

SUMMARY OF 1998 TENNESSEE'S ELECTIONS ANALYSIS

By Mark Dixon

July 25, 2000

In Tennessee, the only elected statewide office is governor. All other statewide seats are appointed by the Legislature. 1998 was a gubernatorial election year.

Tennessee is divided into 33 Senate districts, 18 of which were up for election in 1998, the 17 odd-numbered seats and Senate District 8. District 8 was up in this election due to the death of incumbent Sen. Carl Koella. There is no limit on the number of terms a legislator may serve.

Tennessee is made up of 99 House districts, each having one representative. All 99 seats were up for election in 1998.

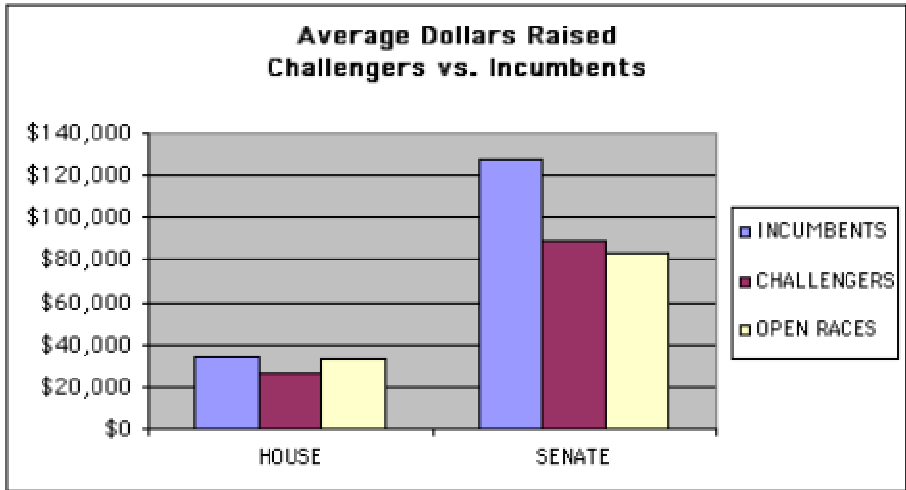
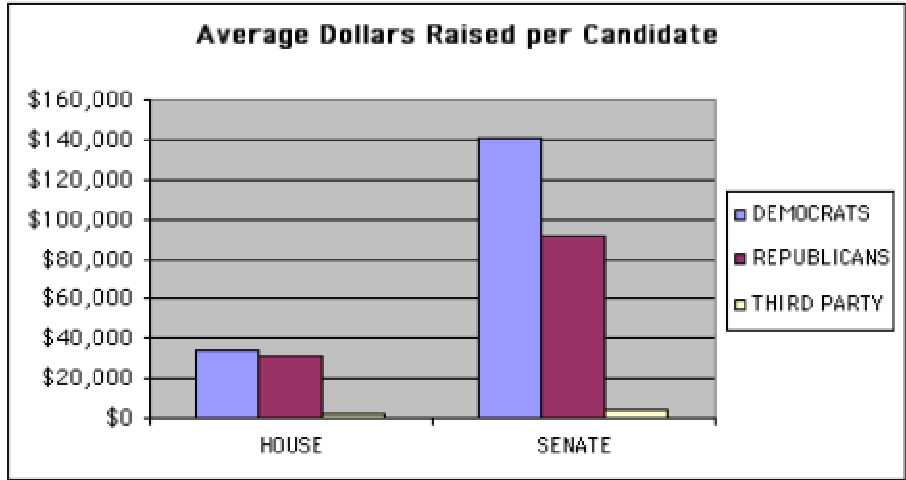
OFFICE	CANDIDATES	TOTAL RAISED
GOVERNOR	3	\$5,497,219
99 HOUSE SEATS	163	\$5,211,628
18 SENATE SEATS	30	\$3,251,221
1998 ELECTIONS TOTAL		\$13,960,068

LEGISLATIVE CANDIDATES

CANDIDATES	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	THIRD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	81	79	3	163	90	45	28
SENATE	17	12	1	30	16	8	6
TOTAL	98	91	4	193	106	53	34

TOTAL \$	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	THIRD PARTY	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	\$2,513,473	\$2,690,656	\$7,499	\$5,211,628	\$3,086,653	\$1,188,627	\$936,349
SENATE	\$1,557,586	\$1,690,010	\$3,625	\$3,251,221	\$2,039,842	\$713,558	\$497,841
TOTAL	\$4,071,058	\$4,380,666	\$11,124	\$8,462,849	\$5,126,495	\$1,902,165	\$1,434,190

Average dollars raised by legislative candidates in the 1998 elections are shown below, compared by party affiliation and by incumbent vs. challenger status.

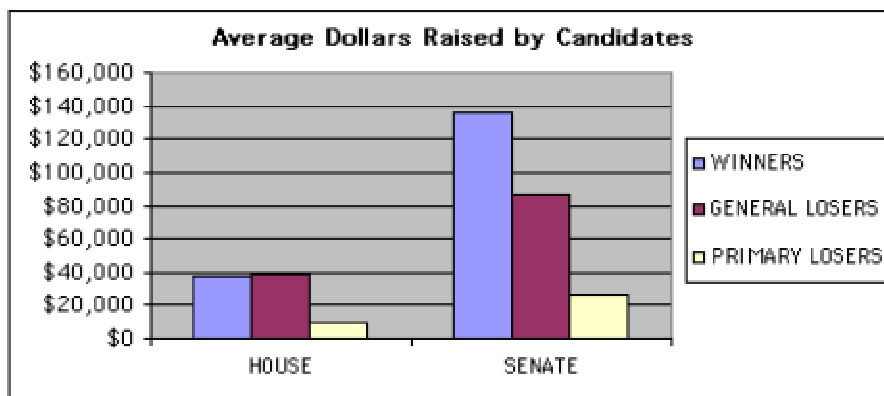


LEGISLATIVE WINNERS & LOSERS

WINNERS	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	TOTAL	INCUMBENTS	CHALLENGERS	OPEN
HOUSE	40	59	99	89	1	9
SENATE	11	7	18	15	1	2
TOTAL	51	66	117	104	2	11

CANDIDATES	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	99	34	30
SENATE	18	8	4
TOTAL	117	42	34
TOTAL \$	WINNERS	GENERAL LOSERS	PRIMARY LOSERS
HOUSE	\$3,634,693	\$1,305,035	\$271,901
SENATE	\$2,446,949	\$696,500	\$107,772
TOTAL	\$6,081,642	\$2,001,534	\$379,673

The fact that general-election losers for House positions raised more on average than winners is unusual. This can be attributed to the fact that 54 of 99 House races were uncontested and these incumbent winning candidates raised on average half as much as candidates running in contested races. These 54 incumbents with a guaranteed victory dramatically brought down the average of dollars raised by winners.



THE HOUSE

Democrats controlled the House after the '96 elections by a margin of 61 seats to the Republicans' 38 seats. Republicans won back two seats in '98. After the 1998 elections, Republicans had 40 seats to the Democrats' 59.

Eleven of 99 House races were open. 54 seats were uncontested and in each case the incumbent was re-elected. Candidates in these uncontested races raised, on average, \$20,052. Candidates in the contested races raised \$37,878, on average.

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

TOP 5 FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Jamie Hagood - R	17 - Open Race Winner	\$145,636
Larry Mike Williams - D	63 - Incumbent Winner	\$125,409
Charles R Bone - D	45 - Open Race Lost in General	\$116,719
Dennis Ferguson - D	32 - Incumbent Winner	\$104,350
Doug Hirt - R	55 - Challenger Lost in General	\$99,692
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$591,806

Republican candidates for the House, as a group, raised \$2,513,473 and won 40 seats. Democratic candidates for the House together raised \$2,690,656 and won 59 seats.

THE SENATE

The ratio of Democrats to Republicans did not change after the 1998 elections.

Democrats held the majority with 18 seats to the Republicans' 15.

Of the 18 races held in 1998, two were open, no incumbents ran in Districts 7 and 23.* Ten races were uncontested and the incumbent was re-elected in each case. Candidates in the uncontested races raised, on average, \$83,766. Candidates in the contested races raised \$120,678 on average.

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

TOP 5 FUNDRAISERS	DISTRICT	TOTAL RAISED
Robert Rochelle - D	17 - Incumbent Winner	\$474,586
Kenneth Springer - D	25 - Incumbent Winner	\$307,687
John Ford - D	29 - Incumbent Winner	\$274,860
Douglas Henry - D	21 - Incumbent Winner	\$258,401
Phillip Warren - R	17 - Challenger Lost in General	\$238,436
TOP 5 TOTAL		\$1,553,970

Republican candidates for the Senate, as a group, raised \$1,557,586 and won 11 seats.

Democratic candidates raised \$1,690,010 and won seven.

* In Senate District 15, Tommy Burks, the Democratic incumbent nominee, was shot dead before the general election by his Republican opponent Byron 'Low Tax' Looper. Burks' widow, Charlotte Gentry Burks, was elected to the seat as a Democrat and a write-in. Looper does not appear in the Institute's database, although his name appeared on the ballot. Charlotte Burks is listed as a challenger to that seat in the database.

THE GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION

CANDIDATE	STATUS	TOTAL RAISED	VOTES RECEIVED IN GENERAL
DON SUNDQUIST - R Incumbent	Winner	\$5,405,308	68.7%
JOHN J HOOKER - D Challenger	Lost in General Election	\$10,475	29.5%
MIKE WHITAKER - D Challenger	Lost in Primary Election	\$81,436	

The disparity in totals raised between the gubernatorial candidates who ran in the general election is interesting. Incumbent Don Sundquist raised more than \$5 million and his opponent, Democrat John Jay Hooker, reported less than \$8,000, all his own money. Hooker accepted only contributions of \$99 or less (sources of contributions of \$100 or more must be reported). His small contributions totaled \$3,000. He ran on a very limited platform based on judicial elections and campaign finance reform.

Hooker is an experienced candidate who ran and lost two gubernatorial campaigns in Tennessee and lost three bids for the U.S. Senate. He is a gifted orator, an ex-multimillionaire and often wears a stovepipe hat to express his admiration for Abe Lincoln. While Democrat Mike Whitaker campaigned heavily in the primary, Hooker had no official campaign staff and did not leave Nashville. He would not elaborate on his platform, saying it would distract from his main issue, campaign reform. He was quoted as saying, "All the problems in government are rooted in

the undue influence of money on campaigns". He received no endorsements from his own party because he criticized Democrats and Republicans equally for accepting 'bribes'.

This table shows the sources of funds for Don Sundquist.

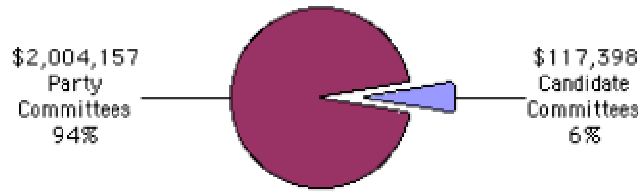
ECONOMIC SECTOR	TOTAL CONTRIBUTED TO DON SUNDQUIST
Construction	\$822,379
Finance, Insurance & Real Estate	\$792,655
General Business	\$680,476
Health	\$362,164
Transportation	\$239,397
Other	\$230,487
Party Money	\$222,466
Small Contributions	\$220,905
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$198,069
Energy & Natural Resources	\$139,902
Communication & Electronics	\$129,025
Agriculture	\$98,605
Defense	\$10,700
Labor	\$6,459
Ideology & Single Issue Groups	\$5,000

The total from the table above \$4,158,688 does not include \$1,246,620 that came from contributors whose economic interest could not be determined. Altogether, Don Sundquist raised \$5,405,308.

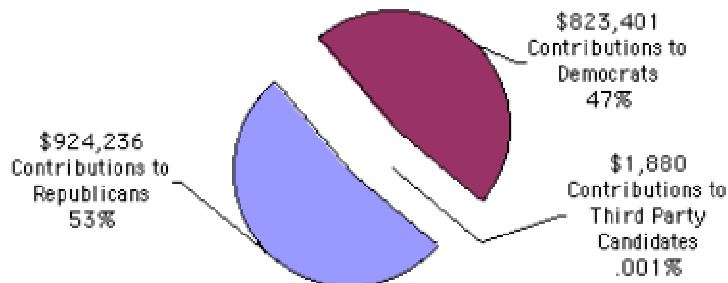
SOURCES OF CONTRIBUTIONS

The following pie charts show which economic sectors gave the most money and a percentage breakdown of how much each industry within that sector contributed. Contributions in the database that could not be identified are not included. The unidentified contributions totaled \$ 2,410,113 and consist mainly of small individual contributors whose economic interest could not be found.

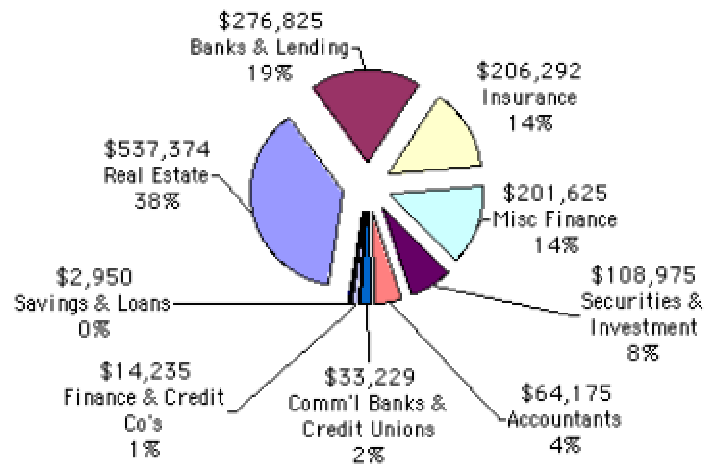
1. Political Party Contributions: \$2,121,555
35% to Ds / 65% to Rs



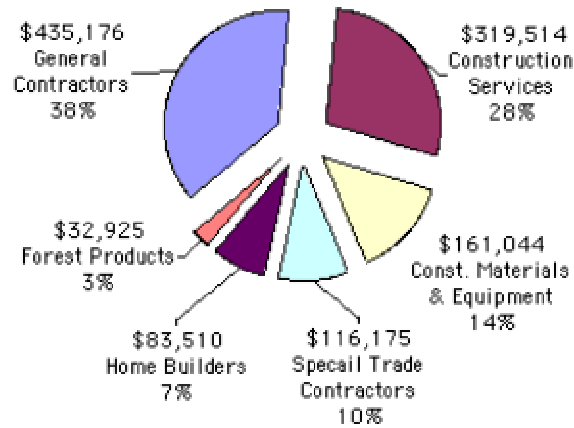
2. Small Contributions: \$1,749,517



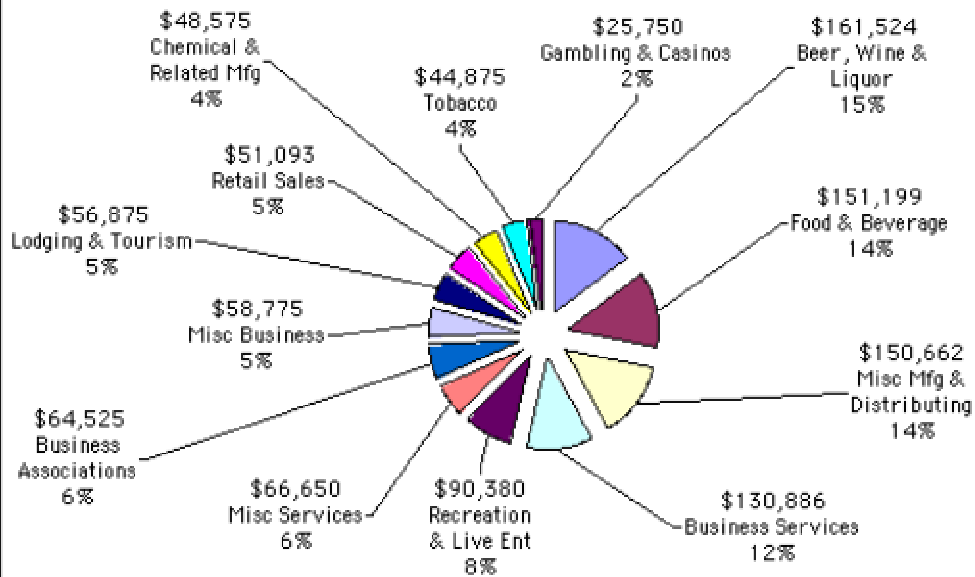
3. Finance, Insurance & Real Estate: \$1,461,556
23% to Ds / 77% to Rs



4. Construction: \$1,148,344
14% to Ds / 86% to Rs

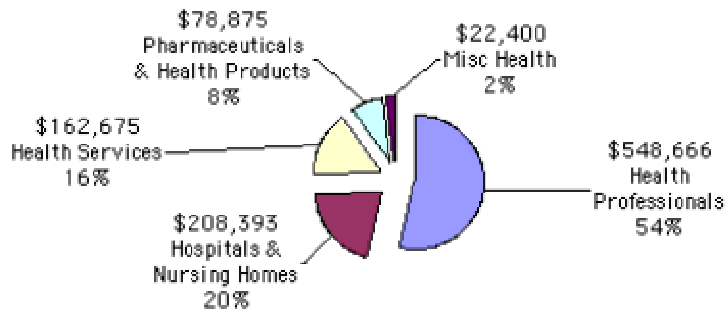


5. General Business: \$1,101,769
22% to Ds / 78% to Rs



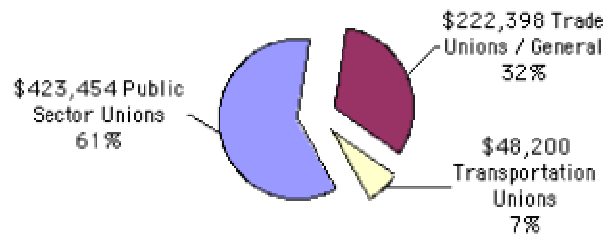
6. Health: \$1,021,008

40% to Ds / 60% to Rs

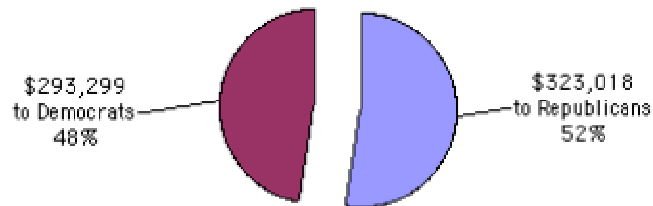


7. Labor: \$694,053

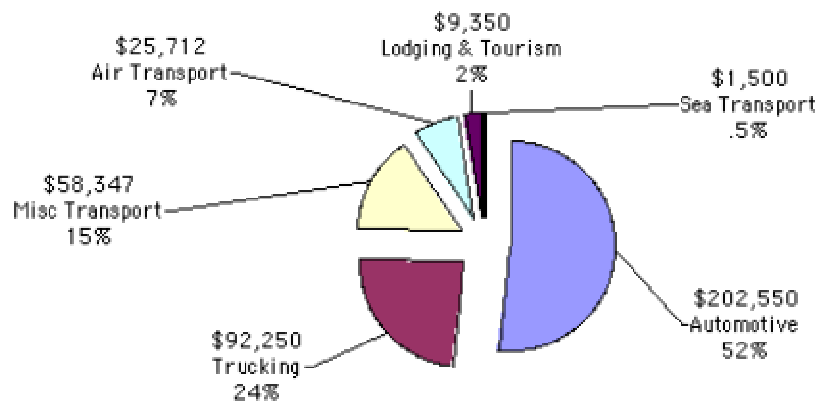
86% to Ds / 14% to Rs



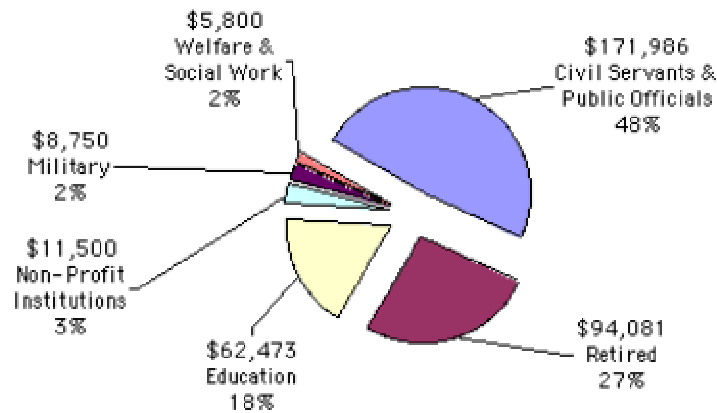
8. Lawyers & Lobbyists: \$616,317



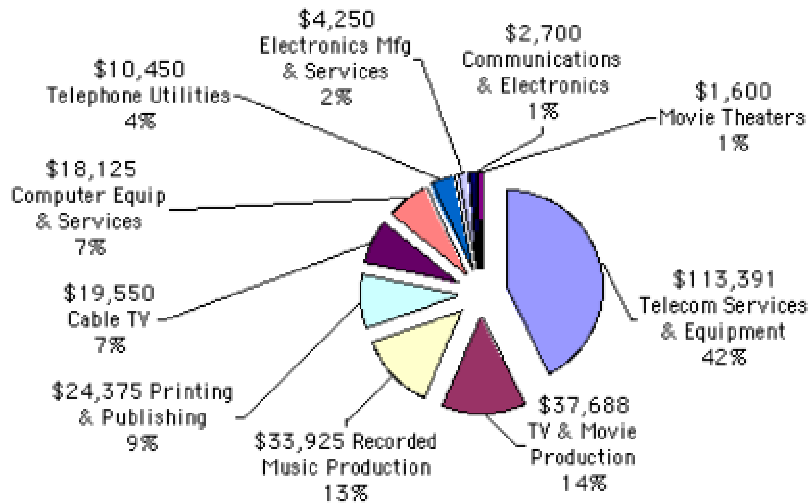
9. Transportation: \$389,710
20% to Ds / 80% to Rs



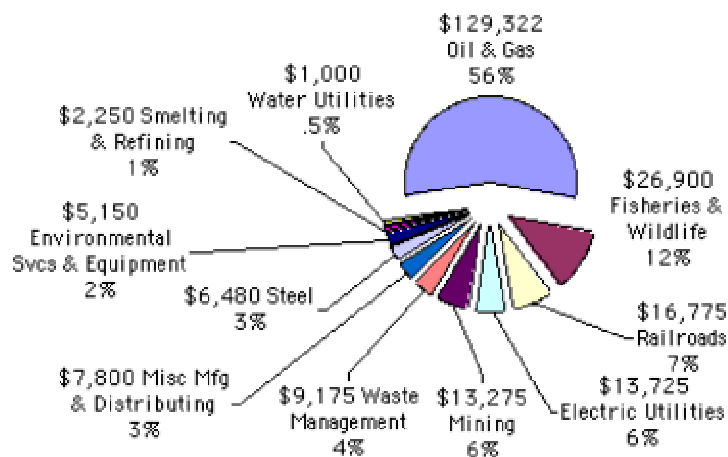
10. Other: \$354,590
17% to Ds / 83% to Rs



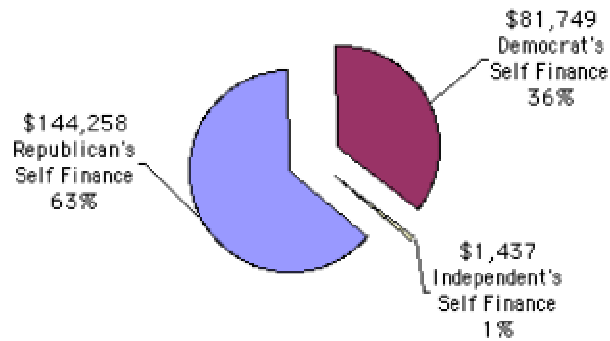
11. Communications & Electronics: \$266,054
35% to Ds / 65% to Rs



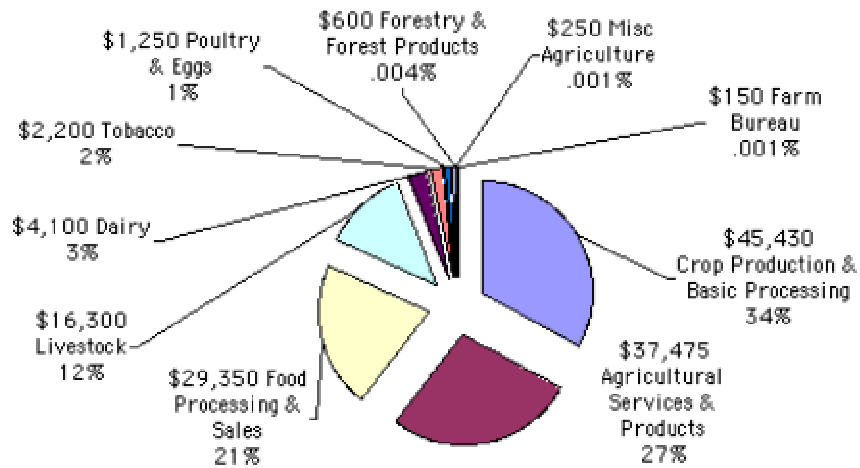
12. Energy & Natural Resources: \$231,852
20% to Ds / 80% to Rs



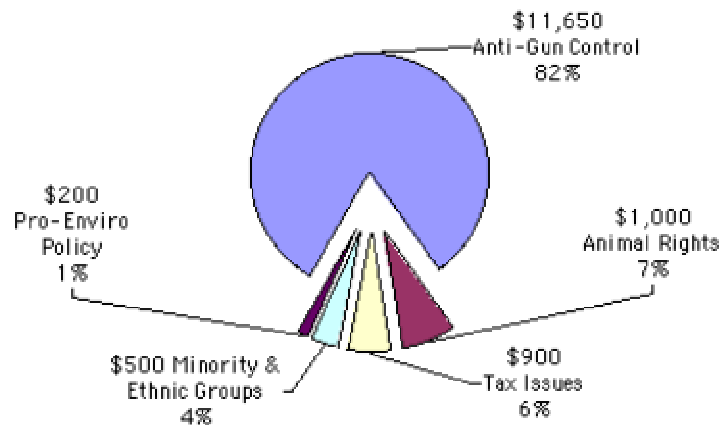
13. Candidate Contributions: \$227,444

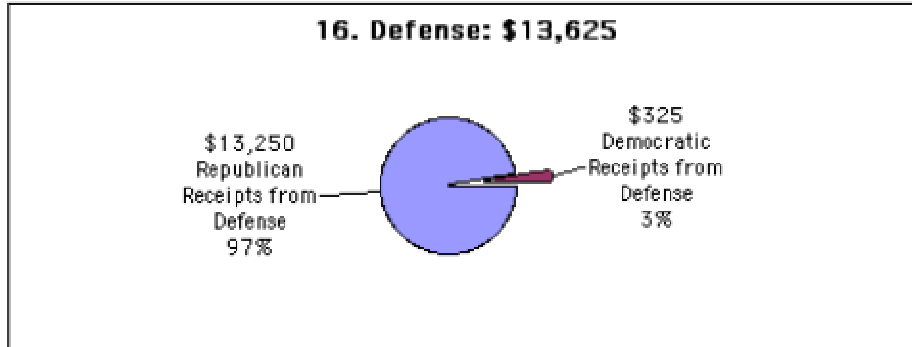


14. Agriculture: \$137,105
10% to Ds / 90% to Rs

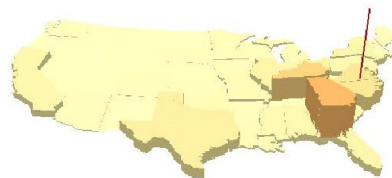


15. Ideology & Single Issue PACs: \$14,250
23% to Ds / 77% to Rs





OUT OF STATE CONTRIBUTORS



In the map above, the tallest states gave the most money to the '98 Tennessee elections. The red spike represents money that came from Washington D.C. contributors, who gave \$256,474. Contributors from other states also gave thousands in contributions to Tennessee candidates. The states, with a total contributed, include Georgia, \$115,830, Kentucky, \$83,100, Virginia, \$52,740, and North Carolina, \$50,875.

The total that came into the Tennessee 1998 elections from other states was \$910,473 or 7 percent of the total raised by candidates. Tennessee contributors gave \$13,049,595 to Tennessee candidates. The total raised in the 1998 elections was \$13,960,068.

TOP TEN 1998 CONTRIBUTORS	BUSINESS	TOTAL \$
TN PAC FOR EDUCATION	Teachers Union	\$198,900
LAWYERS INVOLVED FOR TN - LIFT	Lawyer PAC	\$193,600
TN EMPLOYEES ACTION MOVEMENT	State govt Employee Union	\$124,800
PLUMBERS & PIPEFITTERS	Labor Union	\$117,100
INDEPENDENT MEDICINE'S PAC - TN	Doctors PAC	\$97,852
TN REALTORS PAC	Real Estate PAC	\$85,600
TN BANKERS ASSOCIATION PAC	Banking PAC	\$76,200
BELLSOUTH EMPLOYEES TN PAC	Communication PAC	\$65,616
TN OPTOMETRIC PAC	Eye Doctor PAC	\$56,950
FRIENDS OF TN HOSPITALS	Hospital PAC	\$50,955
WHOLESALERS ASSN PAC	Business PAC	\$50,742
	TOTAL	\$1,118,515

The top 10 contributors gave 8 percent of the 1998 total. Party money and candidate contributions were left out of this summary.

INCUMBENCY & CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

- Out of 117 winners in the gubernatorial and legislative races, only two candidates, or 2 percent, won without the advantage of incumbency or of raising the most money.
- 113 of 117 winners or 97 percent raised the most money.
- 105 of 117 winners or 90 percent were incumbents.
- 115 of 117 winners or 98 percent had the advantages of incumbency, the most money, or both.

TENNESSEE CONTRIBUTION LIMITS

The following law was copied from the Tennessee Registry of Election Finance web page:

Pursuant to the Campaign Contribution Limits Act of 1995, T.C.A. 2-10-301, et seq., there are limits on how much monies that a person or a PAC may contribute to a candidate's campaign per election and how much monies that a candidate may accept for an election from a person or PAC. Those dollar limitations are based on the office sought by the candidate. Those limits are as follows:

OFFICE SOUGHT	PERSON	PAC	TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PACS (EXCLUDES *POLITICAL PARTY PACS)	TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS FROM POLITICAL PARTY PACS	CANDIDATE'S PERSONAL MONEY
GOVERNOR	\$2,500	\$7,500	50% of total contributions	\$250,000	\$250,000**
SENATE	\$1,000	\$7,500	\$75,000	\$40,000	\$40,000**
HOUSE	\$1,000	\$5,000	\$75,000	\$20,000	\$20,000**

* Political party PACs include those committees controlled by a political party on the national, state or local level and caucuses of a political party established by members of either house of the General Assembly.

** While the law specifies limits on the amount of money that a candidate may contribute to his/her own campaign, the State Attorney General has stated that those limits are unconstitutional. Therefore, the Registry of Election Finance is presently not enforcing the limits.

For purposes of dollar limitations, a primary election, general election, run-off election or special election are each considered a separate election with separate contribution limits. For example, a candidate for state Senate in the August primary election could accept \$1,000 from John Doe,

and if the candidate also runs in the general election, he/she could accept another \$1,000 from John Doe for the general election.