

November 20, 1980

THE ROLE OF CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS IN THE 1980 U.S. SENATE ELECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

There were twenty-four Democrat-held and ten Republican-held seats at stake in the 1980 Senate elections. Two Democrats, Stevenson and Ribicoff, as well as three Republicans, Schweiker, Bellmon and Young, had retired. One Republican senator, Javits, was defeated in a primary while three Democrats, Gravel, Stone, and Stewart, were also primary losers. This left six Republican incumbents and nineteen Democrat incumbents running in the general election.

The Republicans won twenty-two of the thirty-four races, including seven of the nine races for open seats caused by primary defeat or retirement, and retained all ten of the seats held by Republicans before the elections. All Republican incumbents won their races, while only ten of the nineteen Democrat incumbents won re-election.

There will be sixteen new Republicans and two new Democrats in the new Senate, which will consist of fifty-three Republicans, forty-six Democrats, and one Independent.

It is interesting to note that when the new Senate convenes in January, fifty-four of the 100 senators (thirty-five Republicans and nineteen Democrats) will be serving their first terms, and only twenty-five senators (fifteen Democrats, nine Republicans and one Independent) will have been elected before 1970.

This short paper, consisting primarily of statistical tables, presents some analyses of the 1980 Senate Elections. Tables E and F, which contain some preliminary statistics about campaign finances, might be of special interest. Since the elections, much has been written about the connection between election victory and campaign contributions. There have been charges that the

Republican landslide was simply "bought." Specifically, the electoral defeats of four of the most prominent Democrat liberals, Senators Bayh, Culver, Church and McGovern, have provoked many arguments. Yet, in three of the four races, excepting only the Culver vs. Grassley contest, the Democrat incumbent raised more in campaign contributions than his Republican challenger. And, this paper shows that in only eight of the eighteen races won by narrow margins (54 percent or less) did the winner receive more in campaign contributions than his opponent.

For two reasons, this paper does not deal with the controversial issue of independent expenditures by political action committees. First, no complete and up-to-date statistics are available as yet. Secondly, the question whether independent expenditures help or hinder candidates is based largely on speculation and is probably unresolvable. Equally unresolvable is the charge that in-kind contributions by labor unions -- contributions that are not required to be reported under the Federal Election Campaign Act -- are significant elements in the campaigns of liberal Democrats. That question is not dealt with here. Additionally, the much-discussed "power of incumbency," that is, the significant advantages that incumbents have in running for re-election, is not treated in this paper.

THE TREND TO THE WEST AND THE SOUTH

Highlights of Tables A, B, and C of the Appendix

In the last three Senate elections, the Republicans have done a much better job of protecting their incumbents than the Democrats. Twenty-four Democrat incumbents, but only seven Republican incumbents, have been defeated for re-election in the last three elections.

From Table B, it can be seen that the ability of the Democratic Party to control both Senate seats in individual states has declined continually since 1974. In that year, a plurality of states had two Democrat senators while today a plurality of states are split with one Democrat senator and one Republican senator. Additionally, the Republicans now hold both Senate seats in more states than the Democrats.

From Table C, it can be seen that the new Republican majority in the Senate has been constructed from states in the West and the South. In 1974, the West was split evenly between the two parties. Today, the Republicans hold a commanding 24-14 margin. The most remarkable Republican gains have been in the South where, it seems, the old "Solid South" has now been completely destroyed. In 1974, the Democratic Party still held both Senate seats in six states. Today, only two southern states (Arkansas and Louisiana) have two Democrat senators.

THE MARGINS OF VICTORY IN THE 1980 SENATE ELECTIONS (Table D)

Of the eighteen races where the margin of victory was narrow (54 percent or less), the Republicans were victorious in fifteen. Of the eleven Democrat incumbents who were involved in narrow races, eight were defeated. Of the sixteen Republican winners in narrow races, six collected more votes in their races than Reagan did in those states. Of the sixteen races where the margin of victory was wide (55 percent or greater), incumbents won eleven.

SENATE CAMPAIGN FINANCES -- SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

Tables E and F show the gross campaign receipts of all the major candidates for the Senate in the 1980 elections. These tables are based on each candidate's final pre-election report (October 23) to the Federal Election Commission. But that final report covers receipts only through October 15. So it must be noted that these statistics are very preliminary. The final totals will not be available from the FEC until the beginning of December. Additionally, since the receipts are gross unaudited receipts, the totals for some candidates might be inflated. Nevertheless, some highlights:

In twenty-one of the thirty-four races, the eventual winner received the most in contributions.

In only eight of the eighteen close races did the winner receive the most in contributions.

Twenty-six of the sixty-eight major candidates received more than \$1 million in contributions.

Thirteen of these twenty-six were incumbents.

Only six of these incumbents were winners.

Only fourteen of the twenty-six millionaires were winners.

Four of the five receiving more than \$2 million in contributions were Democrats.

Of the twenty-six candidates receiving more than \$1 million in contributions:

- eight were Republican winners
- seven were Democrat winners
- three were Republican losers
- eight were Democrat losers

Of the twenty-six candidates receiving more than \$1 million in contributions:

sixteen were involved in close races
five of the remaining 10 were incumbents

In seven of the thirty-four races, both candidates received more than \$1 million in contributions.

THE NEW REPUBLICAN SENATE AND THE FUTURE SENATE ELECTIONS

Table G shows a remarkable fact about the new Senate: twelve of twenty chairmen of Senate committees are from the West; nine of the chairman of the fifteen major committees are from the West.

Table H shows which senators will be up for re-election in the 1982 and 1984 elections.

Thomas R. Ascik
Policy Analyst

Table A

After the Senate Elections of:	New Senators		Incumbents Defeated					Change of Seats	
	D	R	Primary		General		Ind	D to R	R to D
			D	R	D	R			
1974	9	2	1	1	0	2	-	1	5
1976	10	8	0	0	5	3	1	7	8
1978	9	11	2	1	5	2	-	8	5
1980	2	16	3	1	9	0	-	12	0

Table B

After the Senate Elections of:	Senate Lineup	Number of States with 2 Dem. Senators	Number of States with 2 Rep. Senators	Number of States with 1 Dem. & 1 Rep.	Other
1974	D-60 R-38 Ind-2	21	8	19	N.Y.-1 Rep.-1 Ind. Va.-1 Rep.-1 Ind.
1976	D-61 R-38 Ind-1	19	7	23	Va.-1 Rep.-1 Ind.
1978	D-58 R-41 Ind-1	16	7	26	Va.-1 Rep.-1 Ind.
1980	R-53 D-46 Ind-1	11	14	24	Va.-1 Rep-1 Ind

Table C

After the Senate Elections of:	19* Western States					10* Southern States							
	The number of states			Total from West		The number of states with:				Total from South			
	with:			<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>2D</u>	<u>2R</u>	<u>ID-IR</u>		<u>Ind</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>R</u>	<u>I</u>
	<u>2D</u>	<u>2R</u>											
1974	5	5	9	19	19	6	1	2	1	1	14	5	1
1976	5	6	8	18	20	6	0	3	1	1	15	4	1
1978	4	5	10	18	20	5	0	4	1	1	14	5	1
1980	3	8	8	14	24	2	1	6	1	1	10	9	1

*Alaska, Hawaii, and the seventeen states west of the line formed by the eastern boundaries of Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota

*Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia

Table D

1980 Senate Races According to the Narrowness of the Victories

*Incumbent

<u>State</u>	<u>Winner</u>	<u>Winning %</u>	<u>Votes for Winner</u>	<u>Loser</u>	<u>Votes for Reagan</u>
<u>54% or less (18)</u>					
Wash.	Gorton(R)	54	832,752	*Magnuson	763,631
Ind.	Quayle(R)	54	1,164,678	*Bayh	1,231,295
Iowa	Grassley(R)	54	684,701	*Culver	676,556
Ok.	Nickles(R)	53	573,339	Coats	683,807
Ore.	*Packwood(R)	52	578,046	Kulongski	555,859
Mo.	*Eagleton(D)	52	1,057,467	McNary	1,055,355
N.H.	Rudman(R)	52	195,053	*Durkin	221,771
Ala.	Denton(R)	51	638,944	Folsom	640,621
Colo.	*Hart(D)	51	585,776	Buchanon	650,749
Fla.	Hawkins(R)	51	1,732,828	Gunter	1,937,269
Pa.	Specter(R)	51	2,238,516	Flaherty	2,251,058
Vt.	*Leahy(D)	51	103,185	Ledbetter	93,443
Wis.	Kasten(R)	51	1,101,669	*Nelson	1,089,750
Ga.	Mattingly(R)	51	788,757	*Talmadge	870,483 (Carter)
Ari.	*Goldwater(R)	50	426,171	Schulz	523,124
Ida.	Symms(R)	50	218,793	*Church	290,087
N.C.	East(R)	50	891,373	*Morgan	913,949
N.Y.	D'Amato(R)	45	2,627,458	Holtzman	2,790,498
<u>55% or more (16)</u>					
La.	*Long(D)	unopposed			796,240
Haw.	*Inouye(D)	78	224,485	Brown	135,879 (Carter)
Utah	*Garn(R)	74	433,943	Berman	435,839
S.C.	*Hollings(D)	72	595,210	Mays	445,414
Ohio	*Glenn(D)	71	2,731,377	Betts	2,202,212
N.D.	Andrews(R)	71	189,170	Johanneson	173,825
Md.	*Matthias(R)	66	811,925	Conroy	706,327 (Carter)
Ky.	*Ford(D)	65	719,679	Foust	625,820
Kan.	*Dole(R)	64	595,194	Simpson	562,848
Ark.	*Bumpers(D)	59	473,132	Clark	402,946
Cal.	*Cranston(D)	59	4,638,488	Gann	4,447,266
Nev.	*Laxalt(R)	58	143,781	Gojack	154,570
S.D.	Abdnor(R)	58	190,726	*McGovern	198,102
Conn.	Dodd(D)	57	765,126	Buckley	672,648
Ill.	Dixon(D)	56	2,494,254	O'Neal	2,342,450
Alas.	Murkowski(R)	55	65,924	Gruening	66,874

Table E

Candidates and Total Gross Campaign Receipts -- Based on the Final Pre-Election Report to the Federal Election Commission (October 23, 1980). The Final Report Covers Receipts Only Through October 15.

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Total Receipts</u>
Alabama	Jeremiah Denton(R)	\$ 612,977
	Jim Folsom(D)	205,015
Alaska	Clark Gruening(D)	410,183
	Frank Murkowski(R)	304,045
Arizona	Barry Goldwater(R)	534,360
	Bill Schulz(D)	1,389,443
Arkansas	Dale Bumpers(D)	267,213
	Bill Clark(R)	69,466
California	Alan Cranston(D)	2,675,975
	Paul Gann(R)	445,061
Colorado	Mary Buchanan(R)	763,915
	Gary Hart(D)	883,798
Connecticut	James Buckley(R)	1,362,996
	Chris Dodd(D)	1,111,109
Florida	Bill Gunter(D)	1,245,174
	Paula Hawkins(R)	316,536
Georgia	Mack Mattingly(R)	338,630
	Herman Talmadge(D)	1,925,863
Hawaii	E. Cooper Brown(R)	3,824
	Daniel Inouye(D)	711,188
Idaho	Frank Church(D)	1,644,271
	Steve Symms(R)	1,528,911
Illinois	Alan Dixon(D)	2,129,180
	David O'Neal(R)	1,145,843
Indiana	Birch Bayh(D)	2,223,006
	Dan Quayle(R)	1,874,063
Iowa	John Culver(D)	1,385,447
	Charles Grassley(R)	1,635,276
Kansas	Robert Dole(R)	1,033,628
	John Simpson(D)	294,957

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Total Receipts</u>
Kentucky	Wendell Ford(D) Mary Foust(R)	\$ 560,306
Louisiana	Russell Long(D)	1,974,412
Maryland	Edward Conroy(D) Charles Mathias(R)	133,128 807,722
Missouri	Thomas Eagleton(D) Gene McNary(R)	1,142,854 961,331
Nevada	Mary Gojack(D) Paul Laxalt(R)	137,644 990,698
New Hampshire	John Durkin(D) Warren Rudman(R)	516,558 338,608
New York	Alfonse D'Amato(R) Elizabeth Holtzman(D) Jacob Javits (Liberal)	1,244,757 1,661,929 1,674,888
North Carolina	John East(R) Robert Morgan(D)	897,961 645,281
North Dakota	Mark Andrews(R) Kent Johanneson(D)	280,634 123,353
Ohio	James Betts(R) John Glenn(D)	367,496 1,148,947
Oklahoma	Andy Coats(D) Don Nickles(R)	766,786 456,325
Oregon	Ted Kulongoski(D) Robert Packwood(R)	161,157 2,783,071
Pennsylvania	Pete Flaherty(D) Arlen Specter(R)	418,487 1,039,826
South Carolina	Ernest Hollings(D) Marshall Mays(R)	932,002 52,311
South Dakota	James Abdnor(R) George McGovern(D)	1,383,448 2,695,438
Utah	Dan Berman(D) Jake Garn(R)	188,110 896,811
Vermont	Patrick Leahy(D) Stewart Ledbetter(R)	452,828 392,933

<u>State</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Total Receipts</u>
Washington	Slade Gorton(R)	608,667
	Warren Magnuson(D)	1,271,012
Wisconsin	Robert Kasten(R)	373,439
	Gaylord Nelson(D)	733,474

Table F

Senators with receipts over \$1 million (26)

*incumbent

Packwood(R)*	Ore.	\$2,783,071	winner
McGovern(D)*	S.D.	2,695,438	loser
Cranston(D)*	Cal.	2,675,975	winner
Bayh(D)*	Ind.	2,223,006	loser
Dixon(D)	Ill.	2,129,180	winner
Long(D)*	La.	1,974,412	winner unopposed
Talmadge(D)*	Ga.	1,925,863	loser
Quayle(R)	Ind.	1,874,063	winner
Javits(R)*	N.Y.	1,674,888	loser
Holtzman(D)	N.Y.	1,661,929	loser
Church(D)*	Ida.	1,644,271	loser
Grassley(R)	Iowa	1,635,276	winner
Symms(R)	Ida.	1,528,911	winner
Schulz(D)	Ari.	1,389,443	loser
Culver(D)*	Iowa	1,385,477	loser
Abdnor(R)	S.D.	1,383,448	winner
Buckley(R)	Conn.	1,362,996	loser
Magnuson(D)*	Wash.	1,271,012	loser
Gunter(D)	Fla.	1,245,174	loser
D'Amato(R)	N.Y.	1,244,757	winner
Glenn(D)*	Ohio	1,148,947	winner
O'Neal(R)	Ill.	1,145,843	loser
Eagleton(D)*	Mo.	1,142,854	winner
Dodd(D)	Conn.	1,111,109	winner
Specter(R)	Pa.	1,039,826	winner
Dole(R)*	Kan.	1,033,628	winner

Table G

Probable Committee Chairman in the Next Senate

Agriculture - Helms
Appropriations - Hatfield
Armed Services - Tower
Banking - Garn
Budget - Domenici
Commerce - Packwood
Energy - McClure
Environment and Public Works - Stafford
Finance - Dole
Foreign Affairs - Percy
Government Affairs - Roth
Judiciary - Thurmond
Labor and Human Resources - Hatch
Rules - ?
Veterans - Simpson

Select Committee on: Ethics - Schmitt
Indian Affairs - Cohen
Intelligence - Goldwater
Small Business - Hayakawa
Aging - Heinz

1982 Senate Elections

Democrats (20)

DeConcini
Chiles
Matsunaga
Mitchell
Kennedy
Riegle
Stennis
Melcher
Zorinsky
Cannon
Williams
Moynihan
Burdick
Metzenbaum
Sasser
Bentsen
Jackson
Byrd (W.Va.)
Proxmire
Sarbanes

Byrd (Va.)

Republicans (12)

Hayakawa
Weiker
Roth
Lugar
Danforth
Durenberger
Schmitt
Heinz
Chafee
Hatch
Stafford
Wallop

1984 Senate Elections

Democrats (14)

Heflin
Pryor
Biden
Nunn
Huddleston
Johnston
Tsongas
Levin
Baucus
Exon
Bradley
Boren
Pell
Randolph

Republicans (19)

Stevens
Armstrong
McClure
Percy
Jepsen
Kassebaum
Cohen
Boschwitz
Cochran
Humphrey
Domenici
Helms
Hatfield
Thurmond
Pressler
Baker
Tower
Warner
Simpson