

# Democracy South

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## **THE MONEY ADVANTAGE PAYS OFF IN STATE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS**

### **Winners of "Money Chase" Win 9 out of 10 Races**

All 14 candidates elected to Congress from North Carolina – eight Republicans and six Democrats, one U.S. Senator and 13 U.S. Representatives – also won the increasingly important money chase: who can get the most dollars, quickest, to gain recognition and control the message of the campaign.

The story is almost the same for candidates for North Carolina's General Assembly.

Although sharply divided across party lines, 154 of the 170 state legislators elected (or ahead in the vote count) on Tuesday share one thing in common: Their campaigns had raised more money than their opponents going into the home stretch, or they had no opponent at all.

Indeed the success rate of the top fundraisers in state legislative contests – winning 91% of the races – set a record for the last five election cycles, according to Democracy South, a non-partisan watchdog group based in Carrboro. The success rate reached 87% in previous cycles.

A decade ago, only two state legislative candidates spent more than \$100,000. At least 44 had raised that much in cash, loans or in-kind donations by October 19, the cutoff date for pre-election disclosure reports filed with the State Board of Elections. Eleven candidates – nine Democrats and two Republicans – pulled in over \$300,000 compared to five in the 2000 election.

The power of the money advantage was especially apparent in races where incumbent Democratic candidates for the state Senate won in newly drawn, competitive districts. Despite five visits by George W. Bush and the resounding statewide victory of Republican Elizabeth Dole for the U.S. Senate, enough of these Democrats survived to maintain their party's majority control of the state Senate.

"The Senate Democratic caucus used their piles of cash to offset the enormous popularity of Queen Elizabeth and King George in North Carolina," said Bob Hall, research director of Democracy South. "They seemed determined to bury their opponents with their money advantage, which meant voters were swamped with mailings, calls, and ads promoting their message."

In two key races where Senate Democratic incumbents lost – the Odom v. Pittenger race in Charlotte and Wellons v. Smith contest in Johnston County – the Republican winners invested large amounts of their own cash early in the campaigns, winning the money chase and putting the incumbents on the defensive in the new, Republican-leaning districts.

But Senate Democratic incumbents Scott Thomas, David Hoyle, Steve Metcalf, Kay Hagan, John Kerr, Eric Reeves, Charlie Albertson, and Walter Dalton, as well as newcomers Cecil Hargett, Tony Moore and Joe Sam Queen, all won competitive races by raising at least \$100,000 more than their opponent by Oct. 19. In most cases, they amassed three or four times the resources of their opponents.

Democrats in those 11 races enjoyed a money advantage of \$3.1 million to the GOP's \$537,000.

Republicans still gained seats in the state Senate because of redistricting. They won 20 of the 22 districts judged to be "leaning GOP" or "strong GOP" by NC FREE, the pro-business trade group, including two where their candidate lost the money chase. They won just two of the six "swing districts," with incumbents Patrick Ballantine and Hugh Webster.

On the House side, Democrats also used a substantial fund-raising advantage to hold back loses from redistricting and top-of-the-ticket defeat.

Here are some findings by Democracy South, assuming final election results produce a net gain of three seats for Republicans, giving their party a 61-59 majority in the House:

- Even without counting the \$1 million raised by Speaker Jim Black (which was mostly funneled into other races), House Democratic candidates had logged in a total of \$3.9 million in cash, loans and in-kind donations by October 19, compared to \$3.1 million for Republicans.
- In the 62 House races between two major party candidates (excluding Speaker Black's race), the 32 Democratic winners had a 3-to-1 money advantage over their Republican opponents, while the 30 Republican winners as a group just held even with the Democrats.
- In 13 cases, Republican House candidates won even though they lost the money chase; only one Democrat in the House, Earlene Parmon of Winston-Salem, won against a better-funded candidate. (No Senate Democrat won against a better-funded Republican.)
- Republicans won all the "leaning GOP" and "strong GOP" House districts identified by NC FREE, except one, where Jim Harrell out-fundraised and out-pollied Buck Golding. Democrats won all the "leaning Dem" and "strong Dem" districts, except one, where Timothy Moore defeated incumbent Andy Dedmon, who had more money.
- In the 19 "swing districts," Democrats only succeeded where they also won the money chase; they took 7 of the 12 races where their candidate had the most money. The Republicans won the 7 races where they raised the most, plus 5 where they didn't, including their victories over incumbents David Redwine, Leslie Cox, Phil Baddour, and Russell Tucker and former House member Max Melton.

"Because of the compressed election season, this was supposed to be the year that campaigns for the General Assembly stopped breaking fund-raising records," said Hall. "But with another round of redistricting and tough budget decisions looming, it appears there was too much at stake for either the special-interest donors or the candidates to slow down the money chase."

Overall, incumbents had more money than challengers going into the final weeks of the election. In the contests without an incumbent or where two incumbents faced each other, Democrats typically had more resources than Republicans. One reason Republican numbers are lower is because Democratic candidates include in-kind contributions from their party in their totals, while at least \$400,000 worth of polling, mailings, and media ads sponsored by the state Republican party for specific candidates is not including in the totals reported by the individual Republican candidates.

"The public finds the fund-raising arms race disgusting, but it's unrealistic to think the parties or candidates will disarm on their own," said Hall. "People have to get beyond being cynical or angry at politicians and focus on how to change the rules of the game."

# FUNDS RAISED IN N.C. GENERAL ASSEMBLY RACES TO 10/19/02

**Winner indicated by asterisk (\*) before name. Table only includes major party candidates. Libertarian candidates generally waived disclosure of finances by pledging to raise or spend less then \$3000 in the election.**

DIS- TRICT	TOP FUND- RAISER WON ELECTION?	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	AMOUNT RAISED	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	AMOUNT RAISED
S- 1	Y	*Basnight, Marc	\$1,259,865	Toppin, Ronald W Sr	\$ 4,660
S- 2	Y	*Thomas, Scott	431,259	Tyson, Charles F Jr	95,790
S- 3	Y	*Jenkins, Clark	126,685	Carson, Don	39,119
S- 4	Y	*Holloman, Robert L	14,175		
S- 5	Y	*Moore, Tony P	245,944	Coulson, Tom	13,590
S- 6	Y	*Hargett, Cecil	178,169	Pollard, Tommy	69,778
S- 7	Y	*Kerr, John	387,963	Russell, Carolyn B	61,750
S- 8	Y	*Soles, R C Jr	116,058	Gilbert, Ray	0
S- 9	Y	Padgett, Laura	75,136	*Ballantine, Patrick	253,279
S- 10	Y	*Albertson, Charlie	183,353	Wilson, George E	58,074
S- 11	Y	*Swindell, A B IV	206,329	Cooke, Willie	875
S- 12	Y	Wellons, Allen	189,696	*Smith, Fred	231,095
S- 13	Y	*Weinstein, David F	76,226		
S- 14	Y	*Malone, Vernon	39,875	Bennett, Carol	0
S- 15	Y	Bowles, D (Gerry)	8,545	*Carrington, John H	68,757
S- 16	Y	*Reeves, Eric M	369,991	Coble, Paul Y	79,269
S- 17	Y	Hunt, Thomas B	1,101	*Stevens, Richard Y	121,228
S- 18	Y	*Gulley, Wilbur P	76,921	Davidson, Tom	6,826
S- 19	Y	*Rand, Tony	214,054	White, Bob	0
S- 20	Y	*Lucas, Jeanne H#	18,438		
S- 21	Y	*Shaw, Larry#	3,400	Evans, Richard D	1,308
S- 22	Y	Love, Jimmy L Sr	63,775	*Blake, Harris	122,777
S- 23	Y	*Kinnaird, Ellie	48,951	Morcombe, Peter	1,449
S- 24	Y	Powell, William C	38,625	*Webster, Hugh	42,113
S- 25	Y	*Purcell, William R	70,292	Dawkins, Donald M	20,352
S- 26	Y			*Berger, Philip E	48,721
S- 27	Y	*Hagan, Kay R	302,844	McDaniel, Mark Jr	51,406
S- 28	Y	*Dorsett, Katie	33,033	Causey, J Mike	7,374
S- 29	Y	Whatley, L McKay	8,167	*Tillman, Jerry W	51,500
S- 30	Y	Gambill, Ed	0	*Garwood, John	35,399
S- 31	Y			*Horton, Hamilton Jr	15,379
S- 32	Y	*Garrou, Linda	113,068		
S- 33	Y			*Bingham, Stan	1,775
S- 34	N	Sherrill, J Carlyle	15,317	*Brock, Andrew C	13,196
S- 35	Y	McGuirt, Frank	54,362	*Shubert, Fern	58,478
S- 36	Y	Harris, Larry	0	*Hartsell, Fletcher	52,094
S- 37	Y	*Clodfelter, Daniel	30,207		
S- 38	Y	*Dannelly, Charlie	7,450		
S- 39	Y	Spencer, Joe	3,187	*Rucho, Robert	56,088
S- 40	Y	Odom, T L (Fountain)	354,026	*Pittenger, Robert	432,112
S- 41	Y	Crosby, Victor	0	*Sloan, RB	19,399
S- 42	Y			*Forrester, James	34,420
S- 43	Y	*Hoyle, David W	302,878	Harrington, Michael	68,725
S- 44	Y			*Allran, Austin M	35,630
S- 45	Y	Laws, Mollie Marlene	0	*Foxx, Virginia	38,773
S- 46	Y	*Dalton, Walter H	192,419	Weatherly, John	5,809
S- 47	Y	*Queen, Joe Sam	309,172	Thompson, Gregg	21,250
S- 48	Y	Burris, Robert	0	*Apodaca, Thomas M	89,495
S- 49	Y	*Metcalf, Steve	173,784	Clark, R L	11,978
S- 50	N	Robinson, Dan	109,664	*Carpenter, Robert C	26,400

DIS- TRICT	TOP FUND- RAISER WON?	DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE	AMOUNT RAISED	REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE	AMOUNT RAISED
H- 1	Y	*Owens, W C (Bill) Jr	\$ 21,887		
H- 2	Y	*Culpepper, Bill	89,246	Beall, Daniel Mace	\$ 7,723
H- 3	N	Underhill, Alice G	177,348	*Gorman, Michael A	37,797
H- 4	Y	*Johnson, Charles	40,146	Wobbleton, John R	30,789
H- 5	Y	*Hunter, Howard	0		
H- 6	Y	*Williams, Arthur J	110,610	Richardson, Hood	24,642
H- 7	Y	*Hall, John D#	12,205		
H- 8	Y	*Warren, Edith D	32,037		
H- 9	Y	*McLawhorn, Marian	49,075	Eagle, Judy	2,492
H- 10	N	Tucker, Russell E	115,505	*LaRoque, Stephen	84,577
H- 11	N	*Baddour, Phil	226,220	Pate, Louis M Jr	50,738
H- 12	Y	*Wainwright, William	9,050		
H- 13	N	Smith, Ronnie	155,003	*Preston, Jean R	51,344
H- 14	Y	Faison, Dolores J	3,515	*Williams, Keith	16,465
H- 15	Y	Willingham, Jerome	0	*Grady, Robert	29,422
H- 16	Y	Barnes, Jack C	37,671	*Justice, Carolyn H	40,014
H- 17	N	Redwine, E David	120,485	*Stiller, Bonner	29,725
H- 18	Y	*Wright, Thomas E#	0	White, Jack	0
H- 19	Y			*McComas, Danny	60,405
H- 20	Y	*Hill, Dewey	36,160		
H- 21	Y	*Bell, Larry M	10,417		
H- 22	Y	*Nye, Edd	125,189	Barbour, Joy	3,989
H- 23	Y	*Tolson, Joe Pat	48,125	West, Bettie R	33,799
H- 24	Y	*Butterfield, Jean	18,692		
H- 25	Y	Wells, Mary P	28,881	*Daughtridge, Bill	107,074
H- 26	Y			*Creech, Billy J	12,350
H- 27	Y	*Fox, Stanley H	6,952		
H- 28	Y			*Daughtry, Leo	95,261
H- 29	Y	*Miller, Paul	11,620		
H- 30	Y	*Luebke, Paul	18,740		
H- 31	Y	*Michaux, Mickey	2,150		
H- 32	Y	*Crawford, James W	24,238	Edwards-Pickett, Sally	0
H- 33	Y	*Allen, Bernard	20,954	Peyton, Venita	2,207
H- 34	Y	Barnett, Cynthia	38,891	*Munford, Don	331,450
H- 35	Y	*Weiss, Jennifer	106,424	Black, Darryl#	3,535
H- 36	Y			*Miner, David	226,525
H- 37	Y	Knowles, J C	0	*Stam, Paul Jr	24,582
H- 38	Y	*Ross, Deborah K	68,423		
H- 39	N	Jackson, Darren	44,976	*Ellis, J Samuel	18,649
H- 40	Y			*Eddins, Rick	14,375
H- 41	Y	*Dickson, Margaret	127,698	Morris, Mia	68,855
H- 42	Y	*Lucas, Marvin W	8,390		
H- 43	Y	*McAllister, Mary#	18,789		
H- 44	Y	*Glazier, Richard B	86,255	Stone, Michael A	21,121
H- 45	Y	*Warner, Alex	31,217	Lawrence, Robert	0
H- 46	Y	*Yongue, Douglas Y	14,749	Faulk, C Linwood	0
H- 47	Y	*Sutton, Ronnie	22,275	Lowry, Chris	705
H- 48	Y	*Bonner, Donald	15,940		
H- 49	Y	*Allen, Lucy T	61,347	McCormick, Renee	16,549
H- 50	Y			*Capps, J Russell	3,400
H- 51	N	Cox, Leslie	139,430	*Sauls, John I	33,705
H- 52	Y			*Morgan, Richard T	50,299
H- 53	Y	Upchurch, Larry C	47,274	*Lewis, David	89,032
H- 54	Y	*Hackney, Joe	39,890		
H- 55	Y	*Allen, Gordon P	100,793	Hartkopf, Kathy	1,876
H- 56	Y	*Insko, Verla	24,805		
H- 57	Y			*Bowie, Joanne W	17,892
H- 58	Y	*Adams, Alma S	20,933		
H- 59	Y	*Jeffus, Maggie	55,596	Hawkes, Alan	3,420
H- 60	Y	*Jones, Earl#	3,000		

H- 61	Y			*Wood, Steve	0
H- 62	Y	Boyd-McIntyre, Flossie	19,566	*Blust, John M	30,885
H- 63	Y	*Bordsen, Alice L	78,434	Sharpe, Robert E Jr	9,458
H- 64	Y			*Allred, Cary D	25,272
H- 65	Y	*Cole, Nelson	23,995		
H- 66	Y			*Sexton, Wayne	5,300
H- 67	Y	Spivey, Hampton L	0	*Culp, Arlie F	20,610
H- 68	Y	*Goodwin, Wayne	47,971	Crump, George E III	20,636
H- 69	Y	*Gibson, Pryor	90,331	Hill, Frank#	207
H- 70	N	Melton, Max	76,447	*Barbee, Bobby H	20,468
H- 71	Y	*Womble, Larry	4,854	Weatherman, Mac	4,700
H- 72	N	*Parmon, Earlene W	24,490	Robinson, Vernon L#	30,164
H- 73	Y			*Blackwood, J Curtis	16,545
H- 74	Y	White, Glenn	5,968	*Johnson, Linda P	15,811
H- 75	Y	Troutman, R Wayne	8,037	*Barnhart, Jeff	14,800
H- 76	Y			*McCombs, Eugene	4,562
H- 77	Y	*Coates, Lorene T	87,417	Gardner, Charlotte A	29,510
H- 78	Y			*Brubaker, Harold J	28,400
H- 79	Y			*Howard, Julia C	38,668
H- 80	Y			*Dockham, Jerry C	29,550
H- 81	Y	*Holliman, L Hugh	61,687	Walser, John T Jr	31,325
H- 82	Y	Hense, Dan	3,106	*Wilson, Gene	6,004
H- 83	Y	Johnston, Robert T	5,207	*Walker, R Tracy	12,850
H- 84	Y			*Frye, Phillip Dean	15,310
H- 85	Y	Clark, A Everette	7,741	*Gillespie, Mitch	53,097
H- 86	Y	*Church, Walt	10,250	Cook, Earl	0
H- 87	N	Warren, Ray	23,254	*Starnes, Edgar V#	5,675
H- 88	Y			*Hilton, Mark K	29,707
H- 89	Y			*Setzer, Mitchell S	6,625
H- 90	Y	*Harrell, Jim	24,790	Golding, R F (Buck)	21,100
H- 91	Y	Mitchell, Robert	0	*Baker, Rex L	25,183
H- 92	Y			*Holmes, George M	18,000
H- 93	N	Johnson, Becky	23,935	*McGee, William C	22,472
H- 94	Y			*Decker, Michael	18,014
H- 95	Y			*Ray, Karen	16,155
H- 96	Y	McMillan, Bill	15,346	*Mitchell, Frank	23,342
H- 97	N	Mason, Floyd E	42,807	*Kiser, Joe L	13,420
H- 98	N	Dunn, David H	15,607	*Rhodes, John W	9,809
H- 99	Y	*Saunders, Drew	11,050		
H-100	Y	*Black, Jim	1,051,864	Cicali, Nick	16,564
H-101	Y	*Earle, Beverly#	27,036		
H-102	Y	*Carney, Becky	36,025		
H-103	Y			*Gulley, Jim	23,125
H-104	Y			*Wilson, Connie	133,604
H-105	Y			*McMahan, W Edwin	138,293
H-106	Y	*Alexander, Martha#	15,260		
H-107	Y	*Cunningham, W Pete	11,850		
H-108	Y			*Rayfield, John	19,437
H-109	Y	Eaker, John	10,054	*McHenry, Patrick	55,145
H-110	Y			*Clary, Debbie A	53,996
H-111	N	Dedmon, Andy	77,858	*Moore, Timothy K	36,404
H-112	Y	*England, Bob	37,526	Rogers, David W	16,584
H-113	Y			*Walend, Trudi#	12,694
H-114	Y	*Nesbitt, Martin Jr	33,374	Porter, Bill	4,910
H-115	Y	*Goforth, Bruce	126,643	Crawford, Mark	85,710
H-116	Y			*Sherrill, Wilma M	47,599
H-117	Y			*Justus, Larry T	83,873
H-118	Y	*Rapp, Ray	116,082	Carpenter, Margaret	61,404
H-119	Y	*Haire, R Philip	50,545	Matthews, Kaye W	23,975
H-120	Y			*West, Roger	4,625

# No third-quarter/10-19-2002 report on file at Board of Elections; total given for available report. Reports include loans and in-kind donations and have not been audited for errors.