

1998 ALABAMA ELECTIONS ANALYSIS

by Mark Dixon

May 1, 2001

The Alabama 1998 elections covered seven statewide offices and the entire general assembly. The Alabama General Assembly consists of 105 seats in the House of Representatives, and 35 seats in the Senate. The entire General Assembly is elected every four years.

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

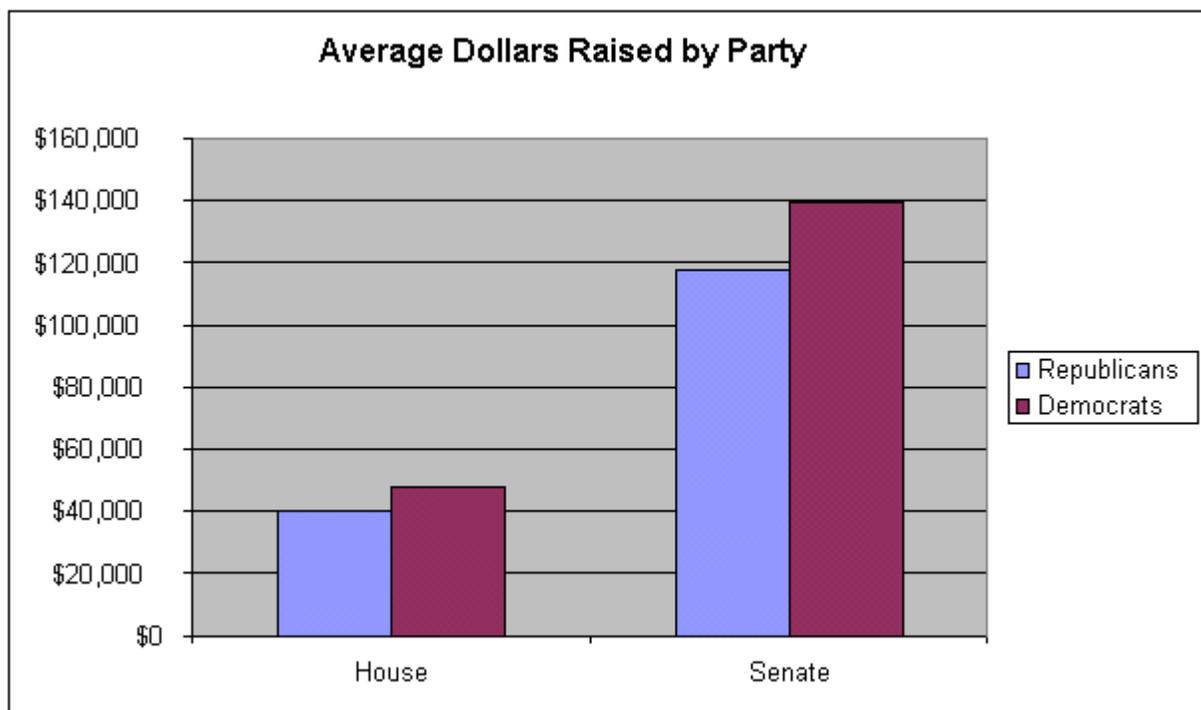
OFFICE	CANDIDATES	TOTAL RAISED
GOVERNOR	9	\$20,184,564
SENATE	84	\$10,694,300
LT. GOVERNOR	3	\$9,871,713
HOUSE	218	\$9,659,225
ATTORNEY GENERAL	2	\$3,549,723
COMM. OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIES	3	\$614,607
SECRETARY OF STATE	3	\$368,361
TREASURER	3	\$189,288
AUDITOR	3	\$177,677
1998 ELECTIONS	TOTAL	\$55,309,459

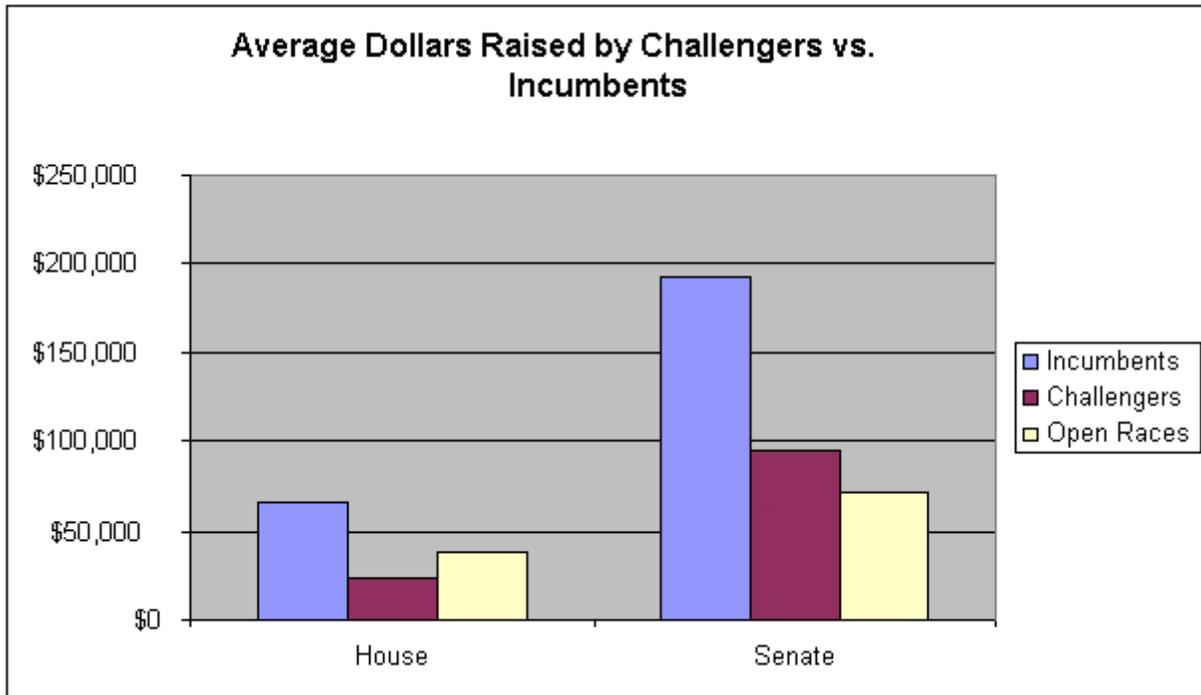
LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES

CANDIDATES	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	THIRD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	100	118	0	218	95	84	39
SENATE	46	38	0	84	32	36	16
TOTAL	146	156	0	302	127	120	55

TOTAL\$	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	3RD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	\$4,030,308	\$5,628,917	\$0	\$9,659,225	\$6,270,770	\$1,923,560	\$1,464,894
SENATE	\$5,402,524	\$5,291,775	\$0	\$10,694,300	\$6,140,089	\$3,417,134	\$1,137,076
TOTAL	\$9,432,832	\$10,920,693	\$0	\$20,353,525	\$12,410,859	\$5,340,695	\$2,601,971

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





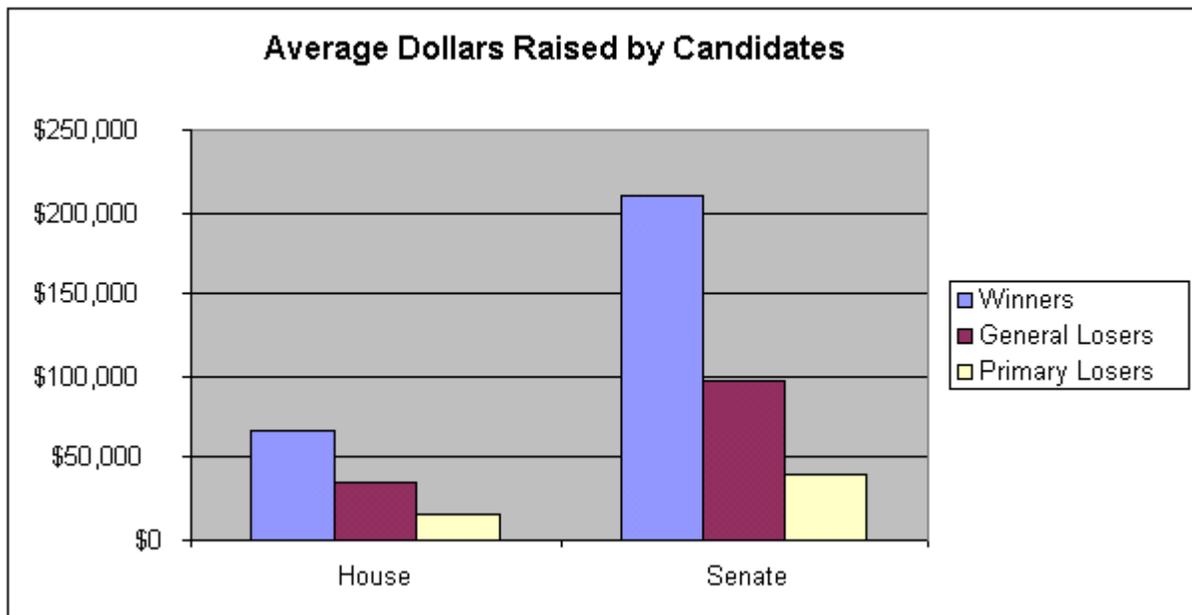
LEGISLATIVE WINNERS AND LOSERS

WINNERS	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	36	69	105	83	12	10
SENATE	12	23	35	25	7	3
TOTAL	48	92	140	108	19	13

TOTAL \$	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	\$6,947,446	\$1,723,938	\$987,842
SENATE	\$7,388,105	\$2,305,066	\$1,001,128
TOTAL	\$14,335,551	\$4,029,004	\$1,988,970

CANDIDATES	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	105	49	64
SENATE	35	24	25
TOTAL	140	73	89

The two tables above, total dollars raised and total number of candidates, 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 Alabama after the 1994 elections by a margin of 74 seats to the Republicans 31 seats. In the 1998 elections, Republicans won 5 additional seats. This left a balance in the House of 69 Democratic seats and 36 Republican-held seats.

Ten of the 105 House races were open, meaning the incumbent for that seat didn't run in 1998. Thirty-nine of 105 House races were uncontested, and in every case the incumbent for that seat was the only candidate that ran. Of those 39 unchallenged incumbents, 23 were Democrats and

16 were Republicans. Candidates running in the uncontested races raised, on average, \$54,980. Candidates running in the contested races raised \$41,983 on average.

The table below details the top five fundraising candidates in the House.

TOP HOUSE FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Seth Hammett - D	92 - Uncontested Inc Winner	\$442,971
Perry O Hooper Jr - R	73 - Incumbent Winner	\$234,414
Joe Carothers - D	86 - Incumbent Winner	\$150,441
James L Thomas - D	69 - Uncontested Inc Winner	\$144,094
Mike Millican - D	17 - Incumbent Winner	\$140,686
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$1,112,605

Republican candidates for the House, as a group, raised \$4,030,308 and won 36 seats. Democratic candidates for the House together raised \$5,628,917 and won 69 seats.

THE SENATE

Democrats controlled the Senate in Alabama after the 1994 elections, holding 23 seats to the Republicans 12. After the 1998 election, that number remained unchanged.

Three of 35 Senate races in 1998 were open. Seven races were uncontested, and in each case the incumbent for that seat was the only candidate to run. Candidates in the uncontested races raised, on average, \$129,945. Candidates in the contested races raised \$127,073 on average.

The table below details the top five fundraising candidates in the Senate.

TOP SENATE FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Harri Anne Smith - R	29 - Challenger Winner	\$499,131
Robert J Bentley - R	21 - Challenger Lost in General	\$446,760
Roger Bedford - D	6 - Incumbent Winner	\$427,544
Jeff Enfinger - R	7 - Open Race Winner	\$402,458
T D "Ted" Little - D	27 - Incumbent Winner	\$331,240
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$2,107,132

Republican candidates for the Senate, as a group, raised \$5,402,524 and won 12 seats. Democratic candidates for the Senate together raised \$5,291,775 and won 23 seats.

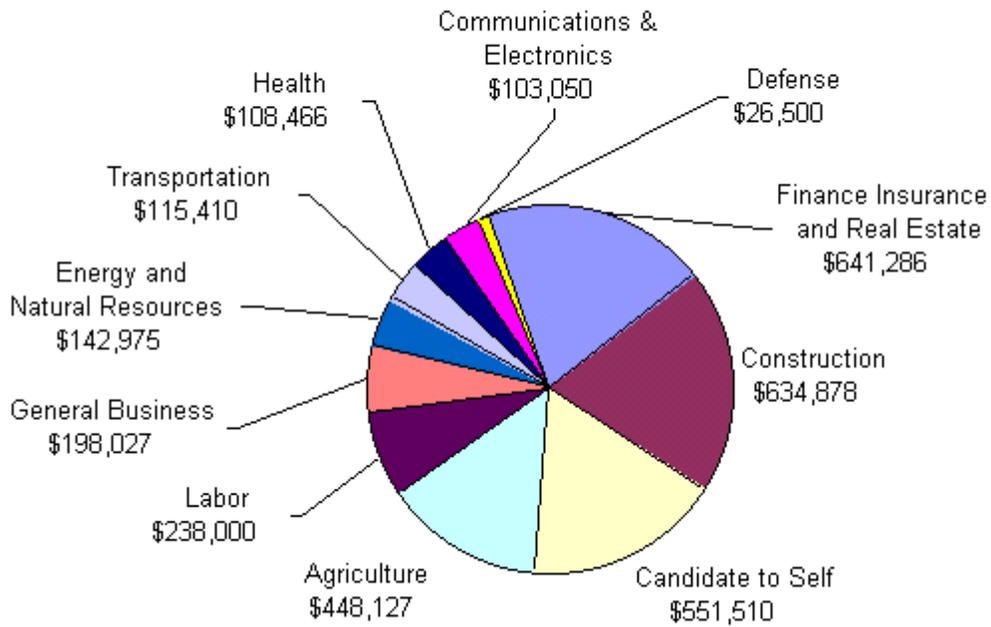
THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

The table below gives the breakdown of candidates who ran for governor of Alabama in 1998.

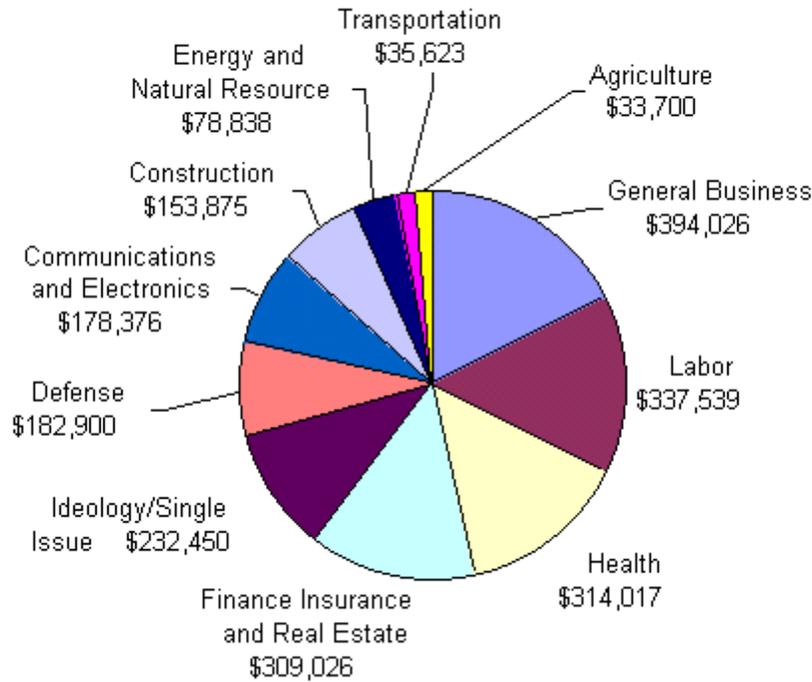
CANDIDATES	I C O	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED
FOB JAMES JR. - R	Incumbent	Lost in General	\$6,956,749
DON SIEGELMAN - D	Challenger	Won	\$6,272,009
WINTON BLOUNT - R	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$5,794,627
MAC MCALLISTER - R	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$456,844
LENORA PATE - D	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$389,459
GUY HUNT - R	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$252,595
PHIL WILLIAMS - R	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$62,281
LEE LAMB - D	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$0
WAYNE SOWELL - D	Challenger	Lost in Primary	\$0
1998 GUBERNATORIAL TOTAL			\$20,184,564

The following graphs show the amount that different economic interests gave to the Republican incumbent Fob James and Don Siegelman, the Democratic challenger.

Fob James Received \$3,208,229 from These Sources



Don Siegelman Received \$2,250,370 from These Sources



The graphs above do not show money raised by candidates from some sources. Those additional sources are detailed in the table below. These numbers were left out of the graphs to make the graphs a more useful comparison of the two candidates.

Economic Sectors	Fob James	Not Shown	Above
		Don Siegelman	
Political Party	\$788,004	Political Party	\$811,972
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,343,312	Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$1,703,934
Other	\$170,551	Other	\$184,939
Unknown Contributors	\$1,298,128	Unknown Contributors	\$1,179,399
Small Contributions	\$21,639	Small Contributions	\$19,978
Ideology/Single Issue	\$1,250	Candidate to Self	-\$114
Total	\$3,622,885	Total	\$3,900,108

THE STATEWIDE ELECTIONS

In addition to the gubernatorial race, there were races for six other statewide offices. The table that follows shows who ran and how much they raised.

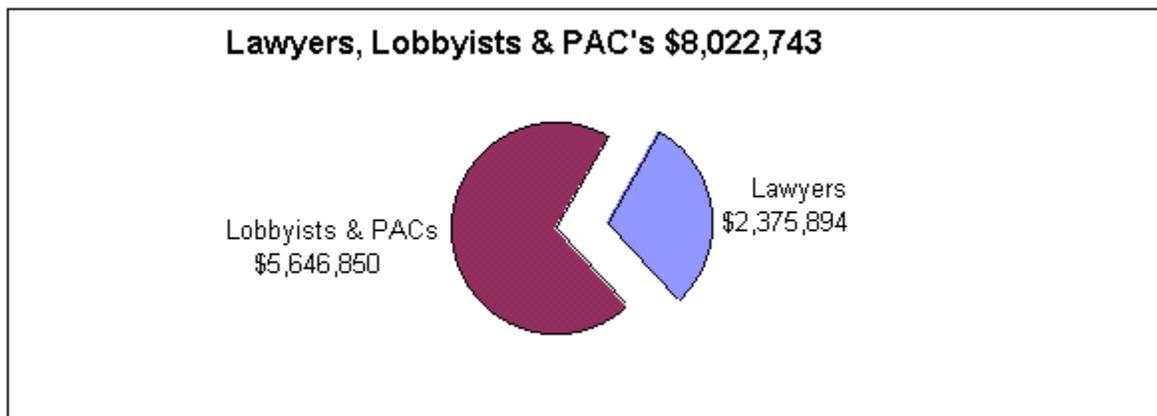
OFFICE	CANDIDATE	STATUS	ICO	TOTAL RAISED
Lt. Governor	Steve Windom - R	Won	Open Race	\$4,920,899
	Dewayne Freeman - D	Lost General	Open Race	\$3,355,512
	John Amari - R	Lost Primary	Open Race	\$1,595,302
Attorney General	Bill Pryor - R	Won	Open Race	\$1,792,001
	Terry L. Butts - D	Lost General	Open Race	\$1,757,722
Commissioner of Agriculture and Industries	Charles Bishop - D	Won	Challenger	\$437,809
	Jack Thompson - R	Lost General	Incumbent	\$111,201
	Anne Payne - D	Lost Primary	Challenger	\$65,798
Secretary of State	Jim Bennett - R	Won	Incumbent	\$210,428
	Nancy L. Worley - D	Lost General	Challenger	\$117,124
	Danny Patterson - R	Lost Primary	Challenger	\$40,809
Treasurer	Lucy Baxley - D	Won	Incumbent	\$151,111
	Tom Davis - R	Lost General	Challenger	\$36,677
	K. D. Livingston - R	Lost Primary	Challenger	\$1,500
Auditor	Patsy Ann Duncan - R	Lost General	Incumbent	\$79,571
	Susan D. Parker - D	Won	Challenger	\$65,959
	Karen C. Haiden - D	Lost Primary	Challenger	\$32,147
TOTAL				\$14,771,369

SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS

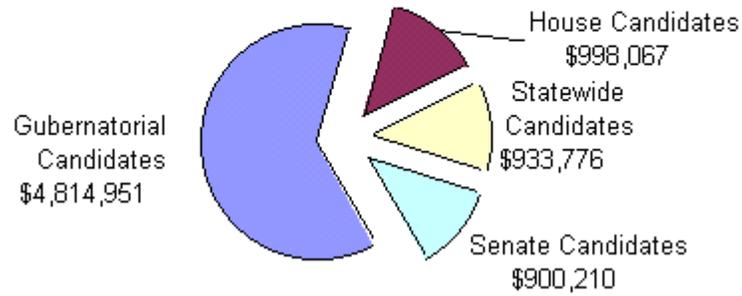
The following table shows which economic sectors gave the most money to all candidates and it provides a percentage breakdown of how much each party received. Contributors whose economic interests could not be determined gave \$7,522,728; these contributors are not included in the total. Also excluded was \$444,851 of non-contributions, mostly account interest.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	D% / R%	TOTAL CONTRIBUTED	% OF TOTAL
Lawyers & Lobbyists	55 / 45	\$8,022,743	16.9%
Candidates to Self	17 / 83	\$7,647,004	16.2%
Party	60 / 40	\$7,001,453	14.8%
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	32 / 68	\$4,241,080	9.0%
General Business	35 / 65	\$4,238,714	9.0%
Health	53 / 47	\$3,159,294	6.7%
Labor	72 / 28	\$2,541,011	5.4%
Construction	24 / 76	\$2,296,340	4.9%
Agriculture	21 / 79	\$2,261,175	4.8%
Energy & Natural Resources	51 / 49	\$1,643,123	3.5%
Other	61 / 39	\$1,152,522	2.4%
Transportation	25 / 75	\$931,167	2.0%
Small Contributions	41 / 59	\$781,159	1.7%
Communications & Electronics	55 / 45	\$696,186	1.5%
Ideology & Single-Issue Groups	93 / 7	\$495,901	1.0%
Defense	83 / 17	\$233,005	0.5%
TOTALS	43 / 57	\$47,341,879	100.0%

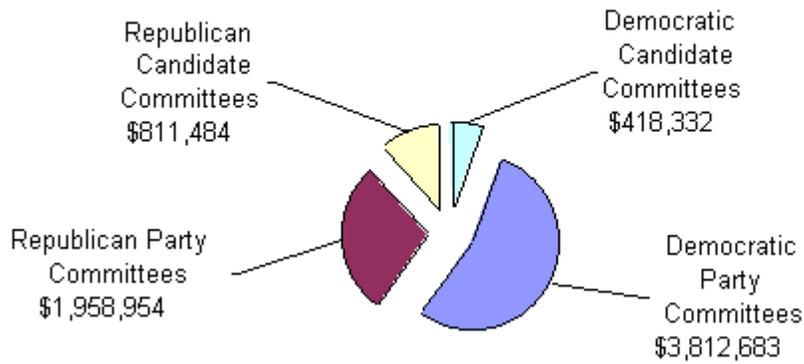
The graphs that follow are the industry, and in some cases, party breakdowns of the economic sectors described in the previous table. This shows where the money originates from within each sector.



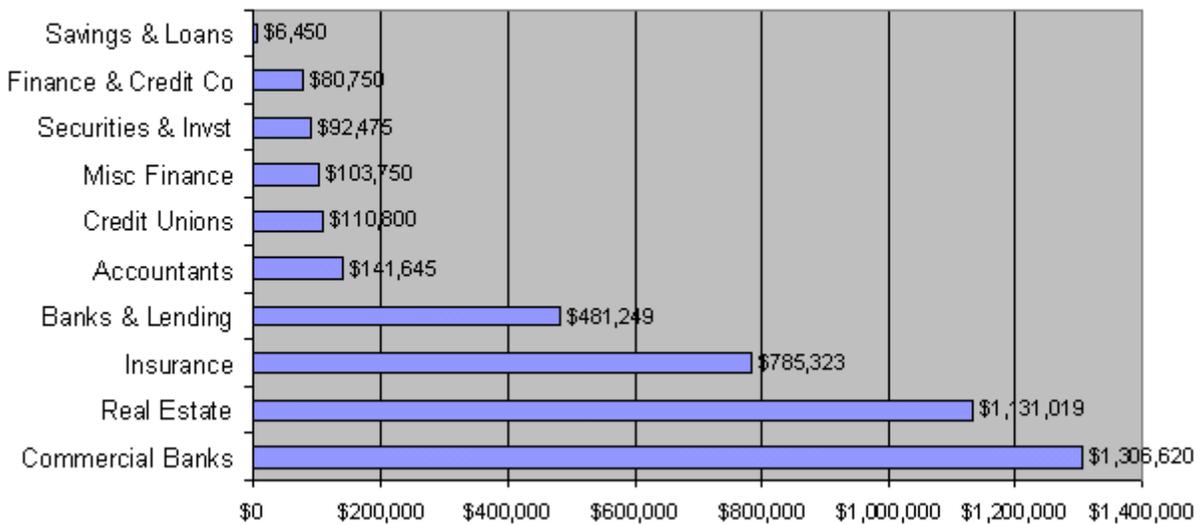
Candidates to Self \$7,647,004



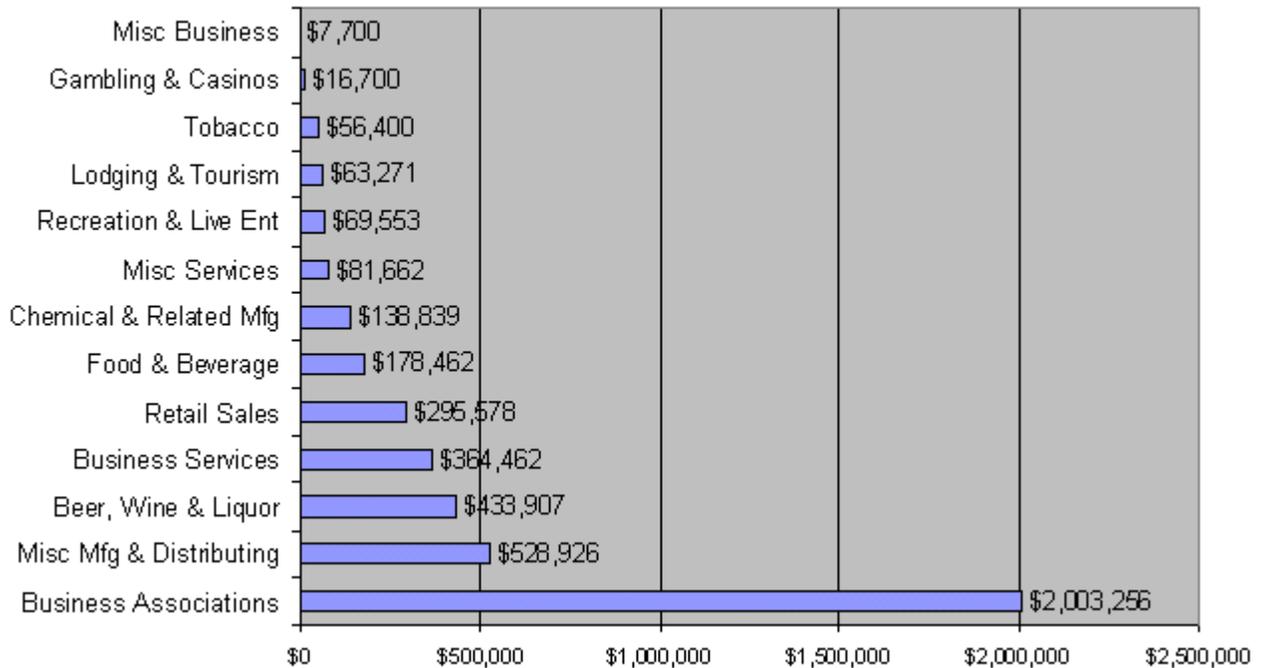
Political Party Contributions \$7,001,453



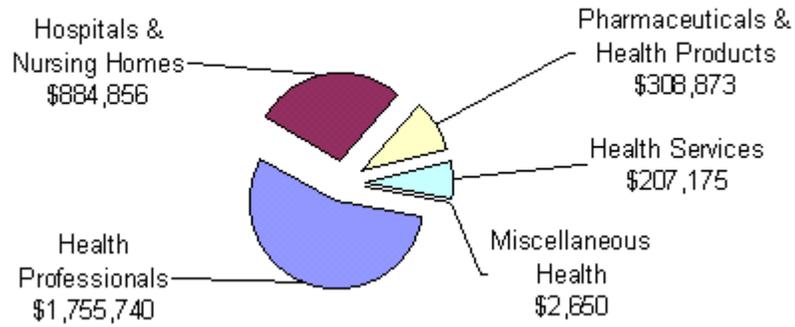
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate \$4,241,080



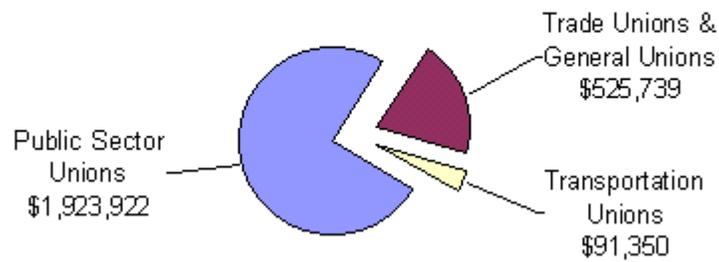
General Business \$4,238,714



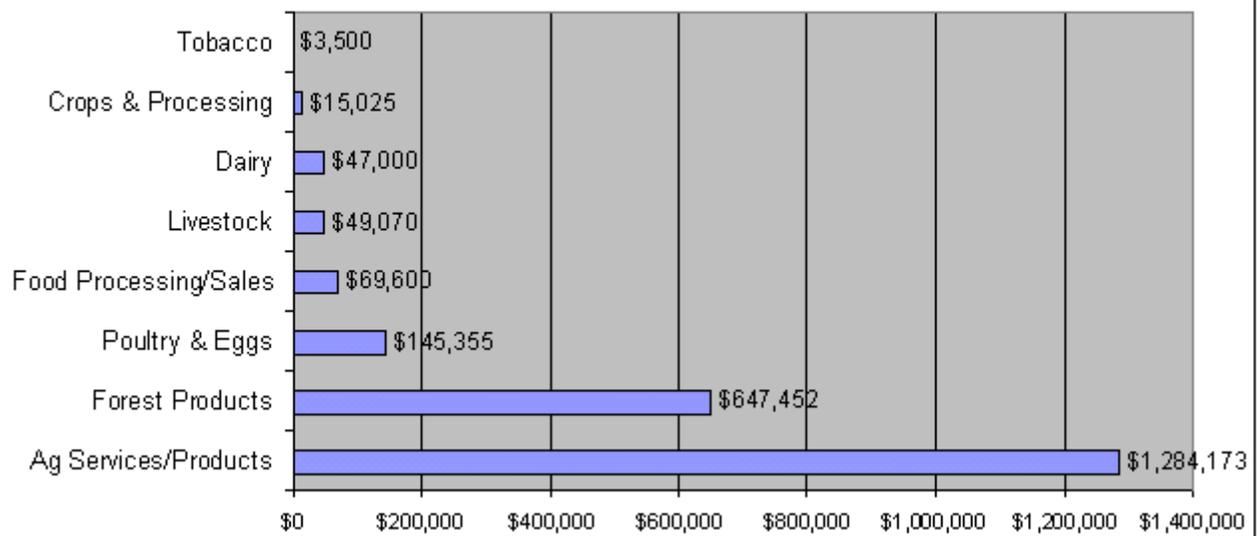
Health \$3,159,294



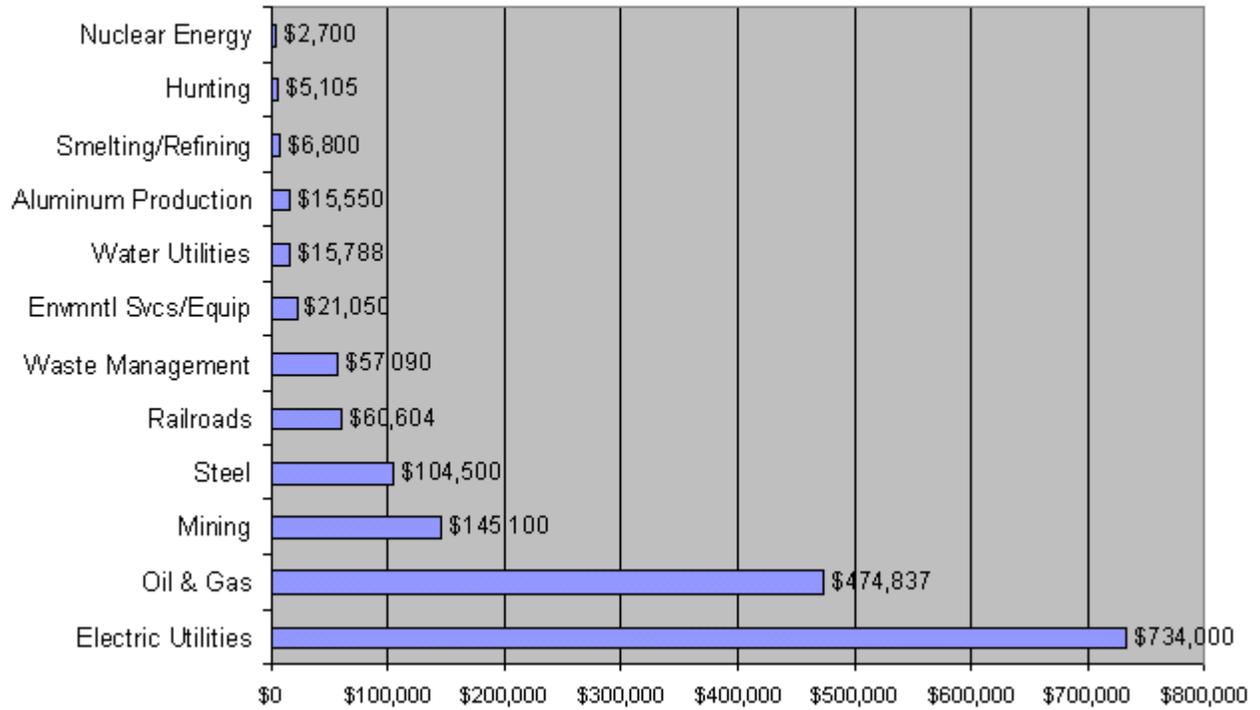
Labor \$2,541,011



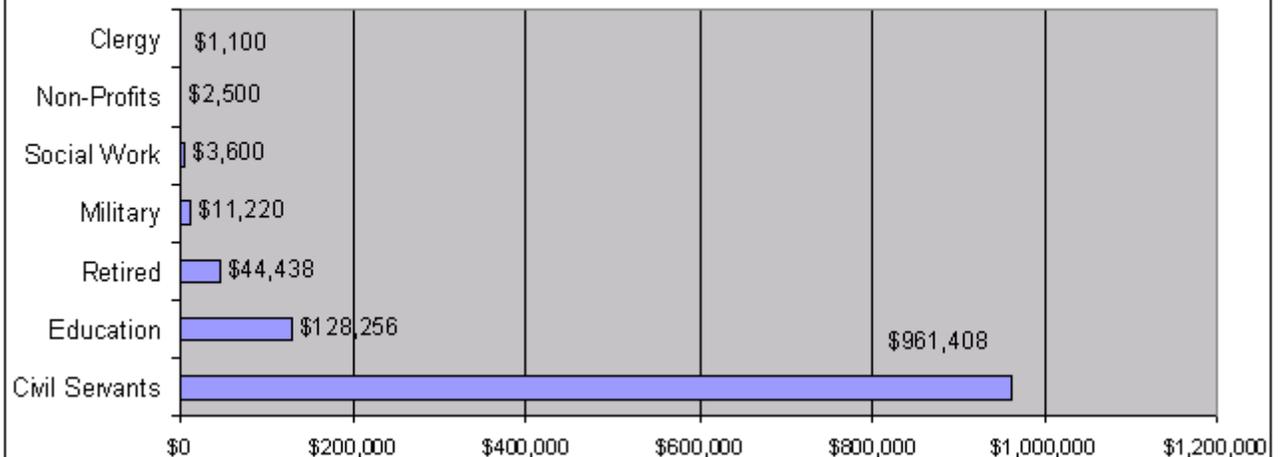
Agriculture \$2,261,175



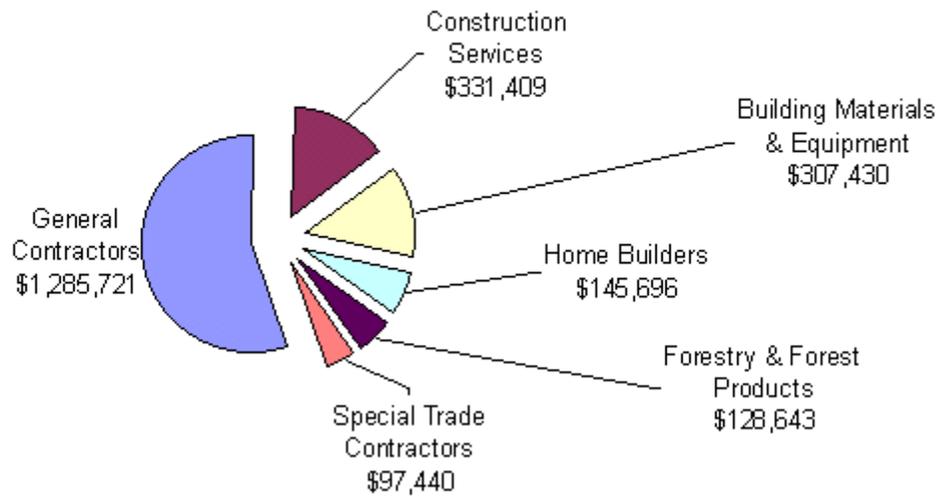
Energy & Natural Resources \$1,643,123



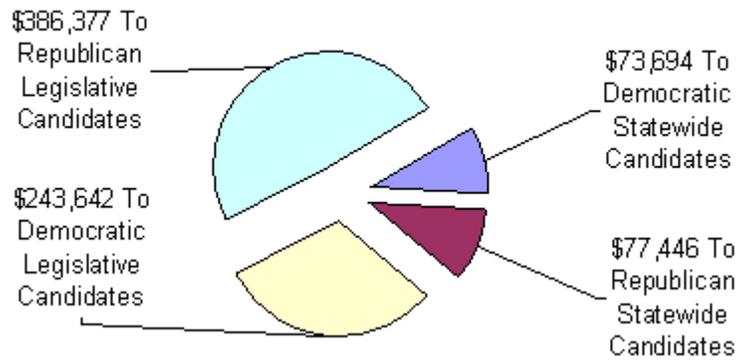
Other \$1,152,522

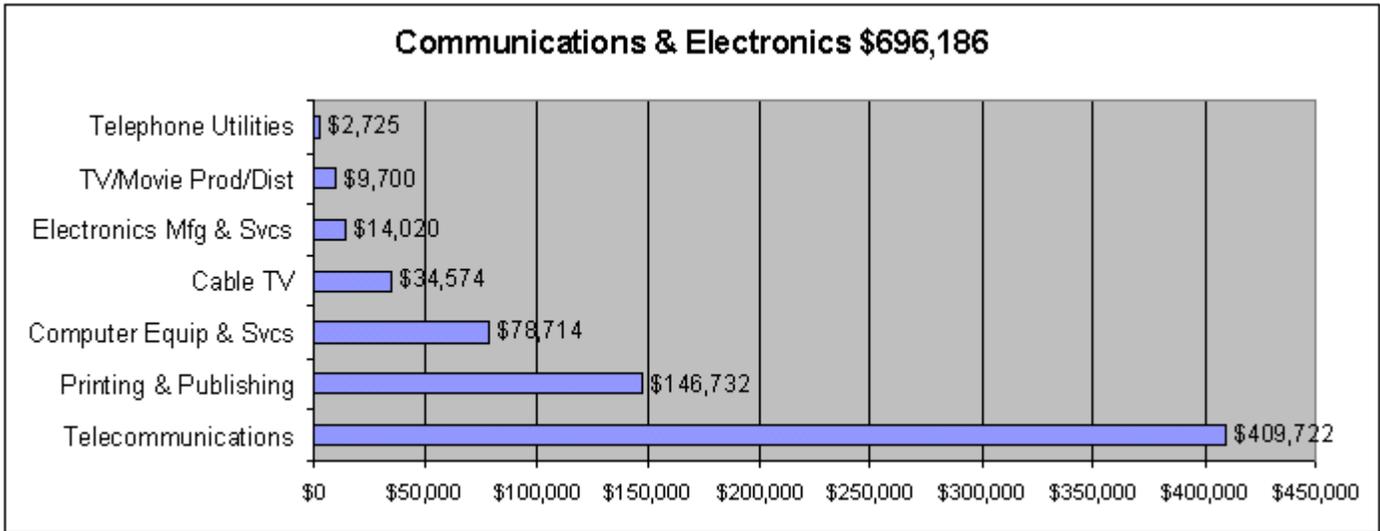
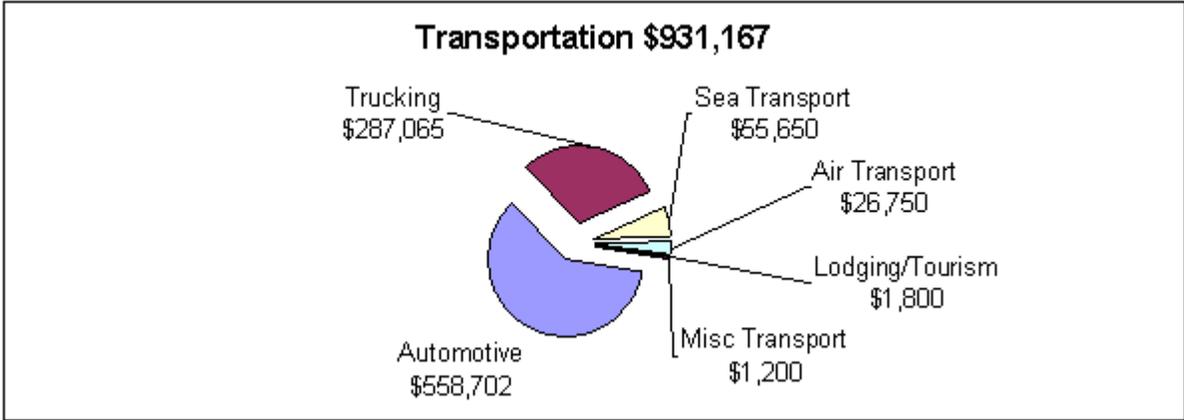


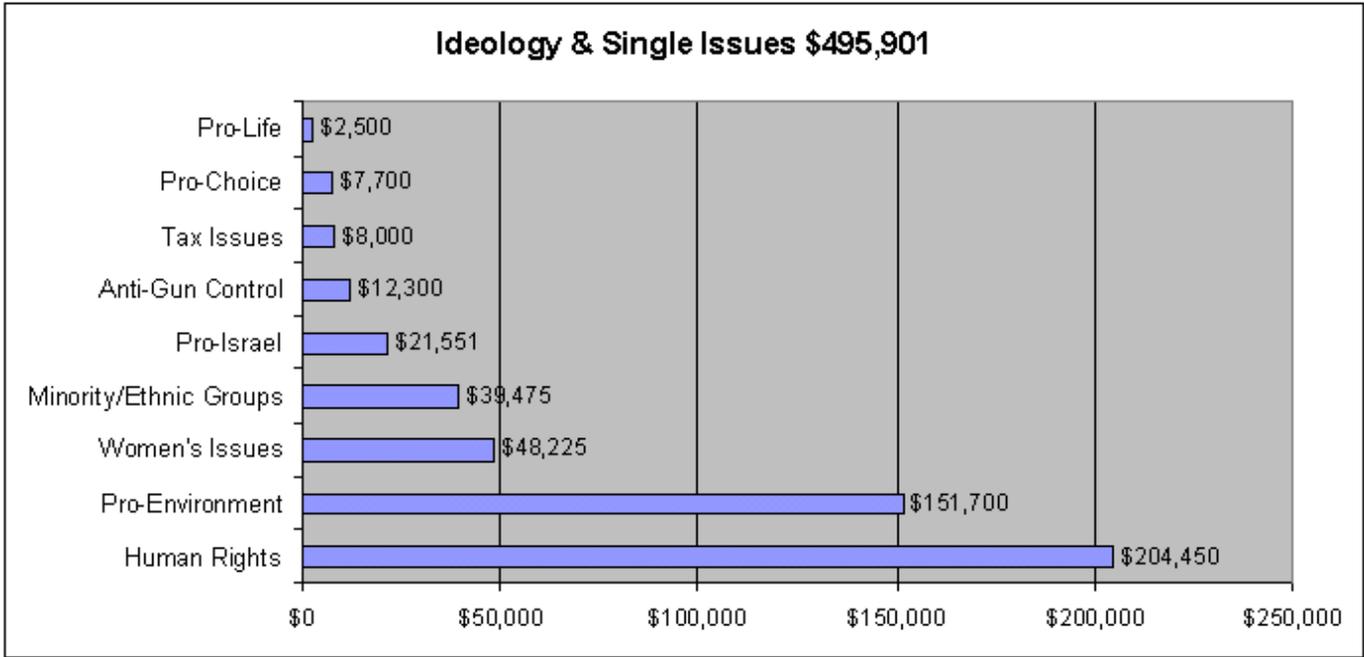
Construction \$2,296,340



Small Contributions \$781,159







MAPPING THE MONEY

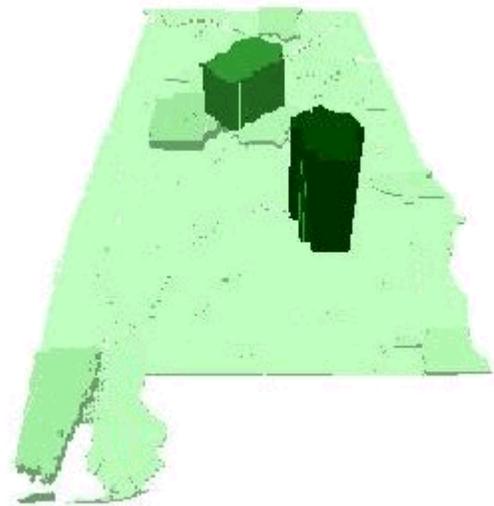
The green maps below compare the populations of different Alabama counties to the amount of contributions to candidates that originated from each county. The tallest counties represent the

largest values. \$49,470,911 is the total amount represented by the contributions map. These are all the contributions originating within Alabama that could be tied to a county by the zip code found in the campaign finance report. This number is slightly smaller than the real number of contributions that came from Alabama, because not all contributors included their zip code. Notice that the bulk of the money given in 1998 -- \$22,606,514 -- came from within Montgomery county where Montgomery, the capital of Alabama is located.

POPULATION



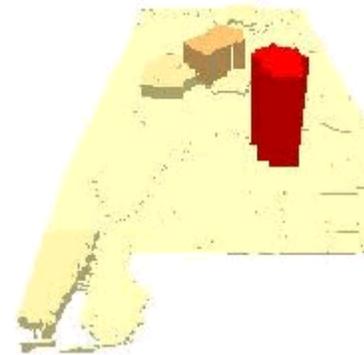
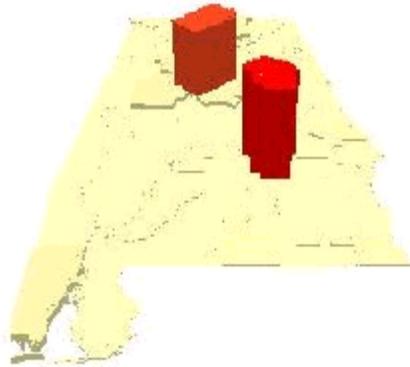
ALL 1998 AL CONTRIBUTIONS



The money map can be broken down into contributions to Democrats and contributions to Republicans, shown in the two red maps below.

DEMOCRATS \$20,925,116

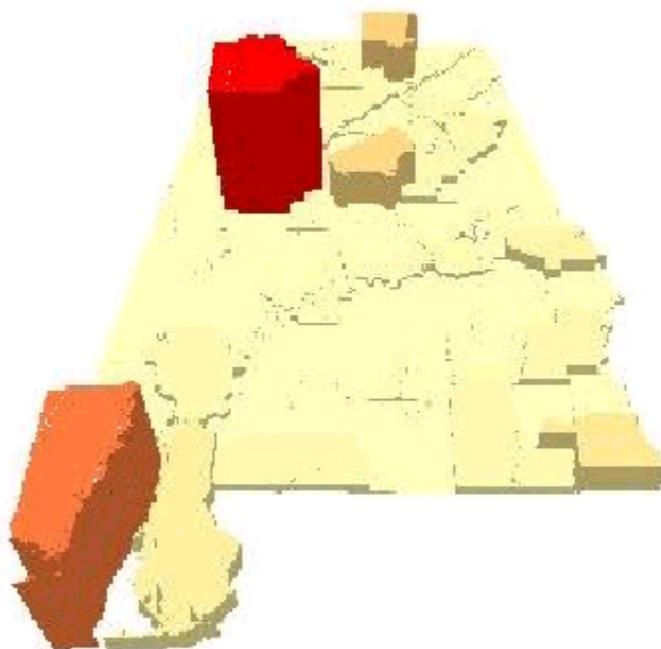
REPUBLICANS \$28,545,795



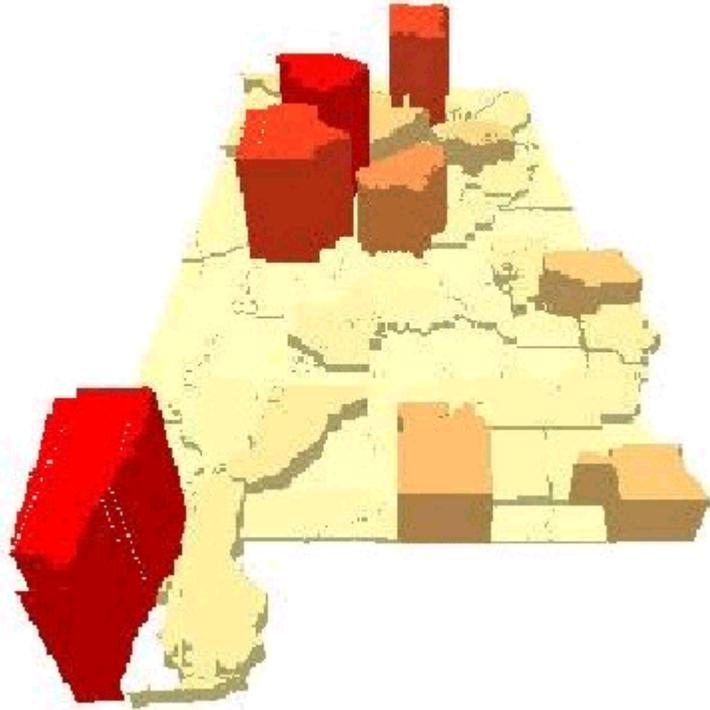
In the two maps below, data from Montgomery and Jefferson counties has been left out so that more contrast can be seen between the counties that gave less. This large concentration of money obscures the money coming from other counties to each party.

Contributions by County	To Democrats	To Republicans
Montgomery County	\$8,309,064	\$14,297,450
Jefferson County	\$6,821,371	\$5,730,388
All Other Counties Combined	\$5,794,681	\$8,517,958

REPUBLICANS \$8,517,958



DEMOCRATS \$5,794,681



PACs IN ALABAMA

In Alabama, the economic interest represented by several political action committees could not be determined. In many cases, PACs in Alabama don't represent any one business or industry as they do in most states. These ambiguous PACs are a direct result of two things: limits placed on how much corporations can give to PACs or candidates and the ability of PAC managers, who are often lobbyists, to transfer funds from PAC to PAC in an unlimited manner.

A Feb. 2, 1999, Associated Press article by Phillip Rawls noted: State law places no limit on the amount an individual or PAC can donate in a campaign, but a corporation may only give \$500 to a candidate or a PAC in each election in each calendar year. But the way state officials interpret the law, every election held in Alabama throughout the year municipal, county, and state counts toward the total. In 1998, the secretary of state counted 13 elections.

Thus to overcome cumbersome limits, one lobbying firm will manage several PACs and a corporation will make contributions of the full amount to many or all of these PACs. Then the manager of these PACs can shift money from one PAC to the other until one of the PACs has a

sizable amount that will become a large candidate contribution. These PACs receive money from several corporations and will end up distributing thousands of dollars to candidates. The transfers and bundling among PACs makes identifying them with any one industry impossible.

Not all PACs in Alabama use this method, however. Some have a name that reflects their industry, union or corporate origination. The body that the PAC is representing simply requests that all of its members or employees put money into the PAC fund. Individuals can give unlimited amounts to PACs and candidates. PACs of this nature in Alabama are identified with their corresponding economic sector in the database. The PACs that couldnt be identified were all labeled as lobbyist money.

The table that follows shows the main multi-PAC managing individuals and lobbying firms and how much each of their PACs gave to candidates. The table was compiled from every PAC that gave in 1998, was managed by a firm also managing other PACs and could not be identified with any one industry or group.

PAC MANAGER	PACS MANAGED	TOTAL CONTRIBUTED
Fine Geddie & Assoc	11	\$1,132,053
John Crawford & Assoc	10	\$839,910
John Teague	6	\$606,750
J. Rudolph Davidson	5	\$396,950
John H. 'Johnny' Moore	3	\$225,500
Dennis Nabors	2	\$134,350
Janet Rich Pittman	2	\$107,151
Bruce Windham	3	\$78,250
Fred Crawford	2	\$43,950
Milo Dakin	3	\$42,094
TOTALS	47	\$3,606,957

SOURCES OF PAC CONTRIBUTIONS

To better understand the bundling and transfers occurring through PACs in Alabama as well as to know the interests that contributions from these PACs really represent, the National Institute on Money in State Politics built a special PAC database to analyze the information. The database was built from paper reports filed by any PAC that gave significantly in 1998 but whose economic interest could not be identified. The 1998 Alabama unidentified PAC database contains 50 PACs that together raised \$7,247,964 in the 1998 election cycle.

The table below contains the top 20 unidentified PACs and shows how much money they raised in 1998.

Top 20	Management & PAC Name	Chairperson	\$ Raised in '98 Cycle
1	FINE GEDDIE & ASSOC FGA PAC	Joe Fine	\$510,003
2	JOHN TEAGUE PAC T PAC	John Teague	\$439,100
3	JOHN CRAWFORD & ASSOC ECODEV PAC	John D Crawford	\$422,061
4	THE MCWHORTER GROUP MC PAC	Patrick D McWhorter	\$344,002
5	JOHN TEAGUE BIP PAC	John Teague	\$294,900
6	JOHN CRAWFORD & ASSOC GROWTH PAC	John D Crawford	\$291,294
7	J RUDOLPH DAVIDSON CHILDRENS PAC	Karen C Davidson	\$280,200
8	CAPITAL PAC	William F O'Conner	\$224,516
9	JOHN TEAGUE A PAC	John Teague	\$203,400
10	J RUDOLPH DAVIDSON TOC PAC	Karen C Davidson	\$199,050
11	FINE GEDDIE & ASSOC BI PAC	Joe Fine	\$192,035
12	JOHN TEAGUE COM PAC	John Teague	\$179,600
13	MOORE, JOHN H (JOHNNY) EAGLE PAC	Taylor Harper	\$175,950
14	JOHN CRAWFORD & ASSOC ALABEZ PAC	John D Crawford	\$175,544
15	JOHN TEAGUE AID PAC	John Teague	\$170,900
16	JOHN CRAWFORD & ASSOC JDC PAC	John D Crawford	\$168,856
17	BRUCE WINDHAM JEN PAC	Bruce Windham	\$164,667
18	GOOD GOVERNMENT PAC	John McMillan	\$155,260
19	J RUDOLPH DAVIDSON TEC PAC	Karen C Davidson	\$142,550
20	GUARD PAC	John H Dorrill	\$142,325

The table that follows shows where these PACs raised their money, according to the economic interests of their contributors. Of the \$7,247,964 raised in 1998 by these PACs, \$1,705,751 came from one of the other unidentified PACs in this database. In other words, \$1,705,751 of these dollars represent PAC-to-PAC transfers or bundling.

ECONOMIC SECTOR	TOTAL CONTRIBUTED	% OF TOTAL
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$2,388,501	37%
Finance Insurance & Real Estate	\$1,257,295	19%
Energy & Natural Resources	\$651,006	10%
General Business	\$628,600	10%
Construction	\$454,861	7%
Health	\$292,950	4%
Transportation	\$186,200	3%
Agriculture	\$178,006	3%
Labor	\$147,000	2%
Other	\$124,000	2%
Communications & Electronics	\$116,500	2%
Ideology & Single Issue	\$112,050	2%
TOTAL	\$6,536,968	100%

The total in the previous table does not include \$710,996 in contributions where the economic interest of the contributor could not be identified.

TOP TEN PAC CONTRIBUTORS	DESCRIPTION	CONTRIBUTIONS
Propac Trial Lawyers	Lawyers	\$262,500
Milton McGregor	Gambling	\$205,900
Al Voice of Teachers for Education A Vote	Teachers Union	\$147,000
Colonial Bank State PAC	Bank PAC	\$134,000
George Skipper III	Insurance	\$130,000
Pete M Hanna	Steel	\$110,000
Protective Life	Life Insurance	\$82,000
American Council of Life Insurance PAC	Life Insurance	\$79,500
Mobile Greyhound Park	DogTrack	\$78,000
Amsouth Bank PAC	Bank PAC	\$77,038
CarePAC Al Nursing Home Association	Nursing Home PAC	\$75,000
TOP TEN TOTAL		\$1,380,938

INCUMBENCY AND CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

Out of 147 winners in the gubernatorial and legislative races, only 16 candidates -- or 11% -- won without the advantage of incumbency or of raising the most money.

127 of 147 winners -- or 86% -- were the candidates who raised the most money.

110 of 147 winners -- or 75% -- were incumbents.

131 of 147 winners -- or 89% -- had the advantages of incumbency, the most money, or both.