primary	\$1,731,266
Lt. Governor	Randy Poynter - R	Lost in Primary	\$807,151
Lt. Governor	Chuck Clay - R	Lost in Primary	\$725,070
Lt. Governor	Guy Middleton - D	Lost in Primary	\$557,726
Lt. Governor	Floyd Griffin - D	Lost in Primary	\$278,697
Lt. Governor	Lloyd E Russell - Lib	Lost in General	\$260,650
Lt. Governor	Mac Barber - D	Lost in Primary	\$113,139
Lt. Governor	Pam Glanton - R	Lost in Primary	\$50,155
Lt. Governor	Nick Dodys - D	Lost in Primary	\$10,967
Lt. Governor	Michael A Novosel - Ref	Lost in General	\$6,206
Secretary of State	Cathy Cox - D	Won	\$691,753
Secretary of State	John A McCallum - R	Lost in General	\$292,655
Secretary of State	Charlie Bailey - R	Lost in Primary	\$36,885
Secretary of State	Mark Antieau - Lib	Lost in General	\$6,960
TOTAL			\$19,505,189

OFFICE	CANDIDATE	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED
Agriculture Commissioner	Tommy Irvin - D	Won	\$817,486
Agriculture Commissioner	Bob Greer - R	Lost in General	\$55,636
Agriculture Commissioner	Mark Bierley - Lib	Lost in General	\$9,811
Agriculture Commissioner	Hildred Shumake - R	Lost in Primary	\$2,686
Insurance Commissioner	John W Oxendine - R	Won	\$1,525,459
Insurance Commissioner	Henrietta Canty - D	Lost in General	\$72,102
Insurance Commissioner	Tim Dunn - D	Lost in Primary	\$17,625
Insurance Commissioner	Joshua Batchelder - Lib	Lost in General	\$4,562
Public Service Commissioner	Bobby Baker - R	Won	\$165,229
Public Service Commissioner	Anna Hargis - D	Lost in General	\$23,566
Public Service Commissioner	Hal Crawford - D	Lost in Primary	\$7,896
Public Service Commissioner	Dan Carpenter - R	Lost in Primary	\$3,575
State School Superintendent	Joe Martin - D	Lost in General	\$398,851
State School Superintendent	Linda Schrenko - R	Won	\$238,671
State School Superintendent	Frances E Roberson - R	Lost in Primary	\$57,906
State School Superintendent	Theresa Bey - D	Lost in Primary	\$15,492
State School Superintendent	Michael Cartwright - Lib	Lost in General	\$3,302
TOTAL			\$3,419,857

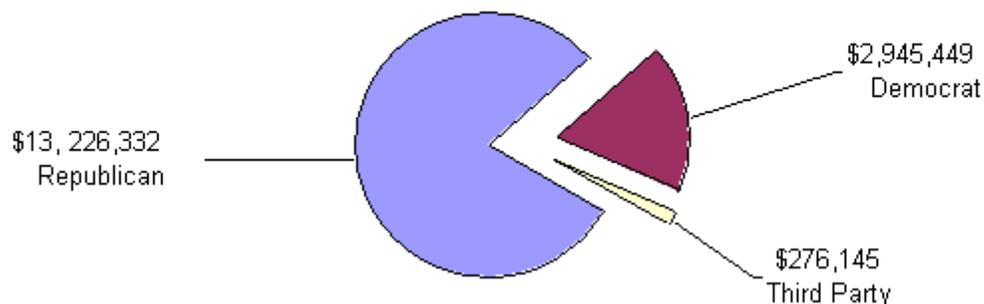
SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS

The following table shows which economic sectors gave the most money, and how much each party received. Contributions in the database that could not be identified are not included in this table. Also not included is \$14,215,567 of balance forward and interest money that candidates received.

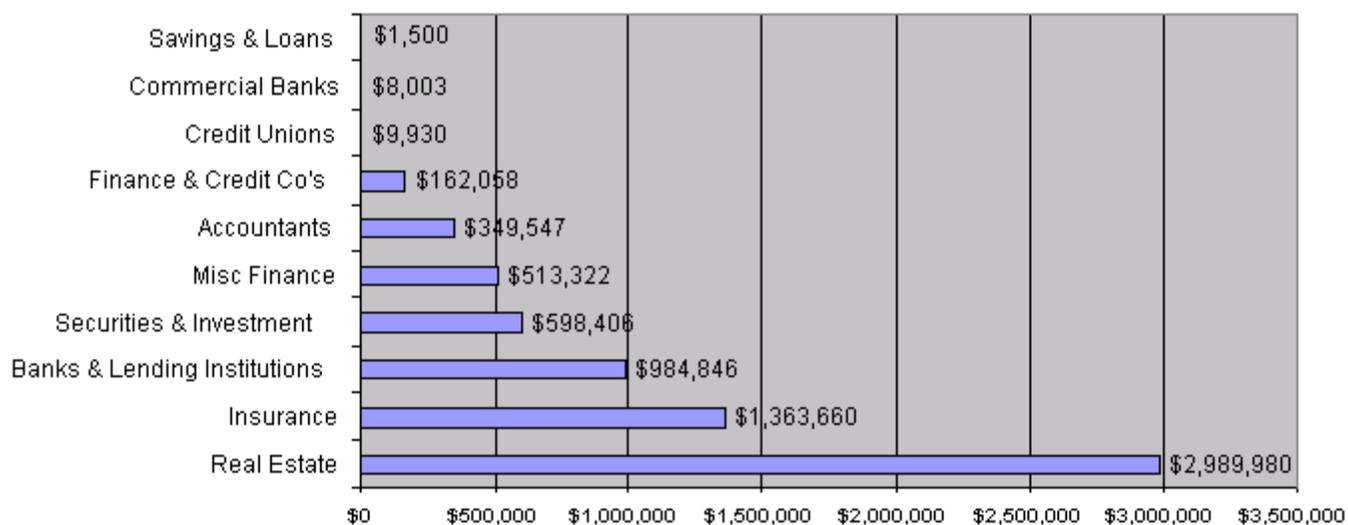
ECONOMIC SECTOR	D% / R%	TOTAL CONTRIBUTED	% OF TOTAL
Candidates	18 / 82	\$16,447,926	33.2%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	58 / 42	\$6,981,253	14.1%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	68 / 32	\$5,573,965	11.3%
Health	68 / 32	\$3,787,202	7.6%
General Business	64 / 36	\$3,427,763	6.9%
Construction	69 / 31	\$3,303,114	6.7%
Small Contributions	55 / 45	\$2,803,370	5.7%
Party	49 / 51	\$1,533,324	3.1%
Agriculture	73 / 27	\$1,241,355	2.5%
Other	69 / 31	\$1,122,598	2.3%
Communications & Electronics	59 / 41	\$890,608	1.8%
Energy & Natural Resources	59 / 41	\$878,547	1.8%
Transportation	66 / 34	\$838,259	1.7%
Labor	96 / 4	\$543,548	1.1%
Ideology & Single Issue Groups	80 / 20	\$165,408	0.3%
TOTALS	77 / 23	\$49,538,240	100.0%

The graphs that follow are industry or party breakdowns of the economic sectors, which show the various industries that make up each general sector.

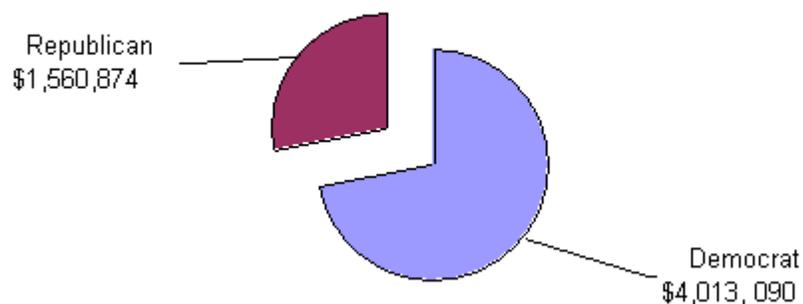
Candidate Contributions \$16,447,926



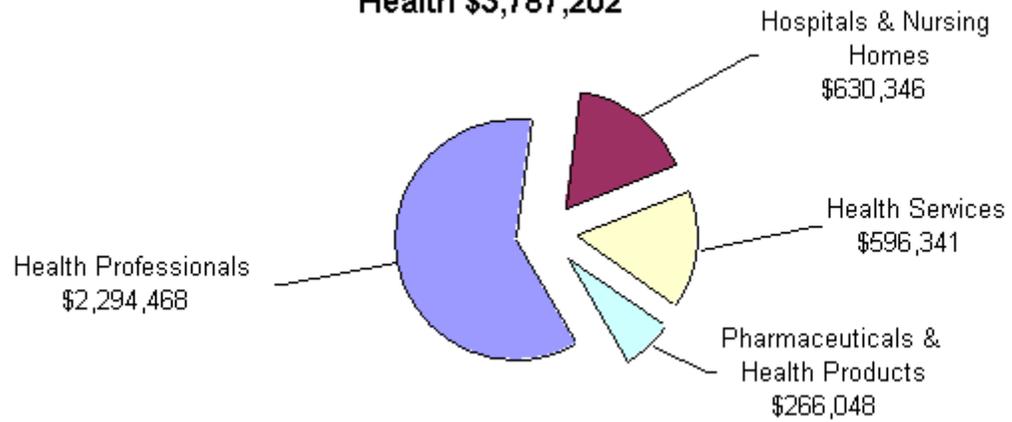
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate \$6,981,253



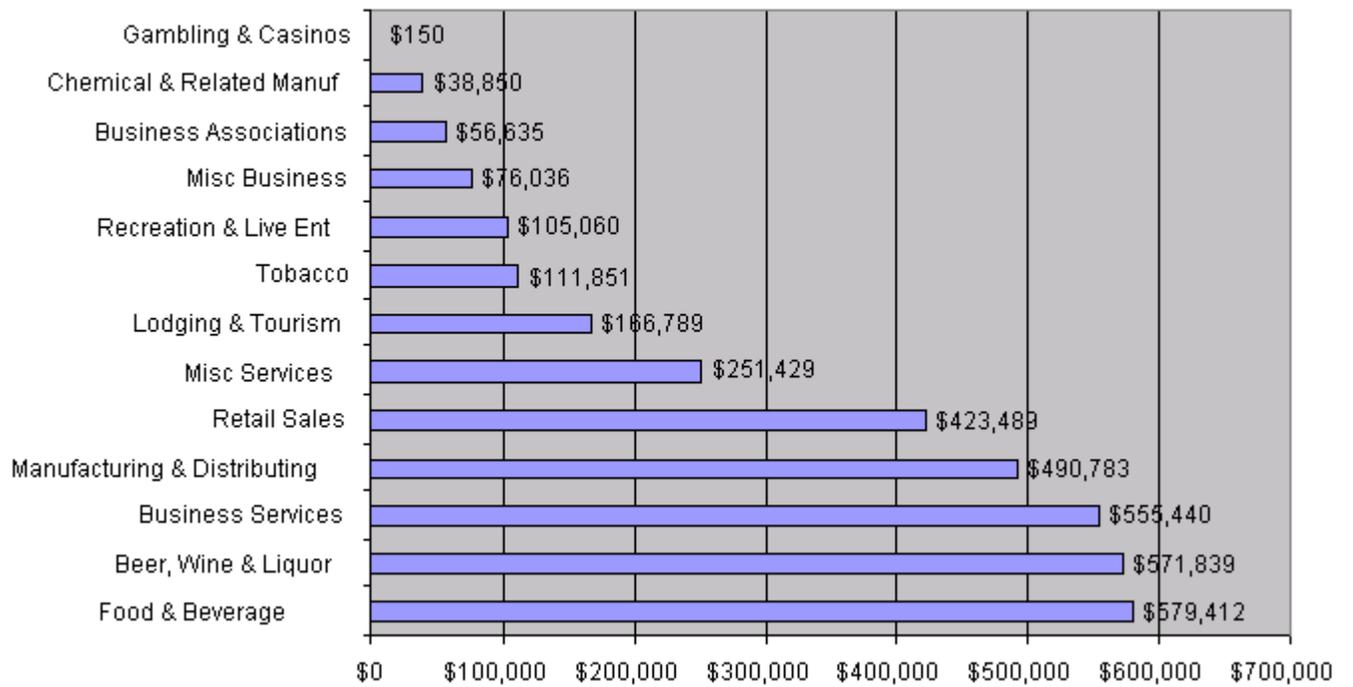
Lawyers & Lobbyists \$5,573,965



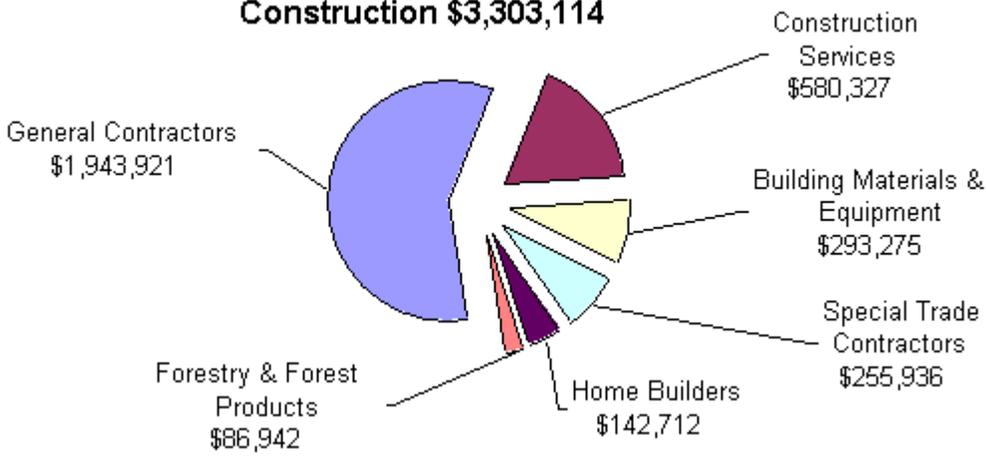
Health \$3,787,202



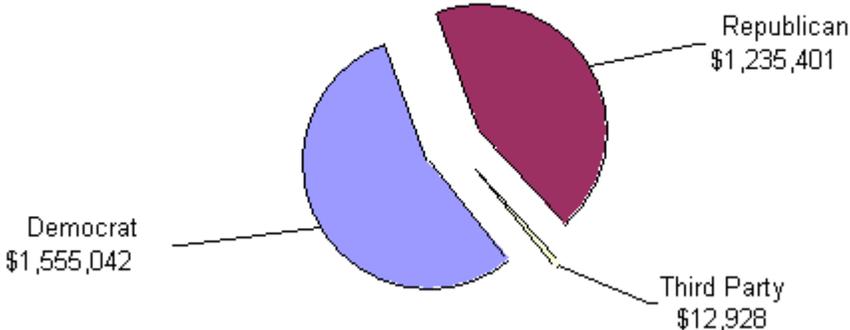
General Business \$3,427,763



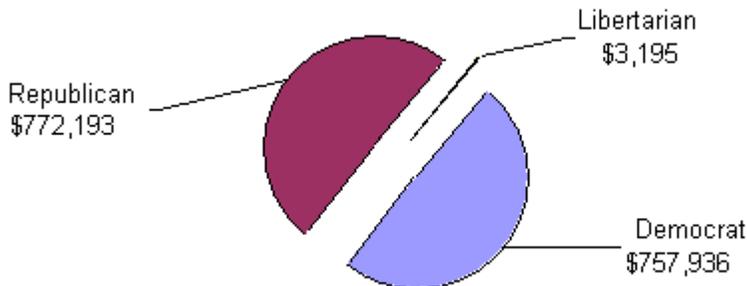
Construction \$3,303,114



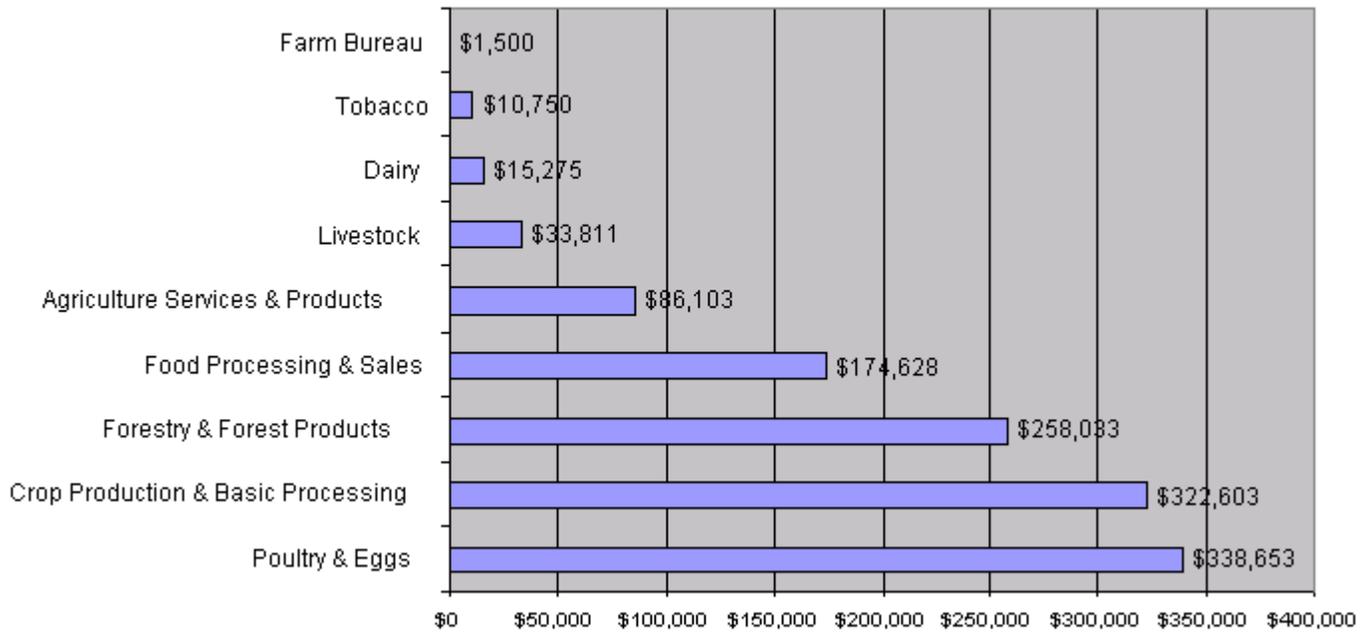
Small Contributions \$2,803,371



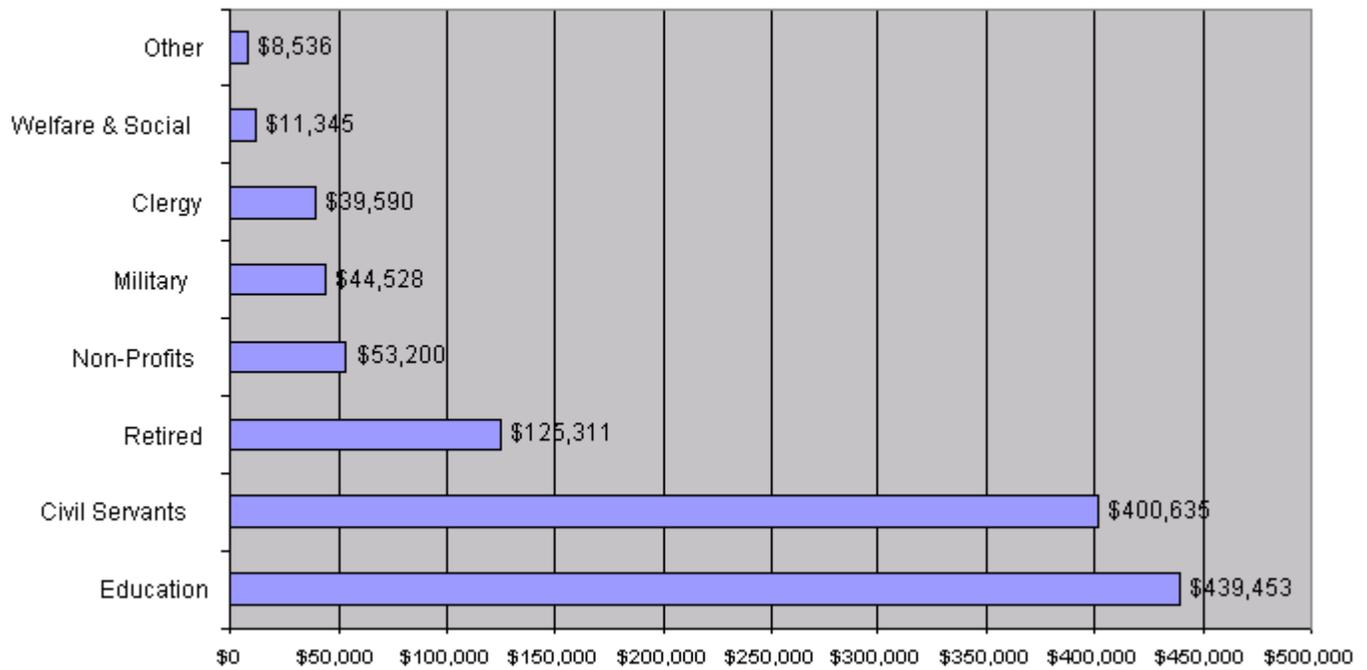
Political Parties \$1,533,324



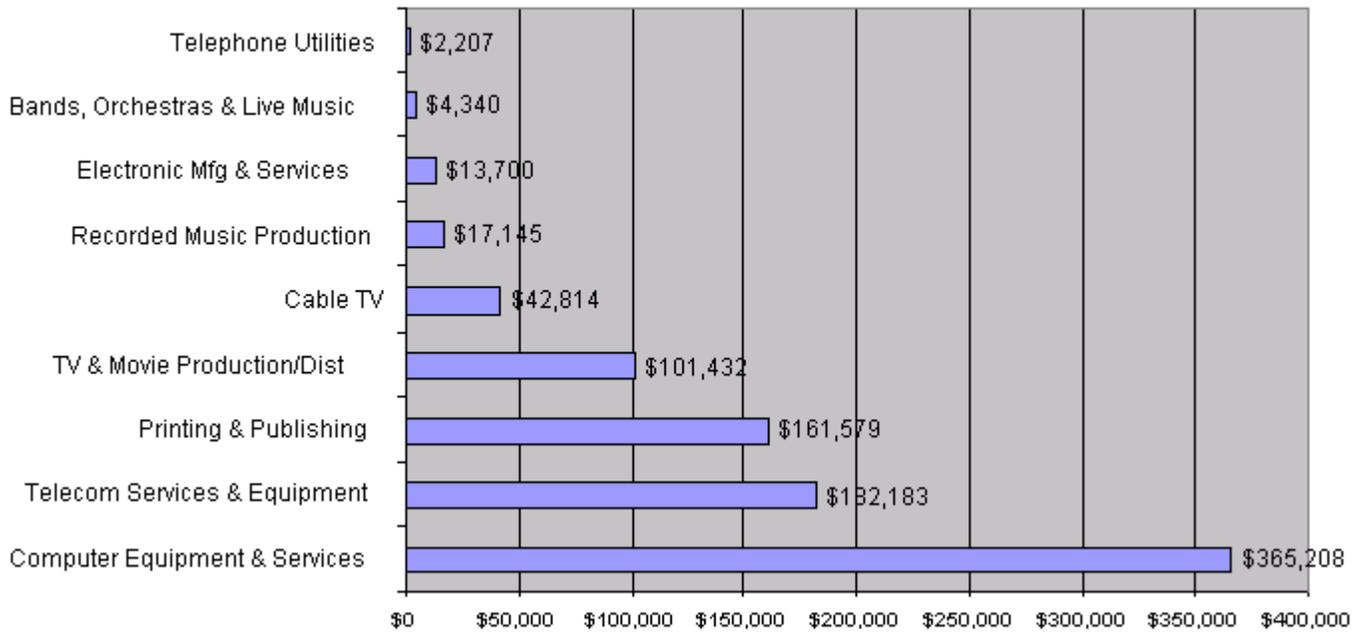
Agriculture \$1,241,355



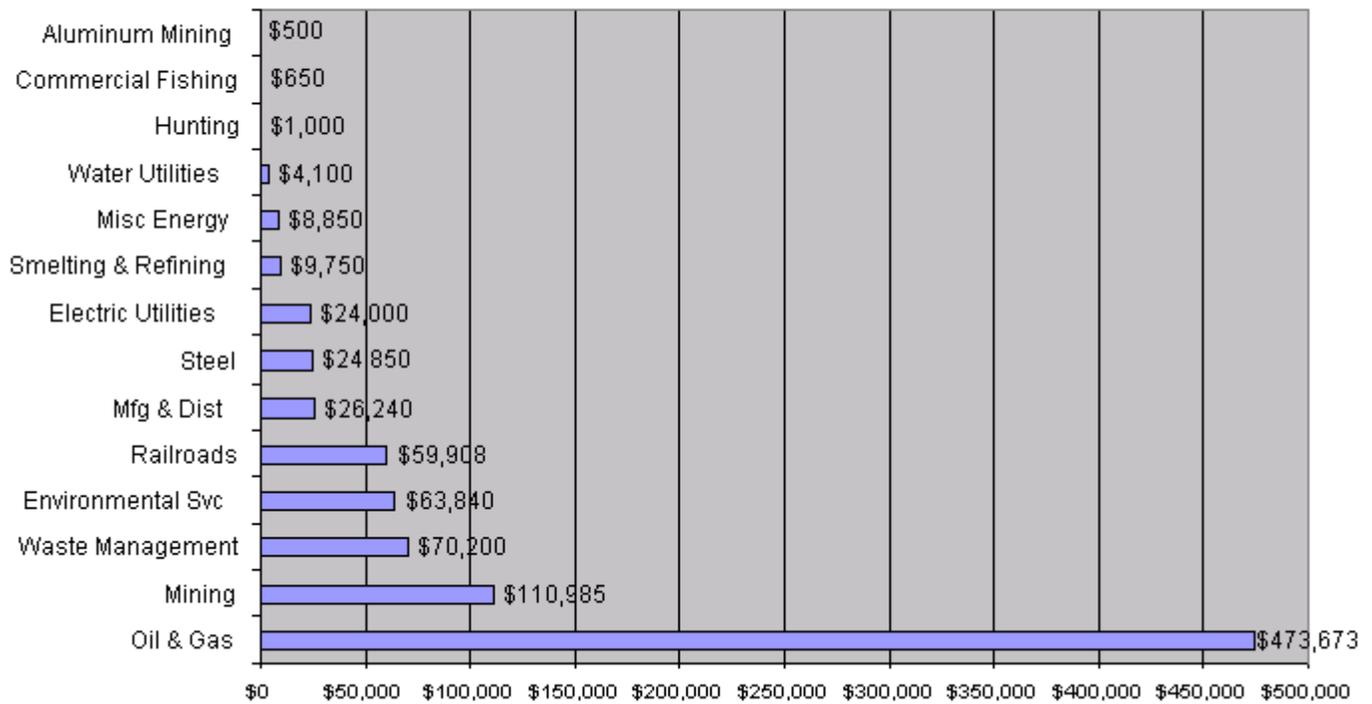
Other \$1,122,598



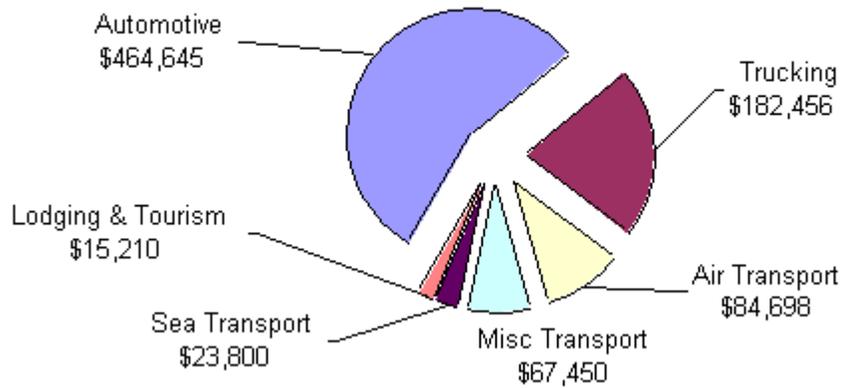
Communications & Electronics \$890,608



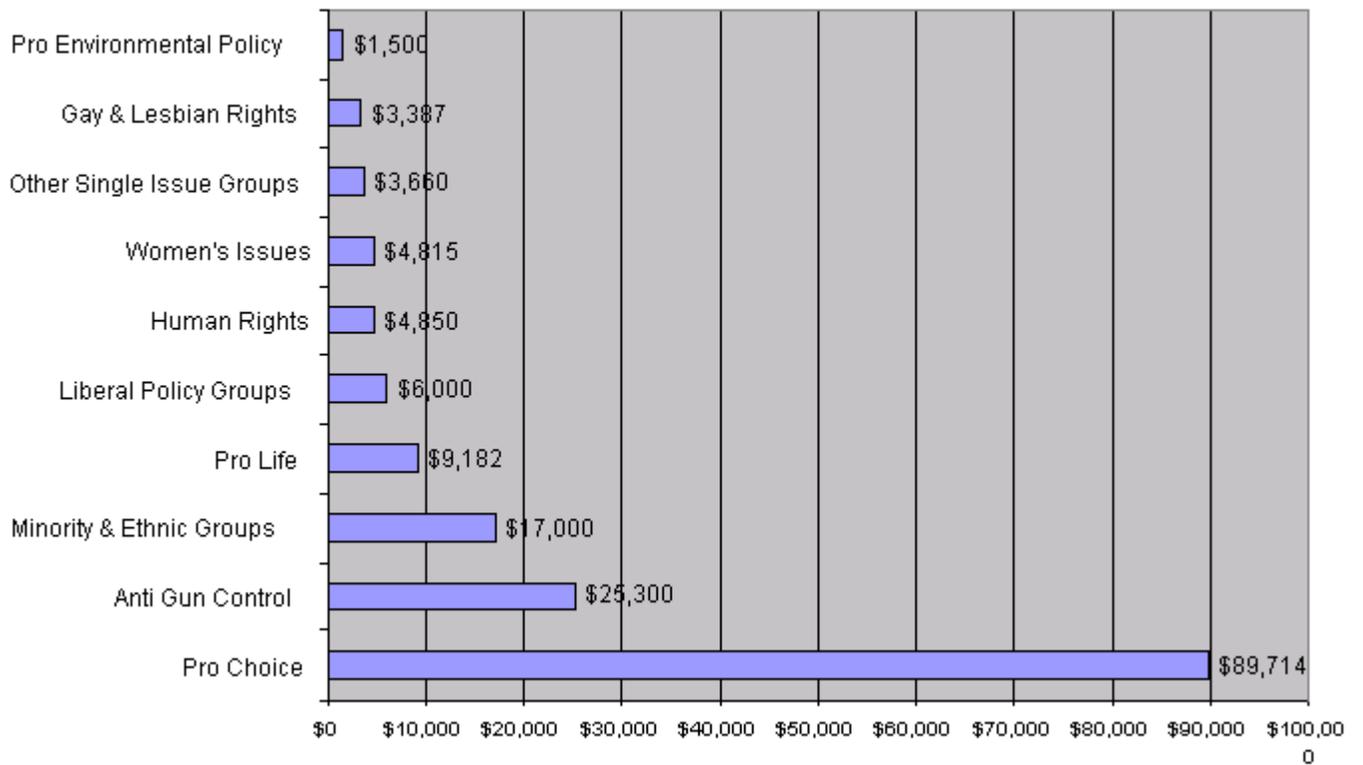
Energy & Natural Resources \$878,547

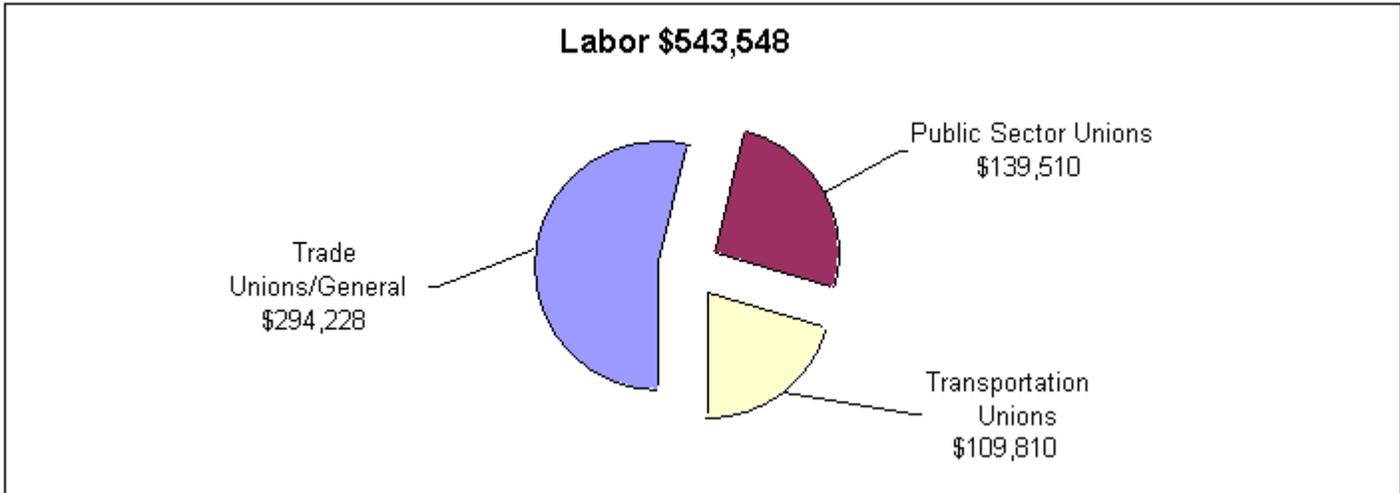


Transportation \$838,259



Ideology & Single Issue Groups \$165,408





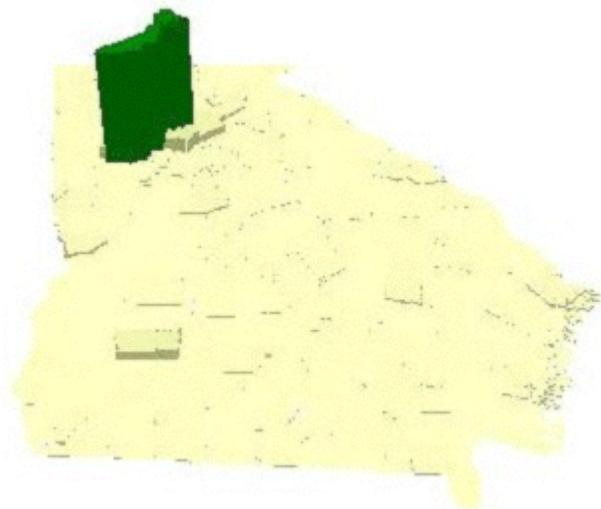
MAPPING THE MONEY

The maps that follow are county-by-county comparisons of contributions made during the Georgia 1998 elections.

The first two green maps compare the population of Georgia to the total money given from within Georgia to the 1998 races. Notice that in the money map, Fulton County, the heart of downtown Atlanta, towers over the other counties. Of the \$65,559,729 in contributions reported with ZIP codes in Georgia, \$32,757,085 came from Fulton County. Distribution of contributions only vaguely mirrors distribution of population.

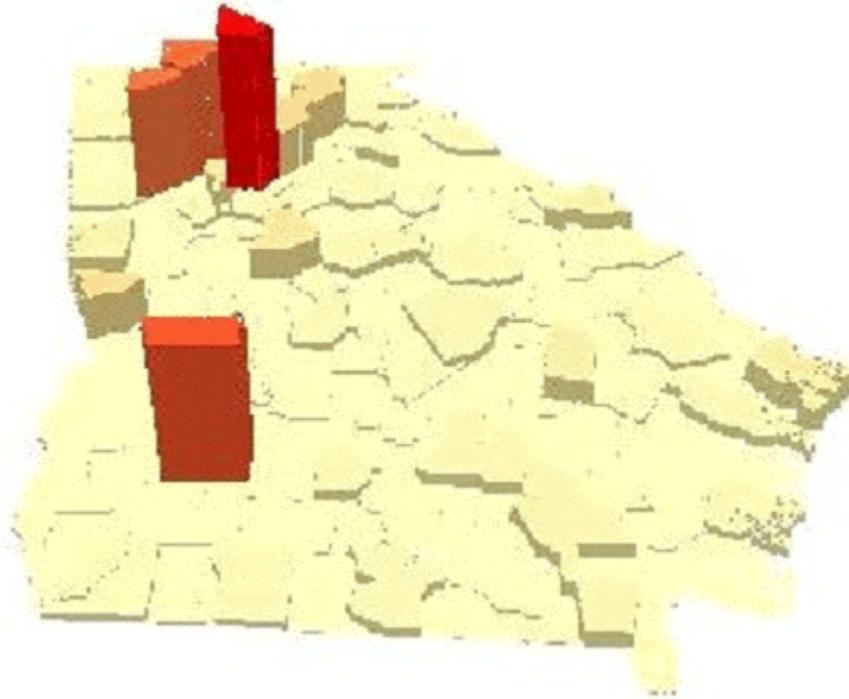
POPULATION

GA 1998 CONTRIBUTIONS

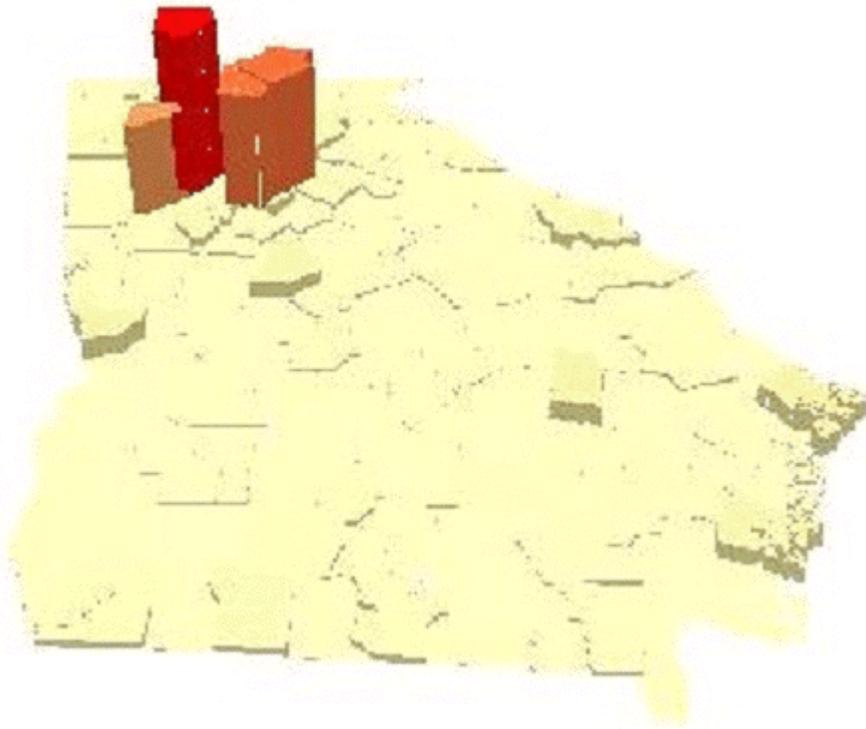


The next two maps of Georgia, shown in red, compare contributions to Democrats and Republicans by county. To make the relief between counties stand out more, Fulton County data was removed from these maps. If Fulton Co were mapped, it would be the tallest by far in each case. Republicans raised \$18,923,182 from contributors in Fulton County and Democrats received \$13,821,157 there.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO DEMOCRATS \$34,551,942



CONTRIBUTIONS TO REPUBLICANS \$30,705,660



The top 10 contributors to Georgia 1998 elections are shown below. Party money and candidate contributions were not included.

TOP TEN CONTRIBUTORS	TYPE OF ORGANIZATION	TOTAL \$
Coca Cola	Food & Beverage	\$178,591
GA Assoc of Realtors	Real Estate PAC	\$173,700
GA Nursing Home Assoc	Hospitals & Nursing Homes PAC	\$144,850
GAMPAC State Medical Assoc of GA	Health Professionals PAC	\$140,900
Home Builders Assoc of GA	General Contractors PAC	\$108,560
GA Dental PAC	Health Professionals PAC	\$94,050
Trial Lawyers of GA	Lawyers PAC	\$92,400
Vote Choice a GA PAC	Pro Choice PAC	\$87,300
AFLAC	Insurance Company	\$83,950
GA Assoc of Educators	Public Sector Union	\$80,399
TOTAL		\$1,184,700

INCUMBENCY & CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

- Out of 245 winners in the gubernatorial and legislative races, only 16 candidates or 6 percent won without the advantage of incumbency or of raising the most money.
- 217 of 245 winners or 89 percent raised the most money.
- 203 of 245 winners or 83 percent were incumbents.
- 229 of 245 winners or 94 percent had the advantages of incumbency, the most money, or both.

CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

The contribution limits in place during the 1998 elections were as follows:

Statewide and gubernatorial candidates can receive \$1,000 per non-election year from a single contributor and \$5,000 from a contributor during an election year. That means that during the four-year term of a statewide office holder, \$8,000 could be collected from each contributor.

Candidates running in House and Senate races can raise \$1,000 during off years and \$2,000 during election years. In a two-year term a legislator could raise a total of \$3,000 from a single contributor.

A contributor can be an individual, a PAC, or a business.