

The  
Almanac *Of*

Oklahoma  
Politics

1998

Gary W. Copeland  
Ronald K. Gaddie  
Craig A. Williams



# OKLAHOMA POLITICS

2009

Volume 19





of Committee Staff for the Oklahoma State House of Representatives and Brian Rader, Professor of Political Science from NSU present an intriguing exploration of all Oklahoma ballot measures since statehood. Jim Davis and Amy Blose of Oklahoma State University offer a fascinating study on lobbying, lobbyists and the Oklahoma State Legislature. A number of fine book reviews rounds out this fine collection of scholarship on issues central to Oklahoma politics and history.

## MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

*Oklahoma Politics* invites and encourages submissions that explore the broad context of politics affecting Oklahoma and its place in the surrounding region. We are especially interested in submissions that bring to bear a variety of methodological, analytical, and disciplinary perspectives on state and local politics of the central-south region of the United States: Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. Because “politics” cannot be thoroughly explored from only a single disciplinary point of view trans-disciplinary and collaborative projects are encouraged. Though we are the journal of the Oklahoma Political Science Association, we encourage submissions from economists, sociologists, environmental scientists, policymakers, analysts, as well as political scientists and other scientists and practitioners whose substantive research bears on the politics and issues of the state and region.

*Oklahoma Politics* is a fully peer reviewed journal. Each submission receives at least three anonymous reviews and each is reviewed by the editors before a decision is made to accept a manuscript for publication.

## MANUSCRIPTS

Manuscripts should be no longer than 30 pages, double-spaced; text, graphics, notes, and references included; no extra space between

## NOTES FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to the 2009 edition of *Oklahoma Politics*! Readers of previous editions of the journal will note several changes. The first thing you may notice is that we have a different look to our cover. Last year, in conjunction with our editorial board, we decided to modernize the cover and tie it more to the organization's activities; specifically, the new cover design will reflect the site of the previous year's OPSA convention. Last year's cover was of the state capitol, the site of the 2007 conference. This year's cover is of Cameron University, the site of the 2008 conference. Future covers will continue this pattern.

We are also implementing plans to publish the conference address of the key speaker from the previous OPSA conference and we begin the Book Review Section with a retrospective review of a classic on Oklahoma Politics—in our inaugural review, Dusty Darr takes a new and insightful examination of James Scales and Danney Goble's *Oklahoma Politics*. We plan to continue presenting the major conference address and at least one retrospective review of a classic on Oklahoma politics in future editions.

Not surprisingly, elections dominate the articles for this year's edition. Leading off is Georgetown University historian Michael Kazin's OPSA address from last year's conference at Cameron University. Kazin's insights into the similarities and differences between the 1908 and 2008 presidential elections make for thought-provoking reading. Andrew Dowdle (University of Arkansas and Editor of *American Review of Politics*) and colleague Gary Wekkin of the University of Central Arkansas present a probing study of the impact of evangelical and conservative voters on the presidential vote in Oklahoma, Arkansas and Ohio in the 2000 and 2004 elections. Bob Darcy, Regents Professor of Political Science and Statistics from OSU and Gary Jones, State Republican Party Chair have joined forces with several of Darcy's students to explore mathematical models they used to predict the outcome of Oklahoma's state legislative races in 2008. And Rick Farmer, Director

paragraphs. Do not indent paragraphs. Type font: New Times Roman; 12 point. Notes should be endnotes, not footnotes; references included last. Graphics (tables and figures) submitted separately, one per page, with internal reference indicating the approximate placement in the body of the text (i.e.: “[Table 1 about here]”). Tables/figures must not be larger than a single page.

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*Table and Figure style:*

**TABLE 1**

**Votes Missed, of First 100, by Term Limited**

	Mean*	SD
Not Term Limited (n = 72)	2.4	7.5
Term Limited (n = 28)	5.0	8.6

\*Difference significant at the .10 level

*Organization/Headings:*

**MAJOR SECTION HEAD (BOLD CAPS & CENTERED)**

SUBSECTION HEAD (CAPS & LEFT; NO PERIOD)

*Sub-sub Section Head (Title Caps, Left, & Italicized; No Period)*

## MANUSCRIPT SUBMISSION

Manuscripts must contain: A cover page with title, author, and author affiliation and contact information; a separate cover page with title only; an abstract of no more than 150 words; and, the text of the manuscript. Authors whose manuscripts are accepted for publication must submit a short biographical sketch for inclusion in the journal.



## BOOK REVIEWS

Book Reviews should be no longer than 1500 words. Reviews should be of books on topics relevant to the journal as delineated above, especially if written by Oklahoma-based authors. Review style should follow that of the journal as a whole. Full bibliographic information (to include ISBN and price, if available) should be included as the heading to the review.

Manuscripts (or ideas for manuscripts) should be submitted to:

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East Central University  
1100 E. 14<sup>th</sup> Street  
Ada, OK 74820  
Telephone: 580.559.5507  
E-mail: [julrich@ecok.edu](mailto:julrich@ecok.edu)

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Book Review Editor, *Oklahoma Politics*  
1701 W. Will Rogers Blvd.  
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Telephone: 918.343.7687  
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John Ulrich  
Editor, Oklahoma Politics



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**The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics**

**1998**

Gary W. Copeland  
Ronald Keith Gaddie  
Craig A. Williams

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Dedicated to those, inside this book and out,  
who seek to enhance the governance of the State of Oklahoma.



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## Forward

My congratulations to the authors who contributed to this fine volume. What a wonderful resource on Oklahoma politics! It has everything—facts on each member of the Oklahoma Legislature, information on each legislative district, maps of the districts, all prefaced by a series of critical essays. Aside from the essays, much of this information is available elsewhere. But not without prodigious digging. Here in one place for the first time we have a wealth of information on the politics and governance of the Sooner State. Legislators, lobbyists, media representatives, and students of Oklahoma government, all will find a real gold mine here.

I might compare this work to the excellent volume on Congress and the nation's governors—the *Almanac of American Politics*. The *Almanac of Oklahoma Politics* goes the national guide one better. Not only do we find information on each legislator and his or her district, we get a splendid set of interpretive essays to boot. These essays cover timely topics ranging from the state's economy to the corruption that periodically plagues our governments.

One of the volume's most intriguing features is the ideological ratings for each legislator. Four disparate groups provide these ratings. The OPEA (Oklahoma Public Employees Association) and the Coalition for America's Children represent the liberal perspective. The conservative ratings come from the Oklahoma Christian Coalition and the Oklahoma Constitution. We read much today about the Christian Coalition especially. If you want to know how that group evaluates any legislator's voting record, it's all here. Campaign finance has been a highly visible issue of late. Want to know how much money your legislator collected in the last campaign? Or, who the major donors were? Just check the figures in the *Almanac*.

Everyone who has an interest in Oklahoma politics owes a debt to those who contributed to this real gem. It was long needed. We also should thank the Oklahoma Political Science Association for supporting this valuable endeavor. I hope this volume will be the first of many more to come.

David R. Morgan  
Professor and Henry Bellmon Chair of Public Service  
The University of Oklahoma



## Preface

This project, conducted over the course of nine months of research and analysis, was co-sponsored by the Carl Albert Center for Congressional Research and Studies at The University of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Political Science Association. Dozens of data sources and knowledgeable individuals were consulted to answer the questions this volume poses. Personal member information was compiled through analysis of numerous publications and newspaper accounts. Electoral results and party registration information came from data files provided by the Oklahoma State Board of Elections. Member financial history, campaign contributions, major contributors, expenditures, and surpluses were researched in person at the Oklahoma Ethics Commission. Campaign figures for the 1996 election cycle are through July 1997 unless a new committee was established for the 1998 elections. In those cases we report figures from the end of 1996. Member ideological rankings were chosen from four major interest groups who monitor member voting on ideological spectrums. *Congressional Quarterly's Almanac of State Legislatures* provided the district demographic data which concludes each member's entry. These courses, newspaper accounts, personal interviews with informed observers of Oklahoma politics, and personal replies of members of both the House and Senate provided the contextual information to write the brief essays for each member and his or her district. Taken together, we hope this research and analysis provides an insightful glimpse into the Oklahoma Legislature and state politics.

The *Almanac of Oklahoma Politics* could not be possible without the help of countless officials, scholars, friends, and family members. Thanks are extended to: Kim Gaddie for designing the cover of the book; Nancy Marchment for her support; George Humphreys for his support and advice; Kellye Walker of the Carl Albert Center for her diligent work and organization skills; the State Ethics Commission and its Director, Marilyn Hughes, for advice and assistance in research; The State Board of Elections; the Election Board of Cleveland County; Andy Hicks; Bob Darcy, editor of *Oklahoma Politics*; Sandra Mace, Managing Editor of *Oklahoma Politics*; Anthony Brown, president of the Oklahoma Political Science Association; LeAnne Behney, Mary Kate O'Connor, David Reynolds, Julie Hendricks, and Pam Amos Oklahoma State University students and staff who helped with proofreading; The Carl Albert Center and its Director, Ron Peters' our colleagues in political science who encouraged, supported, and contributed to this project, and Chuck Bullock for his inspiration to embark on this project for Oklahoma. Special thanks go to Jocelyn Jones of the Carl Albert Center for her tireless efforts to complete this project.

Finally, we hope this volume is the first of many to highlight the people, issues, and information that tell the story of Oklahoma politics.

Gary W. Copeland  
Ronald Keith Gaddie  
Craig W. Williams





## Introduction

What is the current state of Oklahoma politics? It is this overarching question which drives every aspect of this work. From descriptive and critical essays written by observers, activists, and scholars of Oklahoma politics to the 149 legislative member entries prepared by the editors, this almanac examines the universal themes that define politics — power, personality, constituency, ideology, issues and money. These are the six threads which weave together the various sections of this first edition of *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics*.

This volume contains two distinct parts that serve as critical avenues to pursue our research question. Part I contains eleven scholarly essays on issues in Oklahoma politics. Designed to examine structural and contextual characteristics which define Oklahoma government, Part I provides the freedom to look more closely at institutions, phenomena, personalities, and events in the unique twentieth century political experience of Oklahoma. Part II does something that no other single resource on Oklahoma politics does: it blends answers into concise entries divergent questions scholars, politicians, and citizens all pose about Oklahoma. This synthesizes previously scattered information and provides a holistic view of each legislative district, including the legislator, people, and political context. Taken together, Parts I and II provide the reader with both a quick reference and thoughtful departure for further inquiry into Oklahoma politics.

Part I of this almanac winds the reader through a divergent path exploring issues related to the current state of Oklahoma politics. Having discussed institutional foundations, it moves into Oklahoma's unique democratic traditions, its struggle to involve women at the state level, and special areas, actors, and events which plan noteworthy roles in state politics to accept a greater female role. Part I includes four thematic sections examining the current state of Oklahoma politics: institutions, issues in democracy, women in politics, and special topics. Rick Farmer's "Overview of the Oklahoma Legislature" reflects the almanac's focus on the legislature. Farmer argues that strong legislative leadership and structural constraints on the executive provide for a legislative dominance of the policymaking process in Oklahoma. Jean Shumway Warner provided both an historical and contemporary look at the governorship and discusses the structural and political boundaries within which the state's chief executive acts. Lesli McCollum concludes the section on institutions with a look at the state judicial system. She illustrates the relative uniqueness of the third branch of government and delineates how scandal resulted in reform of the selection process and institutional structure. Overall, these three articles provide a critical knowledge base for greater understanding of power and process in Oklahoma politics.

The second thematic area explored includes a section we term issues in democracy. Keith Gaddie begins this section with a study of partisanship and the growth of the

Republican Party in the state. He argues that, unlike many southern states in which race drives partisanship, religion has served as a catalyst for partisan change in Oklahoma. Next, Dave Rausch looks at Oklahoma's experiments with direct democracy — the initiative, the referendum, and the recall — arguing such instruments emerged from Oklahoma's birth during the Progressive Era. Rausch and Farmer conclude this section with a look at Oklahoma's term limits law. Noting the state was the first in the nation to enact state legislative term limits, they conclude that the controversial law may yet be an unsolved issue.

The role of women in state government is the third thematic area the essays explore. Cindy Simon Rosenthal notes that increased visibility, exaggerated differences, and stresses of assimilation frequently lead to distorted behavior of the fifteen women in the 149 seat state legislature. Hannah Atkins, former delegate to the United Nations, former state legislator, and former Secretary of State and Cabinet Secretary of Human Resources of Oklahoma served, at one point, as the highest ranking female executive in the state. Her historical look at the role of women in state government complements Rosenthal's by providing a history of women's involvement in the state as they continue to challenge the culture and tradition of Oklahoma politics to accept a greater role for women.

Special topics of inquiry conclude the essay section of Part I. Harry Holloway cites various events and case studies to examine corruption in state government, providing an historical analysis of corruption in Oklahoma's past and present. Don Maletz and Jerry Herbel assess the crucial role of an often-overlooked state constitutional entity — The State Ethics Commission — delineating its powers to regulate campaigns, elections, and state official's conduct. Larkin Warner concludes the essay with an inquiry into the characteristics and health of the state economy. He argues that Oklahoma is defined by a growing reflection of, and dependency on, the national economy and explores the state's "personal income gap," income levels, and income sources.

Part II of the *Almanac* consists of 101 entries for House members and their districts and 48 entries for Senate members and their districts. These entries are unique for their synthesis of eight specific categories which help tell the story of the current state of Oklahoma politics. They include: detailed biographical entries; district electoral histories; districts' party registration information; campaign financial histories for current legislators; personal financial sources of income for current legislators; major sources of campaign contributions for current legislators; four distinct interest group ideological rankings from liberal to conservative of each legislator; and vital demographic statistics for each district. Taken together, we hope these entries provide critical contextual detail about the personalities, people, and power throughout the state's 149 district legislative districts. Information included in this section was perhaps the most difficult to research, synthesize, and report. As a result of the sheer volume of data collected in this project, many potentially significant details were omitted. What appears, we believe, are the critical nuggets valuable to our purposes.

Everything in this work is designed to report the current state of Oklahoma politics. Oklahoma's unique political history and contemporary contexts demand appropriate study and synthesis which this work seeks to provide. Designed for scholars, political professionals, and interested citizens, this first edition of *The Almanac of Oklahoma Politics* reflects the richness of the politics in our state.

## General Capitol Information

**Capitol Address:**

State Capitol Building  
2300 North Lincoln Boulevard  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105

**Capitol Numbers:**

Senate Switchboard: 405/524-0126  
House Switchboard: 405/521-2711  
Chief Clerk: 405/521-3845  
Senate President  
    Pro Tempore: 405/521-5565  
House Speaker 405/557-7307

**Governor Frank Keating**

State Capitol  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/521-2342  
FAX 405/521-3353  
*<http://www.state.ok.us/osfdocs/govhp.html>*

**Lieutenant Governor Mary Fallin**

State Capitol, Room 211  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/521-2161  
FAX 405/525-2102  
*Sumer.N.Wood@oklaosf.state.ok.us*

**State Auditor and Inspector Clifton Scott**

State Capitol, Room 100  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/521-3495  
FAX 405/521-3426

**Attorney General Drew Edmondson**

State Capitol, Room 112  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105-4894  
405/521-3921  
FAX 405/521-6246

**State Treasurer Robert Butkin**

State Capitol, Room 217  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/521-3191  
FAX 405/521-4994  
<http://www.state.ok.us~sto/>

**Commissioner of Labor Brenda Reneau**

4001 N. Lincoln Boulevard  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/528-1500  
FAX 405/528-5751  
[matt-grapham@ou.edu](mailto:matt-grapham@ou.edu)

**Superintendent of Public Instruction Sandy Garrett**

Oliver Hodge Memorial Education Building  
2500 N. Lincoln Boulevard, Room 121  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/521-3301  
FAX 405/521-6205  
[sgarrett@phoenix.osrhe.edu](mailto:sgarrett@phoenix.osrhe.edu)

**Insurance Commissioner John P. Crawford**

3814 N. Santa Fe, PO Box 53408  
Oklahoma City, OK 73152-3408  
405/521-2828  
FAX 405/521-6652 or 800/522-0072

**Corporation Commissioners**

**Bob Anthony**

**Ed Apple**

**Cody Graves**

2101 N. Lincoln Boulevard  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
405/5421-2211  
FAX 405/521-6045  
[b.anthony@occmil.occ.state.ok.us](mailto:b.anthony@occmil.occ.state.ok.us)  
[eapple@occmil.occ.state.ok.us](mailto:eapple@occmil.occ.state.ok.us)  
[c.graves@occmil.occ.state.ok.us](mailto:c.graves@occmil.occ.state.ok.us)



## *1998 Legislative Deadlines*

46th Oklahoma Legislature  
 Joint Rule 17 (b)  
 Second Regular Session, 1998 convenes at noon on February 2, 1998

<b>Final Date:</b>	
To request drafting for introduction of measure	<b>January 15, 1998</b>
For introduction of measures for consideration on floor in house of origin during Second Session	<b>January 29, 1998</b>
For reporting measures from committee in house of origin	<b>February 19, 1998</b>
For third reading of measures in house of origin	<b>March 12, 1998</b>
For reporting measures from committee in opposite house	<b>March 26, 1998</b>
For third reading of measures in opposite house	<b>April 16, 1998</b>
For filing Conference Committee Reports (GCCA exempt)	<b>April 29, 1998</b>
Adjournment, no later than 5:00 PM	<b>May 29, 1998</b>

*Upon a two-thirds vote of membership of both houses, a measure can be introduced and will be exempt from all cutoff dates in the house of origin.*





# PART I



# OVERVIEW OF THE OKLAHOMA LEGISLATURE

Rick Farmer  
*The University of Akron*

The Oklahoma Constitution intentionally restricts the executive branch, making the Oklahoma Governor a weak participant in the policymaking process. Collectively the members of the Oklahoma Legislature hold most of the policymaking authority in the state. When the legislature is controlled by strong leadership, these leaders become very powerful figures in Oklahoma politics. The legislature is perhaps the most important branch of Oklahoma government.

The 1997-98 legislature is the 46th Oklahoma Legislature. Sessions in odd numbered years are referred to as the First Session and those in even numbered years are described as the Second Session. The Constitution limits regular legislative sessions to 90 working days which must occur between the first Monday in February and the last Friday in May. The governor has the power to call special sessions if necessary.

Members of the House serve two year terms and are elected in November of even numbered years. Members of the Senate serve four year terms. These terms are staggered such that one half of the Senate is elected in each statewide general election. Current senators in even numbered districts were elected in 1994, and those in odd numbered districts were elected in 1996.

## **Leadership**

The two parties organize the leadership of both chambers. The majority leaders are nominated in the party caucuses and elected by their respective house memberships. The Senate is led by the President Pro Tempore and the House is led by the Speaker of the House. The Oklahoma Constitution makes the Lieutenant Governor the President of the Senate, but by tradition she only serves in that capacity on ceremonial occasions or to break tie votes. Rules of the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses limit the Speaker of the House to two terms.

Historically, the Democratic Party has dominated the Oklahoma Legislature. Only in 1921-22 did Republicans muster a majority, in the House. In the 46th Legislature there are 65 Democrats and 36 Republicans in the House, and 33 Democrats and 15 Republicans in the Senate.

Currently, the majority House leadership includes 16 members, and the minority House leadership includes 9 members. The Senate majority leadership includes 6 members, while the minority leadership includes 4. Unlike some states, Oklahoma does not have a normal line of succession to majority leader.

The party leader has considerable influence in the elections of the other leadership positions by the party caucus, and the Speaker appoints the leadership positions below Majority Floor Leader in the House. There are three distinct leadership groups in each chamber: the floor leadership, the committee leadership, and the leadership team. The formal leadership positions for the majority include the floor leader and his lieutenants. The committee leadership includes the committee chairs, vice-chairs, subcommittee chairs, and subcommittee vice-chairs. The leadership team is an informal brain trust that the majority leader selects. They are his inner-circle or kitchen cabinet advisors. Membership in the leadership team is fluid.

Both chambers operate extensive committee systems. Committee chairs are selected by the Speaker and the President Pro Tempore. The House has 26 standing committees; the Senate has 19. This proliferation of committees affords numerous opportunities for legislators to serve in a leadership capacity. Of the 149 members, either as a chairman or vice-chairman, 104 serve as a committee leader.

### **“Supermajority” Requirements**

Even though the Democratic Party controls large majorities in both houses, super-majority requirements keep the partisan makeup important to the functioning of the legislature. [A super-majority is any majority that requires more than 50 percent + one of the vote to ratify a decision]. For example, “emergency” legislation requires a two-thirds vote to pass; a majority of the bills passing through the Oklahoma Legislature are declared emergencies, and become law immediately after they are signed by the governor, or after a successful override of a gubernatorial veto. If the governor vetoes an emergency clause, three-fourths of both houses are required to override the veto. By comparison, ordinary bills become law 90 days after the legislature adjourns.

For six of the past ten years, Oklahomans have experienced divided government. Republicans have controlled the governorship, while Democrats have maintained large majorities in both houses. This has led to a record number of vetoes. A two-thirds vote in each house is required to override the governor’s veto of a non-emergency bill. Further, due to a successful 1992 initiative, a vote of three-fourths of both houses is now required for the Oklahoma Legislature to pass a tax increase. Without this super-majority, the tax increase must be submitted to a referendum.

These super-majority requirements enhance the relevance of the partisan makeup of the legislature. Even though the Democrats hold large majorities in both chambers, the GOP is in the position to sustain gubernatorial vetoes and block tax measures in both chambers, and to block emergency legislation in one. House Republicans currently have one more vote than needed to sustain a gubernatorial veto or block an emergency. In the Senate, Republicans have just one vote over the necessary one-fourth votes to prevent tax increases or emergency clause veto overrides.

### **The Legislative Calendar and the Legislative Process**

A survey of members indicated that they believe the biggest problem in the legislature is a lack of time for doing their work. In 1989, the public required that the legislature complete its 90 days of business between the first Monday in February and the last Friday in May. This restriction has led to a great deal of frustration among legislators.

The 90 day requirement was not new. However, the May deadline forces members to compress the session. Prior to the passage of State Question 620, limiting the session, the legislature would only meet a few days per week. This allowed time between sessions for committee meetings, discussion, and deliberation. But the public did not understand why the legislature took from January to July to complete 90 days of work. The final days of a session usually involve intense conflict, which added to the negative public perception. Voter imposed calendar restrictions were the result.

To deal with these new requirements, the legislative leadership imposed strict deadlines for moving legislation from one stage to another. A bill that does not clear a deadline is considered dead, unless the rules are suspended by two-thirds of both houses to resurrect it. In 1996, deadlines for drafting and introducing legislation expired before the opening of the legislative session, and the deadline for reporting bills out of committee was just three weeks after the session began.

Due to the legislative deadlines, a member who wishes to reserve the right to initiate legislation on a topic must introduce a bill before the first day of the session, even if the bill has no language in it. These bills, that contain only a title and a number, are described as shell bills. The number of legislators engaging in the practice of introducing numerous shell bills has contributed to an increased number of bills being introduced each session. Faced with more bills to process in less time, most legislators see the session as a mad dash with little time to fine tune legislative proposals, resulting in a shoddy product that often needs to be revisited in the next legislative session.

In 1992, another initiative, State Question 640, required that all tax increases be approved by 75 percent of each house of the legislature or be subjected to referendum. The impact of this reform was not immediately felt. Oklahoma has enjoyed increasing revenues from its current tax system since that time. However, in 1997, the governor proposed a tax reduction. Opponents of the tax reduction argued that once reduced, taxes could not be easily reinstated.

Both of these constraints directly affected the way the legislature functioned. A less direct constraint was imposed in 1991. Yet, its affect on the legislature likely will be just as consequential. State Question 632 imposed 12 year lifetime limits on a member's service in the Oklahoma Legislature.

### **Term Limits and Turnover**

Term limits will not directly affect legislative reelections until 2004. (See the essay by Rausch and Farmer in this volume for more elaboration on term limits in Oklahoma.)

The law allowed those members who were serving on January 1, 1991 to finish that term before their 12 years began to accumulate toward the limit. Since legislative terms start in November, fifteen days after the election, those elected in 1990 were allowed to finish that entire term before they were affected. For House members continually elected from November 1990, their 12 year limited career will span from November 1992 until November 2004. For Senators continually elected from November 1990 their 12 year limited career will span from November 1994 until November 2006.

If the 12 year limit were imposed at the end of this Legislature, 20 percent of current legislators would be prevented from seeking reelection because they have completed 12 years of service. Fifty percent of the current legislators have 6 or less years of experience. Members of the Senate tend to have more legislative experience than Members of the House. Forty percent of current Senators are former House members.

### **Concluding Thoughts**

The Oklahoma Legislature has undergone a variety of reforms in the past decade. Thomas Paine once observed that “when the legislature is in session no man’s property is safe.” The Oklahoma public and the Oklahoma legislature reflect this view, as a variety of reforms passed in the last decade have curtailed the ability to enact legislative change. Reforms have constrained the time-period for conducting legislative business, imposed strict limits on legislative careerism, and increased the need for large majorities to pass legislation and alter tax laws.

# OKLAHOMA GOVERNORS

Jean Shumway Warner

In the 90 years since Oklahoma was granted statehood, 24 men have served as governor of Oklahoma (see Figure 1). Fearing excessive power in the hands of one individual, the framers of the Oklahoma Constitution intentionally created a weak state chief executive. The Oklahoma state legislature has shown little interest in surrendering any power to the executive branch. Indeed, in recent years, the legislature has passed laws permitting the legislative branch to encroach into traditionally executive realms. Unless there is strong public support for Constitutional reforms to strengthen the state's chief executive, the office of the Governor in Oklahoma will remain weak well into the twenty-first century.

## **Qualifications for Office**

The Oklahoma Constitution requires that candidates for the position of governor be 31 years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a qualified elector of the state for 10 years prior to the election. The state's youngest governors, J. Howard Edmondson (1957-1961) and David L. Boren (1975-1979) were 34 years of age when they took office. Oklahoma's first native born governor was Robert S. Kerr (1943-1947). Raymond Gary (1955-1959) was the first state governor born in Oklahoma following statehood.

## **Term of Office and Term Limitations**

The governor's term of office is four years beginning the second Monday in January following the election. Gubernatorial elections are held in even years between national elections for the President. The original state Constitution prohibited a governor from serving in consecutive terms. Upon impeachment of a governor, the person who succeeded the impeached governor also became ineligible to succeed himself in the governor's office. In 1966, the Constitution was amended to allow governors to serve two consecutive terms.

Dewey Bartlett (1967-1971) was the first governor eligible to succeed himself. He ran for re-election but lost to Democrat candidate David Hall in the general election by

FIGURE 1

## Oklahoma Governors Since Statehood

Name	Party	Term in Office
Haskell, Charles Nathaniel	D	1907-1911
Cruce, Lee	D	1911-1915
Williams, Robert Lee	D	1915-1919
Robertson, James Brooks Ayers	D	1919-1923
Walton, John (Jack) Callaway	D	January 1923-November 1923
Trapp, Martin Edwin	D	1923-1927
Johnston, Henry Simpson	D	January 1927-March, 1929
Holloway, William Judson	D	1929-1931
Murray, William Henry	D	1931-1935
Marland, Ernest Whitworth	D	1935-1939
Phillips, Leon (Red) Chase	D	1939-1943
Kerr, Robert Samuel	D	1943-1947
Turner, Roy Joseph	D	1947-1951
Murray, Johnston	D	1951-1955
Gary, Raymond Dancel	D	1955-1959
Edmondson, James Howard	D	1959-1963
Nigh, George Patterson	D	January 6-14, 1963
Bellmon, Henry Louis	R	1963-1967
Bartlett, Dewey Follet	R	1967-1971
Hall, David	D	1971-1975
Boren, David Lyle	D	1975-1979
Nigh, George Patterson	D	1979-1987
Bellmon, Henry Louis	R	1987-1991
Walters, David Lee	D	1991-1995
Keating, Francis (Frank) A. II	R	1995-

2,181 votes (338,338 to 336,157). Hall (1971-1975) also intended to run for reelection, but his support faded when news leaked that he was the subject of an IRS investigation. He lost the state gubernatorial primary to David Boren in August, 1974. Hall was indicted by a grand jury just days after his term in office ended. Convicted of extortion and bribery, he served eight months in a federal prison.

George Nigh (1979-1987) is Oklahoma's longest serving governor having served a total of two four-year terms plus nine days. As Lieutenant Governor, Nigh became governor briefly in 1963 when Governor J. Howard Edmondson (1959-1963) resigned in order to complete U.S. Senator Robert S. Kerr's term following the Senator's death.



Nigh subsequently was elected governor in 1978. When he was reelected Governor in 1982, he became the first Oklahoma governor to serve two consecutive terms.

Henry Bellmon (1963-1967 and 1987-1991) served as governor twice but not in consecutive terms. Bellmon was not eligible to run for reelection when his first term in office ended in 1967. After serving in the U.S. Senate from 1969 through 1980, he ran successfully for governor a second time in 1986. He could have run for a second consecutive term and become the only governor to serve three terms. However, Bellmon chose not to run for reelection in 1990.

### **Relationship Between the Governor and Lieutenant Governor**

The Constitution states that “in case of impeachment of the governor, or of his death, failure to qualify, resignation, removal from the State, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the office, the said office, with its compensation, shall devolve upon the Lieutenant Governor for the residue of the term or until the disability shall be removed.” The lieutenant governor also serves as acting governor and enjoys the full powers of the governor, as defined by the Constitution, when the governor temporarily leaves the state.

In Oklahoma, the governor and lieutenant governor do not run on a single ticket nor are they elected as a team. They may be of the same political party but hold very different policy views, or they may belong to opposing political parties. Prior to 1994, Oklahomans elected Republican governors three times — Henry Bellmon to two terms (1963-1967 and 1987-1991) and Dewey Bartlett to one term (1967-1971). During all three terms, the lieutenant governors were Democrats — Leo Winters (1963-1967), George Nigh (1967-1971), and Robert S. Kerr III (1987-1991). When Oklahomans elected Republican Frank Keating governor in 1994, it marked the first time in state history that the voters also elected a Republican Lieutenant Governor, Mary Fallin.

### **Removal From Office**

Oklahoma governors are subject to impeachment. Two governors have been successfully tried, convicted, and removed from office. The state’s fifth governor, Jack Walton, served from January 8, 1923, to November 19, 1923. Walton ran on a farmer-laborite platform and began his term of office by endorsing radical bills that alienated powerful legislators. Four months into his term of office, he turned his back on his Farmer-Labor Reconstruction League supporters. He placed political cronies on the government payroll and meddled so deeply in the administration of state universities that he ran off the presidents of both the University of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Agriculture and Mechanical College. In hopes of reducing Ku Klux Klan violence, Walton placed Tulsa County under martial law and, later, suspended habeas corpus (a power not granted the governor in the Constitution). He eventually extended martial law to the entire state. The combination of an administration plagued by graft plus a rash, tyrannical management style led to Walton’s impeachment after only ten months in office (Isern, 1981).

The state's seventh governor, Henry S. Johnston, served close to half of his term (January 10, 1927 to March 20, 1929) before being impeached. The governor started his term badly when he lost several battles with the state legislature. He placed his trust in men of questionable character and dug in his heels when compromise might have served him better. Historian Kenneth L. Tracy concludes of Johnston that

Incidents that a more capable politician might have avoided gathered force until they led to Johnston's downfall....While there were perhaps adequate grounds for Johnston's removal from office, his impeachment was primarily politically motivated (Tracy, 1981:193).

Impeachment involves removal from office but does not prohibit the impeached individual from running for, and holding, elective office in the future. Following impeachment, Governor Walton was elected to the Oklahoma Corporation Commission from 1932 to 1939 and Governor Johnston served four years in the Oklahoma State Senate.

### **Limited Appointment Powers Contribute to a Weak Governor**

The drafters of Oklahoma's Constitution placed substantial power in the hands of the Oklahoma state legislature and intentionally designed a weaker role for the state's governor. For instance, the Constitution states that the governor makes all appointments unless otherwise provided by law or the Constitution. In fact, the directors of many of the largest, most powerful state agencies are hired and fired by agency boards and commissions rather than by the governor. And while the governor does make appointments to these boards and commissions, the commissioners' terms of office are usually staggered over several years. For example, the nine members of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education serve staggered nine-year terms. Thus, several years must pass before a Governor has appointed a majority of the members on many Oklahoma boards and commissions. Exceptions to this rule do exist. For instance, upon taking office, the Governor may immediately replace all eight members of the Oklahoma Transportation Commission and the Secretary of the Oklahoma Department of Commerce. A 1935 Brookings Institution study described the effect of limited appointment powers on the Oklahoma governor:

According to the text books, the Governor and the elected constitutional officers are the heads of the executive departments. In practice, that is almost pure theory. They have the power and authority in so far as they play ball with the legislature and those individual members of the legislature who wish to dictate in administrative matters. If they do not play ball, they have to fight for their power and authority; and the legislators ordinarily can use a larger variety of weapons. The real control of administration in Oklahoma is largely in the hands of the legislature (Institute for Government Research, 1935, 7).

Almost a half century later, Governor Bellmon noted that the existence of so many

independent boards and commissions made up of holdover appointees makes the job of Oklahoma's governor extremely frustrating (Bellmon, 1992).

### **Reorganization Authority and Cabinet Structure**

Throughout the state's history, Oklahoma governors have considered state government reorganization and Constitutional revision proposals as means of improving government efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability. In recent decades, Governor Boren convened a Special Commission on the Reorganization of State Government which issued recommendations in 1979. Five years later, Governor Nigh appointed a Commission on Reform of Oklahoma State Government; the one-hundred member Commission released its report in November, 1984. During Governor Bellmon's administration, a thirty-two member Oklahoma Constitution Revision Study Commission proposed to modernize Oklahoma government's structure and operation through a series of modifications to the state constitution.

Among the many recommendations proposed in 1984 by the Commission on Reform of Oklahoma State Government was a cabinet structure of government organization to enhance coordination and oversight within the Executive branch of state government. Governor Nigh organized state agencies into an informal "mini-cabinet" structure until the legislature passed enabling legislation in 1986.

Governors Bellmon (1981-1991), Walters (1991-1995), and Keating (1995-present) have each structured their cabinet differently to reflect their interests and management styles. Unless the governor's cabinet secretaries are also directors of major state agencies, however, they are little more than gubernatorial staff members with responsibilities in a substantive area. For instance, Governor Keating has a Secretary of Education. But the administration of education programs and policies is actually controlled by the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education and its Chancellor, the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction (a statewide elective office), and the State Board of Vocational/Technical Education and the Director of the Oklahoma Department of Vocational/Technical Education.

### **Legislative Power of the Governor**

The governor may not introduce a bill in the state legislature. Instead, governors try to influence members of the House and Senate to introduce bills and amendments that reflect the governor's preferences. The governor's annual State of the State address provides an important forum for promoting policy initiatives. The governor's annual budget offers another opportunity to shape policy. Staging an elaborate bill signing ceremony is yet another way for a governor to highlight preferred legislative initiatives.

The most important way that governors influence the legislative process is by approving or vetoing bills passed by the state legislature. After an identical bill has been passed in both houses of the state legislature, the bill must be presented to the governor for action. The governor may veto the bill and return it to the legislature for further consideration; when this happens, the governor usually accompanies the bill

with comments outlining objections that led to the veto. If the legislature is in session at the time the bill is presented to the governor, the bill automatically becomes law after five days (excluding Sundays) unless it is vetoed by the governor. If the legislature adjourns before the bill is presented to the governor, the bill will die after 15 days — unless it is signed by the governor (this is known as the pocket-veto); bills making appropriation of money, however, are deemed to have been approved unless the governor actually vetoes the bill. A governor's veto can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature. A three-fourths vote of the legislature is required to override a bill that carries an emergency clause.

Oklahoma governors also can use the “line-item” veto to strike specific wording within appropriations bills; the same rules for overriding a veto apply to line-item vetoes. Governor Bellmon used his line-item veto power extensively during the second year of his second term in order to end the legislature's practice of including millions of dollars of “special projects” (i.e., pork) in appropriation bills.

Another way that the governor can influence legislation is through the power to call the legislature into special session. According to the original Constitution, only the governor could call a special session; the legislature was granted authority to call itself into special session following State Question No. 540 and Legislative Referendum No. 225 adopted in November, 1988. In the state's early years, “extraordinary” sessions were frequently called to handle fairly routine matters that the legislature did not have time to address during the regular session. More recently, special sessions have been called to address one, narrowly defined issue. The legislature is not required to act during a special session; if it chooses, it may meet and immediately adjourn. During his second term, Governor Bellmon called the legislature into special session four times; one session ran from August 1989 through April 1990 – thus running concurrently with a regular session of the legislature.

The Oklahoma governor is also charged with enforcing the laws of the state, keeping the domestic peace, and preserving order. The governor cannot suspend the writ of habeas corpus but does have limited quasi-judicial power to grant pardons and approve paroles upon a favorable report from the Pardon and Parole Board.

### **Oklahoma's Current Governor**

Frank Keating was born in St. Louis, Missouri, on February 10, 1944, and was raised in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He holds degrees from Georgetown University and the University of Oklahoma Law School. Keating gained legislative experience when he served in the Oklahoma House of Representatives from 1972 through 1974 and in the Oklahoma State Senate from 1974 to 1981.

A Republican, Keating served in the Reagan and Bush administrations. He was a U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Oklahoma before moving to Washington, D.C., to become Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and, later, Associate Attorney General with the U.S. Department of Justice. From 1991 through 1993, he was General Counsel and Acting Deputy Secretary under Jack Kemp at the U.S. Department of

Housing and Urban Development.

Elected governor in November, 1994, Keating won praise for his leadership following the Murrah Federal Building bombing in April, 1995. Notably ideological and partisan, Keating experienced a rocky relationship with the legislature during his first two years in office. He enjoyed considerably more policy success during the highly productive 1997 legislative session. The Legislature passed a one billion dollar road construction program which represents the largest public works program in state history. Keating signed on to Lieutenant Governor Mary Fallin's worker's compensation reform proposals and saw much of those recommendations enacted into law.

During 1997, the Oklahoma legislature also passed utility deregulation legislation and major corrections and criminal justice reform including truth in sentencing and a community corrections program. A somewhat controversial policy endorsed by Keating and passed by the legislature was the privatization of the University of Oklahoma's teaching hospitals. Funding for education programs fared well in the 1997 legislature although Keating failed to win passage of his education reform proposals regarding merit pay for teachers, charter schools, school choice, and a core curriculum mandate.

It is difficult enough for a Democratic governor to win passage of favored programs and policies in Oklahoma's Democrat-dominated legislature. As a Republican governor, Keating faces an even more daunting challenge. But Keating has firsthand experience as a member of the Oklahoma House and Senate, a wide range of policy initiatives ready for legislative consideration, and an impressive level of enthusiasm and energy to bring to the task. In spite of the generally weak position of the Oklahoma executive, Governor Keating, his cabinet members and staff, and Republican members of the Oklahoma legislature can anticipate at least some degree of policy success during the remainder of Keating's first term as governor.

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# THE OKLAHOMA JUDICIARY

Lesli E. McCollum

*The University of Oklahoma*

The features of Oklahoma's judicial system are a direct result of scandals that plagued it in the late 1960s. Before the reforms, the Oklahoma judicial system had been criticized for its circus-like character. After news of extensive scandal erupted in the media, the judicial system was completely restructured. Those recommendations that had been called for previously by law professors and the American and Oklahoma Bar Associations were finally put into practice. While the reforms of the late 1960s caused the Oklahoma system to become similar to the national norm, Oklahoma's system retains unique characteristics. This study will first explore the structure of the judicial system in Oklahoma and then trace its evolution towards the merit selection system.

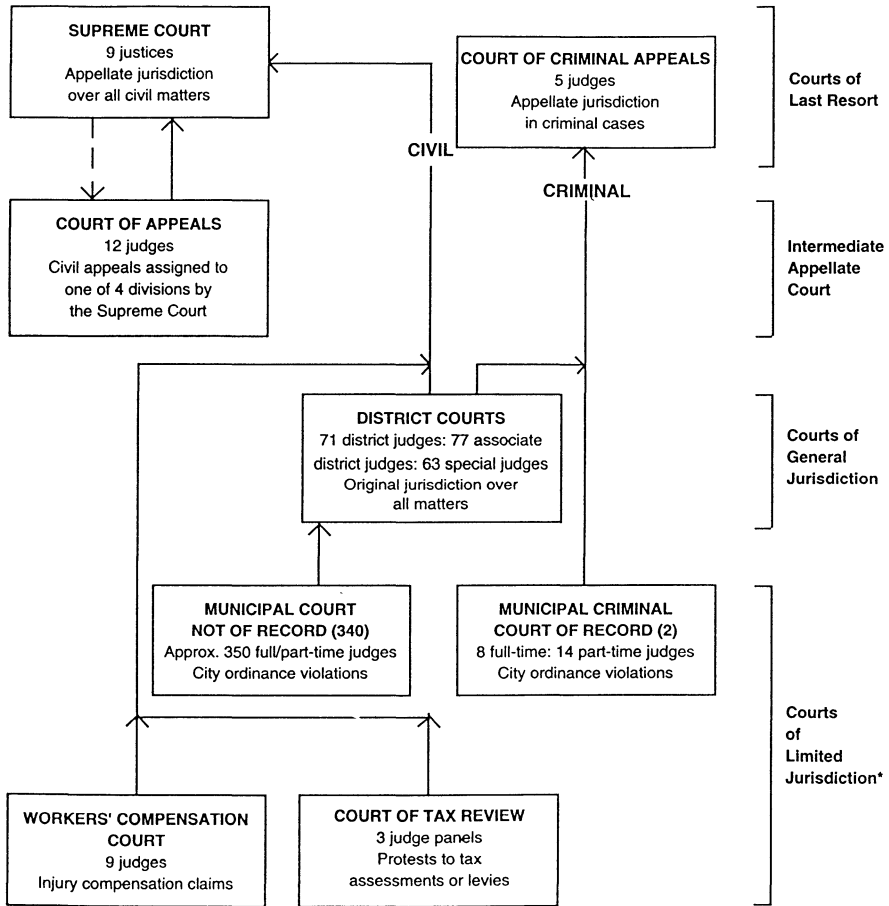
## **Structure of the Oklahoma Judicial System**

The glory of America's courts is their diversity. It is also the bane for anyone who wishes to generalize. There are trends and tendencies, but no uniformity.

State court systems in the United States do not resemble each other. Each state is free to adopt its own judicial structure. As a result, each state differs in court organization. Because of this lack of uniformity, each state's court system must be examined individually to understand its unique facets. It has been suggested that the framework with which to compare an individual state's court structure is a generic three-tiered structure: a court system with a court of last resort, an intermediate appellate court, and two or more trial courts. No court, state or federal, fits neatly into this framework. However, it provides a useful point of departure in examining court systems. In general, the state courts can be divided into four categories: trial courts of limited jurisdiction, trial courts of general jurisdiction, intermediate appellate courts, and courts of last resort. This section will examine the structural characteristics of the Oklahoma judicial system in an attempt to demonstrate its similarities and differences with respect to the generic three-tiered system of court structure.

FIGURE 1

**Organizational Chart  
Oklahoma Judicial System**



← ————— Indicates route of appeal  
 ← - - - - - Indicates assignment of cases

\* The Court on the Judiciary is not shown



Article VII, Section I of the Oklahoma Constitution establishes the judicial system in Oklahoma. It states:

The judicial power of this State shall be vested in the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, a Supreme Court, the Court of Criminal Appeals, the Court on the Judiciary, the State Industrial Court, . . .the Court of Tax Review, and such intermediate appellate courts as may be provided by statute, District Courts, and such Boards, Agencies, and Commissions created by Constitution or established by statute as exercised adjudicative authority.

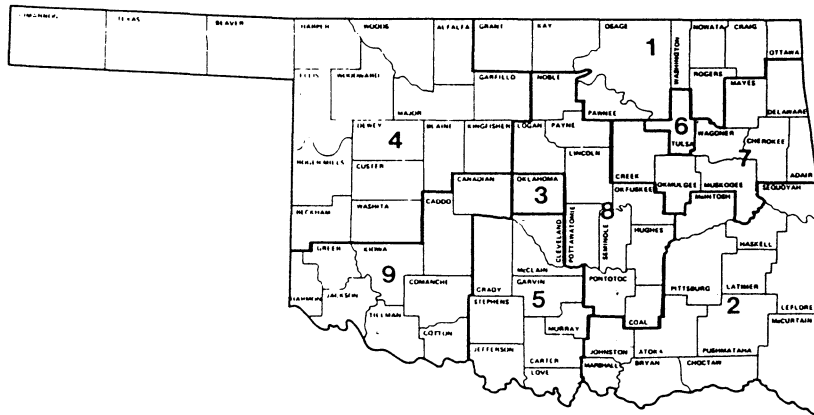
While Oklahoma's court system does not fit neatly into the standard three-tiered model, it retains the characteristics of this model in terms of its hierarchical structure. As with the generic model, it is possible to divide the court system into the following categories: trial courts of limited jurisdiction, trial courts of general jurisdiction, intermediate appellate courts, courts of last resort. The uniqueness of Oklahoma's court system becomes apparent when the courts of last resort are examined. Oklahoma is one of two states that divides final appellate review between separate civil and criminal courts of last resort. The Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction in all civil cases and the Court of Criminal Appeals has appellate jurisdiction in all criminal cases. Texas' court system shares this unique division of courts of last resort with Oklahoma. Oklahoma has one intermediate appellate court, the Court of Civic Appeals. The District Court is the trial court of general jurisdiction in Oklahoma. Finally, there are four trial courts of limited jurisdiction: The Court on the Judiciary, The Worker's Compensation Court, The Court of Tax Review, and Municipal Courts.

The Supreme Court is the court of last resort for all civil cases in Oklahoma. It has appellate jurisdiction in civil cases as well as holds "general superintending control and administrative authority over all inferior courts, agencies, commissions, and boards except for the Court on the Judiciary and the Senate sitting as a Court of Impeachment." Article VII, Section 6 of the Oklahoma Constitution gives the Supreme Court this general administrative authority over all of the courts in the state. The Chief Justice of the Court is given the authority to exercise these powers. Additionally, the Supreme Court has the exclusive authority over admissions to the bar of the state and disciplinary proceedings against attorneys.

While the number of justices to serve on the Supreme Court was initially set at five, the number was increased to nine in 1918. The state is divided into nine Supreme Court Judicial Districts, where one justice is selected from each district. Justices serve six-year terms. At the end of a term, a majority of voters must be in favor of retention in order for the justice to serve another term. When a vacancy occurs, it is filled by gubernatorial appointment from a list of nominees submitted by the Judicial Nominating Commission. Justices must be at least thirty years old, be a qualified elector in the Supreme Court District for at least one year, and a practicing attorney or judge of a court of record, or both, in Oklahoma for at least five years.

**FIGURE 2**

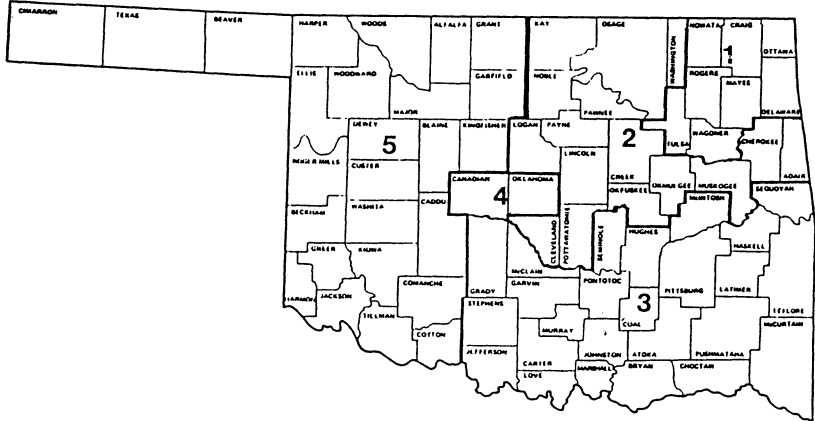
**Supreme Court  
Judicial Districts**



The Court of Criminal Appeals has exclusive appellate jurisdiction of criminal cases. Until its name was changed in 1959, it was known as the Criminal Court of Appeals. This change occurred after it was realized that the adjective was misplaced in the original name. Appeals come to the Court from the District Courts and the Municipal Court of Records. There were three members of the Court of Criminal Appeals until 1989. At that time the number was increased to five. There are five Court of Criminal Appeals judicial districts, where one judge is selected from each district. Length of service, method of selection, and qualifications for office are the same as for the Supreme Court.

The Court of (Civil) Appeals is the intermediate appellate court in Oklahoma. Civil appeals are assigned to the Court by the Supreme Court. Decisions of this court may not be directly appealed to the Supreme Court. Instead, the Supreme Court must grant certiorari in order for a decision to be reviewed. This Court was established by the Oklahoma legislature in 1968. The number of judges was initially set at six; however, membership increased to 12 in 1982. There are six Court of Civic Appeals judicial districts which mirror the congressional districts of the state. Two judges are selected

**FIGURE 3**  
**Court of Criminal Appeals**  
**Judicial Districts**



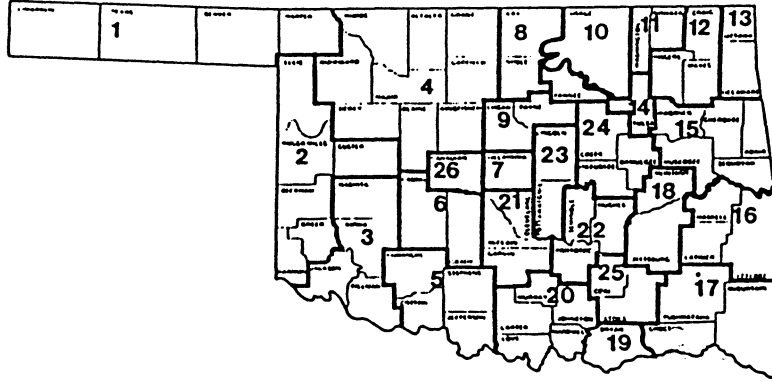
from each district. Judges sit in three-judge panels and are assigned to one of two permanent divisions in Tulsa or Oklahoma City. Length of service and method of selection is the same as for the Supreme Court and the Court of Criminal Appeals. While there is no age requirement for judges, it is required that judges on the Court of Appeals have four years experience as a lawyer and live in the district when the oath of office is administered.

The District Courts are the trial courts of general jurisdiction in Oklahoma. The courts have unlimited original jurisdiction in both civil and criminal cases. In addition, certain administrative decisions may be reviewed as a result of statutory provision. Finally, appeals from Municipal Courts not of record are reviewed as trials de novo, a new trial in which the entire case is retried if no prior trial had taken place. There are 26 District Court districts from which 71 district judges, 77 associate district judges, and 63 special judges are selected. The 26 districts are broken into nine judicial administrative districts. District and associate district judges are selected through nonpartisan, district elections and serve a term of four years. District judges of the relevant judicial administrative district appoint the special judges. Qualifications for district judges are



**FIGURE 5**

**District Courts  
Judicial Districts**



Figures in parenthesis indicate 1990 official total population of Judicial Districts.

1. The counties of Cimarron, Texas, Beaver, and Harper. (29,806)
2. The counties of Ellis, Roger Mills, Custer, Beckham, Greer and Harmon. (64,705)
3. The counties of Washita, Kiowa, Jackson, and Tillman. (61,936)
4. The counties of Dewey, Blaine, Kingfisher, Farfield, Major, Woodward, Woods, Alfalfa and Grant. (135,207)
5. The counties of Comanche, Stephens, Cotton and Jefferson. (167,446)
6. The counties of Grady and Caddo. (71,297)
7. The county of Oklahoma. (599,611)
8. The counties of Noble and Kay. (59,101)
9. The counties of Logan and Payne. (90,518)
10. The county of Osage. (41,645)
11. The counties of Washington and Nowata. (58,058)
12. The counties of Rogers, Mayes and Craig. (102,640)
13. The counties of Ottawa and Delaware. (58,631)
14. The counties of Tulsa and Pawnee. (518,916)
15. The counties of Wagoner, Cherokee, Adair, Muskogee and Sequoyah. (202,259)
16. The counties of Haskell, LeFlore and Latimer. (64,543)
17. The counties of Pushmatah, McCurtain and Choctaw. (59,732)
18. The counties of McIntosh and Pittsburg. (57,360)
19. The county of Bryan. (32,089)
20. The counties of Love, Carter, Murray, Johnston and Marshall. (83,979)
21. The counties of Garvin, McClain and Cleveland. (223,653)
22. The counties of Seminole, Hughes and Pontotoc. (72,554)
23. The counties of Lincoln and Pottowatomie. (87,976)
24. The counties of Okfuskee, Okmulgee and Creek. (108,956)
25. The counties of Coal and Atoka. (18,558)
26. The county of Canadian. (74,409)

decisions from charges of undue influence from external sources, such as public opinion or political pressure. Accountability is necessary to ensure legitimacy of the decisions of the judiciary. The controversy arises because the judge is to be independent of prevailing public sentiment and answerable to the public at the same time. More accountability means less independence and vice versa. Sheldon and Lovrich describe this tension between independence and accountability. They state: “[a]lthough majoritarian democracy demands that when judges make policy they ought to be answerable to the public, the rule of law also requires that judges be largely free from the pressures of politics” (Sheldon and Lovrich, 1991, 166). Judicial reform has been centered around finding the appropriate balance between judicial independence and political accountability.

In Oklahoma, this balance between judicial independence and public accountability was tipped towards judicial independence in the 1960s when scandal erupted in the judiciary. The ensuing reforms attempted to reestablish an independent judiciary that is accountable to the public. As a legacy of populism in the early 1900s, Oklahoma’s judiciary was selected by direct popular election on a partisan ballot. While most states had moved away from partisan elections for judgeships by the 1960s, major reform of the judicial system had not been realized in Oklahoma until that time. Until the late 1960s, Oklahoma’s court system was characterized by a public able to hold judges accountable through direct elections as well as an inability for judges to be independent of political influence.

Signs of scandal on the high court began to emerge when Justice S. Corn, a retired justice of the Supreme Court, and sitting Justice Earl Welch were convicted of federal income tax evasion in 1964. Justice Corn received an eighteen-month sentence after pleading *nolo contendere* (no contest) to the charges. Justice Welch was convicted by a jury and sentenced to three years in prison. Welch was allowed to retain his position on the Court while he appealed the verdict in his case.

Corn went to prison and while there confessed to bribery while on the bench. In addition to confessing to his own improprieties, Corn implicated Justices Welch and Johnson. The Oklahoma House of Representatives brought articles of impeachment against Welch and Johnson. Welch resigned before the articles were filed against him. Corn testified at Johnson’s Senate trial that Johnson and Welch had been paid money in exchange for their favorable votes on two occasions. Corn’s testimony at the trial served to highlight the flaws in the method of selection for the judiciary. Corn argued that bribes were used to help with campaign expenses (Simpson, 1991). This suggested that without the pressures of a campaign, members of the judiciary would be more likely to refrain from taking money from interested parties. The defense attorneys called Corn “an evil old man who had lived a life of corruption” (Simpson, 1991). Despite attempts to discredit Corn’s testimony, Johnson was convicted by a two-thirds majority in the Senate and subsequently removed from office.

Corn’s testimony did more than just remove Johnson from office. It served as the necessary impetus to initiate reform of Oklahoma’s method of selection of the judiciary. In response to the bribery scandal, two constitutional amendments were passed in

1967. The amendments served to abolish partisan elections for state judges and adopt a merit selection system. This system is hailed as a way to accomplish the goal of obtaining qualified judges who are not corrupted by political influence. Under this system, the governor appoints a judge or justice from among several candidates recommended by the judicial nominating commission. The commission is composed of lawyers and non-lawyers. After serving a set length of time (see length of terms above), the judge stands at a special election where voters decide whether to retain the judge. The voters are asked, "Shall Judge X be retained in office?" Under this system, judges would be selected by the governor from a list of nominees put forth by the Judicial Nominating Commission. Upon completion of the term, incumbents would run in a retention election. If the majority of voters were in favor of the judge, another term in office would be served. Lower court judges would still be elected, in a nonpartisan election in order to preserve judicial independence.

The Judicial Nominating Commission is composed of thirteen members. Six members are non-lawyers. These members are appointed by the governor and are selected from each congressional district. Six members of the Judicial Nominating Commission are lawyers. They are members of, and are elected by, the Oklahoma Bar Association. These members are also selected from each congressional district. Finally, the commission selects one at-large member. When a vacancy occurs on a state court, the members of the nominating commission review applications for the vacant position. They are required to submit at least three names to the governor and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The Governor then has sixty days to appoint one of the people from the list.

By initiating these reforms, accountability to the electorate was combined with a method of selecting qualified, independent members of the judiciary. The judicial scandals of the 1960s directly resulted in reforms in both Oklahoma judicial structure and the judicial selection process. The resulting current system emerged to better resemble the norms of state judicial systems nationally, as well as retaining some unique characteristics. The history of the judicial system illustrates Oklahoma's ability to respond to turbulence within its institutions as well as to public outcry for reform.

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## SHIFTING PARTISAN ALIGNMENTS IN OKLAHOMA

Ronald Keith Gaddie, *The University of Oklahoma*

Scott E. Buchanan, *The University of Oklahoma*

Oklahoma has often stood at the fringe of the South, both in the study of southern politics and in the mindset of Oklahoma. While Oklahoma was not a state at the time of the Civil War, many of the events and cultural factors that structure Oklahoma politics are distinctly southern. As in many southern states, the GOP has enjoyed a dramatic growth in adherents, and has sustained electoral success in contests for major offices.

What is so intriguing about the GOP growth in Oklahoma is the catalyst for change. In most southern states, studies have shown that Republican growth can be linked to race. Race is not such a divisive issue in Oklahoma. Only 6.7 percent of the state population is black (Morgan, *et al.*, 1991). Instead, religion, the growth of the Christian Right, appears to be a major catalyst in the GOP upswing (Bednar and Hertzke, 1995a, 1995b).

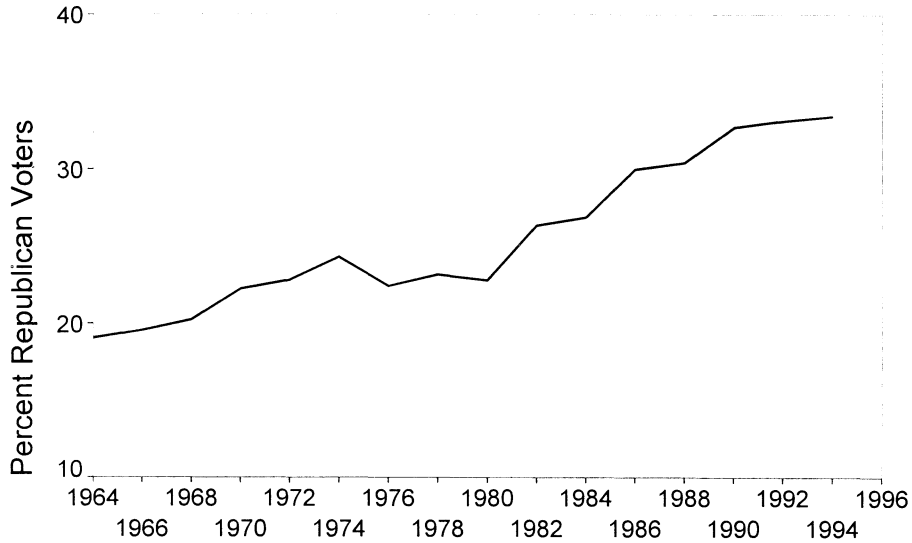
### **Shifting Voters**

Below the level of major statewide offices, success by the GOP was at best fleeting. Like many southern states, Oklahoma was forced to reapportion the state legislature and congressional districts to accommodate the one-man, one-vote standards set in *Baker v. Carr* and *Westbury v. Sanders*. Rural interests had traditionally been overrepresented in the legislature due to guarantees of representation for each county. This malapportionment helped to perpetuate the Democratic domination of both chambers. After reapportionment, the Democrats continued to hold substantial majorities, especially in the rural areas, while Republicans are elected almost entirely from the populous metropolitan counties.

The most direct evidence of changing allegiances in the electorate is in the voter registration figures. Oklahoma uses a partisan registration system with a closed party primary, which allows us to examine the expressed preferences of voter allegiance. With the exception of a brief fall off of support from 1974 to 1978, the Republican proportion of registered voters has increased steadily from less than 20 percent of voters in 1964 to about 36 percent of voters in January 1996. Most of this growth occurred between 1980 and 1990, and the change in partisan balance appears to be related to the falloff in

**FIGURE 1**

**Republican Registration, 1964-1994**



registered Democrats, as well as to gains in registered Republicans. Oklahoma has traditionally gained and lost populations with the cycles of sudden economic boom and long, drawn out decline. The most recent of these cycles did not distribute its impact evenly across parties. A general decline of registrants occurred at the depth of the oil bust, and lessened the number of Democratic registrants from 1,400,000 to just over 1,100,000 — a loss of 300,000 voters. Since the oil bust, the number of GOP registrants has hovered around 600,000. The net number of registrants gained by the Republicans since 1980 is roughly twice those gained by Democrats.

**The Geography of Statewide Elections**

As the urban centers of Oklahoma grew, the political geography of the state took on the tripartite shape now familiar to Oklahomans. If one draws a line from the northeastern corner of the state to the southwestern corner, it would pass through the urban centers of Tulsa, Oklahoma City, and Lawton. To the north and west of this line and outside of these cities is predominantly

Republican, and contains about 10 percent of the state population. To the south and east of the line is predominantly Democratic, the “Little Dixie” region that contains

about 20 percent of the state. The remaining 70 percent of Oklahomans live in the urban corridor that encompasses the major cities of the state (Morgan, England, and Humphreys, 1991).

The growth of the suburban corridor has not altered the partisan differences that exist between the two major urban counties (Oklahoma and Tulsa) and the rest of the state. Kirkpatrick, Morgan, and Kielhorn (1977) observed that, in the 1960s, the major urban counties voted substantially more Republican than the rest of the state in major statewide elections. As indicated in Table 1, the average urban/rural difference in gubernatorial elections is 12.9 percentage points. The GOP has won a majority of the urban core counties' vote on six of nine occasions, but has not carried the rural vote since 1966. The urban vote constituted the margin of victory for the last three Republican governors, none of whom won an outright majority of the vote. The difference in the rural/urban vote was either around 14 points or 10 points for every election since 1966, although in 1994 the margin was substantially larger — almost 19 points — because of the very large urban GOP vote.

The urban/rural split in Oklahoma is less pronounced in presidential races. Republican presidential candidates have won Oklahoma's electoral votes in every election since 1968, and even in 1964 Goldwater ran six points ahead of his national showing. Republican presidential candidates run ahead of other Republicans in rural, traditionally Democratic counties. The persistence of Republican success at the top of the ballot in rural localities eventually leads to GOP success at the bottom of the ballot in those areas. Southern voters have usually found it far easier to first break with the Democratic Party at the national level, where the policy stands and personal values of the party candidates were often at odds with southern tradition and values. The breaking of the southern Democratic linkage at the state and local level requires greater effort, especially if the values of Democratic candidates comport to the beliefs and values of the Democratic electorate. Then those linkages are broken and the Democratic party is lost as an avenue of expression for conservatives, the opportunity for GOP growth is greatest (Heard, 1952).

The areas where the GOP expects its greatest opportunities are in the suburban and exurban counties outside Oklahoma City and Tulsa that have strong, conservative Democratic traditions. The most persistently Republican counties in the state are in the northern and western parts, above the urban corridor. The other areas of GOP competitiveness are in the metropolitan counties around Tulsa and Oklahoma City. The center-city counties are the most solidly Republican. The only Democratic stronghold appears to be the southeastern part of the state.

The last three gubernatorial elections illustrate the stability of the partisan vote patterns, and the role of campaigns in Oklahoma elections. The 1986, 1990, and 1994 elections exhibit a similar pattern, with Republicans running stronger to the northwest of the urban corridor and in the core urban counties of Tulsa and Oklahoma than in the rural, Democratic counties in Little Dixie. Still, even in Little Dixie, where some counties can count their registered Republicans on one hand, the GOP consistently pulls 30-35 percent of the vote.

TABLE 1

## The Cities and Republican Success

Year	OKC/ State	Out Tulsa	State	Difference
<b>Vote for Governor</b>				
1962	55.2	61.2	52.5	+8.7
1966	55.7	65.3	51.0	+14.3
1970	48.1*	57.9	43.3	+14.6
1974	36.1	45.5	31.4	+14.1
1978	47.2	53.9	43.9	+10.0
1982	37.6	47.5	32.6	+14.9
1986	47.5*	54.5	44.0	+10.5
1990	36.2	43.0	32.9	+10.1
1994	46.9*	59.0	40.3	+18.7
<b>Vote for President</b>				
1964	44.3	51.3	40.7	+10.6
1968	47.7*	52.9	44.9	+8.0
1972	73.7	76.3	72.2	+4.1
1976	49.9*	58.8	45.1	+13.7
1980	60.5	66.1	57.5	+8.6
1984	68.6	72.3	66.6	+5.7
1988	58.4	64.0	54.6	+9.4
1992	42.6*	48.9	39.1	+9.8
1996	48.2*	54.1	45.1	+9.0

*The net number of registrants gained by the Republicans since 1980 is roughly twice those gained by Democrats.*

*\* GOP plurality win.*

*Source: Oklahoma State Board of Elections.*

### The Legislature

Democrats dominate the Oklahoma state legislature. GOP gains in the legislature roughly correspond to the gains by the party among registered voters. The growth of Republicans in the Oklahoma legislature is indicated in Table 2. In 1962, the last election preceding the court-ordered reapportionment of state legislative seats to comply with

**TABLE 2**  
**Percent Growth in the Republican Party in the Oklahoma Legislature**

Year	House	Senate
1965	17.2	18.5
1967	24.8	18.8
1969	22.8	18.8
1971	20.8	18.8
1973	25.7	20.8
1975	24.8	18.8
1977	24.8	18.8
1979	25.7	18.9
1981	27.7	22.9
1983	24.8	29.2
1985	29.7	35.4
1987	30.7	31.3
1989	31.7	22.9
1991	31.7	22.9
1993	32.7	22.9
1995	35.6	27.8
1997	35.6	31.3

*Note: There were 101 House members and 48 Senate members as of 1997.*

one-man, one-vote, the GOP held 24 of 129 House seats (18.5 percent) and five of 44 Senate seats (11.3 percent). The reapportionment of seats produced a loss of two seats in the House and a gain of five in the Senate. By 1991, the GOP House caucus had increased to 32 of 101 seats, with a pair of brief setbacks after Watergate and during the 1982 recession. The current GOP House caucus is 36 seats.

Republican success in the state Senate has been more fleeting. Oklahoma state senators serve four-year terms, and those terms are staggered so that only half of the chamber comes up for reelection every two years. From 1964 to 1980, the GOP senate caucus cycled between 9 and 11 senators out of 48. GOP representation peaked at 17 senators in the 1986 elections, but then fell off to 11 seats following the 1990 election. After the 1996 elections, the GOP caucus in the Senate stood at 15 senators. Despite the use of staggered terms, the state senate is more vulnerable to the recent state and national political tides than the house. The peak of GOP senate representation came in the wake of Reagan's successful reelection and the return of Republican Henry Bellmon to the governor's mansion. The subsequent loss of four seats in the 1990 election came in the disastrous 26-point defeat of Republican gubernatorial candidate Bill Price.

Despite the limited level of GOP representation, Republican gains have made an impact on lawmaking in Oklahoma. In the past, Republican governors found themselves largely at the mercy of the Democratic leadership in the legislature. When unified, Democrats had more than sufficient votes to override Republican gubernatorial vetoes. Frank Keating's election as governor in 1994 was accompanied by the first contemporary GOP caucus to exceed one-third of the membership in a chamber. Republicans can now sustain any gubernatorial veto, which enhances the limited powers of the governor.

Oklahoma Democratic legislators are primarily from rural districts, and the rural areas are still dominated by Democrats in state legislative elections. After the 1994 election, all fourteen Senate districts that lie completely outside the five Oklahoma Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) were represented by Democrats. All thirteen GOP senators were elected from the two principal SMSAs of Oklahoma City and Tulsa. Democrats still hold 21 of 34 metropolitan senate seats.

The Democratic domination of rural districts is not so complete in the state House. About 45 percent of representatives are elected from outside SMSAs, but 58.4 percent of the Democratic caucus is elected from rural districts. By comparison, Republicans were elected from 11 of the 23 districts in the Tulsa SMSA and 17 of 27 districts in the Oklahoma City SMSA.

The modern GOP caucus bears scant resemblance to that elected in the early 1960s. Before judicial challenges to Oklahoma's county-based apportionment plan led to a dramatic increase in urban districts, the GOP caucus in the state House had a far more rural character. Of twenty-five Republicans elected to the 120-member House in 1962, over half (thirteen) were from rural counties in the northern and western parts of the state; eleven were elected from Garfield (Enid SMSA), Oklahoma (Oklahoma City), and Tulsa (Tulsa) counties. Those Republicans constituted 57.1 percent of all urban legislators, a proportion approximately in line with the current GOP share of seats in SMSAs.

### **The Christian Voter As A Factor**

Republican success in inducing Democrats to switch over and vote Republican is in part dependent on the religious identification of the voter. Self-identified born-again Christians constituted 30 percent of all registered Democratic voters, and those Democrats split evenly between the Republican and Democratic candidates. Bill Clinton carried 65 percent of the vote among Democrats who did not consider themselves born-again, but only 45 percent of the vote among born-again Democrats. Almost identical evidence of the born-again/secular split in the Democratic party is found in the poll results for the 4th District. The instances of born-again voters are similar across both districts: about 29 percent of all voters were born again, more than half of those were Democrats, and born-again Democrats constituted approximately 27 percent of all registered Democratic voters. The born-again secular split in the Democratic party was again evident. Clinton carried over 60 percent of the vote among secular Democrats, but failed to gain even a majority of born-again Democrats. Overall, born-

again votes only cast about one in three ballots for Clinton. Born-again Democrats were generally more distrustful of Bill Clinton. Their defection on grounds of character reinforces the notion of responsible behavior advanced by Key (1966). It should be noted that Democratic defectors could also be projecting a negative evaluation to justify their defection.

### Conclusions

Oklahoma is a state in the midst of a political evolution that lags somewhat behind the rest of the South. Partisan identifiers are still solidly Democratic. Democrats still remain in overwhelming control of the state legislature and in control of local governments. Republican success has been largely confined to high-profile statewide and congressional elections where money and mass media can best be used to separate traditional Democrats away from their party (Gaddie and Buchanan, 1997).

At the local and state legislative levels, where over 70 percent of all officeholders are Democrats, the linkages of voters to Democratic politicians are still highly personalized. According to one prominent Democratic Senate leader, voters still *know* these people on a personal level; a campaign that ties them to the national Democratic Party does not work in localized constituencies precisely because local Democrats are not tied to the national party, and at a local level Democrats are capable of successfully running away from the party. Campaigns conducted in larger constituencies are necessarily less personal and therefore more reliant on mass media and money to communicate candidate images. For Democrats in Oklahoma, this has meant being tied to the unpopularity of the Clinton administration and the social agenda of the national Democratic party.

The successful application of Christian activist strategy to campaigns in Oklahoma has separated about half of born-again Democrats from their party's nominees for federal offices. The most recent increase in GOP registrants is related to the presence of evangelicals in communities. Oklahoma is far from "realigned" to the GOP at all levels. When compared to her immediate southern neighbors, the partisan changes in Oklahoma are more advanced than in Louisiana and Arkansas, but lag behind Texas below the state level.

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## DIRECT DEMOCRACY IN OKLAHOMA

David Rausch, *Fairmont State University*

Americans are frustrated with their government. The increased use of direct democracy is evidence of this frustration. Since our elected representatives cannot get the job done, voters reason, we must do it ourselves! Oklahomans share this frustration with government's inability to solve problems and, like voters in 24 other states, they can utilize instruments of direct democracy to take action themselves. What follows is a brief introduction to direct democracy in Oklahoma.

Direct democracy refers to three processes through which voters can make policy: the initiative; the referendum, and the recall. Through the initiative, voters can write statutes and constitutional amendments which appear on the ballot when enough signatures have been collected on petitions. The referendum allows voters the opportunity to place laws previously approved by legislative bodies on the ballot. Like the initiative, citizens must collect enough signatures on petitions to get the referendum on the ballot. The recall allows voters the opportunity to remove an elected official from office if citizens can collect enough signatures on petitions.

Since Oklahoma was admitted to statehood during the Progressive era, it is not surprising that the Oklahoma constitution includes the Progressive vision of direct democracy. The Progressive ideology held that government at the end of the 19th century was corrupt and being run for the benefit of special interests. Direct democracy was an attempt to replace corrupt government with the will of the people. The people would set the political agenda and make decisions via the ballot box. Government would no longer be run by "the few."

The referendum and initiative processes are outlined in Article V of the Oklahoma Constitution, juxtaposed with the description of the structure and function of the legislative department. Oklahomans do not have the ability to recall state officials, although residents of several cities and towns can recall local officials. To place a statutory initiative on the ballot, proponents must collect signatures from enough registered voters to equal five percent of the votes cast in the previous gubernatorial election. More than 995,000 voters cast ballots in the 1994 gubernatorial election; therefore, almost 50,000 valid signatures must be collected to qualify a statutory initiative for the ballot.

An initiative to amend the state constitution requires signatures from 15 percent of the voters (almost 150,000 signatures). The referendum process stipulates that five percent of the voters or an absolute majority of the legislature may require that a bill passed by the legislature be submitted to the voters for approval. Oklahoma's signature requirements are moderate compared to other states, resulting in about nine ballot issues, called State Questions, per election. State questions are worded in a manner that the "yes" vote changes the status quo.

Examples of State Questions which have appeared on the Oklahoma ballot in recent elections may help illustrate the differences between initiatives and referenda. In September, 1990, Oklahoma voters approved State Question 632, a constitutional amendment limiting the terms of state legislators. State Question 632 was a constitutional initiative. Most issues which appear on the Oklahoma ballot are constitutional initiatives because, as amendments to the constitution, they carry more weight than statutes. Statutory initiatives, if approved by voters, can be amended by legislators at a later date. Constitutional amendments can only be changed by further amendment.

An initiative, State Question 640, approved by voters in March of 1992, provided for a referendum on all revenue bills not approved by a supermajority of the state legislature. State Question 639, a confusing ballot issue rejected by voters in a special election in October, 1991, is an example of a popular referendum. The history of this question can be traced to April, 1990, when the legislature passed House Bill (HB) 1017, a package of education reforms and tax increases to raise revenue for those reforms. While the bill was praised as a landmark effort to improve the education of Oklahoma's public school students, it also was criticized as being too long on tax increases and too short on actual reforms. After the bill was signed by the governor, two taxpayer advocates began circulating petitions to put the question of repealing HB 1017 on the ballot. After collecting enough signatures, the question was placed on the ballot, but voters were confused by the wording of the question. A "yes" vote indicated that the voter wanted HB 1017 repealed, while a "no" indicated support for the legislation. The referendum failed.

Two related trends have become evident in the recent history of direct democracy in the United States and in Oklahoma. Combined, these trends raise questions about the democratic nature of direct democracy. The first trend involves the professionalization of direct democracy. No longer is it possible for a small group of volunteers concerned about a problem to circulate petitions and have the issue decided by voters. Volunteer petitioners have been replaced by petition management firms. These firms help draft the petition and get pre-approval by the appropriate state official (usually the attorney general or secretary of state). They then develop a strategy for collecting the appropriate number of signatures. The strategy has increasingly included the hiring of persons paid to collect the large number of signatures. Usually the circulator receives a certain amount per signature. In the effort to get a congressional term limit initiative on the Oklahoma ballot in 1994 (State Question 662), some petition circulators were paid one dollar or more per signature. Fraud is a potential problem in paying circulators per signature. In the effort to qualify State Question 662, a circulator from

Lawton falsified the signatures of a number of Oklahomans, including the chief justice of the state supreme court, a seven-year-old boy, and a dead man. She was convicted.

The second trend involves the amount of money required to conduct an initiative campaign. A number of observers have noted that direct democracy had, until the late 1980s, worked to enlarge the rights of citizens and protect people and the environment from the ravages of capitalism. By the 1990s, most initiatives involved reducing the size of government by lessening the tax burden and decreasing government regulation. These initiatives have been funded largely by wealthy individuals and ideologically-conservative foundations. Very few initiatives are successful if the organizations promoting them receive only small donations. Money has become the significant factor in qualifying an initiative for the ballot. Observers of direct democracy conclude, almost to consensus, that “anyone willing to put up the funds can buy a place on the ballot” (Lowenstein and Stern 1989, 200).

While money is important in getting an issue on the ballot, the evidence is mixed on the role of money in the approval of an initiative. Effective use of the media can be just as important as money in determining the success or failure of an initiative campaign (see Cronin, 1989, chapter 5). In Oklahoma, many initiative proponents, especially those that seek to constrain the government, can rely on both money and media from a single source: Edward L. Gaylord, owner of the Oklahoma Publishing Company (OPUBCO), the parent company of *The Daily Oklahoman*. Gaylord regularly contributes to the committees organized to support or oppose various initiatives. Editorially, *The Daily Oklahoman* strongly encourages voters to cast their ballots for or against the proposals. These editorials regularly appear on the front page. In 1992, the paper endorsed tax-limiting State Question 640 so strongly that the issue was the subject of a color cartoon on the paper’s front page. Research has found a connection between the circulation of *The Daily Oklahoman* and support for initiatives which “constrain the legislature” (Rausch, 1994).

The Progressives envisioned direct democracy as a way to block the corrupting influence of special interests on the government. Who better to act on the best behalf of the people than “the people?” Today, students of direct democracy are concerned about the decreasing role played by the people in the process. Many voters do not take the opportunity to vote on ballot issues either by not voting or by “rolling off,” the process of skipping the issues on the ballot. The role of money and the ability to “buy” a spot on the ballot also concerns observers. Of course, the large sums of money involved in initiative and referendum campaigns can be justified by the overwhelming task of circulating petitions. Citizens should reflect on the democratic nature of direct democracy in its current form.

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## TERM LIMITS IN OKLAHOMA

David Rausch, *Fairmont State University*

Rick Farmer, *The University of Akron*

On September 18, 1990, Oklahoma voters became the first in the nation to limit the tenure of their state legislators. Since 1990, the movement has spread with term limits being applied to city, county, and state officials across the nation. Almost half of these states also elected to limit their congressional delegations; however, the United States Supreme Court in 1995 found such state-enacted congressional term limits violated the Constitution.

Oklahoma is an important state to examine in the development of the term limit movement in the United States. In addition to being the first state to enact term limits, a term limit initiative of some form has appeared in the state at least three times since 1990. An analysis of these initiative campaigns partially illustrates the history of the national term limit movement. Here we examine the campaigns in Oklahoma as a portrait of the national movement and provide some indication as to the effects of term limits on politics in the Sooner State.

To make this analysis easier for the reader, the term limit efforts will be identified as follows: Oklahoma I (1990), Oklahoma II (1994), Oklahoma III (campaign cut short in 1996), and Oklahoma IV (1997-98).

### **Oklahoma I**

When Oklahoma voters approved State Question 632 in 1990, term limitations appeared to be a novel idea. By supporting the initiative, voters indicated that they believed the legislature had become too insulated, unresponsive, and self-indulgent. Examples of the legislature's self-indulgent behavior in the late 1980's included stopping the state capitol clock to block constitutionally mandated adjournment. An independent compensation board enacted a pay raise while a House Speaker was overthrown. By 1990, voters were understandably upset with their legislature.

The campaign which led to State Question 632 was guided by one person, Tulsa businessperson Lloyd Noble. A self-described "arch-conservative," he believed that state legislators could be restricted through term limits. After a constitutional revision commission refused to consider legislative term limits, Noble decided to try the initiative

route.

In the fall of 1989, Noble received approval from the Oklahoma secretary of state to circulate a petition limiting state legislators to twelve years. The proposal, written by a group of Oklahoma lawyers who had experience in the Legislature, was a lifetime ban on more than twelve years of service, including years served in either or both chambers. For example, a member of the State House who served four years in that body and sought election to the State Senate would be able to serve only eight more years.

Noble, working with his organization "Oklahomans for Legislative Reform," circulated the petition during the winter of 1989-1990. The circulators were able to gather the second highest number of signatures ever on an initiative petition in the prescribed ninety-day period. The signatures were certified by the secretary of state, and the certification was validated by the State Supreme Court. After the signatures on the petitions were validated, Noble was able to persuade Republican Governor Henry Bellmon to place the question on the primary runoff ballot in September, ahead of Colorado and California, which had similar initiatives on their November 1990 general election ballots. State Question 632 was approved by voters by a margin of almost two to one, in part due to the absence of any significant opposition.

Much of the credit for the success of the first term limit initiative in Oklahoma can be granted to Lloyd Noble. Oklahomans for Legislative Reform, the leading pro-term limit group, was bankrolled primarily by Noble and members of his family. The total budget for the campaign including advertising was \$220,000. According to campaign finance reports filed with the state, most of the money was raised instate. Clearly, the first term limit initiative approved on a stateside basis in Oklahoma was, like in other states, a local effort. However, soon after, term limits became a genuinely national movement.

## Oklahoma II

The most significant event of the term limit movement bypassed Oklahoma. In 1992, term limit initiatives were on the ballots of 14 states. These initiatives primarily sought to limit the terms of members of Congress and all 14 were successful. Oklahoma did not join the list of states with congressional term limits until 1994, in large part because, as one Oklahoma term limit advocate noted, "the money did not come from Washington [DC] until [1994]." By 1994, a Washington based group, "U.S. Term Limits," was spearheading the term limit movement across the country.

This second term limit effort in Oklahoma was conducted by two groups: Citizens for Congressional and Legislative Reform circulated the petitions, while OK Term Limits directed the advertising campaign before election day. Walt Hill, a former Reagan administration official and director of Citizens for Congressional and Legislative Reform, determined that he was too busy to conduct a proper campaign. So OK Term Limits, directed by Gary Gardenhire, a former state senator from Norman, took control of the campaign.

State Question 662, the congressional term limit initiative in Oklahoma, was drafted to resemble a number of the 1992 initiatives. Petitions were circulated in the fall and

winter of 1993-94, some circulators were paid one dollar or more per signature collected. Paying circulators per signature always raises the prospect of fraud. One circulator from Lawton was convicted of falsifying the signatures of a number of Oklahomans including the chief justice of the State Supreme Court, a seven-year-old boy, and a dead man.

Close to 300,000 signatures were gathered to put the proposal on a statewide ballot. Campaign finance reports indicated that over 80 percent of the money raised in support of the initiative was contributed by U.S. Term Limits. Most of the money was given to the campaign during the last thirty days the petition was circulated.

Owing its success to the significant financial effort of U.S. Term Limits, State Question 662 was qualified for the ballot. Before Democratic Governor David Walters could schedule the proposal for election, the state supreme court was asked to rule on the constitutionality of the measure. The Court refused to hear the constitutional challenge, arguing that it would not be appropriate to judge the proposal while it was still in the pre-election stage. Oklahoma voters approved congressional term limits, deciding the issue on the September 20 primary runoff ballot. The vote was voided in May 1995, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in an Arkansas case that states were constitutionally prohibited from enacting term limits on their members of Congress.

This term limits effort demonstrates the nationalization of the term limits movement. As the Oklahoma case illustrates, U.S. Term Limits became the driving force behind the movement in various states around the country when it became the national fundraiser for term limits.

### **Oklahoma III**

The 1995 U.S. Supreme Court ruling set the stage for the next term limit effort in Oklahoma. The initiative, first circulated in the fall of 1995, incorporated the Supreme Court's decision by asking Oklahoma voters to vote to instruct the state legislature to ask for a federal constitutional convention on congressional term limits. According to the petition, if a legislator failed to vote for the call for a convention, the notation "violated voter's instructions on term limits" would appear beside his or her name on the next election ballot.

The pro-term limit group, "Oklahomans for Term Limits," collected more than 206,000 signatures on petitions. Again, as in 1994, petition circulators were paid, and most of the financial backing for the campaign came from beyond the borders of Oklahoma. Campaign finance data revealed that more than 85 percent of the money came from U.S. Term Limits. Oklahomans for Term Limits also received \$5,000 from Mississippi Term Limits at approximately the same time that a term limit initiative was rejected by voters in Mississippi. This contribution from one state term limit group to another marked a new turn in the movement. Some observers in Mississippi and Washington, DC believed it to be an attempt to hide the true source of campaign funding. The evidence suggests that U.S. Term Limits was using state-level political processes to further a national goal by shifting resources from state to state.

The third term limit initiative in Oklahoma never reached the ballot. The State Supreme Court found it unconstitutional for voters, by initiative petition, to instruct their state legislators to vote to ask Congress to call a federal convention to decide congressional term limits.

#### **Oklahoma IV**

OK Term Limits, now under the direction of Joe Windes of Norman, continued the drive for congressional term limits. The fourth effort involved lobbying the state legislature to enact an “Informed Voter” law. This law would identify by ballot notation those members of the Oklahoma congressional delegation who did not support a term limit amendment.

#### **Effects of Term Limits**

Observers in Oklahoma and across the country are assessing the effects of term limits on the political environment. There is some controversy over when the limits in Oklahoma will take effect. Oklahoma voters limited legislators to a twelve-year maximum combined, House and Senate, lifetime service after January 1, 1991. Many supporters expected the law to take full effect at the 2002 general election. However, the law allowed those members who were serving on January 1, 1991 to finish that full term before their 12 years began to accumulate toward the limit. Since legislators began their new terms in November, 15 days after the 1990 election, it was the current Attorney General’s interpretation that those elected in 1990 were allowed to finish that entire term before they were affected. This means that House members continually elected from November 1990 will be allowed to serve until November 2004. Senators continually elected from November 1990 will be allowed to serve until November 2006. (Senators serve four year terms.)

#### **Conclusions**

Research findings suggest that Oklahoma politics has changed little since the passage of State Question 632. Emerging trends in electoral competitiveness do not seem different from before the imposition of term limits. Since the advent of legislative term limits, women and Republicans constitute a greater percentage of the new members, but this trend was already underway before 1990. Legislative leadership has changed slightly, but this trend was also in motion. If term limits have had any real effect in Oklahoma to date, it has been primarily to accelerate changes that were already underway. Similar trends have been the result of more restrictive limits that have already prevented members’ reelection in California and Maine.

It is possible that state legislative term limits in Oklahoma may never be allowed to take effect. In April 1997, a federal district judge overturned California’s term limits because she found that the law’s lifetime ban on service violated the U.S. Constitution. A discussion of Oklahoma’s experience with term limits could be rendered moot by a



case involving California's experience with term limits. Oklahoma's State Question 632 included a lifetime ban. A ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court of appeals may eliminate Oklahoma's term limits law.



## WOMEN IN THE OKLAHOMA LEGISLATURE: THE EXPERIENCE OF TOKENISM

Cindy Simon Rosenthal  
*The University of Oklahoma*

Women are more prominent today in Oklahoma politics than in days past, yet the state's long heritage of social conservatism and traditionalism remains an impediment to women's success in legislative politics. As a result, women in the Oklahoma Legislature face the kind of performance pressures that organizational scholar Rosabeth Moss Kanter describes as "tokenism" (Kanter, 1977).

Women first joined the ranks of lawmakers in the state House and Senate in 1921, though for an 11-year period during the Great Depression (1930-41), no women served in the Oklahoma Legislature. Until 1942, Oklahoma's Constitution specified that only men were eligible to be governor or to serve in certain executive offices (Darcy, Brewer, and Clay, 1984). In the 1990s, women achieved success in major statewide offices, but like other border and deep South states, Oklahoma women continue to be elected to the Legislature in much lower numbers than in other states. After the 1996 election, women comprised a fraction more than 10 percent of the legislative membership, which placed Oklahoma 48th among the states in terms of percentage of women lawmakers and at less than half of the average proportion of female members in the 50 states (Gordon, 1995).

Of the 101-member House of Representatives, only nine women serve among the prototypical suits and cowboy boots. In the House committee rooms in 1997, only six of the 27 committees have more than two women members, while eight committees have no female members. Only two standing committees are chaired by women, and two other women chair standing subcommittees of the Education Committee. Only three women sit on the 40-member Appropriations and Budget Committee.

The Senate is not very much different. Six of the 48 members' desks are occupied by women, and on the 19 standing committees there are typically seven men to every woman. Nine committees have only one or no female senators at the table. Women chair only one of the eight subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee and just three of 19 standing committees.

These small numbers lead to what Kanter in her now classic study, *Men and Women of the Corporation*, described as tokenism, a set of conditions that produces performance pressures on those individuals who differ on some significant characteristic

from the dominant group. The token individual often finds her behavior defined or interpreted in stereotypes and her acceptance as a member subject to heightened scrutiny and visibility.

Kanter defines token conditions as any situation in which a socially distinct group constitutes 15 percent or less of an organization's membership. Kanter also notes that token individuals often lack power, and this circumstance is also evident in the Oklahoma Legislature. No woman has ever held a top leadership post — presiding officer, majority or minority leader. Women have not been elected from rural districts that continue to wield a disproportionate share of legislative power. Women legislators tend to represent districts based in the two major metropolitan areas and the university communities of Norman and Stillwater. Only four of the 15 current female legislators represent predominantly rural constituencies.

In addition to numbers, female legislators in Oklahoma experience the conditions associated with “tokenism.” Kanter identifies three factors that impact behavior within an organization: 1) tokens have greater visibility which leads to pressures on their performance; 2) differences between tokens and the dominant group tend to be exaggerated; and 3) as a consequence tokens try to assimilate by taking on stereotypical gender roles (1977: 210-242). The examples, which Kanter uses from the corporate world to elaborate on these conditions, might have been drawn as easily from the committee hearings and personal experiences of Oklahoma committee chairs

Visibility imposes an extraordinary responsibility to perform faultlessly and introduces symbolic expectations that the token woman represents the category of all women. State Senator Bernice Shedrick's recollections of her first term in 1981 as the lone female senator reflect this burden of public symbol. She told a reporter, “I felt a challenge because I knew I was quite visible. If I made a mistake, there was no hiding behind any other female. I was challenged to do my very best and to make certain I studied the issues very carefully, read every bill and tried to be as well-informed as I possibly could” (McShane, 1987: 1). These pressures are not only self-imposed but also generated by others. (The author interviewed legislators and staffers in 1994 and 1995.) After expressing frustration about the performance of a newly elected lawmaker, a veteran female staff member added this comment in a personal interview: “When there are so few women, you really want them to be good.”

These comments reflect the “double-edged sword of publicity” (Kanter, 1977). By being visible, the token may reap notoriety while most dominants escape critical judgement. Female Oklahoma Legislators often experience such visibility. The woman, who violates the legislative norm of collegiality, is variously described as a “loose cannon,” “not a team player” and “flaky and unpredictable.” The female who sponsors a wide variety of bills and speaks often on the floor violates the norm of specialization and is described as a “loudmouth” and “know-it-all.” A promising and capable new chairwoman attracts more than her share of heavy assignments and then is judged harshly if she “can't handle it.” While men might be similarly described, they avoid the glare of the limelight that comes with token visibility.

In response to visibility, Kanter argues tokens often “work twice as hard to prove

their competence.” This strategy has been adopted by many Oklahoma women chairs.

“I have tried to establish my reputation as being very knowledgeable. I sometimes have to give members the nod, and I need to know the issues. I read more than most members. I find myself in the staff mode, reading, studying, developing my knowledge and expertise as opposed to being a member who is dependent upon staff.”

Other Oklahoma women lawmakers have earned positions of power or exercised considerable policy influence by dint of sheer effort and hard work. For example, the landmark education reform legislation, HB1017 of 1989 proved the mettle of three women — State Superintendent Sandy Garrett, House Education Chair Carolyn Thompson, and Senate Education Chair Bernice Shedrick — in the all-male world that previously dominated the appropriation of education funding.

Second, Kanter emphasizes the exaggeration of differences between dominants and tokens. Kanter identifies exaggerated “displays of aggression and potency: instances of sexual innuendos, aggressive sexual teasing and prowess-oriented ‘war stories’ ” and sports laurels. Such displays subconsciously underscore the social camaraderie of men and the exclusion of women.

Again women in the Oklahoma legislature encounter such experiences. On being appointed to chair her committee in 1995 and forewarned of its tough issues, one woman was told by her presiding officer that “this is the committee where you have to have really big. . . .” Exaggeration of difference can be observed in social exchanges in committee meetings. For example, in one committee where a bill on prostitution was being considered, the men joked, exchanged knowing looks and watched for a reaction from the female chair when one of their colleagues commented: “I don’t think anybody at this table is in favor of prostitution” (Committee Hearing, February 14 1995). In such instances, as Kanter notes, the token “functions as audience for dominant cultural expressions.”

Exaggeration of differences also can be seen in reaction to women’s policy initiatives. During a 1997 debate on child support enforcement, conservative male senators opposed revocation of fishing and hunting licenses for parents who are in arrears on their child support payments. They argued that such a policy was nothing short of a threat to American values (Oklahoma Senate Debate, March 6, 1997). In 1994, a proposal to hang plaques for a women’s hall of fame in a state building prompted backlash proposals for a men’s hall of fame and a state license tag motto: “In Honor of Men.” When they present their bills for floor debate, female lawmakers complain “an automatic radar goes up” among the male members.

Female committee chairs generally choose to ignore such comments or provide only tacit acknowledgment. As one chair commented, “I don’t feel picked on or put down, but we still have some members with red rings around the collar.” Another woman added, “Sometimes you just have to let the sexist remarks roll off you.”

The result is what Kanter calls “boundary heightening,” the increased contrast of differences and a separation between tokens and dominants. It does not matter that

such social behavior is practiced by a limited segment of the dominant group. What is critical is the social distance perceived by the token, as reflected one chairwoman's description of her committee, "They [male colleagues] will gig me a lot, calling me 'queen bee.' I am very formal, a hard charger, but you have to be with that crowd. . . it's a survival mechanism."

The final condition of tokenism is assimilation, the process of adopting stereotypical characteristics that fit preexisting generalizations about the token group. In effect, stereotypes define comfortable, but very limited roles that allow the tokens and the dominants to fall back on familiar expectations and modes of action. Assimilation minimizes the discomfort of differences.

Assimilation is clearly a condition in the Oklahoma Legislature. In interviews and published reports, the female committee chairs frequently adopt gender archetypes to self-describe their legislative styles. For example, there is the member who adopts a "grandmotherly" role of warmth, geniality, a touch of absentmindedness, and a disarming approach in dealing with other members. Another described her initial legislative style as the "bratty kid sister" (better than "playing the dumb blond") who asks too many questions and tends to push issues people do not want to hear." A third woman found success by being what Kanter calls the "Iron Maiden" — a style emphasizing dominance over issues, an aggressive presentation of her position, and a tough approach to engaging other members on issues. Acting the role of "flirt" also can be used to advantage:

"I have been pinched more at the Capitol than anywhere else. . . . I judged Representative Q very critically for putting up with the sexism. I didn't like seeing it with her. But I have learned not to put up a fuss and to go along with the kidding. I've even used it on occasion to sidle up to one of the guys to ask him if he's going to vote for my bill. I don't get offended when they ask what I'll do for them in return."

Alternatively, one chairwoman told a reporter women legislators find it helpful to "play the wife. You make them think it's their idea" to win support on an issue. A senior staff person also recalled this tactic in two former committee chairwomen. One, an acknowledged and unabashed feminist, invited committee members to dinner and assumed the role of wife-homemaker to put the members at ease. The other woman built alliances with other members by cultivating friendships with their wives.

In sum, the Oklahoma Legislature has proven a hard club for women to join. Their status as tokens makes them lightning rods for attention. Token visibility, exaggerated differences and assimilation combine to distort behavior and thus make it difficult for tokens to be themselves or to be perceived without imposition of gender stereotypes. For all leaders, adaptation to organizational processes and culture can be a challenge, but that may be doubly so for women in the Oklahoma Legislature.

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## THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN OKLAHOMA STATE POLITICS

Hannah D. Atkins

Women comprise approximately 51 percent of the Oklahoma population today: The 1990 Census documents 1,614,766 women and 1,530,819 men. Nevertheless, women's involvement in the political arena at the state level has been low historically and that trend continues today. Political scientists have differed as to the reasons. Some cite the populist, conservative, traditional cultural environment, while others cite the lack of interest, the advantage of incumbency, difficulty in fund raising, *et cetera* as factors.

The political history of Oklahoma is unique. The state achieved statehood in 1907, and in that year elected a woman, Kate Barnard, to the statewide office of Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. Barnard was one of the first woman in the United States to be elected to a statewide office, eleven years before women had the right to vote in the state. Even before statehood, in 1891, Cora Diehl ran for Registrar of Deeds for Logan County, Oklahoma Territory, and won 53 percent of the vote. Oklahoma was also one of the first states to elect a woman to the U.S. Congress. Alice Mary Robertson of Muskogee was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1921. In 1923, Mabel Bassett was elected Commissioner of Charities and Corrections, an office which she held until 1947. Paradoxically, these women won office in a state that, at the time of statehood, legally barred women from seeking many constitutional offices. The Oklahoma state constitution had a provision which prohibited females from holding certain state executive offices. It was not until State Question 302 passed in 1942 that the ban was removed and women could run for all state executive offices.

With regard to women's suffrage, Oklahoma was the thirty-third state to ratify the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which granted women the right to vote. The state was also one of fifteen states that extended the right to vote to women before the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. State voters amended the state constitution to provide for women's enfranchisement in 1918.

There was a hiatus of eleven years (1930-41) when no women served in the Oklahoma legislature. This is explained by some political scientists as being related to the Great Depression, which also devastated the Republican Party throughout much of the state. Since that time, women have served in both houses of the state legislature, as

lieutenant governor, secretary of state, secretary of public instruction, treasurer, attorney general, secretary of labor, corporation commissioner, insurance commissioner and as supreme court justices.

In 1997, women constitute ten percent of the legislative membership. Out of a total of 149 members, fifteen are women, with nine in the House and six in the Senate. There are no African American women in the House and two in the Senate.

Most committee chairs and positions of true power continue to be held by males, predominantly members from rural districts. Most female legislators are from urban areas. Senator Penny Williams (Tulsa) is a member of the powerful Rules Committee, and Rep. Betty Boyd (Tulsa) is a Rules Committee member in the House. Committee chairs occupied by women in the House are: Laura Boyd (Norman), the Community and Family Responsibilities Committee; and Debbie Blackburn (Oklahoma City), the Subcommittee on Common Education. Blackburn is also vice chair of the Administrative Rules Review Committee and of the Human Services Committee. Williams, Betty Boyd, Laura Boyd and Blackburn are Democrats. Majority Caucus Secretary is Debbie Blackburn and Minority Caucus Secretary is Joan Greenwood (R, Moore).

In the Senate, the female committee chairs are: Maxine Horner (Tulsa), Government Operations and Agency Oversight; Angela Monson (Oklahoma City), Retirement and Employee Benefits Subcommittee and vice chair of the Business and Labor Committee; Trish Weedn (Purcell), General Government; and Penny Williams, chair of the Education Committee and vice chair of the Human Resources Committee. All of these senators are Democrats. Senator Horner is Majority Caucus chair.

There have been female legislators in recent years who have “moved up the ladder” to higher positions, either to appointed or elected positions. The Honorable Vicki Miles-LaGrange was a State Senator from 1989 to 1993, when she resigned to accept an appointment as U.S. Attorney. She was the second woman to hold this position in Oklahoma, being preceded by Betty O. Williams, 1981-1987. Miles-LaGrange served as U.S. Attorney until December 16, 1994, when she was appointed as U.S. District Judge, the first African American and one of the few women nationally to hold that position. She joined Robin Cauthron, the first woman Oklahoma Federal District Judge, appointed in 1991. Stephanie Seymour of Tulsa is Chief Judge of the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver. Lieutenant Governor Mary Fallin began her political career as a member of the House of Representatives from 1990 to 1994. She ran for the office of lieutenant governor in 1994 and won.

After twelve years in the House, Hannah D. Atkins was appointed U.S. Delegate to the United Nations by President Carter in 1980, then in 1983 to the position of Assistant Director of the Oklahoma Department of Human Services by then-Governor Henry Bellmon. In 1987, Governor Bellmon appointed Atkins to the dual position of Secretary of State and Cabinet Secretary of Human Resources, making her, at that time, the highest-ranking female executive in the state government.

In the judicial branch, there are two female supreme court justices: The Honorable Alma Wilson (appointed February 9, 1982), and the Honorable Yvonne Kauger (appointed March 22, 1984). Both have been returned to office at each election and

both have served as Chief Justice. Susan Loving was appointed Attorney General on June 21, 1991. Reta M. Strubhar is on the Court of Criminal Appeals, the first woman to sit on that appellate court of last resort, having been appointed in 1993, and elected in 1994.

Claudette Henry served one term as state treasurer, beginning in 1991. The Corporation Commission has had two women as commissioner, Norma Eagleton, who was appointed Corporation Commissioner in 1979 and then elected in 1980 and 1982. Rene Bode was appointed in 1997.

State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Sandy Garrett, was elected to her position in 1994 after being appointed as Cabinet Secretary of Education by Governor Henry Bellmon in July 1988, and then on December 27, 1990, by Governor David Walters. Brenda Reneau was elected to the statewide position of Commissioner of Labor in 1994.

The Governor's Commission on the Status of Women was established by Governor Henry Bellmon during his first term as governor in 1964. Each governor thereafter established either a committee or commission by an executive order and appointed a group of women to serve on it. In 1994, legislation was passed which established a permanent Commission on the Status of Women. The Commission, however, does not have the power to promulgate rules. Senate Bill 694 (1997), which would have given the Commission rule-making power, was defeated. The Commission sponsors the Oklahoma Women's Hall of Fame. Claudia Tarrington of Tulsa was the first chair of the commission, which has approximately thirty members who are appointed by the governor, Senate president pro tempore and speaker of the House.



## OKLAHOMA CORRUPTION: PAST AND PRESENT

Harry Holloway, *The University of Oklahoma*

Corruption in one form or another is no stranger to Oklahoma. Unfortunately, the term “political corruption” is not easy to define. Given the ambiguities, it is best to use an enlarged meaning, one that encompasses scandals and scandalous behavior.

Readers probably deserve a warning that a focus on corruption is, by definition, a focus on bad behavior. Oklahoma history is treated selectively to dwell on the dark side. The conclusion offers a brief comparative assessment of the state’s corruption.

Oklahoma’s history differed from other states from the outset. Federal policy as early as 1820 designated the area that was to become Oklahoma as Indian Territory. This decision arose from a desire to placate white settlers in the East who wanted to settle large tribal land tracts. In the words of state historian Arrell Morgan Gibson, the process by which the Indian tribes were “ruthlessly uprooted to make way for the white settlers, ranks with the tragedies of the ages.” Corruption in the form of large-scale mistreatment of the indigenous people scarred early state history long before it even became a state.

Another basic feature of Oklahoma after the Civil War was the high level of violence that prevailed. Even for the frontier it was notable. By a fluke of history, the Oklahoma panhandle for a time existed apart from any other state or territory and was in a legal sense without law. Indians lived there with their own laws and customs, but were ignored by the whites. Adding to the disorder were the rail camps set up by the railroads as they laid new tracks across the state. One state historian, Robert Shirley, described these camps as attracting tinhorn gamblers, thieves, prostitutes, whiskey peddlers, and hoodlums. One such camp, Gibson Station, was said for a time to have at least one killing per night.

During this same period after the Civil War, whites pressed forward as settlers and promoters. Texas cattlemen drove their herds through the state and sought leases of land from the Indians, often to the disadvantage of the latter. The promoters who sought land from the railroads and for settlement bought up what they could from the Indians, at times fairly, but often by means of guile and fraud.

The pressure by white settlers persisted, even though for a time the federal government used troops to drive them off. Eventually, pressure from the would-be

settlers led the federal government to change the law that assigned the Oklahoma territory to the Indians “in perpetuity.”

The status of Indians further altered dramatically when Congress enacted the Dawes Act of 1887. Under it, Indians were to give up their treaty-bestowed reservations and accept allotments of land like the white settlers. There were some exceptions, such as the Osage and the Five Civilized Tribes, the latter renowned for their high level of social and political development.

Otherwise, individual Indians were to accept 160 acres of land in fee simple and farm it as their own. For the white settlers the allotments were a blessing. But the allotments were a form of private property and contrary to the communal traditions of many tribes. There was confusion and uncertainty among them. Unscrupulous whites preyed upon the Indians and were able to buy up many of their allotments. Fraud and intimidation, backed by the authority of the federal government, prevailed all too often.

The Indians suffered at the hands of the whites, but the latter suffered from some of the predatory actions of the railroads. In the many towns that sprang up with settlement, the railroads were seen as vital to survival and prosperity. Railroads played upon this favorable sentiment, both in deciding where to lay their tracks and in their maintenance.

### **Corruption And Early Statehood**

Oklahoma entered the Union as a state in 1907 with a constitution hailed by authorities, such as the eminent national historian Charles Beard, as progressive in its willingness to regulate business, especially the railroads. But the Oklahoma Progressives were strong segregationists. Thus, the new constitution mandated racially segregated schools. Other Jim Crow measures that they sought were toned down by President Theodore Roosevelt via his threat to veto the statehood act. The state’s celebrated constitution spelled out progressive business policies, but contained racially retrograde policies as well.

Scandal dogged the state’s first governor, Charles Haskell. He had to resign his position as treasurer of the national Democrats because of charges of mishandling party funds and of collusion with the Standard Oil Company, all widely reported in the popular press. Nonetheless, Haskell had strong supporters in Oklahoma. Most controversial during his term in office was his abrupt moving of the state capitol from Guthrie to Oklahoma City. Haskell saw Guthrie as a “Republican nest.” On the night of the day on which state voters balloted on the issue, June 11, 1910, Haskell took the state seal and some other papers from Guthrie to Oklahoma City and opened for business the next day in the new location. The people of Guthrie were outraged, as were many others. Eventually the U.S. Supreme Court upheld Haskell. But his abrupt, unilateral action in relocating the capitol, a major issue of the day, set a bad precedent for other governors to follow.

The 1920s were turbulent times racially and politically. Political warfare reached new highs in intensity. Jack Walton, elected in 1922, came into office as a popular

figure, but soon became embroiled in bitter conflict. Publicly he fought the Klan, but privately he met with Klan leaders and even paid an initiation fee. He sought to staff state colleges and universities with patronage appointments. He also imposed martial law, at first selectively, then statewide. He even used troops to prevent the legislature from meeting. But the legislature was able to call itself into session, impeach Walton with an impressive bill of particulars, and remove him from office. This high-stakes political warfare is the kind of behavior that most Americans of the 1990s would probably associate with a third world country.

Henry S. Johnston, the next elected governor who won in 1926, also ran into heavy weather politically. The legislature reacted strenuously and he, too, was removed from office. Johnston's deeds were largely political, not criminal. One criticism was that Johnston was a mystic who retreated into his office for long periods, enraptured by the wisdom of his personal astrologer. Generally, his critics charged him as having difficulties with patronage and being an aloof and inaccessible governor. All the while the legislature, having unseated one governor, was feeling its oats and proved willing to unseat another.

Thus Oklahoma, in the course of its short state history, had managed what no other state had done before or since: remove two governors from office. This remarkable fact attests to the ferocity of political conflict in this era. Political hardball was the order of the day.

The next few decades were surprisingly calm and free of scandal. Oklahoma began moving reluctantly toward desegregation of education, starting with higher education. Court decisions, including some by the U.S. Supreme Court, pushed the state in this direction and the state, albeit resistantly, largely complied.

### **Liquor And Corruption**

The demise of Prohibition deserves more than passing mention. Oklahoma was one of the last states to allow strong drink. By the time of repeal in 1933, open saloons serving whatever customers wanted flourished in urban centers, and bootleggers provided fast and efficient home service for those in dire need. The widespread flouting of the law in itself became one of the strong arguments in favor of repeal. By this time the state had voted on the liquor issue six times. Finally, on the seventh time, repeal carried the day and thereby reduced a significant source of corruption.

Governor Edmondson won on Prohibition, but lost when he challenged rural interests indirectly, as on reapportionment. Reapportionment is about the match between population and legislative districts. As population moved to the cities, legislative district lines were supposed to be redrawn, but they were not. The result was that the rural vote in sparsely populated districts counted for more than the vote of a citizen in a crowded city district. The state's rural populist culture prevailed over the years to block reapportionment.

### Judicial Scandal

In 1965, scandal burst forth in an unusual setting, the Oklahoma Supreme Court. Three judges were implicated in taking payoffs to decide cases before the court. These three judges were either convicted in court or impeached. IRS inquiries laid much of the groundwork.

One of the guilty judges, N.S. Corn, became contrite and publicly described his misbehavior. He admitted that over about 20 years of taking payoff, he could not recall one single year in which he had *not* taken a payoff. Professor Phillip M. Simpson of Cameron University has researched one spectacular payoff case in which “Corn. . .swore that he had received \$150,000 in \$100 bills. . .in a downtown Oklahoma City meeting. . . . The attorney who had established the pattern with Corn was O.A. Cargill, former Oklahoma City mayor and Corn’s friend for 50 years.” This corruption obviously reached into the highest levels and included citizens usually deemed quite respectable.

The next major scandal centered on the former Speaker of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, J.D. McCarty. The speaker is normally a powerful figure, and McCarty was more so than usual because he happened to serve during the term of the state’s first Republican governor, Henry Bellmon, elected in 1962. McCarty, a skilled politician, emerged as a highly visible and dominant figure, leading Democrats against the Republican governor.

Unfortunately for McCarty, he lost his reelection bid from his district in 1966, and the IRS descended upon him with tax evasion charges. His critics unkindly claimed that he failed to report his many bribes. In any event, he was convicted and sent to jail. Thus, in a few short years, leading state judges and the powerful former speaker had proven to be corrupt.

### Hard Time: A Governor and 220 Commissioners

The next big scandal reached all the way to the top, to the governor himself. David Hall won election as governor in 1970 and left office in early 1975. Almost immediately, federal authorities pounced upon him with charges of extortion and bribery. Hall, they claimed, had sought to bribe a member of the state’s retirement fund to divert \$10 million to help a Dallas friend of Hall’s.

Hall maintained his innocence and accused officials of harassment, but was found guilty and sent to jail. Corruption in Oklahoma showed no respect at all for people in high places. Hall went to jail in 1975, and by the late 1970s, another major scandal was percolating. The Oklahoma County Commissioner Scandal, Okscam, was on its way into the headlines. Between 1980 and 1984, when federal officials announced the scandal largely closed, some 220 felony convictions involving county commissioners and suppliers occurred. The commissioners and favored suppliers had been raking in kickbacks, typically ten percent, on orders for road building supplies such as timber, gravel, and asphalt, all used in constructing county roads and bridges.

Corruption was massive, including most of the state’s counties, and had gone on for as long as those involved could remember. This huge number of convictions, over



220 altogether, ranks Okscam high on the list of major national scandals.

The root of the problem was the autonomy of county commissioners in both state and local government, combined with the flow of money into their hands from state oil and gas revenues. The latter, since the revenues varied from month to month, were effectively unregulated. It was a situation that would have corrupted saints.

Federal officials effectively cleaned out the corrupt commissioners, the bad apples. The state legislated reforms shored up institutional weaknesses in local government. County government emerged as more honest and efficient than it had been in decades.

### **Stifel**

Roughly a decade after Okscam came to light, a major scandal broke that grew out of the misuse of education bonds issued by school districts. A word about bonds is in order. Federal officials allowed local officials to issue education bonds to tide them over financially tight periods, as when property tax receipts for schools were late coming in. The bonds were never intended as a means for local education officials to make money, a distinction that was to become quite important as the bond scam unfolded.

During the 1980s, a major bond underwriting company, Stifel, Nicolaus, and Co., was active in promoting the use of bonds to finance public projects. Stifel also engaged in promoting candidates for office via contributions to their campaigns. The Stifel bond company formed a political action committee (PAC) to channel political contributions to candidates, and also channeled contributions through company officers and lobbyists. By these means, they could contribute quite legitimately, just as other businesses did.

Over time, their contributions went to large numbers of legislators, executive branch officials, and others in public life. The list of Oklahoma politicians who received Stifel contributions, via perfectly legitimate channels, added up to a “who’s who” of people and organizations in public life. One wonders if those who failed to receive Stifel contributions felt that something was wrong with them.

A major development in the use of education bonds occurred when the legislature in 1987 changed the law governing the issuance of bonds to allow school districts to issue such bonds without a vote of the people. Three of the key legislators on the committee that formulated the changed law were recipients of Stifel contributions via the channels described.

Stifel worked closely with the State School Boards Association to pass word to school districts that they could issue the school bonds without a vote locally. Officials of the Association received large sums in fees. By 1990, some 270 school districts, plus some vo-tech schools and a few counties, were participating.

Unfortunately, many of these participating school districts used the school bonds in the wrong way. They used inflated estimates of their education needs and then issued bonds to meet these needs. Since they overestimated needs, they had money from the bonds beyond that needed immediately. They used the extra funds to make deposits in banks, often in Japan, and then drew interest on the bonds in the banks.

At this point the districts were using the bonds not just to meet needs, but also to make money on the interest collected. And they were to find out that, in doing so, they ended up in serious difficulties with the IRS and other federal officials.

In 1991, *The Daily Oklahoman* launched a series of investigative reports on the school bond program. These reports traced the political influence of Stifel in initiating the bond program and in channeling extensive campaign contributions to large numbers of political figures in the state. The impact of these stories was devastating. School districts began dropping out of the program and participation fell drastically. Then federal authorities became interested, including the IRS, FBI and the SEC. Eventually, two of the state's largest urban school districts were informed that they had misused their education bonds and owed the IRS large sums.

Stifel finally pulled out of the state entirely. In 1996, a onetime leading Stifel official, Bob Cochran, was convicted in federal court of misdeeds connected with the education bonds program, although a year later an appeals court reversed Cochran's conviction.

Most noteworthy here is the initiative from within the state, since it was *The Daily Oklahoman* that led the way, not federal officials. It is true that federal law enforcement authorities did reinforce the work of the reporters. State law enforcement officials never did contribute much. All in all, this state newspaper deserves much credit for leading reform efforts from within.

### **The Walters Affair**

During this same period, an example of gubernatorial malfeasance surfaced. Democrat David Walters won election as governor in 1990. Then reports began circulating of his unusual success in raising campaign money. The state attorney general and the district attorney of Oklahoma County led many publicized inquiries via a multi-county grand jury. There were indictments handed down, and Walters finally pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor offense of violating campaign finance laws.

Critics argued that Walters should have been tried on the more serious charges cited in the news releases that swirled about. Walters from time to time proclaimed, in spite of his well-publicized guilty plea, that he was not "really" guilty.

The intense publicity attending the Walters case may have curbed some of the worst excesses of campaign finance for a time. The outcome also showed that the state was capable of internal reform without federal action. Finally, whatever the faults of Walters, his misdeeds were far less than the highly authoritarian actions of some earlier governors, like Jack Walton and Alfalfa Bill Murray.

### **Conclusion**

This review traced Oklahoma corruption and misbehavior generally from territorial times up to the mid-1990s. What may the interested observer learn from it?

Oklahoma is not typically classified as one of the nation's most corrupt states. Such states as Louisiana, New Jersey, and West Virginia usually enjoy that dubious distinction. Oklahoma does not rank as one of the cleanest, nor is it one of the worst.

Political conflict in Oklahoma in the 1920s and 1930s was ferocious, like that of some third world countries today. To describe this conflict in terms such as “colorful” or “entertaining” without a lot of qualification, as some historians do, amounts to a whitewash. Through the biggest scandals from the 1960s on, it was the federal officials who acted. Included in this pattern are basic forms of misconduct such as racial segregation and malapportionment, as well as traditional forms of political corruption.

The action of federal courts in forcing desegregation and reapportionment may be seen as a modernizing influence. And in both of these sectors, Oklahoma was on par with many other states. Insofar as Oklahoma was unique, it is because its powerful culture of rural populism strengthened the resistance to modernization. In the wake of federal efforts, Oklahoma in the 1990s evidenced a willingness to tackle corruption from within, without waiting on federal officials to do the job. Both the school bonds program and Governor Walters’ campaign finance abuses are cases in point. This is an extremely important development that has been little noted.

As a final observation, there is a tendency for many observers in the state, including political scientists, to attack the conservative bias of *The Daily Oklahoman* and its willingness to dig up unfavorable news and offer critical editorial comment. One wonders what these critics would think of the critical attention in news and editorials bestowed upon New York City by the likes of the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. Critics of the *Oklahoman* seem to want a tame press rather than a free one.



## THE OKLAHOMA ETHICS COMMISSION

Don Maletz, *The University of Oklahoma*

Jerry Herbel, *The University of Oklahoma*

The Oklahoma Ethics Commission is a constitutionally established body whose five commissioners and seven staff are charged with duties in two broad areas. The Commission is authorized, first, to develop and enforce ethics rules in state elections, including both campaigns for elective office and campaigns on behalf of initiatives and referenda. Second, it is charged with promulgating rules of ethical conduct for state officers and employees. The current Ethics Commission holds a significantly stronger position than its predecessor agencies, in the sense that its authority is constitutional and not merely statutory. Its influence is felt quite directly by candidates for state office, and by proponents of state questions, who must all pay close attention to the extensive contribution and expenditure reporting that the Commission requires. Those who fail to comply can be subject to significant fines. Officeholders and state employees, too, cannot avoid its reach because they must now regularly submit documents disclosing their financial interests. Finally, those who lobby the legislature and the agencies are also subject to regular registration and disclosure requirements.

The main theme of the Commission's work is defining and promulgating rules and obtaining regular, timely disclosure on forms maintained as public records. Yet its enforcement powers are not negligible, as the Commission has shown in its recent dramatic conflict with Governor Frank Keating. The Commission is authorized to file civil complaints in court when it believes its rules have been violated. The first such complaint in the constitutional Commission's brief history was filed against Keating in Oklahoma County District Court on Monday, June 30, 1997. The Commission contends that Keating violated the ethics rules by his use of state vehicles for political fundraising trips; the original complaint specifies thirty-two separate violations, while an amended complaint on July 3 names four of these violations as willful and therefore subject to significantly increased fines.

The action is another step in a simmering dispute that began when legislators raised objections to Keating's use of state funds to purchase an airplane. Anticipating an Ethics Commission complaint, Keating himself recently appealed to the courts for a ruling. He argued that there are two conflicting rules in play. State law directs the Commissioner of Public Safety to provide security and transportation for the governor.

An Ethics Commission rule, on the other hand, forbids use of public property or funds for support of political activities. Keating's position is that the state law has priority, and his petition to the court sought a declaratory judgment to that effect. The Ethics Commission, on the other hand, contends that its rules take priority when it comes to partisan political activities. Until this highly-publicized dispute with the governor, the Commission's enforcement actions have been taken through its own internal processes, leading to settlements and the payment of sometimes substantial fines by violators of ethics rules. The only case that rivals the current conflict with Keating involved former Governor David Walters. Yet while most Oklahomans may tend to associate the enforcement of ethics with the issues surrounding Walters' 1990 campaign for the governorship (discussed below), the Ethics Commission actually played only a minor role in that famous affair.

The Oklahoma Ethics Commission owes its origin ultimately to a national wave of interest in reform that began in the 1960s and that was intensified by the Watergate investigation in the early 1970s. The Federal Election Campaign Act was passed in 1971 and significantly strengthened in 1974. Oklahoma has had legislation requiring reporting of campaign expenditures since 1908. In 1968 the state legislature required reports on campaign contributions. The 1974 "Campaign Contributions and Expenditures Act" strengthened the rules, limiting contributions to campaigns, requiring disclosure of contributions, and prohibiting anonymous campaign literature.

The state's first attempt to establish an ethics commission came in 1968, but that body's mission was quite limited. The Oklahoma Ethics Commission Act of 1986 linked a strengthened Commission with rules pertaining to campaign contributions and expenditure reporting. Dissatisfaction with the effects of this modest legislation mounted in the late 1980s. In 1989, Governor Henry Bellmon's Constitutional Revision Study Committee, fearing attempts by the Legislature to weaken ethics rules, proposed establishment of a constitutional ethics commission. The suggestion led to a successful petition drive in 1990 to amend the Oklahoma Constitution by adding an ethics measure to it. Passed with overwhelming support, Article XXIX established the "Ethics Commission." The Commission consists of five unpaid commissioners, each serving a term of five years. Each member owes appointment to a different source: the Governor, the Attorney General, the Speaker of the House, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Current members (through December, 1997), in the same order as their appointing authority, are: Kenneth Elliott, Thomas W. Gruber (Chair), Mark D. Lyons, Sen. John DeWitt Luton, and Helen Cole.

The Ethics Commission is charged in the Constitution with promulgating "rules of ethical conduct for campaigns for elective state office and for campaigns for initiatives and referenda," and establishing "rules of ethical conduct for state officers and employees." The rules it devises are presented to the Legislature at the second day of the session. If not disapproved by joint resolution, they take effect at the beginning of the following July.

The constitutional Ethics Commission opened for business in July, 1991. Its path had been prepared by the Ethics Commission Act passed by the Legislature in its 1991

session. This Act set out definitions, procedures, and guidelines and seemed to express a clear legislative commitment to the operations of the Commission. Yet when the Commission presented its first set of rules to the Legislature in early 1992, they were rejected. Evidently determined to reassert some control, the legislators passed a substitute consisting of ethics rules of their own devising.

The action of the Legislature, in the view of the Ethics Commission, gutted the constitutional authority found in Article XXIX. The Commission therefore filed suit and achieved a thorough vindication in 1993. The Oklahoma Supreme Court ruled that the action by the Legislature unconstitutionally encroached on the powers of the Ethics Commission (*Ethics Commission v. Cullison et al.* [850 P. 2d 1069 Oklahoma 1993]). Its decision made quite clear that Article XXIX established the authority of the Ethics Commission to develop and promulgate rules.

Bowing to this decision, and influenced by the ongoing controversies involving ethics issues arising from the Walters campaign, the Legislature yielded. When the Ethics Commission proposed its ethics rules at the beginning of the 1994 session, they were allowed to go into effect on July 1, 1994. One commentator noted that Oklahoma thereby gained “the most comprehensive and thorough campaign contributions and finance regulation in its history.”<sup>1</sup> Amendments to the rules were proposed to the Legislature in 1995, 1996, and 1997, and these too were allowed to go into effect. Ongoing controversies about the rules have concerned permitting anonymous contributions to campaigns (they are now allowed if under \$50), requirements that legislators report gifts received from lobbyists (at present, the lobbyists report, while the legislators do not), banning public officials from contracting with agencies they serve, and prohibiting legislators from contracting with the state for two years after leaving office.

The Ethics Commission has carried out its mandate by developing explicit rules on campaign contributions and campaign expenditures with stringent reporting requirements; by establishing financial disclosure rules for state officials, requiring annual reports due April 30; by defining and prohibiting conflicts of interest; and by requiring disclosure of lobbying activities. The Commission is also required to develop “ethics interpretations” in response to specific questions submitted to it. These interpretations are binding on the Commission. In an annual report issued in December, 1995, the Commission noted that it had developed 14 ethics interpretations. It had also received and investigated 23 complaints and informations. Of the latter group, more than half were dismissed, one was settled by conciliation, none were prosecuted, and several were carried over to the next year. By the end of 1995, the Commission had received more than 12,000 campaign contribution reports, and more than 5,700 financial disclosure statements.

There are some serious constraints on the work of the Commission. For one, the constitutional authorization for the Ethics Commission gives jurisdiction over state campaigns, officials, and employees but does not extend jurisdiction to local elections or municipal officials. The Political Subdivisions Ethics Act, passed in 1995 to replace the Ethics Act of 1991, authorizes the Ethics Commission at least to provide appropriate

reporting forms to municipalities and school boards. But the reports themselves, when completed by local candidates, are to be submitted only to municipal and school board clerks, not to the Ethics Commission. Enforcement of ethics rules in local elections is left strictly to local district attorneys.

Second, the scope of the Commission's prosecuting authority is limited. The Political Subdivisions Ethics Act reaffirms that the Ethics Commission has "no jurisdiction to enforce criminal penalties. . . ." Third, recent legislation emphasizes that the central function of the Commission should be preventive and educational, rather than punitive. The Commission is newly charged to become active in presenting lectures and public programs designed to educate the public about the ethics rules. Finally, the agency's budget cannot support extensive investigatory activities. In 1996-97, the agency's budget was \$363,584; there were 7 staff, including an Executive Director (Marilyn Hughes), two attorneys, one part-time investigator, and three additional support personnel. An important item for current development is computerization and software to enable electronic reporting. Some of the funds for this expensive undertaking came from an unexpected source. As part of the plea-bargain to resolve charges of illegal fundraising, the Walters campaign was required to "donate" more than \$135,000 to the Ethics Commission. Much of this income went toward the computerization project. The Commission now maintains a web page, and makes some information about its activities available electronically ([www.state.ok.us/~ethics/](http://www.state.ok.us/~ethics/)). It is developing the means to receive campaign reports and personal financial disclosure statements, as well as lobbying disclosure statements, electronically, and invites but does not yet require electronic submission.

The Commission routinely publishes an *Ethics Manual for State Officers and State Employees*, with guidelines and forms pertaining to financial disclosure, conflicts of interest, restrictions on political activity, and lobbying disclosure. Candidates should consult the *Instruction Manual for Campaign Reporting and Financial Disclosure*, while lobbyists will find the necessary information in *Lobbyist Registration and Regulation*. Those who must report should pay attention to the deadlines. Penalties for lateness are automatic and, at \$100 per day, can mount up to a maximum of \$1,000. (Fines totaling more than \$42,400 were assessed through the end of 1995, though fines may be appealed and this total was eventually reduced by more than \$10,900 after appeals.)

In the minds of many citizens, the decisive ethics issue in recent years (at least until the conflict with Keating) involved the campaign finance controversies surrounding the Walters' campaigns for more than seven years. Beginning with charges of illegal campaign loans in his unsuccessful 1986 bid for the governorship and ending with his plea of guilty to a campaign-related misdemeanor charge in 1993, the ethics issue took shape in the public's mind through the repeated investigations of Walters' fundraising.

In 1986, Walters took out \$162,000 in personal loans to pay for a media blitz just before the August 26 Democratic primary, which he won over State Attorney General Mike Turpen. The current Commission's predecessor agency chose by unanimous



vote in October 1986 to refer the case to Oklahoma County District Attorney Bob Macy. Eventually, Special Prosecutor Lou Bullock, appointed by Governor Henry Bellmon, reviewed the loans, and ruled in September, 1988, that they violated provisions of the ethics legislation of 1986. Since the law counted loans as campaign contributions, Bullock explained that the loans were subject to the same \$5,000 limit applicable to contributions. But in the same opinion Bullock indicated that this provision would not withstand a legal challenge on constitutional grounds in accordance with the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976). In that case the Court held that limitations on the amount of money a candidate can loan his own campaign unduly restrict freedom of speech.

Much more serious charges, including bribery, perjury, and election fraud, emerged from Walters' successful 1990 campaign for governor. The campaign raised more than \$2.7 million, a record for a gubernatorial campaign in Oklahoma; more than 10% of the total was paid by donors in cash. The first charges of illegal fundraising activity were levied by J.B. Bennett, a Walters' fund-raiser and later the new governor's choice for State Tourism Director. The relationship between the two men was stormy. Though he appointed Bennett to the post in January, 1991, Walters fired him only three months later, and a disgruntled Bennett began to outline to the FBI what he knew about fundraising in the Walters' campaign. Included in his accusations were charges that the governor promised jobs in exchange for contributions, and that he received many contributions which exceeded by a wide margin the \$5,000 per donor maximum allowed by law. The FBI began an investigation of the campaign in June, 1991, but dropped it in December because of insufficient evidence. Significantly, however, the FBI in March, 1992, provided the investigation files to State Attorney General Susan Loving, a Walters' appointee.

Loving formed a multicounty grand jury, with the assistance of Oklahoma City District Attorney, Robert Macy, to look into the matter further. The first two indictments were issued in August. By the second week of October, 1993, the grand jury had issued a total of 20 indictments, including one multiple-count indictment against Walters himself. The indictment against Walters included eight felony counts and one misdemeanor count. Negotiations between Loving, Macy, and attorneys for Walters began immediately.

They reached a plea agreement, and on October 21, 1993, Governor Walters pleaded guilty to the misdemeanor charge of accepting a contribution exceeding the \$5,000 limit. He also promised not to claim innocence in subsequent public speeches, agreed to pay a \$1,000 fine, received a one-year deferred sentence, and consented to "contribute" \$135,000 to the Ethics Commission, effectively wiping out his 1994 reelection fund. Walters later decided not to seek reelection.

The Ethics Commission's official role in the affair was limited to a single act — a friend of the court brief sent to the State Supreme Court when Walters challenged the grand jury probe just after it began. Attorneys for Walters had contested the Attorney General's investigation on the grounds that the amendment to the Oklahoma Constitution creating the Ethics Commission placed sole power to investigate campaign

irregularities in the hands of the Commission. If successful, Walters' challenge would have seriously weakened the enforcement of campaign finance rules. The Commission admitted as much when it recommended the high court rule against Walters, citing its staff of only one investigator and one attorney, and its lack of access to the resources of the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation. Numerous attorneys as well as investigators from the Attorney General's office, Oklahoma County District Attorney's office, and Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation had been assigned to the case. These resources would likely have been unavailable to the Ethics Commission. The Commission in effect conceded that it had insufficient resources of its own to conduct an investigation of this scope. In October, 1992, the state Supreme Court cleared the way for the grand jury to proceed by ruling against Walters, noting that the grand jury's power to investigate and indict was "independent of the authority of the Ethics Commission."

This legal challenge by Walters seemed aimed at squashing the probe, yet the arguments his side presented suggested that high ethical standards in campaigns were best ensured by the unrestricted efforts of a vibrant ethics commission. While that may be true, the case vividly portrayed the Ethics Commission as largely deficient in the resources and independent political clout necessary to carry out an important, large-scale investigation. In its present condition, it can play an advisory and educational role, and it can collect information in pursuit of disclosure requirements, but it will be limited as an investigative agency. This may be the role preferred by many state officials all along, and it is certainly a common pattern in many other states and at the federal level as well.

# THE OKLAHOMA ECONOMY

Larkin Warner  
*Oklahoma State University*

The conventional view of Oklahoma's economy is of a system based on oil and agriculture. This view enhances the influence of oilmen, farmers, and ranchers well beyond their actual economic importance. Today's Oklahoma has become more and more like its national counterpart with state economic conditions largely determined by the status of the national economy. An economy once dominated by oil and agriculture has become diversified as a result of developments inherent in the declining importance of natural resource sectors and the free market-based spread of economic activity throughout the nation.

This discussion first focuses on basic quantitative information about how Oklahomans are employed and what they earn for their efforts. With this recent record in mind, the focus will shift to public policies and economic development. The analysis will conclude with speculation about the prospects for and the limits of public policy as a catalyst for economic growth and development at the state level.

Employment and income are two of the bedrock measures used to explain the basic structure of an economic system. The sector-by-sector pattern of wage and salary employment is a reflection of what the economy is producing and will emphasize the dramatic growth of jobs in the state's service-producing sector. Personal income data further reinforce the importance of services and also provide insights into the relative productivity and well-being of Oklahomans.

## **Nonfarm Wage and Salary Employment**

A period of major economic instability often reverberates well into the future. The energy-related period of boom and bust in Oklahoma is a case in point. Beginning with the oil embargo of 1973 and extending through the middle of 1982, higher energy prices stimulated exploration for and production of oil and natural gas in Oklahoma. The exuberance associated with this boom is perhaps nowhere exemplified better than in the remarkable expansion of the now infamous Penn Square Bank in Oklahoma City (Singer, 1985; Zweig, 1985). The state's nonfarm wage and salary employment peaked at 1,244,100 in May 1982 (Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, 1996). Then a

sustained drop in energy prices extinguished Penn Square Bank (and literally thousands of other enterprises). Employment bottomed out at 1,084,800 in July, 1987. There was a virtual collapse of employment in construction and in oil and gas production, as well as major cutbacks in manufacturing activities such as pipe, pumps, and fabricated metal products linked to the oil and gas business.

In spite of the shock of the energy collapse, the Oklahoma economy proved to be remarkably resilient. Table 1 tells the story of recovery and structural expansion during 1987-96 with payroll employment growing 245,700. Oklahoma jobs grew 22.2 percent during this period while national employment grew 17.3 percent.

The most significant feature of recent expansion is the dominance of job growth in the broadly defined service producing sector. Only 7.4 percent of the expansion in Oklahoma jobs during 1987-96 was in goods producing, i.e., in mining, construction, and manufacturing. This dominance of services mirrors the recent performance of the national economy.

The relative underdevelopment of the manufacturing sector has often been cited as a distinguishing feature of Oklahoma's economy. That condition is changing. Between 1987 and 1996 manufacturing employment in Oklahoma grew 10.7 percent while it declined 3.8 percent nationally. Though still less industrialized than the nation as a whole, Oklahoma was catching up at a fairly rapid pace.

Whatever the economic or demographic measure being used, a very rough rule of thumb allocates the state total in thirds between the Oklahoma City metropolitan area, the Tulsa metropolitan area, and the balance of the state. Oklahoma's employment expansion between 1987 and 1996 was relatively well-balanced geographically. The 245,700 increase in payroll jobs consisted of a 89,300 increase in the six-county Oklahoma City Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), 71,100 in the five county Tulsa MSA, and 85,300 in the rest of the state (66 counties). There has, however, not been geographic balance in the state's nonmetropolitan area. The eastern half has continued to perform better than the west. In fact, many of the state's western nonmetropolitan counties have been losing population during the 1990s.

### **Personal Income**

In 1996, Oklahoma's total personal income was \$63.9 billion—one percent of the U.S. total (Survey of Current Business, 1997). Almost two-thirds of the state's total personal income is from earnings (wage and salary income and proprietor's income derived from work). The other third of total personal income is divided roughly equally between income from rent, interest, and dividends (returns to economic capital) and transfer payments (entitlements) which involve no economic production. Compared with the nation as a whole, Oklahoma's personal income consists of slightly smaller shares from earnings and rent, interest and dividends, and a larger share from transfer payments.

Personal income earnings data contained in Table 2 add an important sectoral dimension to the analysis of Oklahoma's economic structure. The nonfarm wage and

**TABLE 1**  
**Nonfarm Wage and Salary Employment, Oklahoma, 1987 and 1996**  
**(Employment in thousands)**

Industry	1987	1996	Change 1987-1996
Total employment	1,108.5	1,354.2	245.7
Goods production	237.2	255.4	18.2
Mining	46.0	31.5	(14.5)
Construction	34.5	50.3	15.8
Manufacturing	156.8	173.6	16.8
Services production	871.2	1,098.8	227.6
Trans. and public utilities	63.2	77.2	14.0
Trade	270.4	318.5	48.1
Finance, ins. & real estate	59.8	67.3	7.5
Health services	73.5	115.0	41.5
Business services	37.5	76.4	38.9
Other services	121.6	172.9	51.3
Federal government	52.9	43.7	(9.2)
State government	67.8	76.3	8.5
Local government	124.7	151.5	26.8

*Source:* Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, Handbook of Employment Statistics, Vol. II, 1995, and unpublished statistics.

Personal income earnings data contained in Table 2 add an important sectoral dimension to the analysis of Oklahoma's economic structure. The nonfarm wage and salary data used in Table 1 do not include employment in agriculture (farming and ranching). However, agriculture is included in the earnings estimates. It is very difficult to determine meaningful employment levels in agriculture. Although there were 67,000 farms in Oklahoma in 1992, most were not a primary source of employment. About 6,000 farms with gross sales in excess of \$100,000 accounted for three-quarters of the state's total farm output (Sanders, 1996). The personal income earnings data provide a partial means for identifying agriculture's place in the structure of the state's economy. In 1995, the latest year for which details are available, agriculture accounted for 1.5 percent of earnings in Oklahoma.

TABLE 2

## Earnings by Industry, Oklahoma, 1995

Industry	Millions of dollars	Percent
Total earnings	41,263	100.0
Goods production	11,139	27.0
Agriculture	620	1.5
Mining	2,055	5.0
Construction	1,945	4.5
Manufacturing	6,519	15.8
Services production	30,122	73.0
Trans. and public utilities	3,457	8.4
Trade	6,455	15.6
Finance, ins. & real estate	2,100	5.1
Health services	3,690	8.9
Business services	1,607	3.9
Other services	4,569	11.1
Federal government	2,815	6.8
State government	1,959	4.7
Local government	3,443	8.3

Source: Comprehensive Revision of State Personal Income, *Survey of Current Business*, October, 1996, p. 88.

The dominance of services production is repeated in the earnings data. In 1995, approximately one-quarter (27 percent) of earnings in Oklahoma was derived from goods production, while three-quarters (73 percent) was from service production.

When their indirect impacts on the economy are included, oil and agriculture take on greater significance. While their combined share of 1995 earnings was only 7.5 percent, their overall contribution to the state's economy was two to three times as great because of multiplier effects. Manufacturing, another largely basic activity, accounted directly for 15.8 percent of earnings and had an overall impact perhaps twice as great as the two traditional mainstays of Oklahoma's economy. Although no details are provided herein, conclusions about the relative importance of energy, agriculture, and manufacturing are reinforced by another set of data estimating the components of gross state product (GSP). Gross state product is a measure of the value of total production and is similar to the well-known national measure, gross domestic product.

In 1994, oil and agriculture accounted directly for 7.8 percent of GSP while manufacturing's share was 16.7 percent (Survey of Current Business, 1997). Manufacturing's share was roughly twice that of oil and agriculture.

### **Oklahoma's Per Capita Personal Income Gap**

Per capita personal income is obtained by dividing the state's total personal income by its total population. This is often used as a measure of economic well-being and is also a very rough measure of the productivity of an area's populace. In spite of the excellent job growth recorded by the Oklahoma economy since 1987, the state's per capita personal income continues to lag far behind that of the nation. Ever since the mid-1940s, Oklahoma's per capita personal income has hovered around 80 percent of its national counterpart. The only exception is when it nearly converged with its national counterpart at the height of the oil boom in 1982.

This per capita personal income gap is partially ameliorated by a lower-than-average cost of living in Oklahoma. A nationwide system of estimating costs of living indicates that Oklahoma is about 10 percentage points below the national norm (American Chamber of Commerce, 1997). Perhaps about half the per capita personal income gap is offset by greater purchasing power in Oklahoma.

The persistence of the relatively lower average standard of living in Oklahoma is not well-understood (Oklahoma 2000, Inc., 1997). Four observations may help sharpen the issue. (1) Per capita personal income is quite low in parts of nonmetropolitan Oklahoma—especially in the east and southeast. This pulls down the state average. Thirty of the state's 77 counties had 1994 per capita personal incomes ranging from one-half to two-thirds of the national average (Office of the Governor of Oklahoma, 1997). None of these low-income counties were in the two big metropolitan areas (Warner, 1996). (2) The occupational mix embodied in the state's employment base is relatively lightly weighted with high-paying managerial and professional jobs. (3) The average educational attainment of the state's population is below the national norm for those with college degrees and more advanced graduate degrees (Lage, 1996). (4) Transfer payments are both a result of and a cause for relatively low per capita personal income. The state relies relatively heavily on transfer payments as a source of personal income; these payments by their very nature are unlikely to be high enough per recipient to move Oklahoma's per capita personal income toward the national norm.

### **Economic Development Policy**

The failure of the state's per capita personal income to measure up to its national counterpart has long been a rallying cry for politicians and business leaders promoting economic development. Both parties have been supportive of a wide range of state government policies aimed at stimulating the growth of jobs and income. Except for a hiatus of interest during the energy boom when the Oklahoma economy appeared to have no problems, legislators and governors alike have supported economic development measures. The anti-business sentiment so prominent in the value systems

of the populist framers of the Oklahoma state constitution were scarcely to be seen in the halls of the legislature or the governor's office when a new program to attract industry was being discussed.

The result of years of pro-economic development legislation is a policy framework that provides more incentives for business to expand or locate in Oklahoma as can be found anywhere in the nation. The state provides low-interest financing for business development through revenue and general obligation bonds, often in cooperation with local development agencies. There are enterprise zones, tax increment financing arrangements, freeport exemptions from property taxation of goods moving through the state, industrial access roads, five-year property tax exemptions for new manufacturing and related facilities, free vocational-technical education training customized for specific firms, and state and local government-operated industrial parks.

Two recent policy measures exemplify this political commitment to economic growth and prosperity. First, the Oklahoma Economic Development Act of 1987 consolidated economic development responsibilities in the Oklahoma Department of Commerce and established a blue ribbon advisory group, Oklahoma Futures, to plan for and guide the state's overall economic development efforts (Rogers, 1988). In addition, that legislation established the Oklahoma Center for the Advancement of Science and Technology (OCAST) to promote research, innovation, and the commercialization of Oklahoma-based concepts.

A second major economic development initiative has arguably been the most successful single economic development measure adopted in recent years. The 1993 Oklahoma Quality Jobs Bill provides a substantial incentive for firms with new or expanded basic activity (Gorin, 1994). The incentive takes the form of a payback to the employer of up to 5 percent of payroll for up to ten years. The principal conditions which a firm must meet to receive this incentive are:

- A business primarily in the basic sector selling at least 75 percent of its product or services out-of-state.
- A reasonably large facility with a payroll of at least \$2.5 million per year within three years.
- An employer with at least 80 percent of its employees working at least 25 hours per week.
- A socially responsible firm providing a standard package of health insurance its employees.

The theory behind this incentive is that its impact on state government finance per se is revenue neutral, while the new jobs have a substantial positive impact on the overall Oklahoma economy through the multiplier effects in which basic employment growth leads to further growth in the local service industries. Between July 1993 and March 1997, the Quality Jobs Program generated about 18,000 jobs with 119 firms. There was no doubt that some of the jobs would have been created even without the incentive;



about 50 percent of the jobs are in this category (Oklahoma Department of Commerce, 1996).

The success of the Quality Jobs Program did not go unnoticed by those concerned with the economic development potential from firms with payrolls under \$2.5 million. In 1997, the Oklahoma Legislature passed a measure essentially extending the 5 percent of payroll incentive to small firms in the basic sector generating at least 10 new jobs within one year. This legislation explicitly recognized Oklahoma's per capita personal income gap problem. Eligible firms must pay a wage at least equal to 150 percent of the per capita personal income of the county in which they are located.

Given the willingness of politicians in Oklahoma to embrace all sorts of economic development incentive schemes, two policy areas remain anomalous. The state still has not adopted a right-to-work law and has only very recently implemented major reforms in its workers compensation system.

Right-to-work laws prohibit union security arrangements in which union membership is required of all workers in a bargaining unit. A possible reason why Oklahoma does not have a right-to-work law relates to the fact that the state has never been very heavily unionized. In 1995 Oklahoma had 117 thousand union members. Unions accounted for 9.3 percent of the state's workers compared to 14.9 percent nationally. Only fourteen states had a lower percent of workers in unions, though all fourteen were right-to-work states. Seven additional states with right-to-work laws actually had a higher incidence of unionization than Oklahoma. Given the contentious nature of the issue both in the legislature and before the public, the state's business leaders have found more fertile political ground in the promotion of other economic development measures.

Worker's compensation insurance has been unusually costly to Oklahoma's employers. In 1997 for example, the Governor's budget book submitted to the legislature reported a nationwide analysis showing the state's 1996 workers compensation costs to be the fifth highest in the nation (Office of the Governor of Oklahoma, 1997). There was a general belief that some workers, trial lawyers, and doctors (including chiropractors) were taking undue advantage of a system. A special Commission on Workers Compensation Reform chaired by the Lieutenant Governor led the way. Major reform legislation was adopted in the 1997 session with bipartisan support.

After looking at the sheer mass of economic development policies implemented by the state, it is natural to ask whether these policies really affect economic development (see also Bartik, 1991; Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, 1997; Holmes, 1995). The total determinants of interstate variations in rates of economic growth are very complex. There are many factors such as climate, location, natural resource bases, and the vigor of the national and world economies which are beyond the pale of state political processes. Nevertheless, states can achieve temporary comparative advantage through innovative policies such as Oklahoma's Quality Jobs Program. There is also a body of research evidence emerging that indicates comparative tax levels and public works spending can affect economic growth (Phillips and Gross, 1995).

Success in economic development policies may be short-lived. Other states do not

sit by idly and watch their neighbors steal their plants and win contests for new site location. They, of course, follow suit and try to meet or beat their competition. There is a nagging possibility that many state political efforts to stimulate economic development simply cancel each other out with the overall result of excessive government resources devoted to economic development. Even if this is so, Oklahoma will continue to have no choice but to push forward with further stimuli for economic development. Given its small population and employment base, Oklahoma does not establish the rules for interstate competition for economic activity. In addition, the inclination to expand policies to stimulate state economic growth is reinforced by politicians who like to position themselves to take credit for favorable developments, although some of the developments would have taken place anyhow because of more fundamental economic factors.

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## PART II

### Senate Members and Their Districts



## Senate Members listed by District Number

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1	Littlefield, Rick	(D)	128
2	Taylor, Stratton	(D)	164
3	Rozell, Herb	(D)	154
4	Dickerson, Larry	(D)	90
5	Rabon, Jeff	(D)	148
6	Mickel, Billy A.	(D)	136
7	Stipe, Gene	(D)	162
8	Shurden, Frank	(D)	156
9	Robinson, Ben H.	(D)	152
10	Harrison, J. Berry	(D)	108
11	Horner, Maxine	(D)	120
12	Fisher, Ted V.	(D)	100
13	Wilkerson, Dick	(D)	170
14	Roberts, Darryl F.	(D)	150
15	Weedn, Trish	(D)	166
16	Hobson, Cal	(D)	118
17	Henry , Brad	(D)	114
18	Easley, Kevin Alan	(D)	96
19	Milacek, Robert V.	(R)	138
20	Muegge, Paul	(D)	144
21	Morgan , Mike	(D)	142
22	Gustafson, Bill	(R)	104
23	Price, Bruce	(D)	146
24	Martin , Carol	(R)	134
26	Capps, Gilmer N.	(D)	88
29	Dunlap, Jim	(R)	94
31	Helton, Sam	(D)	110
32	Maddox , Jim	(D)	132
33	Williams, Penny	(D)	172
34	Campbell, Grover	(R)	86
35	Williamson, James	(R)	174
37	Long, Lewis	(D)	130
38	Kerr, Robert M.	(D)	122
39	Smith , Jerry L.	(R)	158

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40	Douglass, Brooks	(R)	92
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42	Herbert , Dave	(D)	116
43	Brown, Ben	(D)	82
44	Leftwich, Keith C.	(D)	126
45	Wilcoxson , Kathleen	(R)	168
46	Cain, Bernest	(D)	84
47	Fair, Mike	(R)	98
48	Monson, Angela	(D)	140
49	Laughlin, Owen	(R)	124
50	Haney, Enoch Kelly	(D)	106
51	Ford, Charles R.	(R)	102
52	Hendrick, Howard H.	(R)	112
54	Wright, Gerald "Ged"	(R)	176





## Ben Brown (D) 43rd District

Hometown: Cleveland, Oklahoma

Elected: 1985

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: April 6, 1941

Church: St. Paul's Episcopal Cathedral

Education: Oklahoma Baptist University, 1969, B.A.;  
University of Oklahoma, 1971, M.S.W.

Family: Married, Billie (Barnes);  
children, Debra, Scott, Susan, John, Amber

Occupation: Executive Director, Metro Alliance  
for Safer Cities

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1985 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 414

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 522)

Home Address: 2313 S. Harvey,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73109

Home Phone: 405-631-3184

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor, Government Operations, Human  
Resources, Judiciary, Rules



This district in southwest Oklahoma County takes in the city of Valley Brook and southwest Oklahoma City. South of Oklahoma City, headed toward Moore, there is evidence of an economy that has still not entirely recovered from the bust: storefronts intended for fashionable boutiques house pawn brokers, and much of the architecture is dated. There is similar deterioration in New Orleans and Houston, where development outstripped need when the oil collapse came in the 1980s.

There are signs of economic life here. Crossroads Mall is filled to capacity, and the sprawl along the I-240 corridor is dotted with large, new retail outlets that speak toward economic recovery. And, as in Houston and New Orleans, the older communities have larger African-American populations than the newer suburb.

District 43 incumbent Ben Brown (D-Oklahoma City) has an extensive record of public service. Throughout the 1970s he was closely involved in the operation of the Metro Alliance for Safer Cities, the Neighborhood Service Organization, and the Energy Conservation and Housing Foundation. In 1982, he was elected to the state House, and after one term he moved on to the Senate. Like his colleague Bernest Cain, he is a graduate of Oklahoma Baptist University, and, as chairman of the Appropriations Subcommittee on Human Services, comes into contact with many of the same issues as Cain's Human Resources Committee. (He also chaired the General Conference Committee on Appropriations Subcommittee on Health and Human Services in 1997.) Brown chairs the Joint Committee on Federal Funds.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Ben Brown - D	10,071	56.8%
	Jerry Kasprick - R	7,647	43.2%
1992	Ben Brown - D	13,505	62.0%
	Gary Johnson - R	8,338	38.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 18,461                      Republican: 11,132                      Independent: 2,943

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

Contributions	Expenditures	Funds Remaining
\$112,307.12	\$108,575.00	\$4,145.80

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Metro Alliance for Safer Cities

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Jim Barker, Lobbyist, \$1,100.00  
 Otti Ann Fried, consultant, \$1,000.00  
 DRIVE Political Fund, \$2,000.00  
 James L. Barrett, businessman, \$5,000.00  
 Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE Fund, \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**43rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,055	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 62%
Percent Employed in Government: 14%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 23%
Percent African American: 13%	Percent Hispanic American: 7%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Bernest Cain (D) 46th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1979

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: February 8, 1949

Church: Unitarian

Education: Graduated Texas College of Theology,  
Th.G., 1970; Oklahoma Baptist University, B.A.,  
1973; University of Oklahoma, M.P.A., 1980;  
University of Oklahoma, J.D., 1988

Family: Children, Melissa Sarah & Bryn Helen

Occupation: Businessman

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1979 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 413 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 610)

Home Address: 138 N. W. 16 #242,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73103

Home Phone: 405-525-5101

Leadership Positions: Chair, Human Resources

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Human Resources, Judiciary, Rules



Oklahoma City University is a fine private institution with a reputation for academic excellence. Senate District 46 includes some of the beautiful old neighborhoods of the city, as well as several urban institutions associated with health care and conventioners. One finds a wide range of income levels in this district. The center of downtown Oklahoma City for many people is the Myriad Gardens, just off I-40. If you head southwest from the Myriad, you will cross I-40 and eventually end up at the old Downtown Airpark.

Bernest H. Cain, Jr. (D-Oklahoma City) has been the incumbent senator from this district since 1979. A well-educated man (he has two masters degrees and a law degree, as well as significant progress on a Ph.D.), Cain chairs the Human Resources Committee and also sits on the Appropriations Committee. He also served on the 1997 Subcommittee on Health and Human Services of the General Conference Committee on Appropriations. In these capacities, he comes into frequent contact with one of the pressing issues in Oklahoma politics: health care. Cain, who walks his district every election, seems to be particularly sensitive to the needs of the poor and needy in Oklahoma. Not surprisingly, Cain is serving on a number of interim studies and special committees in the health area.



## Grover Campbell (R) 34th District

Hometown: Amarillo, Texas  
Elected: 1995  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: February 7, 1954  
Church: Southern Baptist  
Education: Graduated Texas Tech University, 1977,  
B.S. Ch.E.  
Family: Married, Deborah Ann (Bosworth)  
Occupation: Chemical Engineer  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 534 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 566)  
Home Address: 9602 N. 111th E. Ave.,  
Owasso, OK 74055  
Home Phone: 918-272-7580  
Leadership Positions: Republican Caucus Chair  
Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, General  
Government, Human Resources, Transportation, Wildlife



When one drives north from Tulsa, toward the Kansas border, development thins out quickly between Tulsa and Bartlesville. While the entirety of Tulsa County has been laid out and gridded in the midwestern tradition of townships, sections, and quarter-sections, many of the roads are little more than gravel farm-to-market drives. It is here that one sees the other Tulsa: the Tulsa of sweeping rural landscapes, ranching, and agriculture. District 34 captures both the rural side of Tulsa and most of Bartlesville and south Washington County, as well as parts of Osage County to the south of Pawhuska. This is one of the wealthiest districts in the state. Oil taken from the land brought wealth, and the wealthy gave back to the community, including a museum and 4000-acre wildlife refuge near Bartlesville.

Incumbent Grover Campbell (R-Owasso) was originally born in Amarillo, Texas, but, like some of his other Senate colleagues, moved to Oklahoma and stayed. Elected to the state House at the age of 33, Campbell served for four terms before moving to the Senate in the 1994 elections. Campbell is completing his first term and is the Republican Caucus chair. A chemical engineer by profession, he is a member of the Task Force on Prevention of Genetic Discrimination. He also serves on the General Government, Human Resources, Transportation, and Wildlife Committees. He is vice chair of the Public Safety and Judiciary Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and served on the important General Conference Committee on Appropriations subcommittee in 1997.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Grover Campbell - R	11,565	59.0%
	Windsor Ridenour - D	8,035	41.0%

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$49,261.11	\$48,787.35	\$473.76

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Phillips Petroleum Co.  
 Grover Richard Campbell Trust

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Ron Howell, KOCH PAC, \$500.00  
 Oklahoma Republican Party, \$4,500.00  
 GOPAC, \$1,000.00  
 Nettie Campbell, retired, Amarillo, TX, \$1,000.00  
 Clinton Key, Chairman, OK Republican Party, \$1,5000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7  
 Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 90

**34th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,512	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 27%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Gilmer N. Capps (D) 26th District

Hometown: Tipton, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1970  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 18, 1932  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Attended Oklahoma State University,  
1949 - 1952; Cameron State College, 1969 - 1970  
Family: Married, Wanda Lou (Miller);  
children, Cynda & Gilmer John  
Occupation: Farming; Ranching  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1971 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 424 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 545)  
Home Address: 820 E. 11th St., Snyder, OK 73566  
Home Phone: 580-569-2273  
Leadership Positions: Majority Whip,  
Committees: Appropriations, General Government,  
Rules, Agriculture and Rural Development,  
Finance, Select Committee on NAFTA, Tourism



A vast stretch of land between the Canadian River and the Red River, west of Anadarko, running south to the Texas border in Tillman County, is represented the Senate by District 26. The district takes in four entire counties — Tillman, Greer, Kiowa, and Washita — and parts of three others — Caddo, Jackson, and Beckham. The population of the district is dispersed. Local elected officials are almost always Democrats; however, the counties in the district have all voted Republican for president, and Washita County in particular is often closely contested in major statewide races.

This is historically interesting country. Greer County was claimed by both Texas and Oklahoma. In 1896, the Supreme Court decided it was part of Oklahoma. Greer County proper has shrunk, being parted into Beckham and Harmon counties. Ranching and agriculture are important out here, and there is still an oil presence. While agriculture is the backbone of the economy, Tillman County is seeking to become the next economic marvel of the Great Plains region of Oklahoma. The county seat, Frederick, built an industrial park that includes a 6,000 foot runway, refueling services, and a reservoir to attract industry. Unemployment here is relatively low, but so are incomes. I-40 traverses the middle of the district, headed for the empty counties of the Texas panhandle.

Democrats still run very well here at all levels. This was not strong country for Frank Keating, although he ran better here than previous Republican candidates. It will be interesting to see whether Hispanic immigration affects those political attitudes.

Gilmer N. Capps (D-Snyder) has been a rancher for all of his adult life. Born in Tipton, he began ranching when he left Oklahoma State University in 1952. Initially elected to the Senate in 1970, he has served continuously since. In the process, he has collected a bevy of plum



committee assignments that are of importance to himself and his district, including seats on the committees on Agriculture, Appropriations, Finance, and General Government. On both the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations and Appropriations and Budget Committee, he held a seat on the Judiciary, Public Safety, and Law Enforcement Subcommittees. He currently serves as a Majority Whip.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Gilmer Capps - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 37,734	Republican: 5,798	Independent: 1,462
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**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$21,758.54	\$6,714.01	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Self-employed, farming and ranching

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

- Oklahoma Optometric PAC, \$300.00
- Charles and Greta Gard, \$500.00
- Oklahoma AGC PAC, \$500.00
- Oklahoma Education Assoc PAC, \$500.00
- Oklahoma Phillips Petroleum Co. PAC, \$400.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 13

**26th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$24,081	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 18%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 38%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 6%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Larry Dickerson (D) 4th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: May 13, 1956

Church: Baptist

Education: Attended Carl Albert State College, 1974;

University of Oklahoma, 1978, Political Science;

University of Oklahoma, 1981, J.D.

Family: Married, Dee Ann (Summer);

children, John Lawrence

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate

1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 522

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 576)

Home Address: P. O. Box 400, Poteau, OK 74953

Home Phone: 918-647-8680

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, Energy,

Environmental Resources & Regulatory Affairs, General Government, Judiciary, Rules



Little Dixie! Settlers from Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas came to this part of the Choctaw Nation and brought their politics and history straight from the old South. This district, the heart of Little Dixie, is essentially LeFlore County. About 22,000 residents of Sequoyah County (including the towns of Sallisaw and Muldrow) round out the district population. The district media comes from Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Shreveport, which lends little attention to the activities of local state legislators.

The country has a rich political history. Legendary Senator Robert S. Kerr resided here. Another congressional great is immortalized by Carl Albert State College. Given this history, one would expect the politics of the 4th to be decidedly Democratic, which they are. Bill Clinton won here in 1992 and 1996, and Democratic registrants far outnumber the Republicans. Personalities also matter, however. Wes Watkins won this district as an independent gubernatorial candidate in 1994, and he also ran better here than previous Republicans in the 1996 congressional elections. This area is also represented by House Districts 1, 2, 3, and 17.

Incumbent Democrat Larry Dickerson next faces reelection in 1998. Yet another baby boomer legislator in an increasingly youthful chamber, Dickerson resides in Poteau. An attorney by trade, he holds degrees from OU and sits on the Senate Judiciary Committee. He chairs the Appropriations and Budget Subcommittee on General Government and Transportation. He also chairs the Finance Committee and is on the Joint Legislative Committee on Budget and Program Oversight. Dickerson was named one of the *Oklahoma Observer's* top legislators in 1997 for his work on the highway bond issue legislation.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Larry Dickerson - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 32,211                      Republican: 5,252                      Independent: 1,364

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$48,971.00	\$54,346.62	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Dickerson Law Firm

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Wayne and Linda Hoffman, \$1,300.00  
J. Max Jiles, Sallisaw, \$1,000.00  
Archie Farmer, \$1,000.00  
Gilbert Green, \$1,000.00  
Philip Green, \$1,000.00  
OPEA, \$1,000.00  
Dale Brown, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 12

**4th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$24,157	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 32%	Percent Employed in Service: 57%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 24%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Brooks Douglass (R) 40th District

Hometown: Norman, Oklahoma

Elected: 1991

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: September 28, 1963

Church: Baptist

Education: Baylor University, B.B.A. Accounting,  
Finance, 1985; Oklahoma City University,  
1990, J.D.

Family: Married, Mallory (Roberts)

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 533 - C

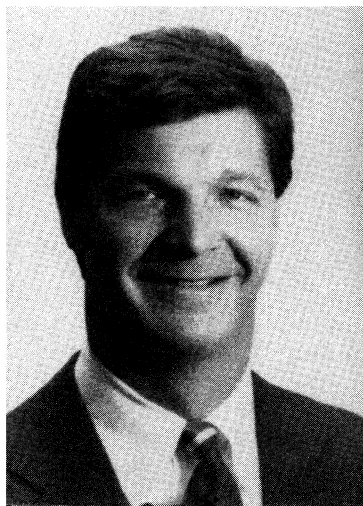
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 543)

Home Address: P. O. Box 75370,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73147

Home Phone: 405-949-0940

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Sunset

Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor,  
Economic Development, Judiciary, Rules, Sunset



District 40 is crescent-shaped and starts north of Lake Hefner at the Village, and then circles counterclockwise around District 52, which hugs the lake. The district winds through Nichols Hills, Bethany, and Warr Acres. These are some of the most affluent neighborhoods in Oklahoma City, and they exhibit a peculiar duality. These neighborhoods are in some respects out of step with most of Oklahoma, for example there are restrictive covenants that ban the parking of pickup trucks in driveways. In the growth of the Republican party, however, they are at the leading edge of Oklahoma politics.

One of the most articulate and well-known members of the Senate is the youthful Republican senator from Oklahoma City, Brooks Douglass. At the age of 34, Douglass has already served in the Senate for seven years, going immediately from the law school at Oklahoma City University to the legislature. He has served as the Senate Minority Whip, and Vice Chairman of Science, Technology and Telecommunications. Since 1993, he has also held a seat on Appropriations where he is currently Vice Chair of the General Government and Transportation Committee. He is also Vice-Chair of the Sunset Review Committee. Resulting in part from a personal tragedy, Douglass has a commitment to victims' rights, and is currently co-chair of the joint committee examining victims' rights and restitution. Douglass is also a member of the Oklahoma Health Care Commission.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Brooks Douglass - R	16,601	70.0%
	John McCormick - D	7,116	30.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 19,999	Republican: 20,955	Independent: 2,690
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**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$53,030.00	\$49,972.93	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Douglas, Roberts, & Associates, LLC  
 TNJ Entertainment Corporation

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Dr. and Mrs Tommy L. Hewitt, \$5,000.00  
 Phil A. Scaramucci, \$5,000.00  
 Harry C. Johnson, Red Eagle Resources, \$5,486.00  
 Oklahoma Society of Anesthesiologists, \$1,150.00  
 National Rifle Association, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

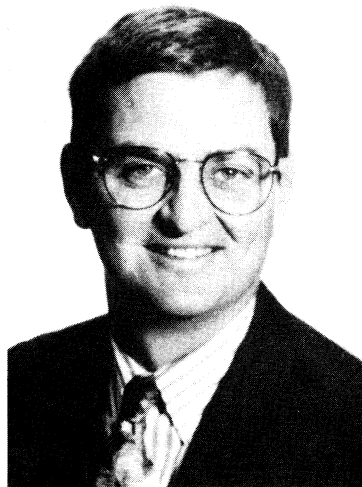
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 66
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 49

**40th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$39,347	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 32%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 77%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 6%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Jim Dunlap (R) 29th District

Hometown: Bartlesville, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1997  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: March 10, 1961  
Church: First Methodist, Bartlesville  
Education: Graduated Drury College,  
Springfield Missouri, B.A., 1984  
Family: Married, Pam (Thompson)  
Occupation: General Contractor  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 529 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 634)  
Home Address: 1421 Cherokee Hills Dr.,  
Bartlesville, OK 74006  
Home Phone: 918-336-6444  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, General  
Government, Tourism, Transportation, Wildlife



Once upon a time, Nowata County was the center of the universe for easy money. In the early days of statehood, Nowata was the home of the world's largest shallow oil fields. The oil is less plentiful (and it is cheaper to import), but the prosperity brought to this area by the discovery of oil is still evident today in the 29th District. The District takes in Nowata County; parts of Craig County, and Washington County north of Bartlesville, which is the home of Phillips Petroleum.

Local politics here is a largely Democratic affair. Most local offices are won and held by Democrats, and registered Democrats far outnumber Republicans. Republican candidates have run well at the national and statewide level, and the current incumbent, Senator Jim Dunlap (R-Bartlesville), is living proof that the GOP is systematically doing better in traditionally-Democratic parts of Oklahoma. Dunlap is another thirty-something legislator with an extensive record of public service. The vice-president of his family's construction business, Dunlap was actually a member of the House for eight years, where he spent three years as Minority Whip, two years as Caucus Chair, and never missed a day of legislative business. Elected to the Senate in 1996, this first term senator is also active with the NCSL, the Jaycees, and with efforts to train new legislators to be more effective.

He managed to gain appointments to the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations. On both committees he serves on the Health and Human Service Subcommittee. He is also a member of the interim study committee on Golf Course Tax Policy.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Jim Dunlap - R	17,083	62.1%
	Chuck Hoskin - D	10,424	37.9%
1992	Jim Dunlap - R	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 20,305    Republican: 19,576    Independent: 2,288

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$42,587.52	\$60,427.29	\$988.42

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Dunlap Construction, Bartlesville

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

KOCH PAC, \$1,000.00  
 OPEA PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Oklahoma Phillips Petroleum PAC, \$1,000.66  
 OKIE PAC, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90    Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6    The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 80

**29th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$35,267	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 22%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 28%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 62%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 13%
Percent Over Age 55: 27%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Kevin Alan Easley (D) 18th District

Hometown: Wichita, Kansas

Elected: 1991

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: May 16, 1960

Church: Not Available

Education: Attended University of Oklahoma;  
University of Tulsa, B.S./B.A.; University of  
Tulsa graduate work, Business Administration

Family: Married, Dea Ann (Winkle);  
children, Kilmyn, Kevin Jr., Korbyn Jackson

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 417 - C

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 590)

Home Address: 6818 S. 245 E. Avenue,  
Broken Arrow, OK 74014

Home Phone: 981-357-1111

Leadership Positions: Chair, Energy, Environmental  
Resources and Regulatory Affairs; V-Chair, Rules

Committees: Deregulation, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs,  
Finance, General Government, Rules, Wildlife



This district takes in most of eastern and southern Mayes County, a piece of Tulsa County and Wagoner County north of the Muskogee Turnpike, including the county seat of Wagoner (pop. 6894) and Fort Gibson Lake. One of the earliest cattle trails in the west, the East Shawnee Trail, cut through this territory, and white settlement in this area far predates the opening of the territory.

Incomes here are a bit higher than to the south. This is partly due to the tourism brought in by Grand Lake, Lake Eucha, and Lake Hudson. Beef production, chicken processing, and dairying are the other major industries in the district. Crime rates here are low, but not as low as in some rural counties. The Port of Tulsa is important to the local economy, although the backbone of economy is still grain and cattle.

Incumbent Kevin Alan Easley (D) was reelected in 1994 to a second term in the Senate. He next faces reelection in 1998. Prior to being elected to the state Senate he served in the House of Representatives for six years, being elected at age 23. Easley was named "Legislator of the Year" by three different associations in 1989 while a member of the House. He also chaired the Energy, Environment and Natural Resources Committee. He now chairs its Senate counterpart. He also serves on the Senate Appropriations Committee. He was a member of the Subcommittee on Natural Resources and Regulatory Services of the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Kevin Easley - D	12,520	63.0%
	David Taylor - R	7,480	37.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 22,947                      Republican: 13,599                      Independent: 2,023

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$154,052.07	\$116,711.69	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Samason Resources  
 Easley's, Inc.

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Phillips Petroleum PAC, \$2,000.66  
 Jim Barker, lobbyist, \$5,000.00  
 Larry Aimes, lobbyist, \$2,000.00  
 Burlington Resources, \$2,000.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$2,500.00  
 J.P. Collins, Houston, TX, \$5,000.00  
 John R. Cornell, \$4,000.00  
 Democrats Oklahoma State Senate Committee, \$5,000.00  
 Lawyers Encouraging Government and Law, \$2,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

**18th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$30,166	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 16%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 30%	Percent Employed in Service: 63%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 25%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Mike Fair (R) 47th District

Hometown: Birmingham, Alabama

Elected: 1988

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: December 11, 1942

Church: Lakeside Assembly of God

Education: Attended University of Oklahoma,  
1963 - 1968; Central State University,  
1973 - 1976

Occupation: Property Insurance Agency

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 533 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 632)

Home Address: 3717 N. W. 125th St.,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73120

Home Phone: 405-749-1722

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural

Development, Business and Labor, Energy,

Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, Finance, Rules



Northwest Expressway takes you away from the state fairgrounds and the furniture stores on Reno. As you leave OKC in your rear-view mirror, the suburbs continue, but thin as you head towards Canadian County. If you head north from Wiley Post Airport, you circle a variety of lakes, including Lake Hefner, Silver Lake, and Ski Island Lake. Eventually, as you bear east, you will pass a variety of golf courses (Quail Creek and the Green), and Quail Springs Mall, until you hit Edmond proper. This is Senate District 47.

This is predominantly Republican territory. David Boren is the only Democrat since the time of FDR to show consistent electoral strength here, and the district has been reliably Republican in statewide contests.

Mike Fair (R-Oklahoma City) has made multiple trips through the legislature. In the late 1960s, he was one of a handful of Republican legislators elected after reapportionment, serving a single term. In the late 1970s, he came back to the House for another seven-year stretch through 1986. He then was elected to the state Senate in 1988. A member of MENSA, one might wonder what he has learned that keeps him coming back. One thing he seems to know is to go where the money is because he managed to gain appointment to the Appropriations Committee and the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations.



## Ted V. Fisher (D) 12th District

Hometown: Holton, Kansas

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: December 6, 1941

Church: Presbyterian

Education: Attended Northeastern Oklahoma  
A&M College; Northeastern State University;  
University of Tulsa

Family: Children, Melissa & Brittin

Occupation: Insurance; Real Estate

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 427

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 528)

Home Address: 1115 E. Jackson N. Avenue,  
Sapulpa, OK 74066 - 2551

Home Phone: 918-224-4189

Leadership Positions: Chair, Economic Development

Committees: Appropriations, Economic Development,  
Education, General Government, Select Committee on NAFTA, Small Business.  
Transportation



District 12 incorporates all but the northeastern corner of Creek County, and portions of Okfuskee and Lincoln counties. Incomes here are higher than the regional average, in part due to the continued presence of the oil industry here since the 1920s. Much of the local economy is tied to businesses that support the oil industry, or to light manufacturing (Creek County hosts a thriving clay dinnerware industry) and agriculture. The eastern part of Creek County, around Sapulpa, is incorporated into a district with parts of suburban Tulsa.

Politics here are somewhat more bipartisan than in much of the state. Democrats and Republicans have both won local offices, though Republicans are not as strong as they would want. Until recently Lincoln County was a reliable Democratic county in statewide elections. Republicans have had limited success in statewide contests. Reagan and Nixon ran well here, but Bill Clinton carried the district in 1992, and Wes Watkins carried a substantial amount of the district vote as an independent in 1994. Creek County is divided between two senate districts. More recently it has exhibited increased support for Republicans in national and state contests, although independents Ross Perot and Wes Watkins ran ahead of their statewide averages here.

Incumbent Ted Fisher was elected to a third term in 1994, and next faces reelection in 1998. He has served in the Senate since 1987. A insurance agent and real estate developer, Fisher currently serves as the chairman of the Economic Development Committee. He has also been a member of appropriations since coming to the Senate. Fisher has been active both on the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations, and on Education Subcommittees. He authored the Quality Jobs Program and is promoting legislation to enhance math and science teaching. His work in these areas earned him the designation as one the legislators of the year by the *Oklahoma Observer*.



## Charles R. Ford (R) 51st District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Elected: 1981

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: August 2, 1931

Church: Not Available

Education: Attended Oklahoma State University,  
1949 - 1951

Family: Married, Patricia Ann (Ojers);  
children, Christopher Reed, Roger Howard,  
Karin Rebecca, Robyn Ann

Occupation: Real Estate Investment

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1981 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 527 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 675)

Home Address: 4100 E. 51st St., Tulsa, OK 74135

Home Phone: 918-494-0155

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Select Committee  
on NAFTA

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory  
Affairs, Finance, Rules, Small Business, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public Safety



This district stretches southeast from around I-44 and LaFortune Park to the city of Broken Arrow. Broken Arrow takes its name from a Georgia town. The name was brought by Creek Indians, relocated to Indian territory to make way for the Georgia Land Lotteries of the 1830s. The city grew from an Indian settlement with the arrival of white ranchers. A variety of industries including coal mining, railroads, and farming (and oil) have contributed to the local economy. Now the city of Broken Arrow is part of the Tulsa metropolitan area, and counts nearly 60,000 residents, enough for its own senator. Instead, it is (ironically) broken into three districts, like an arrow shaft cracked across the knee.

Charles R. Ford (R-Tulsa) is a real estate investor who owns two companies. A Navy veteran, Ford has been around the legislature for thirty years: fifteen each in the House and Senate. He has served as Minority Floor Leader in both chambers, and has had some attention in national GOP circles: President Bush appointed Ford to the National Petroleum Council, and President Reagan appointed him to the regional advisory committee of National Park Service. In 1988, the National Republican Legislator's Association named Ford Legislator of the Year. He serves on the Appropriations Committee and was a member of the 1997 Subcommittee on Education of the GCCA. He is also involved in multiple interim studies on education issues. He is a member of the Joint Committee on Federal Funds.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Bill Brock - D	8,290	24.5%
	Charles R. Ford - R	25,490	75.5%
1992	Charles R. Ford - R	21,617	61.0%
	Richard Polishuk - D	13,625	39.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,760    Republican: 31,275    Independent: 2,781

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$79,687.70	\$43,504.85	\$38,168.70

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Charles R. Ford, Investments

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OPEA, \$1,000.00  
OKIE PAC, \$1,200.00  
Scott Holden, Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00  
Robert Fuller, financial services, \$2,000.00  
Tyrone Elias, Tyrone Food Service, \$1,500.00  
Bob Rollins, Consumer Finance PAC, \$1,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

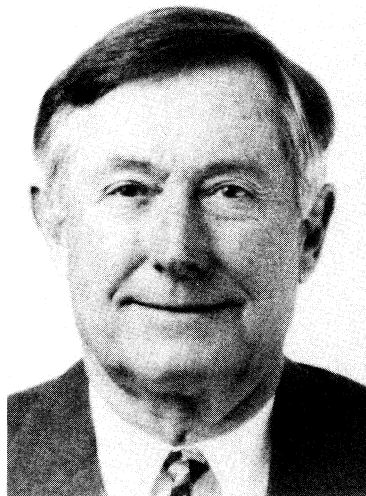
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 50    Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 4    The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 73

**51st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$58,570	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 44
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 11%	Percent College-Educated: 48%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 18%	Percent Employed in Service: 75%
Percent Employed in Government: 2%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 11%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 12%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Bill Gustafson (R) 22nd District

Hometown: El Reno, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1991  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: September 17, 1930  
Church: Catholic  
Education: Attended University of Oklahoma;  
Oklahoma City University  
Family: Married, Kay (Bainbridge)  
Occupation: Commercial wholesale tree grower  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 531  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 592)  
Home Address: 1809 Golf Course Dr.,  
El Reno, OK 73036  
Home Phone: 405-262-6698  
Leadership Positions: Minority Floor Leader  
Committees: Appropriations, Education,  
Human Resources, Rules, Transportation, Wildlife



The eastern portions of Canadian and Kingfisher counties are encompassed by Senate District 22. This district takes in not only some of the ranches and farms to the north and west of Oklahoma City, where the plains of western Oklahoma start and stretch endlessly to Texas Panhandle, but also the town of El Reno.

This is predominantly Republican territory. David Boren is the only Democrat since the time of FDR to show consistent electoral strength here, and the district has trended Republican in statewide contests. Locally, Republicans have had greater success in the Kingfisher parts of the district while Democrats have performed well in El Reno. The parts of Canadian county southwest of El Reno make up the balance of the district.

Republican Bill Gustafson was reelected to a second term in 1994 and next faces reelection in 1998. Bill Gustafson (R-El Reno) spent much of his early career with Penn Mutual Life. In the 1980s he then went on to be CEO of two separate companies; since 1990 he has owned the Whitetail Tree Farm. In that same year he went from the board room to the legislature, winning election to the Senate as a Republican in a Democratic year and staying ever since. In 1995, Fisher served as the Minority Caucus Chairman in the Senate. He is now the Minority Floor Leader.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Bill Gustafson - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 19,892                      Republican: 18,547                      Independent: 2,298

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$17,780.00	\$13,389	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Veteran's Administration (Disability)  
 White Tail Tree Farm

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

J.D. Davenport, \$1,000.00  
 L.V. Singletary, \$1,000.00  
 Union Pacific Fund, \$600.00  
 R. Choate, \$830.00  
 OEA PAC, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 50	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 5	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 70

**22nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$34,670	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 22%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 23%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 17%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 21%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Enoch Kelly Haney (D) 50th District

Hometown: Seminole, Oklahoma

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: November 12, 1940

Church: United Methodist

Education: Graduated Bacone College, Muskogee, 1962, A.A.S.; University of Arizona, Special Arts; Oklahoma City University, B.A.; Progress Management Institute, Philadelphia, 1969

Family: Married, Dona (Waters); children, Kelli Brooke, Enoch Hulpahtah, Kathy Marie, Damaris Joy, Kutcha John, John Hudson

Occupation: Artist/Owner, Kelly Haney Art Gallery

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 519

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 547)

Home Address: P. O. Box 103, Seminole, OK 74868

Home Phone: 382-2537

Leadership Positions: Chair, Appropriations

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, Rules, Transportation



In the 19th century, Texas cattle herds were driven north along the West Shawnee Trail, headed for Kansas and the markets of the east. That trail passed through Lincoln County, which, with northern Pottawatomie County and a stretch of rural Oklahoma County, make up Senate District 50.

This was mainly farm country at the time of statehood, with cotton being a principal crop. However, the discovery of oil near the Lincoln County towns of Chandler and Davenport (both in the district) changed the local economy. Much of the local economy is tied to businesses that support the oil industry, or to light manufacturing and agriculture. Incomes here are decidedly higher than in the counties to the south and east, and unemployment has usually been below both the state and national averages.

Local politics are decidedly Democratic, and all of the local officials in the district are Democrats. However, Republicans have carried this district for president with increasing consistency since the 1960s, and Frank Keating won a plurality in Pottawatomie County in 1994.

The incumbent is a Democrat of many talents. Kelly Haney (D-Seminole) is Master Artist of the Five Civilized Tribes. He is also a legislative artist, having served in the Oklahoma House (1980-1986) and Senate (1986-present) for over seventeen years. He also currently sits on the Executive Committee of the National Conference of State Legislators. Since 1995, Haney chaired the powerful Appropriations Committee in the Senate and chaired the General Conference Committee on Appropriations. He also serves as co-chair of the joint State Facility Capital Need Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Enoch Kelly Haney - D	11,477	57.0%
	Jack Williams - R	8,526	43.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 27,376                      Republican: 10,318                      Independent: 0

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$102,016.61	\$101,140.22	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Kelly Haney Art Gallery  
 Haney, Inc. (Art Sales)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Promoters of Private Enterprise, \$2,000.00  
 Ben Walkingstick, \$6,698.84  
 Jearl Smart, \$3,730.90  
 Southwestern Bell EmPAC, \$2,000.00  
 Democrats of the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$2,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 33  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 13

**50th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,975	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 23%	Percent Employed in Service: 58%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## J. Berry Harrison (D) 10th District

Hometown: Fairfax, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1991  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 10, 1939  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Attended Oklahoma State University;  
Northeastern State University, B.A.  
Family: Married, Jacquelyn (Hobbs);  
children, Tracie Lyn & J. Berry Jr.  
Occupation: Farmer, Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 513 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 581)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 325, Fairfax, OK 74637  
Home Phone: 918-642-5030  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Sunset  
Committees: Agriculture and Rural Development,  
Economic Development, Education, Transportation



In 1872, the United States Government purchased land from the Cherokee Nation for the Osage tribe. This land, at statehood, became Osage County. About half of District 10 is made up of Osage County; the rest is part of Kay County, and Noble and Pawnee, which trace the southern shore of the Arkansas river, rich with agriculture and cattle ranching. Oil still contributes to the economy (Bartlesville is just outside the district borders), as does cattle and horse ranching.

Pawnee County provides a substantial portion of the district population, but Noble County has provided a lot of the political distinction. Two governors, two congressmen, and a U.S. Senator have been provided by this tiny county that contains less than 1/2 percent of the state's population.

This is the most northwestern of the predominantly Democratic districts in the state, and the district votes more Democratic than any other on the Kansas border. Most local officeholders are Democratic, and both Bill Clinton and Jack Mildren ran well in this district in their last contests. However, the Republicans are quite alive and well here.

Incumbent Berry Harrison was elected to a second term in 1994. His term expires in 1998. Harrison has progressed well for a second-term senator. Harrison, a farmer and rancher, has been active in a number of agricultural organizations and is a member of the Agriculture and Rural Development Committee in the Senate. He serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee and served on the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations, both in the area of natural resources and regulatory services. He chairs the Sunset Review Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Berry Harrison - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 24,915                      Republican: 13,823                      Independent: 1,632

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$7,163.36	\$1,692.21	\$7,057.70

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Education Association PAC, \$500.00  
 S.U.R.E. (Rural Electrification) PAC, \$100.00  
 Oklahoma Dental Hygenists Association, \$100.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 3

**10th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$29,254	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 15%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 57%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 11%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Sam Helton (D) 31st District

Hometown: Lawton, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: August 31, 1954  
Church: Liberty Heights Chapel  
Education: Attended Cameron University;  
Great Plains Vo-Tech  
Family: Married, Patricia Ann (Kendall);  
children, Randy, Christopher, Kayla  
Occupation: Manager, furniture store; Police Officer  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 425  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 563)  
Home Address: 2809 N. E. Bel Aire Cir.,  
Lawton, OK 73507  
Home Phone: 405-353-1477  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Veterans & Military  
Affairs & Public Safety  
Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural Development, Economic Development,  
Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, General Government,  
Transportation, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public Safety



As you head west from Ardmore on the two-lane roads of south Oklahoma, the Arbuckle mountains peter out, the trees are fewer, and one enters what Scott Momaday called “the middle and immeasurable meadow of North America” — the rolling plains of Oklahoma. However, the biggest part of District 31 is Lawton. In 1997, the *Chicago Sun-Times* declared Lawton to be the number-one vacation bargain for Chicago families. A very long day’s drive from the Windy City, Lawton has history, recreation, and scenery. As you cross the open lands you can imagine how ancient beasts crossed these great plains. And, more recently, the Big Pasture teemed with another beast: over a thousand producing oil wells dotted it.

The 31st Senate District also takes in a lot of the Big Pasture, including eastern Comanche County, all of Cotton County, and parts of Grady and Stephens counties. Politics is still Democratic at the local level, with an overwhelming number of voters registered Democratic, and still voting somewhat Democratic at the top of the ticket when given a reason. Democrats fill all the local offices. However, like a lot of New Deal Democratic areas, Lawton and the surrounding areas have voted Republican when presented with a “national” Democrat. Bill Clinton won here, but Ross Perot ran ahead of his statewide percentage, indicating that dissatisfaction with George Bush did not carry home a lot of Democrats who gave Bush the district in 1988. But, Republican legitimacy is growing from success in gubernatorial and presidential races. Republican congressman J. C. Watts defied tradition here in 1996, nearly carrying these Democratic counties. Given the right circumstances, Republicans can win in this part of Oklahoma.

Incumbent Sam Helton (D-Lawton) is a former police officer with an outstanding record

(named "Oklahoma Police Officer of the Year" in 1989) and a current consultant who is entering his second term of office. Elected in 1992, Helton has quickly established himself in the Senate. He chairs the Veterans and Military Affairs Committee, and also serves on the Agriculture, Appropriations, General Government, and Transportation committees. As a freshman, he was vice-chairman of the Standard and Ethics Committee. He is a member of the joint study committee exploring the issue of certificates of need for hospitals, co-chair of the joint committee studying the sex offender registration act, and chair of the committee examining the statewide crime stoppers program.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Sam Helton - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 24,259	Republican: 7,451	Independent: 1,639
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**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$41,080.00	\$49,575.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 O.L.E.R..S. (widow's pension)  
 Express Personnel

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma VePAC, \$750.00  
 Michael Lacy, L.H. Lacy & Co., general contractor, Dallas, \$750.00  
 Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE PAC, \$500.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Southwestern Bell EMPAC, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**31st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,770	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 65%
Percent Employed in Government: 10%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 13%	Percent Hispanic American: 5%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Howard H. Hendrick (R) 52nd District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: December 22, 1954

Church: Nazarene

Education: Southern Nazarene University, 1977, B.S.,  
Accounting, Summa Cum Laude; University of  
Oklahoma, 1980, M.B.A. and J.D. with honors

Family: Married, Tracy Elizabeth (Williams);  
children, Chelsey, Cally, Hudson, Christiana

Occupation: Attorney; Adjunct University  
Business Professor

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 528 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 636)

Home Address: 4301 N. W. 63rd. #103,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73116

Home Phone: 405-787-4363

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Human Resources, Judiciary, Rules, Small  
Business



Just west of Oklahoma City proper are some of the most densely populated parts of Oklahoma: the communities of Warr Acres and Bethany. The district that represents these communities is decidedly odd in shape. Senate District 52 starts in Bethany to the south, then stretches as a one-mile long, 20-mile long scythe that wraps around Lake Hefner. At one point the district is just a few hundred yards wide.

Howard Hendrick (R-Bethany) is an attorney and former business professor who was reelected to a third term in 1996. Hendrick is extensively involved in civic affairs organizations, serving on numerous boards in various capacities. He has also served as the Republican Floor Leader and the Assistant Minority Whip. Currently he is a member of the Appropriations Committee and served on the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations. He is also a member of the Joint Committee on Federal Funds.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Howard Hendrick - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,469                      Republican: 22,484                      Independent: 2,443

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$31,972.15	\$22,443.75	\$7,556.92

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Howard H. Hendrick, P.C. (Law Practice)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Donald M. Smith, \$700.00  
S. Dean Brown, M.D., \$1,000.00  
Tyler Thomas, graphics designer, \$780.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 60

**52nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$40,478	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 26%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 36%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 15%	Percent Employed in Service: 75%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 24%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 24%
Percent African American: 6%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Brad Henry (D) 17th District

Hometown: Shawnee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1993  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: July 10, 1963  
Church: First Baptist Church  
Education: Graduated University of Oklahoma, 1985,  
Economics; University of Oklahoma, 1988, J.D.  
Family: Married, Kimberley Diane (Blain);  
children, Leah Genet & Laynie Elizabeth  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 413  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 539)  
Home Address: 4419 N. Bryan, Shawnee, OK 74801  
Home Phone: 275-1489  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Judiciary; Vice Chair,  
Economic Development  
Committees: Appropriations, Economic Development,  
Judiciary, Select Committee on NAFTA, Sunset



This district takes in a rapidly developing part of Cleveland County, as well as Pottawatomie County around Shawnee (pop 26,017). This is part of the original territory opened to settlement in 1891. Pottawatomie County was nearly big enough in 1990 (58,000 residents) to have its own senate seat. Instead, Shawnee district was paired with northern Cleveland County.

For a while Shawnee was in the running to become state capitol, and the locals even built a governor's mansion to make their case. Oil and gas have contributed to the growth of Shawnee, but the surrounding areas are still largely wedded to agriculture, and two private religious colleges are in Shawnee: St. Gregory's College, and Oklahoma Baptist University, where former governor and U.S. Senator David Boren once taught government.

Local politics are decidedly Democratic, but Moore is exhibiting some definite Republican tendencies. Republicans have carried this district for president with increasing consistency since the 1960s, and Frank Keating won a plurality in Pottawatomie and Cleveland counties in 1994.

Brad Henry, a Shawnee Democrat, already entering his second term of office, is one of the youngest members of the Senate at 34. An OU alumnus with degrees in economics and law, Henry chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee and serves as Vice-Chair of the Committee for Economic Development (1993-present). He also sits on the Appropriations Committee. Henry also co-chairs the special Joint Committee on Declaratory Judgments on Liability Insurance Policies and chairs an interim study on the Oklahoma Life and Health Insurance Guaranty Association Act.



## Dave Herbert (D) 42nd District

Hometown: Braddock, Pennsylvania

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: April 18, 1945

Church: Catholic

Education: Attended University of Oklahoma

Family: Married, Marilyn E. (Bull);  
children, Denae Jill & Tiffany Shawn

Occupation: Independent Businessman;  
Mayor 1982 - 1986

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 426

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 584)

Home Address: P. O. Box 30793,  
Midwest City, OK 73140

Home Phone: 405-733-3345

Leadership Positions: Chair, Tourism

Committees: Appropriations, General Government,  
Small Business, Sunset, Tourism, Transportation, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public  
Safety



Midwest City started as a planned community in one developer's mind. Adjacent to Tinker Air Force Base (the workshop of the USAF), Midwest City has grown into a legitimate mini-metropolis, amid the roar of B-52s using the repair facilities at Tinker. Tinker is the economic engine of this part of Oklahoma County.

District 42 contains Midwest City, Tinker AFB, and some of the communities to the east out toward Choctaw and Nicoma Park. The district is similar to so many suburbs near military installations. The residents are less affluent than to the northwest side of downtown. Businesses near base — the pawn shops, check cashers, and bars — do not always lend themselves to attracting the affluent or upwardly mobile.

The incumbent here, Dave Herbert, is an Oklahoman by choice who has made good in politics. Born in Pennsylvania, Herbert attended OU and settled in Midwest City. Elected mayor in 1982, he served until 1986. This Democrat has obtained power positions in the Senate, serving as Chairman of the Tourism and Recreation Committee and also holding a seat on appropriations. From 1990 to 1994, he chaired the Committee on General Government. Related to those assignments, his subcommittee on Appropriations (and the General Conference Committee on Appropriations) was on general government, and he serves as a member of the interim committee examining golf course tax policy.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Dave Herbert - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 20,427                      Republican: 14,837                      Independent: 2,990

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$56,203.21	\$50,241.36	\$3.43

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 David Herbert, self-employed, NBC

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Optometric PAC, \$900.00  
 Choctaw Living Center, \$500.00  
 Committee for Jack Mildren, \$500.00  
 Committee for John Clark, \$500.00  
 Committee for Dave McCurdy, \$500.00  
 Oklahoma Education Association PAC, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 26

**42nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$35,052	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 20%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 25%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 15%	Percent Employed in Service: 63%
Percent Employed in Government: 21%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 21%
Percent African American: 9%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Cal Hobson (D) 16th District

Hometown: Tuscon, Arizona  
Elected: 1991  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: March 30, 1945  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Graduated University of Oklahoma, 1968,  
B.A., Teacher's Certificate  
Family: Married, Elaine (Wheeler); children, Jack  
Occupation: Real Estate / President, Glenwood, Inc.  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 429  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 553)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 1067, Lexington, OK 73051  
Home Phone: 527-5929  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Appropriations  
Committees: Appropriations, Education, Energy,  
Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs,  
Finance, Rules



The city of Norman is nothing less than efficient. Founded during the "Run of '89," the provisional government was up and running on the run. And, as other cities bid for the state capitol, Norman bid for and obtained the territory's first college, which became the University of Oklahoma.

Once known as a University "its football team could be proud of," OU is now in the hands of one of the most beloved politicians in Oklahoma history, David Boren, who seems to be transforming the university into a sort of public "Oxford on the Prairie," and is capturing national and international attention in the process. The city east of I-35 and the campus are encompassed by District 16. This is definitely a "town-and-gown" district, populated with university faculty and staff, students, and locals who depend in some part on the university for their living.

It has occasionally been speculated that the "liberal" image of Norman prevents Cleveland County politicians from having real influence at the state level. Democratic incumbent Cal Hobson would probably dispute that notion, calling himself a moderate. Next eligible for reelection in 1998, the Democrat from Lexington (south of Norman) is probably the most powerful state legislator from Cleveland County. Born in Arizona, Hobson took his BA from OU, and has since prospered as a realtor (he is the president of Glenwood, Inc.). Hobson has an extensive track record of public service. He initially entered electoral politics in the 1970s, serving briefly as mayor of Lexington. He was elected to the House in 1978, moving up to the Senate in 1990, where he is vice-chairman of Appropriations and chairs the Public Safety and Judiciary Subcommittee. Criminal justice reform (HB 1213) and education (including work on HB 1017) are areas where Hobson can claim important legislative successes. In fact, referring to him as the "prime architect" of criminal justice reform, the *Oklahoma Observer* named Hobson as a "legislator of the year" in 1997.



## Maxine Horner (D) 11th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1987  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 17, 1933  
Church: Not Available  
Education: Graduated Langston University, B.S., 1985  
Family: Married, Donald M.;  
children, Shari Horner-Tisdale & Donald Jr.  
Occupation: Congressional Staff Assistant,  
1984 - 1986  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 428 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 598)  
Home Address: 3917 N. Elgin, Tulsa, OK 74101  
Home Phone: 918-425-8205  
Leadership Positions: Democrat Caucus Chair  
Committees: Appropriations, Business & Labor,  
Finance, Tourism



The gleaming towers of downtown Tulsa were built by oil money. To the north of central Tulsa are Lake Yabola and Mohawk Park, also built by oil with liberal assistance from nature and taxation. Tulsa has been referred to as the "Oil Capital of the World". Saudi Arabia might dispute that title, but there are still nearly 5,000 independent oil producers in Oklahoma. Production well-heads in the state are down substantially from two or three decades ago, although oil production itself is up from the bust. Tulsa, like the other major cities of the Oil Patch — New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, and Oklahoma City, is getting past the bad times of the past decade with a more diversified economy and stable (but not stellar) oil prices.

This district is unusual for Republican Tulsa. The incumbent, Maxine Cissel Horner (D-Tulsa), confronted no major party opposition for reelection. Horner has long been active in the various employment programs and served as a congressional aide prior to election to the Senate in 1986. She now chairs the Democratic Caucus. She chairs the Government Operations and Agency Oversight Committee and served on both Appropriations and Budget and the General Conference Committee on Appropriations (Natural Resources and Regulatory Services).



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Maxine Horner - D	unopposed	
1992	Maxine Horner - D	14,973	85.0%
	Curtis Mullins - I	2,632	15.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 22,444                      Republican: 5,264                      Independent: 2,308

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$8,901.97	\$19,208.52	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Medical PAC, \$1,200.00  
 Tulsa Gen. Drivers, Local 523, \$1,000.00  
 Bobby Woodward, Westview Partnership, \$1,000.00  
 Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE PAC, \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 6

**11th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$20,328	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 6%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 0%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 52%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Robert M. Kerr (D) 38th District

Hometown: Friendship, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1987  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: May 20, 1932  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Attended Altus Junior College;  
Oklahoma State University, B.S.  
Agriculture, 1976 - 1986  
Family: Married, Robbie Clay (Tinney);  
children, Robert Keith, Robin Markay,  
Rodger Tinney  
Occupation: Farmer; Real Estate Developer  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 412 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 612)  
Home Address: #1 Confederate Road,  
Altus, OK 73521  
Home Phone: 580-482-3966  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Rules  
Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural Development, Education, Rules, Select  
Committee on NAFTA, Tourism, Transportation, Veterans & Military Affairs &  
Public Safety



When Oklahoma first organized as a territory open for settlement, some of the lands in the state were in dispute. In southwest Oklahoma, Greer County was claimed by both Texas and Indian Territory. The dispute went to the Supreme Court, which in 1896 declared that Greer County was indeed part of Oklahoma. Since that time, Greer County proper has shrunk, being parted into Beckham, and Harmon Counties. These two counties, plus Jackson, Roger Mills, and Custer Counties and part of Dewey County, constitute the massive, horseshoe-shaped Senate District 38.

Ranching and agriculture are important out here, and there is still a substantial oil presence in Roger Mills. Jackson County is a strong player in the district, and Altus Air Force Base dominates Jackson County. Altus is the biggest employer in the district, although an agricultural economy is sustained in cotton, sorghum, and wheat.

The politics of the area are very southern. Democrats dominate registration and local offices, while Republicans have dominated presidential races since 1972. Independents run well here: Ross Perot ran ahead of his state average in Jackson County, and Wes Watkins pulled 30 percent of the District vote in 1994.

Incumbent Democrat Bob Kerr, proud bearer of a proud name, has represented his birthplace, Altus, in the Senate for a number of years. A farmer and developer, Kerr has chaired both the Agriculture and Rules Committees in the last decade, and on two occasions has stepped up to head the state Department of Agriculture on an interim basis. He currently chairs the Rules

Committee and served on the Judiciary and Public Safety and Law Enforcement Services Subcommittee of the General Conference Committee on Appropriations and the related subcommittee of Appropriations and Budget.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Robert M. Kerr - D	9,696	58.4%
	Don Black - R	6,920	41.6%

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$55,083.52	\$52,850.80	\$57.33

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Self-Employed Farmer

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Bankers PAC, \$1,150.00  
Oklahoma Hospital Association, \$800.00  
Democrats for the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00  
NRA PAC, \$1,000.00  
Jackson Real Estate, Weatherford, \$1,000.00  
Oklahoma Wheat Growers, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10  
Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 23

**38th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,744	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 22%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 15%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 14%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 6%	Percent Hispanic American: 9%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Owen Laughlin (R) 49th District

Hometown: Eldora, Iowa

Elected: 1997

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: January 8, 1951

Church: New Covenant Church, Woodward

Education: Attended Barkley College, Haviland, Kansas; graduated Southern Nazarene University, Bethany, B.A., 1973; Oklahoma City University, J.D., 1976

Family: Married, Charlette (Bronson)

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 521

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 626)

Home Address: 2201 S. W. Main,  
Woodward, OK 73801

Home Phone: 405-256-8498

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural Development, General Government,  
Tourism, Transportation, Wildlife



The late Texas comedian Grady Nutt observed of extreme western Oklahoma, "it contains a whole lot of nothing, which people put fences around, to keep your something off their nothing." The western counties of District 49 — Ellis, Cimarron, Texas, Beaver, Harper, Woods, Woodward, Dewey, and Major — reflect this observation.

The 49th District is one of the physically-largest state legislative districts in the United States. There are far more cattle than people. In 1930, these counties combined had almost twice as many residents as today, and, in the malapportioned state legislature of the 1930s, elected about 10 percent of the general assembly. Taking in extreme western Oklahoma (the Panhandle), this was the last part of the continental U. S. to be organized as a territory and have the rule of law brought to it. This is ranching and herding country. Almost 7 million acres of the district are dedicated to agriculture, although oil and natural gas also contribute to the economy. Texas County produces more natural gas than any county in the U.S.

In northwestern Oklahoma, local Republican officeholders are common (about 35 percent of local officials), and Republicans usually receive generous support in statewide races. The current incumbent has benefitted from this jayhawker tradition. A first-termer, who barely beat Don Williams for this seat, Owen Laughlin (R-Woodward) attended Southern Nazarene University and Oklahoma City University (Law School), and settled in Oklahoma. A former assistant district attorney, Laughlin is also a certified flight instructor. A member of both the Appropriations Committee and the General Government Committee, Laughlin was appointed to the Subcommittee on General Government of the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations.



## Keith C. Leftwich (D) 44th District

Hometown: Tinker AFB, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 6, 1954  
Church: United Methodist  
Education: attended University of Oklahoma;  
graduated Oklahoma City University, B.S.  
Family: Married, Debbe (McLain)  
Occupation: Legislator; Businessman  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1990 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 427 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 557)  
Home Address: 1424 S. W. 62nd St.,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73159  
Home Phone: 685-2104  
Leadership Positions: Majority Whip; Vice Chair,  
Transportation  
Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor,  
Human Resources, Rules, Small Business, Transportation



The residential area between I-35 and I-44, to the south of the Downtown Airpark is represented by Senate District 44. This area is less prosperous than the neighborhoods to the north, but still middle class. At the southern end of the district is the shiny campus of Oklahoma City Community College.

Unlike the House districts in this part of OKC, Senate District 44 was not crafted and molded to fit the needs requirements of population. Instead, it is nearly a model of compactness, taking in 16 square miles in a perimeter of 21 miles.

The senator from this south Oklahoma City district is Keith C. Leftwich. An Oklahoma City Democrat, Leftwich is the Majority Whip of the Senate. A broadcaster and stockbroker, he has been in the Senate since 1990, after serving a six-year stint in the state House. He is a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and Vice-Chair of the Transportation Committee. He also serves on several interim and special committees related to transportation issues.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Keith Leftwich - D	9,667	58.0%
	Scott P. Sanders - R	7,067	42.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 20,064                      Republican: 12,204                      Independent: 2,444

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$86,306.59	\$94,728.93	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

- LEGAL PAC, \$1,000.00
- Realtors PAC of Oklahoma, \$1,000.00
- Lawyers Encouraging Government and Law, \$2,500.00
- Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE PAC, \$1,000.00
- Democrats of the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00
- American Federation of State, County, and Federal Employees, \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**44th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,009	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 10%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 12%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 9%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 8%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Rick Littlefield (D) 1st District

Hometown: Vinita, Oklahoma

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: July 27, 1952

Church: Not available

Education: Attended Northeastern State University;

Northeastern Oklahoma A&M College;

Oklahoma Police Academy

Family: Married, Alicia (Gibbes);

children, Creed Steen

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Member, Oklahoma State Senate

1992 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 515 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 561)

Home Address: P. O. Box 1748, Grove, OK 74344

Home Phone: 918-257-5341

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, General Government,

Tourism, Transportation



This district, in the extreme northeast corner of the state, encompasses Delaware County, Ottawa County, and over half the residents of Craig County, including part of Vinita. This is an area with an especially strong Native American heritage: More Indian tribes have resided in Ottawa County than anywhere else in the U.S. One of the best-preserved stretches of Route 66 runs through the district in Afton. Residents in this district are also served by House Districts 5, 6, and 7.

Incomes here are higher than to the south, but public assistance nonetheless constitutes about 10 percent of total income in Ottawa County. Beef production, chicken processing, and dairying are the other major industries in the district. Crime rates here are low, but not as low as in some rural counties.

Most local offices are won and held by Democrats, and registered Democrats far outnumber Republicans. However, Democrats suffer from the debilitating disease noted by Rogers County son, Will Rogers, who said "I am a member of no organized party; I am a Democrat." Republican candidates have run well here at the national and statewide level, although this was one of Jack Mildren's best districts in the 1994 governor's race.

Rick Littlefield, a Democrat from Grove, was reelected to his second term in 1996 with over three-fourths of the votes. He had served in the House for eight years prior to election to the Senate. Littlefield chairs the Appropriations and Budget Subcommittee on Natural Resources and Regulatory Services. With Grand Lake in his district, he also serves on the Tourism and Recreation Committee. He is also a member of the Grand River Dam Authority Lakes Advisory Commission.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Rick Littlefield - D	18,991	75.4%
	Bob McDowell - R	6,210	24.6%
1992	Rick Littlefield - D	18,999	70.0%
	Kimberly McLain - R	8,155	30.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 29,168                      Republican: 10,337                      Independent: 1,935

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$35,976.32	\$37,227.28	\$10,037.01

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 13th Judicial District  
 Real estate (property sale)  
 Convenience Store  
 Petroleum Sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00  
 Oklahoma Phillips Petroleum Co. PAC, \$801.32  
 OKIE PAC, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 26

**1st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$23,614	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 28%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 30%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 3
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Lewis Long (D) 37th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: November 30, 1936  
Church: Olivet Baptist  
Education: Graduated Daniel Webster High School;  
cont. ed. in business, trade, and industry  
Family: Married, Patricia (Jarvis);  
children, Christina Francis & Kathy Smith  
Occupation: Independent Businessman  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 428  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 600)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 888, Glenpool, OK 74033  
Home Phone: 918-224-7986  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Business and Labor  
Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor,  
Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory  
Affairs, Judiciary, Rules, Wildlife



Tulsa County is shaped roughly like a “T”; the longer leg, to the west of downtown, is divided between two Senate districts, the 37th and the 33rd. District 37 takes in most of the western part of the “T”, except for a small stretch of land nearer downtown and to the north of the Arkansas River. The District stretches west from the neighborhoods around Chandler Park and Oakhurst. Then, the District traces along a section-wide stretch of land to the south and then broadens out to encompass all of south Tulsa county running over to Broken Arrow, which for intents and purposes could have its own district with a population of 60,000 residents.

Lewis Long, Jr. (D-Glenpool) is a successful businessman with union ties. In the Senate, he is appropriately placed. He chairs the Senate Business and Labor Committee, which, among other things, deals with the occasionally topical issue of right-to-work. He is also a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee, including being the Vice-Chair of the Human Service Subcommittee. He is currently chairing an interim study on the Oklahoma personnel system.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Lewis Long, Jr. - D	12,638	54.31%
	Tim Plinsky - R	10,630	45.69%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,079                      Republican: 14,488                      Independent: 2,198

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$106,225.52	\$103,429.66	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Commercial Real Estate, Tulsa, Sign Co.  
 Horse Sales and Racing

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

IBEW Education Committee PAC, \$2,700.00  
 Oklahoma United Auto Workers PAC, \$3,100.00  
 Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, \$5,000.00  
 Tulsa General Drivers, \$4,500.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$5,000.00  
 Pipe Liners Voluntary Fund, \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**37th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$31,359	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 17%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 66%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 18%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 23%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Jim Maddox (D) 32nd District

Hometown: Chickasha, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1995  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: October 23, 1938  
Church: none given  
Education: Graduated Southwestern State College,  
B.A., Speech Education  
Family: Married, Leslie (Hamm);  
children, Cathy Maddox Lindley, Debbie, Mike  
Occupation: Educator; Pest Control  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 514 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 567)  
Home Address: 803 N. W. 48th, Lawton, OK 73505  
Home Phone: 405-248-5188  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Small Business;  
Vice Chair, General Government  
Committees: Appropriations, Economic Development,  
General Government, Select Committee on NAFTA, Small Business, Sunset,  
Transportation



Lawton was founded in 1901 when the lands of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were opened to white settlement, and it is the third largest city in the state. Lawton relies heavily on the presence of Fort Sill to sustain its economy. However, unlike other military towns, Lawton is surprisingly tame. About a third of Lawton is in District 31; the balance, almost 70,000 people, live in District 32.

The Democrats dominate the local and state politics of Lawton. No Republican has ever been sent to the legislature from Comanche County. Often the Republicans do not field candidates. At the national level, the GOP has carried this district since 1968, while gubernatorial success is more fleeting.

Jim Maddox (D-Lawton), like several members of the Senate, started his legislative career in the House. Maddox did three terms in House District 62, leaving the seat in 1994 to move up to the Senate. He has been a successful legislator, serving on major committees and acting as Vice-Chair for General Government. He also serves as the Chair of the Small Business Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Jim Maddox - D	unopposed

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$65,045.54	\$63,501.69	\$1,708.85

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Maddox Pest Control (sale of business)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Bankers PAC, \$1,150.00  
 Southwestern Bell EMPAC, \$1,000.00  
 Oklahoma Dental PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Bill Bentley, Lawton Publishing Co., \$1,250.00  
 Tom Love, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 40

**32nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$29,719	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 14%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 25%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 72%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 16%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 20%
Percent African American: 18%	Percent Hispanic American: 7%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Carol Martin (R) 24th District

Hometown: Brownsville, Texas  
Elected: 1995  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: February 28, 1952  
Church: Ray of Hope Church, Comanche, OK  
Education: Graduated from Lawndale High School,  
Lawndale, CA, 1971  
Family: Married, W.J. (Billy)  
Occupation: Goldsmith; Jeweler; Retail Jewelry  
Store Owner  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 529 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 569)  
Home Address: Route 3, Box 24,  
Comanche, OK 73529  
Home Phone: 580-255-5658  
Leadership Positions: Minority Whip  
Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural  
Development, Education, Sunset, Tourism, Transportation



Take I-44 east from Lawton and you pass through the heart of the Chickasaw Nation. To the south of the interstate is Chickasha and Rush Springs; to the west, Anadarko. And, to the north, is a rural stretch of Grady County and the town of Union City in Canadian County. A narrow stretch of land running halfway across Oklahoma from Canadian County to the Texas border is Senate District 24.

This is agricultural country, with both large operations utilizing the huge irrigation and watering systems, and smaller scrub farms. Once upon a time the Big Pasture positively teemed with primordial beasts that surged up and down, bowing down their great steel heads and then surging up again, driving liquid crude from the ground. Hundreds of producing oil wells dotted Stephens and Jefferson Counties. Now the wild-catters are long gone, and oil sells for less than 20 percent of its 1980 price. Oil is still important (but not like the 1950s), as are agriculture and ranching.

Politics are still Democratic at the local level, with an overwhelming number of voters registered Democratic, and still voting somewhat Democratic at the top of the ticket when given a reason. However, this is country the Democrats should worry about. Republican legitimacy is gaining from the gubernatorial and presidential races. Republican Congressman J. C. Watts defied tradition here in 1996, nearly carrying the counties of District 51, including over 40 percent of registered Democrats. His support has continued to grow here since his corporation commission campaign in 1990. Given the right circumstances, Republicans can win in this part of Oklahoma.

A part of that circumstance is support from the Christian Coalition. Incumbent Republican Carol Martin (R-Comanche) was elected to the Senate in the Republican year of 1994 over a first-

term Democratic incumbent. She is next up for reelection in 1998. A businesswoman (before entering the Senate she owned a jewelry store), Martin has served on both Appropriations and Finance since entering the Senate. While the Senate is her first elective experience, Martin has extensive organizing experience, and is an active member of the Christian Coalition. Before she entered the Senate she had lobbied on right-to-life issues in the legislature. The continued presence of Christian candidates like Martin, who can mobilize that constituency, spells trouble for Democrats in rural Oklahoma. Within the Senate, Martin serves as the Minority Whip and has membership on both the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the General Conference Committee on Appropriations (1997). She also serves on the State Advisory Committee on Juvenile Justice.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Carol Martin - R	12,385	55.0%
	Larry Lawler - D	10,246	45.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 25,213    Republican: 9,650    Independent: 1,451

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$61,513.58	\$29,498.81	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

D.J. Hogstad, Elliot Manufactured Homes, \$2,100.00  
 Cecil Zachary, Elliot Manufactured Homes, \$1,500.00  
 Stephens County Republican Committee, \$1,196.78  
 Oklahoma State Republican Party, \$2,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90    OK Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 4    The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 80

**24th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$29,539	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 16%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 18%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 20%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 14%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Billy A. Mickel (D) 6th District

Hometown: London, England  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 7, 1945  
Church: Not Available  
Education: Graduated Eastern State College A.S.;  
Northeastern State College, B.S.; Oklahoma City  
University, J.D.  
Family: Married, Fran (Bailey); children, Matt  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 423  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 586)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 207, Durant, OK 74702  
Home Phone: 918-924-2878  
Leadership Positions: Majority Floor Leader  
Committees: Appropriations



Little Dixie stretches west from the Arkansas border to the Chisholm trail. The geographic heart of this region is five counties — Atoka, Bryan, Coal, Johnston, and Marshall — that constitute Senate District 6.

Coal mining was once a major industry in south-central Oklahoma. However, a lot of the mines closed 70 years ago, and many residents either left or turned to farming. Unemployment is lower than the state average, but far higher in Coal County than elsewhere in the district, where textile and mineral extraction create jobs. Bryan County, nestled on the Texas border where the Blue and Red rivers converge, has incomes above the average for Little Dixie, and low unemployment thanks to the presence of several manufacturing concerns and the presence of Southeastern Oklahoma State University. Oil has been very important in this part of the state, and the local economies also rely on the extraction of oil, natural gas, and propane, as well as agriculture and manufacturing.

Democrats dominate politics here, and outnumber registered Republicans almost 9 to 1. Republicans have not carried the district for any major office in living memory. That loyalty may be soft. All of the local officials here are Democratic, but this area, like so much of south Oklahoma, has a Dixified habit of increasingly voting Republican at the national level. National and state Democrats still win in this district, but the margins pale compared to thirty years ago. In 1994 Wes Watkins carried over half of the district vote as an independent. This area is also represented in the House by Districts 20, 21, and 49.

Incumbent Billy Mickel (D) did not face the voters in 1996, and will next be on the ballot in 1998. In the meantime, he serves as the Majority Floor Leader. He also served on the General Conference Committee on Appropriations (Subcommittee on Judiciary, Public Safety, and Law Enforcement Services) in 1997. Mickel, an attorney by profession, has served in the Senate since 1989. Prior to election, he served in a number of local positions, including Mayor of Durant and as an Associate District Judge.



**Electoral History**

Year      Candidate  
 1994      Billy Mickle - D

Vote  
 unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 36,290

Republican: 3,717

Independent: 1,488

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

Contributions  
 \$53,445.00

Expenditures  
 \$12,006.10

Funds Remaining  
 \$45,724.62

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Mickel, Rainbolt, and Wilhite Law Firm  
 FYI Marketers, Inc.  
 Sooner Acquisition

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

CPA PAC, \$1,200.00  
 NRA PAC, \$2,000.00  
 OKIE PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Byron Wilhite, \$1,700.00  
 Allen Wheeler, \$5,000.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$5,000.00  
 Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Oklahoma Employees Association, \$1,250.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**6th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$22,311	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 25%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 10%
Percent Over Age 55: 28%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 37%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Robert V. Milacek (R) 19th District

Hometown: Enid, Oklahoma

Elected: 1997

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: January 17, 1942

Church: St. Gregory the Avant, Enid

Education: Graduated Panhandle State University,  
B.S.; Phillips University, Masters degree

Family: Married, Linda G. (Petersen);  
children, Pam, Kim, Stephanie

Occupation: Farmer; Educator; Crop Insurance

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 512

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 630)

Home Address: Route 2, Box 64,  
Waukomis, OK 73773

Home Phone: 405-758-3762

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural

Development, Business and Labor, Economic Development, Finance, Government  
Operations



The land that traces the southern shore of the Arkansas River is rich with agriculture and cattle ranching. All of Garfield County and parts of Noble, Logan, and Kingfisher counties make up District 19. Garfield County provides most of the district population, but Noble County has provided a lot of the political distinction. Two governors, two congressmen, and a U.S. Senator have been provided by this tiny county that contains less than 1/2 percent of the state's population.

Incumbent Ed Long (D-Enid) was opposed for reelection by Robert Milacek (R-Waukomis), an instructor at Phillips University. Ed Long hoped to be starting his third term in the Senate, where he chaired the Education Committee starting in 45th Legislature. Three-term former state representative Robert Milacek ended those aspirations, unseating Long and returning the Garfield county seat to its Republican roots. A farmer and former educator, the new senator sits on the Agriculture and Rural Development, Appropriations, and Business and Labor Committees, among others. Milacek also gained appointment to the Joint Legislative Oversight Committee on Forest Reserve Lands.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Robert Milacek - R	13,551	53.2%
	Ed Long - D	11,912	46.8%
1992	Ed Long -D	19,072	65.0%
	Jim McBlair - R	10,181	35.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 16,092                      Republican: 19,687                      Independent: 1,652

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$56,020.41	\$51,296.01	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Farming  
Retirement (public schools)  
Oil and Gas (oil lease)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Republican Party, \$2,098.87  
Myra and Lew Word, \$1,500.00  
State Employees Rights Campaign, \$1,759.12  
William R. Bartmann, Commercial Financial Services, \$2,000.00  
Oklahoma State Republican Senatorial Committee PAC, \$4,800.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 60

**19th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,587	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 21%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 11%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Angela Monson (D) 48th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1993  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 31, 1955  
Church: Baptist  
Education: Oklahoma City University, B.S.;  
University of Oklahoma, M.P.A.  
Family: single  
Occupation: Government Service  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 514 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 531)  
Home Address: 720 N. E. 42nd,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73105  
Home Phone: 405-427-3575  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Business and Labor  
Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural  
Development, Business and Labor, Government  
Operations, Human Resources, Judiciary, Small Business



This is a sizeable district that lies to the northeast of Oklahoma City, and centers on Lake Aluma. Neighborhoods here are somewhat more worn than in much of the city, and residual of an ancient past of Jim Crow segregation lives on in the housing patterns of this part of Oklahoma County. There is a substantial black population here, and the elections are typically decided in the Democratic Party primary.

Angela Monson (D-Oklahoma City) has served in the Senate since 1993. Previously, she held an Oklahoma City House seat from 1990-1993. Monson is a fiscal analyst by trade and holds a masters degree in Public Administration. She quickly established herself in the leadership structure, chairing the Retirement and Group Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee and serving as Vice Chair of Business and Labor after less than three years in the Senate. A hard-working and articulate advocate for issues she finds important, Monson is leading a large number of interim studies and special committees, many in the area of health insurance. For her efforts in this area, Frosty Troy named her one of the top legislators for 1997. She also is one of five members of the Black Legislative Caucus.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Angela Monson - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 24,190	Republican: 7,009	Independent: 2,132
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**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$27,474.20	\$27,465.71	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Oklahoma City Community Foundation

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OKIE PAC, \$750.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$5,000.00  
 OEA PAC, \$500.00  
 Willco OK PAC, \$500.00  
 Oklahoma State Employees PAC, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 13

**48th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,682	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 22%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 12%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 27%
Percent African American: 62%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Mike Morgan (D) 21st District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: January 26, 1955  
Church: First United Methodist Church  
Education: Graduated Oklahoma State University,  
B.S., 1976; University of Tulsa, J.D., 1979  
Family: Children, Abby Dawn  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 520  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 572)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 1507  
Stillwater, OK 74076  
Home Phone: 405-743-3770  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Education  
Committees: Appropriations, Education, Energy,  
Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs,  
Judiciary, Small Business, Wildlife



Stillwater, in Payne County, is the home of Oklahoma State University, which is also the largest employer in the county. In 1990, Payne County was just big enough to create a Senate district; however, the legislature split it in two, with Stillwater and western Payne County joining the small portion of Logan County containing Langston University to create District 21.

Oil was discovered here, and there is also agriculture. However, there are also the consequences of rapid development. Some environmental damage is still evident from the polluting practices of refineries in the 1920s and 1930s.

Politics here leans Democratic, with Republicans having success in state and local offices. The extent of this partisanship is evident from the experiences of Stillwater resident, Wes Watkins. Watkins pulled a plurality countywide in his 1994 gubernatorial bid, but this was the weakest county for Watkins in his old congressional district. He then carried a solid majority in the 3rd District part of Stillwater in 1996.

The senator from this district was a Democrat, incumbent Bernice Shedrick (D-Stillwater), who served in the Senate for nearly two decades. This former school teacher went to law school as a freshman legislator, and learned well: she chaired the Senate Judiciary Committee starting in the 45th Legislature. She did not seek a fifth term in the Senate.

Four candidates — two Democrats, two Republicans — sought to succeed her in office. On the Democratic side, Terry Hyman, a coordinator of student projects at OSU, opposed Mike Morgan, a local attorney. In the Republican Primary, Sandy McIlnay of Stillwater opposed insurance man Randy Wedel.

Morgan emerged from this field to retain the seat for the Democrats. An attorney with a J.D. from University of Tulsa, he entered the Senate after twelve years of prior public service as a municipal court judge in Stillwater. Having emerged victorious by only a handful of votes,

Morgan was fortunate to gain favorable committee assignment for his educationally-conscious constituents. He has positioned himself on the important Appropriations Committee, and was named vice-chair of Education.

<b>Electoral History</b>			
<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mike Morgan - D	12,944	50.0%
	Randy Wedel - R	12,912	49.9%
1992	Bearnice Shedrick - D	18,170	56.0%
	Gary McCune - R	14,153	44.0%

<b>1996 Campaign Financial History</b>		
<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$100,427.00	\$84,498.00	\$25.43

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 City of Stillwater  
 Ellis and Morgan Law Practice

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Hal Ellis, attorney, \$1,250.00  
 Leon Rogers, Action Inc., \$1,100.00  
 David & Cherry Cockrell, optometrist, \$1,000.00  
 Larry & Diane Witt, abstractor, \$1,800.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

<b>21st District Profile</b>	
Median Household Income: \$26,474	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 33%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 74%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 18%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 23%
Percent African American: 7%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Paul Muegge (D) 20th District

Hometown: Lamont, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1991  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: September 28, 1936  
Church: none given  
Education: Graduated Oklahoma State University,  
1958, B.S., Agriculture Economics  
Family: Married, Nancy (Voorhees);  
children, Timothy, Jeffrey, Shawn Kent,  
Amy Kristen  
Occupation: Farmer  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 513 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 628)  
Home Address: 1310 E. Tonkawa,  
Tonkawa, OK 74653  
Home Phone: 405-628-3600  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Agriculture and Rural  
Development; V-Chair, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs  
Committees: Agriculture and Rural Development, Business and Labor, Energy,  
Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, Finance, Select Committee on  
NAFTA



Ponca City is the home of one of the most powerful politicians in America, the Assistant Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate, Don Nickles. Other Republicans do well here, routinely winning local and statewide. Ponca City grew up as a trading town located between Wichita, Kansas, and Oklahoma City. The discovery of gas and oil in the 1920s set this city on the road to industrialization and economic prosperity. Incomes in the district are just below that for the more prosperous districts in Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

The 1990 census indicated that there were about 50,000 people in Kay County. When district boundaries were drawn, the county was partitioned into two Senate districts. Ponca City, the major town in Kay County, is divided by those districts. District 20 stretches west from Ponca City for over 100 miles.

At the height of the New Deal, Republicans were wiped out in a variety of states, especially in the south and border south. However, even throughout the Great Depression and the New Deal, a tier of Oklahoma counties along the Kansas border elected Republicans to local and state legislative offices, and had a brief flirtation with FDR's brand of social salvation. Alfalfa and Grant counties are among the most historically Republican counties in Oklahoma. Today they are paired with portions of Kay County and Major County to form a predominantly Republican Senate district.

National Democrats have run closer to Ross Perot and Wes Watkins than to the GOP front-runners. These were Watkins' strongest counties outside Little Dixie in 1994. Paul Muegge (D-Lamont) has served in the legislature since 1991. He comes up for reelection again in 1998. A farmer, he has an Agriculture Economics degree from Oklahoma State University, and currently



serves as the chairman of the Senate committee on Agriculture and Rural Development. He is active in any number of agricultural organizations including chairing an interim study on confined animal feeding operations.

#### Electoral History

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1994	Paul Muegge - D	12,005	51.0%
	William P. Connor - R	11,563	49.0%

#### District Voter Registration

Democrat: 18,656                      Republican: 19,390                      Independent: 2,247

#### 1994 Campaign Financial History

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$66,301.88	\$65,060.93	\$0.00

#### Personal Financial History

Oklahoma State Senate  
Paul Muegge, farmer, Tonkawa

#### Major Sources of Campaign Contributions

Southard Enterprises, \$1,000.00  
Neal Harrison, \$1,000.00  
Fred L. Boettcher, \$1,000.00  
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, \$5,000.00  
Democrats of the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00

#### 1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

### 20th District Profile

Median Household Income: \$28,751	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 23%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 24%	Percent Employed in Service: 57%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 15%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 35%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Bruce Price (D) 23rd District

Hometown: Lookeba, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1993  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: November 2, 1942  
Church: First Baptist, Hinton  
Education: Graduated Oklahoma State University,  
1965, B.S., Agronomy  
Family: Children, Shana, Tracy, Wade  
Occupation: Farmer; Businessman  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 515 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 537)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 160, Hinton, OK 73047  
Home Phone: 405-542-3399  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Select Committee on  
NAFTA; Vice Chair, Agriculture and Rural  
Development; Vice Chair, Small Business  
Committees: Appropriations, Agriculture and Rural Development, Business and Labor,  
Finance, Select Committee on NAFTA, Small Business, Tourism



Caddo County is sufficiently large to make up over half of a Senate district; however, it finds itself split in the modern Oklahoma legislature. District 23 takes in much of Caddo County, plus parts of Grady, Canadian, and Blaine counties to create a district that rests on the upper reaches on the Anadarko Basin.

Republicans have been increasingly competitive in this area. The gubernatorial vote in Caddo County was nearly evenly split among the three candidates in 1994, with less than 100 votes separating the three candidates (out of 7,900 cast).

The economy is tied to the performance of petroleum. There is still a great deal of oil and gas exploration here. One of the largest employers out here is U.S. Gypsum; the largest gypsum deposit in the U.S. is in Blaine County. Even in the wake of the oil bust, incomes are higher than in most of the state.

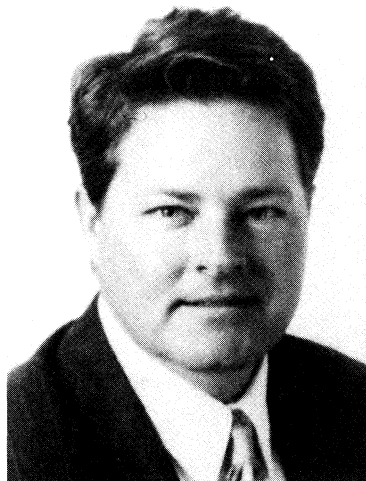
Politics is competitive, with Democrats and Republicans both doing well. More recently, Democrats have prevailed in the local races while Republicans have done well in statewide contests.

Bruce Price (D-Hinton) has served in the Senate since 1993. In the 45th Legislature he chaired two special committees: the Joint Committee on Federal Funds and the Select Senate Committee on NAFTA. He is also vice chairman for Agriculture and Rural Development. A farmer and a businessman, Hinton has been active both in agricultural organizations and community affairs. He currently chairs the Select Agencies Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and served on the General Government Subcommittee of the General Conference Committee on Appropriations. He is also chair of the Select Committee on NAFTA and vice-chair of the Small Business Committee.



## Jeff Rabon (D) 5th District

Hometown: Hugo, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: May 18, 1962  
Church: St. Mark Episcopal  
Education: Attended Oklahoma State University,  
1980 - 1985  
Family: Married, Dana (Bates); children, Jeff II  
Occupation: Consultant / Legislator  
Political Career: Member, Oklahoma State Senate  
1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 421  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 614)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 416, Hugo, OK 74743  
Home Phone: 680-326-6779  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Tourism  
Committees: Appropriations, General Government,  
Tourism and Recreation, Transportation, Wildlife



Who were the mysterious people who built the Caddoan mounds? These gracious monuments of a past civilization are nestled in McCurtain County, the far-southeastern corner of Oklahoma. The district encompasses four counties: Pushmataha, Choctaw, the southeast corner of Atoka, and McCurtain County.

Forestry and agriculture are part of a fairly diverse economy that also includes tire manufacturing and garments. This is poor country. Average incomes were less than \$9,000 in 1990, and the divorce rate compared to marriages is high. Property values were declining in the first part of the decade. Choctaw County is the economically less-developed part of the district, relying mainly on agriculture. Agriculture is also the basis of the economy in Pushmataha, but manufacturing helps to keep unemployment low.

If the Caddoan mound-builders were around today, they would probably be members of the Democratic party, another ancient monument in this distinctly Southern part of Oklahoma. Like much of Little Dixie, Democrats dominate local and legislative races. However, that loyalty is as much to individuals as to party. Independent Wes Watkins won an easy majority of the vote in this district in 1994, and he ran ahead of the rest of the GOP ticket here in his 1996 congressional bid. This part of Little Dixie is also represented by House Districts 1, 19, and 20.

Incumbent Jack Bell (D-Idabel) was opposed in the Democratic primary by Jeff Rabon (D-Hugo), a "legislative consultant." Jeff W. Rabon defeated Bell. The new incumbent Democrat from Hugo has an impressive political resume. At various times he served on the staffs of Democrats Bill Brewster (Democratic congressman from Little Dixie), Jack Mildren (former Lieut. Governor), and former senator David Boren, and he also worked for the NRA. Much of that experience was in campaign and field representative work which is considered to be the ideal vehicle for cultivating future campaign skills. Rabon's success earned him a seat on the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the vice-chairmanship of the Tourism and Recreation Committee. Rabon also chairs the Joint Legislative Oversight Committee on Forest Reserve Land.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Jeff Rabon - D	unopposed
1992	Jack Bell - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 33,952                      Republican: 2,015                      Independent: 1,002

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$61,895.66	\$52,504.49	\$5,077.05

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Chickasaw Nation, lobbyist

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Tribal Alliance for Sovereignty, \$2,000.00  
Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, \$5,000.00  
Chickasaw Nation of Oklahoma, \$1,000.00  
Jane Dillard, Choctaw Gaming, \$1,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 16

**5th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$20,610	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 7%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 12%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 27%	Percent Employed in Service: 58%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 34%
Percent African American: 9%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Darryl F. Roberts (D) 14th District

Hometown: Dallas, Texas  
Elected: 1982  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: November 9, 1944  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Graduated Southeastern Oklahoma State University, B.S., 1968; University of Oklahoma, J.D., 1974  
Family: Married, Kathleen M. (Forrestal); children, Jill & Allison  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate 1982 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 416  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 607)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 1568, Ardmore, OK 73402  
Home Phone: 405-223-5521  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, Economic Development, Education, Judiciary, Rules, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public Safety



The Washita River flows from the Texas Panhandle across south central Oklahoma, and then passes through the Arbuckle Mountains south of Pauls Valley. Senate District 14 traces this valley all the way to Lake Texhoma.

Oil has been very important in this part of the state. Local economies still rely on the extraction of oil, natural gas, and propane, as well as agriculture and manufacturing. This area prospered from oil early in the history of Oklahoma. Heaton field once produced over 95,000 barrels of oil a day. Despite the early presence of oil, the economy is diversified, with manufacturers and agriculture.

Even here on the western edge of Little Dixie, local politics are Democratic. All of the local officials here are Democratic. This area habitually votes Democratic "where they know ya" while voting Republican at the national level. However, national and statewide politics are trending Republican, Frank Keating ran well here in 1994, and Bill Clinton ran behind his performance in the rest of Little Dixie. Redistricting will probably push the district further to the north to increase its population in 2002.

Darryl Roberts (D-Ardmore) has served in the Senate since 1982. He defeated the Democratic Majority Leader to enter the Senate, and, six years later, had not only the 14th District seat, but also the job as Majority Leader, which he held until 1994. Roberts was reelected without opposition in 1994. He failed in a bid to be elected to the U.S. Congress in 1996, and is next up for reelection to the state senate in 1998. Currently, he is active on education issues and chairs the Education Subcommittee on both the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations.

moved from Dallas to Oklahoma to attend school, and, with the exception of his tour in the Marines, never left.

In 1996, Roberts tried to move up the political ladder to the U.S. Congress, seeking the open 3rd district seat in Little Dixie. Roberts won the Democratic primary runoff handily, and, in any other year, would have had a well-financed campaign for election. However, Roberts could not overcome former congressman (and former Democrat) Wes Watkins' substantial spending advantage in the general election. Roberts ran strongest in the parts of the 3rd where Bill Clinton ran strong, and ran especially well in the central part of the district. All indications are that Roberts has ruled out a run for statewide office in 1998.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Darryl Roberts - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 32,303                      Republican: 6,180                      Independent: 1,650

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$1,300.00	\$12,059.51	\$5,408.51

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Darryl F. Roberts Law Office

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Stratton Taylor, \$500.00  
OK AGC PAC, \$500.00  
Gerald Grimes, \$500.00  
Union Pacific Fund, \$800.00  
Oklahoma Opthamologists PAC, \$500.00  
Southwestern Bell EMPAC, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

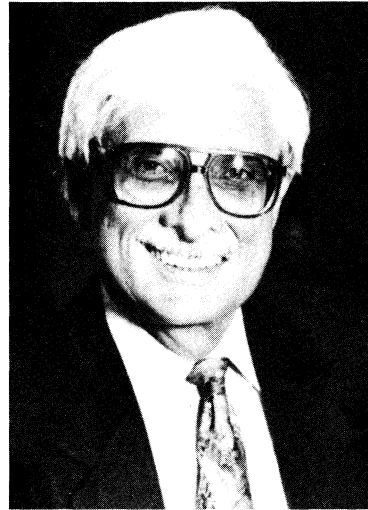
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**14th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,481	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 61%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 13%
Percent Over Age 55: 27%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 6%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Ben H. Robinson (D) 9th District

Hometown: Sapulpa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 23, 1934  
Church: St. Paul United Methodist Church  
Education: University of Missouri, B.S., 1960  
Family: Married, Marcia Lee (Henley);  
children, Chanda Lyn & Bret Harton  
Occupation: Independent Insurance Agent,  
Muskogee and Tahlequah  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 511  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 533)  
Home Address: P. O. Box Drawer X,  
Muskogee, OK 74402  
Home Phone: 918-683-3856  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Deregulation;  
Vice Chair, Finance  
Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, Education, Finance, Human Resources, Rules



District 9 and Muskogee County are one and the same. Increasingly part of metro Tulsa, this area has a rich history and a strong independent economic presence in the form of the Port of Muskogee.

This district has been voting Republican in presidential elections since the 1960s, and went Republican in two of the past three gubernatorial contests. Local politics is still decidedly Democratic. There are no locally elected Republicans. Still, the potential for Republican growth exists, although it is difficult to link a conservative small-town legislator to the national Democratic Party in a constituency where everyone “knows better”. This district is also represented in the House by Districts 13, 14, and 15.

Ben “Bulldog” Robinson, a Muskogee Democrat, is having a second political career in a second state. Robinson was a local elected official in Boonville, Missouri, in the 1960s. However, this expatriate politician has a diversity of talents. He is also active in community theater. Robinson chairs the Appropriations Subcommittee for Human Resources, and also serves on the Finance Committee. Incumbent Robinson was opposed for reelection by Debra Lienhart (R), a 37-year-old homemaker from Haskell. Robinson captured over three-fourths of the votes to be elected to his third term. He is an independent insurance agent. He chairs the Health and Social Service Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and chaired the Subcommittee on Health and Human Services of the General Conference Committee on Appropriations in 1997. He also serves as vice-chair of both the Finance and Deregulation Committees. He is a member of the Joint Committee on Federal Funds.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Ben Robinson - D	17,403	79.2%
	Debra Lienhart - R	6,705	27.8%
1992	Ben Robinson - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 29,603                      Republican: 7,497                      Independent: 1,951

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$103,622.00	\$97,430.00	\$8,070.65

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 The Insurance Place (insurance salary)  
 Beckman Agency (insurance commissions)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, \$5,000.00  
 Oklahoma Campaign Democratic Committee, \$5,000.00  
 Columbia HCA OK Good Government Fund, \$1,000.00  
 DRIVE PAC, \$1,000.00  
 David M. Garrett, \$1,700.00  
 Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 33  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 13

**9th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,051	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 14%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Herb Rozell (D) 3rd District

Hometown: Welling, Oklahoma

Elected: 1976

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: November 30, 1931

Religion: Baptist

Education: Graduated Northeastern Oklahoma State University, B.S. Education, 1954; M.Ed. 1967; attended University of Arkansas, 1970 - 1971, graduate work

Family: Married, Carol Margaret (Randall); children, Mike & Rene

Occupation: Teacher; Contractor; Rancher

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1977 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 424

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 574)

Home Address: 1106 W. 4th St.

Tahlequah, OK 74464

Home Phone: 918-456-8408

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Floor Leader

Committees: Appropriations, Finance, General Government, Government Operations, Rules, Tourism



This district, nestled on the Arkansas border, includes all of Adair and Cherokee counties and the northern half of Sequoyah County. Cattle ranching and horse breeding are popular activities here, and the first parimutuel track in Oklahoma was established in this district. District residents are represented in the House in Districts 2, 4, and 86.

The district media comes from two directions — Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Tulsa — which historically meant that state legislators from this district did not have great attention brought to their activities in Oklahoma City.

Republican party politics are also emerging, Democrats still far outnumber Republicans here by registration, but the GOP has a long record of gubernatorial and presidential competitiveness in the district. Republicans won control of the county commission in Adair, but have had far less success in the other parts of the district. No Republican has ever represented Sequoyah County in the legislature.

Incumbent Herb Rozell (D-Tahlequah) was challenged for reelection by Republican Tom Gann, a Fort Gibson property manager, in 1996. Rozell garnered nearly 60 percent of the votes in that contest. A teacher, coach, and principal by background, Rozell has served in the Senate since 1977. He is currently the Assistant Majority Floor Leader. He also chairs the Deregulation Committee and is vice-chair of the Wildlife Committee. He is also involved in corrections issues.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Herb Rozell - D	14,453	59.2%
	Tom Gann - R	9,972	40.8%
1992	Herb Rozell - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 28,434                      Republican: 9,193                      Independent: 1,711

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$49,508.90	\$28,963.88	\$22,507.54

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Glenpool Management, Nursing Home, partnership  
 Glenpool Health Care, Nursing Home, shareholder  
 Oklahoma Teacher's Retirement

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00  
 Democrats of the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00  
 Cherokee County Federated Women's Democratic Club, \$3,500.00  
 Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE PAC, \$1,000.00  
 Phillip M. Green, \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition: 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**3rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$23,531	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 25%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Frank Shurden (D) 8th District

Hometown: Henryetta, Oklahoma

Elected: 1987

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: October 8, 1940

Church: Baptist

Education: Attended Northern Oklahoma Junior College, Associate of Commerce, 1960; Northeastern Oklahoma State University, Business Management, 1962

Family: Married, Kathryn; children, Mark Denney, Todd Alan, Shelly Ann, Susan Denise, Autumn Marie, Winter Falene, Mandy Dawn

Occupation: Rancher

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 412

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 588)

Home Address: 506 W. Division  
Henryetta, OK 74437

Home Phone: 918-652-3588

Leadership Positions: Chair, Wildlife

Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, Rules, Sunset, Transportation, Wildlife



Okmulgee and McIntosh counties, parts of Okfuskee County and Tulsa County, and southwestern Wagoner County make up Senate District 8. Okmulgee County is the core of this oddly-shaped district. Well over half of the district residents are from this county. The district is another example of redistricting artistry, using a “bottleneck”—a thin stretch of land connecting two larger areas—to link southwest Wagoner County via a land bridge with the bulk of the county. This contortion, which takes the district into Tulsa County, leaves Muskogee County intact as a Senate district.

This is country originally settled by the Creek. The county seat and principal city in the district, Okmulgee, is where the Creek Tribe has always maintained its capital. To date no tornado has ever struck the city, verifying the judgement of tribal decision makers. Shipping is an important industry here. Deaths exceed births, and divorce is on a pace with marriages here. Unemployment is typically high compared to much of the state. This area is represented in the House by Districts 15, 16, and 24.

Incumbent Frank Shurden (D) was reelected to a third term in 1994 and faces reelection in 1998. Shurden is a rancher with an extensive history in government. A legislator for nearly 20 years, he also served as a school board member in Hanna during the early 1970s. Shurden initially entered the legislature as a house member in 1979. In 1986, he stepped up to the Senate. Within three years he was a committee chair, taking over Wildlife. He returned to that chairmanship in 1995. He also served on the General Conference Committee on Appropriations in 1997. Shurden is the vice-chair of the Battlefield Preservation and Development Commission.

**Electoral History**

Year      Candidate  
 1994      Frank Shurden - D

Vote  
 unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 32,407

Republican: 6,809

Independent: 1,549

**1994 Campaign Financial History**

Contributions  
 \$19,048.00

Expenditures  
 \$12,557.64

Funds Remaining  
 \$10,0008.81

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

H.O.U.N.D. Trust, \$500.00  
 Oklahoma Optometric PAC, \$500.00  
 Harry Brotton, \$500.00  
 Stratton Taylor, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 5      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 50

**8th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$23,177	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 25%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 28%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 35%
Percent African American: 10%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Jerry L. Smith (R) 39th District

Hometown: Muskogee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1981  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: December 6, 1943  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Graduated Oklahoma State University, 1967, B.A.; University of Tulsa, 1970, J.D.  
Family: Married, Sally (Howe); children, Tucker  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate 1981 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 528 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 620)  
Home Address: 1424 Terrace Dr., Tulsa, OK 74104  
Home Phone: 918-749-3528  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Judiciary  
Committees: Appropriations, Deregulation, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory Affairs, General Government, Judiciary, Rules, Small Business



House District 39 takes parts of Tulsa, and then runs southeast toward Broken Arrow. Jerry L. Smith (R-Tulsa) is an attorney by trade, educated at OSU and the University of Tulsa. He was elected to the House in 1972, just two years after completing Law School at TU; he was the Republican House Whip in the 35th Legislature. Smith entered the Senate in 1981, and by 1983 he was the GOP Whip. He was Assistant Floor Leader in 1985, and Floor Leader in 1987. Currently he is vice-chairman of Judiciary and a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He also serves on a variety of interim study committees including those dealing with sex offender registration and victims' rights.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Jerry L. Smith - R	20,147	73.0%
	Jon Zelis - D	7,463	27.0%
1992	Jerry L. Smith - R	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 15,683                      Republican: 23,982                      Independent: 2,315

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$32,640.66	\$39,856.27	\$15,047.39

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
Tulsa County / County Clerk

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma Independent Energy PAC, \$1,000.00  
LEGAL PAC, \$2,500.00  
Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00  
Oklahoma State Republican Senatorial Committee, \$1,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 66  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 73

**39th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$39,898	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 28%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 41%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 77%
Percent Employed in Government: 2%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 24%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 22%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Mark Snyder (R) 41st District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: August 14, 1946  
Church: Not Available  
Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.,  
Hotel and Restaurant Administration  
Family: Married Dianne (Garmany);  
children, Shele & Leah  
Occupation: Independent Life and Health  
Insurance Agent  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 527 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 622)  
Home Address: 520 W. 8th, Edmond, OK 73034  
Home Phone: 405-348-2878  
Leadership Positions: Assistant Minority Floor Leader;  
Vice Chair, Government Operations  
Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor, Economic Development, Government  
Operations, Rules, Small Business, Transportation



The town of Edmond “sprang up overnight” in 1891. A product of the great Oklahoma land rush, Edmond was founded in a day around the Santa Fe railroad station. Now, it is one of the more prosperous suburban adjuncts to Oklahoma City, but nonetheless possessed by a distinctiveness that indicates that it is a place separate from its urban neighbor. The University of Central Oklahoma is located here.

In the House, Edmond is divided among several legislative districts, while in the Senate it is largely unified in District 41. The incumbent here reflects the Republican nature of local politics. Mark S. Snyder (R-Edmond) is completing ten years as a legislator from Edmond. He got his start as a young city councilor in Edmond in the late 1970s. Elected in a special election in late 1989, this former hardware store owner and insurance agent serves as the Assistant Floor Leader for the GOP and as vice-chair of the Senate Government Operations and Agency Oversight Committee. He is a member of the Education Subcommittee of both the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the 1997 General Conference Committee on Appropriations. He is also a member of the interim study on Elementary and Independent School Districts Financial Equity Issues.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Mark Snyder - R	unopposed
1992	Mark Snyder - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,204                      Republican: 29,829                      Independent: 2,832

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$16,225.00	\$16,225.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Snyder Barnes Insurance / life & health ins., sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Ronnie Nutt, contractor, \$500.00  
 Debra S. Mitchell, M.D., \$500.00  
 James S. Logan, \$500.00  
 Robert E. Howard, II, \$500.00  
 Oklahoma Medical PAC, \$400.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 53

**41st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$47,123	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 34%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 7%	Percent College-Educated: 46%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 13%	Percent Employed in Service: 74%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 13%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 15%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Gene Stipe (D) 7th District

Hometown: Blanco, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1956  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: October 21, 1926  
Church: First Baptist Church of McAlester  
Education: Graduated University of Oklahoma, 1949  
Family: Married, Agnes Leota (Minter);  
children, Mary Elizabeth  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1957 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 418  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 604)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 1368, McAlester, OK 74502  
Home Phone: 918-423-6368  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Transportation  
Committees: Appropriations, Business and Labor,  
Human Resources, Rules, Transportation



This district, centered on Pittsburg County and the town of McAlester, also includes all of Haskell and Latimer counties, and parts of Atoka and Coal counties. House Districts 15, 17, 18, and 20 also represent the residents of this area.

This area was first settled by Creeks, and later by the Choctaw. The county seat of McIntosh, Eufaula, takes its name from an old Creek town in Alabama. McAlester is the unofficial capital of Little Dixie. The politics here are overwhelmingly Democratic, and McAlester has a tradition of producing politicians that make their mark in state politics.

Agriculture, especially cash crops and meat processing (the McAlester Union Stockyards are among the largest in the Southwest), are important to the local economy. The economy here includes meat packing, milling, and shipping. Incomes are below the state average. This is an area that also collects government institutions. The U.S. Army has a large ammunition plant here, and the Oklahoma State Penitentiary is a major presence.

All local officials in the area are Democrats and have been for as long as anyone can remember. Richard Nixon carried this district in 1972, but even then George McGovern ran ahead of his statewide performance. The county has been solidly Democratic in presidential elections since then. Independent Wes Watkins carried a plurality of the vote here in 1994. Ross Perot (1992) and George Wallace (1968) both ran ahead of their statewide performances in Pittsburg County.

McAlester Democrat Gene Stipe reigns as one of the most enduring legislators in American history. Universally acclaimed as the Dean of the Senate and the Dean of the Legislature, Stipe is the longest-serving public official in Oklahoma history. Initially entering the Oklahoma House in 1949 at the age of 23, he moved to the Senate after a 1956 special election, and has been there ever since. The 1995 defeat of Louisiana state representative, B.B. "Sixty" Rayburn left Stipe as the longest-serving state legislator in the South. Stipe is also one of the most successful attorneys in the state, having handled numerous large cases including the Mullendore Case, which is cited in the Guinness Book of World Records. Stipe has chaired numerous committees in the Senate, and formally served in both the House and Senate leadership. It almost goes without saying

that this man understands Oklahoma politics better than anyone.

Senator Stipe confronted numerous opponents for reelection. In the primary, Democrats Cliff Davis, a college administrator, and Ken McDonald, a Hartshome businessman, challenged the incumbent. On the Republican side, Pat Key, a Christian school administrator, and Bill Stone, a Krebs maintenance man, vied for the right to challenge Stipe in the general election. After two vigorous campaigns, Stipe was returned to the Senate. A major power in state politics even without formal positions, Stipe chairs the Transportation Committee, serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee, and, in 1997, on the General Conference Committee on Appropriations.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Gene Stipe - D	14,780	56.3%
	Pat Key - R	11,463	43.7%
1992	Gene Stipe - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 38,773                      Republican: 3,838                      Independent: 1,231

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$277,535.00	\$267,609.88	\$6,683.80

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate	various oil and gas companies
Little Dixie Radio	Pryor Publishing Co.
Stipe Law Firm	various abstract offices & rental properties

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

C. Wayne Litchfield, \$5,000.00	Anthony Laizure, \$4,250.00
James Belote, \$3,000.00	Russell Uselton, \$4,000.00
Eddie Harper, \$4,000.00	Clyde Stipe, \$4,000.00
Thomas Frazier, \$5,000.00	Paul Beavers, \$3,000.00
Harry Murphy (Dallas, TX), \$5,000.00	OK AGC PAC, \$5,000.00
LEGAL PAC, \$5,000.00	

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 6

**7th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$23,787	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 10%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 10%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Stratton Taylor (D) 2nd District

Hometown: Sallisaw, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1983  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 25, 1956  
Church: Baptist  
Education: Graduated Rogers State  
College, 1976; University of Tulsa, B.S., 1978,  
J.D., 1982  
Family: Married, Carolyn (Thompson);  
children, Abbey & Carson  
Occupation: Legislator  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
Capitol Address: Rm. 422  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 555)  
Home Address: 422 State Capitol,  
Oklahoma City, 73105  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: President Pro Tempore,  
Ex-Officio  
Committees: voting member of all committees



Virtually all of Rogers County and Mayes County around the town of Pryor make up Senate District 2. Most of the economy here is based on agriculture, (Mayes County is the third-biggest producer of dairy products in the state) shale and coal mining. The port of Catoosa is in the far western reach of the district, and the district also takes in Claremore, home of the Will Rogers museum. This district is also served by House Districts 6, 8, and 9.

Powerful incumbent Democrat Stratton Taylor next comes up for reelection in 1998. Born in Sallisaw, OK, Taylor is an attorney by profession, trained at Tulsa University. After serving two terms in the House, Taylor moved into the Senate a decade ago. He currently serves in the traditionally powerful role of Senate President Pro Tempore of the chamber. Before ascending to the chamber leadership, he acted as chairman of the vital Appropriations Committee for six years. He has received a number of awards, including being included in Frosty Troy's list of top ten legislators.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1994	Stratton Taylor - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 27,537	Republican: 13,279	Independent: 1,935
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**1994 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$233,457.78	\$119,732.67	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Taylor, Burrage, Foster, and Singhal Legal Services  
 Rogers University (spouse)  
 Fidelity Investments (dividends)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Coastal Employee Action Fund, \$2,500.00  
 DRIVE Political Fund, \$2,000.00  
 Jim Barker, lobbyist, \$3,100.00  
 James L. Barrett, \$2,000.00  
 William H. Skeith, \$2,500.00  
 Oklahoma Medical PAC, \$4,150.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$5,000.00  
 Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$2,200.00  
 Union Pacific Fund for Effective Government, \$2,300.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 6

**2nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$31,947	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 29%	Percent Employed in Service: 61%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Trish Weedn (D) 15th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: May 10, 1950  
Church: Purcell Pentecostal Holiness Church  
Education: Graduated from Lexington High School  
Family: Married, James A.  
children, Marnie & Mindy  
Occupation: McClain County Assessor, 1979 - 1988  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 417 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 535)  
Home Address: 904 Mockingbird Lane,  
Purcell, OK 73080  
Home Phone: 527-5912  
Leadership Positions: Chair, General Government  
Committees: Appropriations, General Government,  
Human Resources, Judiciary, Wildlife



Senate District 15 divides itself into rough thirds: the southern third is most of Garvin County; in the middle is McClain County; and, at the northern end are the Norman suburbs to the west of I-35 in Cleveland County. This produces a disparate constituency. A smattering of both liberal Norman voters and conservative Republican suburbanites, Native Americans, farmers, ranchers, and textile workers are all included in this district.

This district sits on the edge of Little Dixie. Traditionally Democratic voting habits apply, but the areas around Norman and Moore have been increasingly Republican. And, redistricting will probably make this district more Democratic, as it will probably give up parts of Garvin County to District 14. Mapmakers had to compensate for the needs of rural legislators in the past, and will likely do so again in the future.

The current incumbent, Trish Weedn (D-Purcell), has served in the Senate since 1989, and will be term limited before her redrawn district comes up in 2004. She is a career public servant, having spent almost ten years as the McClain County Assessor. Weedn chairs the Senate Committee on General Government, and also serves on the important Appropriations Committee. Her areas of focus are county and city government, the elderly, children, and transportation. Interestingly, she is a politician who sees room to expand herself after a career in politics: Weedn is completing her undergraduate degree in political science at the University of Oklahoma.

Incumbent Weedn (D-Purcell) attracted three potential GOP challengers: Hoppy Heidleberg (R-Blanchard), a farmer noted for his ten gallon hat; Rick Liles, a retired member of the ABLE Commission from Newcastle; and Rod Cleveland, a 29-year-old Norman businessman. Cleveland defeated Heidleberg in a primary runoff before being dispatched by incumbent Weedn in the general election.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Trish Weedn - D	16,474	59.8%
	Rod Cleveland - R	11,083	40.2%
1992	Trish Weedn - D	19,068	68.1%
	Joseph Hill - R	8,907	31.9%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 28,584                      Republican: 11,947                      Independent: 1,753

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$118,350.20	\$106,710.63	\$3,542.29

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Southwestern Bell EMPAC, \$1,200.00  
 DRIVE Political Fund, \$1,500.00  
 OKIE PAC, \$1,000.00  
 AFL-CIO PAC, \$1,000.00  
 LEGAL PAC, \$2,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**15th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$32,550	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 25%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 67%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Kathleen Wilcoxson (R) 45th District

Hometown: Lawton, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1997  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: January 2, 1948  
Church: Church of the Redeemer, Oklahoma City  
Education: B.S., Elementary Education; M.S. Special  
Education; Ed.D., Curriculum and Instruction  
Family: Married, Lynden; children, Stacy  
Occupation: Teacher  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 533  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 618)  
Home Address: 10101 Carter Court,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73159  
Home Phone: 405- 692-2708  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Appropriations, Education, Finance,  
Tourism, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public Safety



Southwest Oklahoma County is really where the sun meets the plains. Political scientist David Morgan has shown that there is a breakpoint in the partisan makeup of Oklahoma politics, with the Northwest corner being decidedly more Republican than the southeast, and the urban corridor holding the balance. District 45 is one part of the urban corridor where the balance has been systematically tipping toward the GOP for some time.

Helen Cole (R-Oklahoma City) served three terms in the state House and three non-consecutive terms in the state Senate, from 1985-1988, and then from 1992 to the present. She was extensively awarded for her public service, including being designated one of the "Ten Best Legislators in Oklahoma" by the *Oklahoma Observer* on a half-dozen occasions. And, one of her sons also carved out something of a name in Oklahoma political circles. Tom Cole, a political strategist and former state GOP chair, is currently the Secretary of State of Oklahoma.

Cole retired in 1996. Her successor, Republican Kathleen Wilcoxson, is an Oklahoma City elementary school teacher who has been active in chamber of commerce circles for some time. She gained appointment to the Education Committee as well as the Appropriations and Budget Committee.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Karl Rysted - D	7,761	30.8%
	Kathleen Wilcoxson - R	17,463	69.2%
1992	Helen Cole - R	18,900	67.0%
	Donald N. Leonard - D	9,464	33.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 18,436                      Republican: 19,301                      Independent: 2,534

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$47,860.27	\$39,980.75	\$5,826.89

**Personal Financial History**

Not Available

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

William R. Bartmann, Commerical Financial Services, \$3,000.00  
 Sen. Don Nickles Republican Majority Fund, \$2,000.00  
 Oklahoma State Republican Senatorial Committee, \$4,800.00  
 Jim and Melinda Daugherty, manufactured home sales, \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 70

**45th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$38,705	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 27%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 24%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 66%
Percent Employed in Government: 10%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 11%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 13%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Dick Wilkerson (D) 13th District

Hometown: Antlers, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: March 19, 1943  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Graduated East Central University, B.A.;  
Oklahoma City University, M.C.J.A.  
Family: Children, Kim, K.C., Kathy  
Occupation: Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 417 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 541)  
Home Address: P. O. Box 127, Atwood, OK 74827  
Home Phone: 405-986-2179  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Finance  
Committees: Appropriations, Economic  
Development, Finance, General Government,  
Rules, Small Business, Veterans & Military  
Affairs & Public Safety



Pontotoc County plus Pottawatomie County south of Shawnee constitute Senate District 13. Agriculture is important to the local economy, as are the extraction of natural resources, including mineral mining and some of the richest oil production in Oklahoma. This is an area with Mississippi roots. Pontotoc County was named for the original home of the Chickasaw Indians in Mississippi.

Local politics are decidedly Democratic and all of the local officials in the district are Democrats. However, Republicans have carried this district for president with increasing consistency since the 1960s, and Frank Keating won a plurality in Pottawatomie County in 1994.

James R. (Dick) Wilkerson (D-Atwood) has represented District 13 since 1989. Wilkerson attracted two potential Republican challengers: Barbara Young, a property manager from Ada, and Rodney Brown of Stonewall. But Wilkerson easily gained his third term with nearly two-third of the votes. A rancher, Williams had a previous career in law enforcement, serving as the Deputy Director of the Oklahoma State Bureau of Investigation. He serves as a member of the Public Safety and Judiciary Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and served on the related subcommittee of the General Conference Committee on Appropriations in 1997. He also chairs the Finance Committee in the Senate.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dick Wilkerson - D	16,275	65.3%
	Barbara Young - R	8,642	34.7%
1992	Dick Wilkerson - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 34,149                      Republican: 6,121                      Independent: 1,493

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$66,315.98	\$64,015.86	\$1,050.90

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
 Orion Systems, Pre-Employment Testing (royalty)  
 Old Schoolhouse Ranch, Horse Breeding, Sales and Fees

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Mike Wilkerson, \$5,000.00  
 Patrick McCoy, PEC Ent., \$5,000.00  
 Don J. Guy, \$5,000.00  
 Scott Holden, Safe Tire Disposal, \$1,000.00  
 Kelly Mitchell, \$5,000.00  
 Pat Wilkerson, U.S. Marshal, \$5,000.00  
 Democrats of the Oklahoma State Senate, \$5,000.00  
 CN General Fund (Chickasaw Nation), \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

**13th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$24,109	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 62%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 28%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 36%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Penny Williams (D) 33rd District

Hometown: New York, New York

Elected: 1989

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: May 6, 1937

Church: Episcopalian

Education: Attended Sarah Lawrence College,  
1955 - 1956; University of Tulsa, 1968 - 1976

Family: Children, Joseph Hill Jr., Peter Baldwin,  
James Chesnut

Occupation: Homemaker

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate

1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 415

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 551)

Home Address: 1366 E. 25th St., Tulsa, OK 74114

Home Phone: 918-742-2002

Leadership Positions: Chair, Education; Vice Chair,  
Human Resources

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Government

Operations, Human Resources, Rules, Transportation



Tulsa has one of the most beautiful skylines in the Southwest, especially when the sun reflects off the shiny towers built by commerce and oil. The Osage reservation lies to the north; to the west, the Arkansas River. Much of downtown Tulsa near 1st Street is in Senate District 33, and a variety of Tulsa institutions are in or near the district, such as the University of Tulsa, Oral Roberts University, Expo Square, the downtown medical centers, and the Philbrook Museum of Art. The Port of Tulsa is not far away (Tulsa is the westernmost inland water port city in the U.S.).

Many old Tulsa neighborhoods and parts of the business district are in the district which covers the intersection of the "T" that is Tulsa County. In Republican Tulsa County, this district votes Democratic. Incumbent Penny Williams (D-Tulsa) is in her third term in the Senate. Williams has a strong interest in education, and has previously served as co-chair of the Senate's teacher preparation task force. She is currently Chair of the Senate Education Committee and a member of the Appropriations and Budget Subcommittee on Education. She is further involved in or leading a large number of interim studies and special committees exploring a myriad of educational issues.



## James Williamson (R) 35th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1997  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: May 27, 1951  
Church: Grace Fellowship  
Education: Graduated University of Tulsa,  
B.S., 1972; J.D., 1975  
Family: Married, Sandra;  
children, Joshua, Angela, Kenn, Andrew  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 530  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 624)  
Home Address: 1605 E. 63rd St., Tulsa, 74136  
Home Phone: 918-744-6050  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Appropriations, Economic  
Development, General Government, Government  
Operations, Judiciary, Sunset



Senate District 35 is another example of what redistricting scholars call a “bacon strip” — a district that is long and narrow, and runs from older urban neighborhoods with less population, into suburban or rural areas. In this case, the strip starts to the east bank of Tulsa proper, and then heads south across the Arkansas River toward Little Dixie. Oral Roberts University is in the neighborhood, near the Arkansas River and just to the south of the Skelly Drive Highway. Incomes in this district range from high to lower middle class, and the politics are generally conservative.

James A. Williamson (R-Tulsa) is an attorney and former school teacher with degrees from the University of Tulsa. In his first term in the Senate, Williamson is another of the set of former Republican state House members who arrived in the Senate in 1996. However, Williamson took a ten-year sabbatical before returning to the legislature. He sets himself an ambitious agenda, planning on authoring legislation in the areas of tax relief, economic development, workers compensation reform, and reducing government and regulations. He serves on the Appropriations Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	James A. Williamson - R	17,066	57.7%
	Pat Woodrum - D	12,527	42.3%
1992	Don Rubottom - R	17,294	51.0%
	Nancy Bolzle - D	16,347	49.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,079                                      Republican: 14,488                                      Independent: 2,198

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$74,415.00	\$56,310.00	\$4,722.37

**Personal Financial History**

Oklahoma State Senate  
James A. Williamson, P.C. Law Practice

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Capitol Club PAC, \$2,000.00  
W.H. Helmerich, \$3,000.00  
William R. Bartmann, Commercial Financial Services, \$3,000.00  
Sen. Don Nickles Republican Senatorial Committee, \$2,000.00  
Oklahoma State Republican Candidate Committee, \$4,250.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 80

**35th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$43,721	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 26%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 7%	Percent College-Educated: 44%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 78%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 6%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Gerald "Ged" Wright (R) 54th District

Hometown: Wagoner, Oklahoma

Elected: 1983

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: July 7, 1942

Church: Episcopalian

Education: Oklahoma State University, 1964, B.S.;  
University of Tulsa Law School, 1978, J.D.

Family: Married, Linda (Quimby);  
children, Brian, Brent, Janna

Occupation: Attorney; Northwest Airlines Pilot

Political Career: Member, OK State Senate  
1983 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 533 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-524-0126 (ext. 602)

Home Address: 406 S. Boulder, Suite 701,  
Tulsa, OK 74103

Home Phone: 918-455-5402

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Veterans & Military  
Affairs & Public Safety

Committees: Appropriations, Education, Energy, Environmental Resources and Regulatory  
Affairs, Judiciary, Rules, Veterans & Military Affairs & Public Safety



Broken Arrow takes its name from a Georgia town that was brought by Creek Indians across the Trail of Tears. The Creek settlement grew with the arrival of white ranchers, and a variety of industries including coal mining, railroads, and farming (and oil) have contributed to the local economy. Now the city of Broken Arrow is part of the Tulsa metropolitan area, and counts nearly 60,000 residents. Still, it is broken into three districts.

Incumbent Gerald "Ged" Wright (R-Tulsa) was born in Wagoner. Before arriving in the legislature in 1984, he had taken his JD from the University of Tulsa and served as Assistant City Attorney and Assistant City Prosecutor for the city of Tulsa. Wright has been in the minority leadership almost since the beginning of his career, serving as Republican Caucus Chairman and Minority Whip before becoming the Republican floor leader in 1995. Currently his most important Senate position is membership on the Appropriations Committee. He also serves on the Joint Committee on Federal Funds, a variety of task forces and interim study committees, and co-chairs the golf course tax policy interim study.







House Members  
and  
Their Districts



## House Members listed by District Number

<u>District Number</u>	<u>House Member</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
1	Matlock, Terry J.	(D)	292
2	Stites, J.T.	(D)	352
3	Hamilton, James E.	(D)	258
4	Culver, Bob Ed	(D)	222
5	Hutchison, Joe J.	(D)	268
6	Eddins, Joe	(D)	234
7	Roberts, Larry D.	(D)	330
8	Rice, Larry D.	(D)	326
9	Steidley, J. Dwayne	(D)	350
10	Taylor, Gary S.	(D)	358
11	Wilt, Mike	(R)	382
12	Hefner, Jerry W.	(D)	262
13	Settle, Bill	(D)	340
14	Staggs, Barbara	(D)	346
15	Frame, Bobby	(D)	244
16	Leist, M.C.	(D)	282
17	Mass, Michael	(D)	290
18	Fields, Lloyd	(D)	242
19	Erwin, Randall L.	(D)	238
20	Thomas, Tommy	(D)	360
21	Dunegan, James H.	(D)	230
22	Hilliard, Danny	(D)	266
23	Boyd, Betty	(D)	202
24	Turner, Dale	(D)	366
25	Plunk, Bob	(D)	316
26	Weaver, Robert	(D)	374
27	Smith, Dale	(D)	342
28	Ervin, Mike	(D)	236
29	Hiatt, Todd	(R)	264
30	Tyler, Mike	(D)	368
31	Davis, Frank	(R)	226
32	Kinnamon, Don	(D)	274
33	Wells, Dale W.	(D)	380
34	Ingmire, Terry	(R)	270
35	Ferguson, Larry	(R)	240

<u>District Number</u>	<u>House Member</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
36	Hager, James	(D)	256
37	Newport, Jim	(R)	302
38	Reese, Jim	(R)	324
39	Pettigrew, Wayne	(R)	312
40	O'Neal, Mike	(R)	304
41	Voskuhl, Sean	(D)	372
42	Mitchell, Bill	(D)	298
43	Kouba , Tony	(R)	278
44	Boyd, Laura	(D)	204
45	Collins, Wallace	(D)	216
46	Miller, Doug	(R)	296
47	Ramsey, Dan	(R)	322
48	Sadler, Al	(D)	334
49	Stanley, Fred	(D)	348
50	Askins, Jari	(D)	188
51	McCarter, Raymond G.	(D)	294
52	Braddock, David B.	(D)	206
53	Coleman, Carolyn	(R)	214
54	Greenwood, Joan	(R)	254
55	Bonny, Jack	(D)	200
56	Langmacher, Ron	(D)	280
57	Covey, James E.	(D)	218
58	Maddux, Elmer	(R)	288
59	Pope, Clay	(D)	318
60	Beutler, Randy	(D)	196
61	Begley, Jack	(D)	192
62	Deutschendorf, Abe	(D)	228
63	Benson, Loyd L.	(D)	194
64	Kirby, Ron	(D)	276
65	Glover, James R.	(D)	248
66	Roach, Russ	(D)	328
67	Smith, Hopper	(R)	344
68	Satterfield, Shelby	(D)	336
69	Perry, Fred	(R)	310
70	Bryant, John	(R)	208
71	Sullivan, John	(R)	354
72	Gilbert, Darrell	(D)	246
73	Ross, Don	(D)	332
74	Ostrander, Phil	(D)	306
75	Thornbrugh, Mike	(R)	362

<u>District Number</u>	<u>House Member</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Page Number</u>
76	Weese, Don	(R)	378
77	Liotta, Mark	(R)	286
78	Easley, Mary	(D)	232
79	Hastings, Chris	(R)	260
80	Adkins, Scott	(R)	186
81	Vaughn, Ray	(R)	370
82	Sullivan, Leonard E.	(R)	356
83	Morgan, Fred	(R)	300
84	Graves, Bill	(R)	250
85	Dank, Odilia	(R)	224
86	Adair, Larry E.	(D)	184
87	Worthen, Robert D.	(R)	384
88	Blackburn, Debbie	(D)	198
89	Gray, Charles	(D)	252
90	Key, Charles	(R)	272
91	Webb, Dan	(R)	376
92	Paulk, Bill	(D)	308
93	Lindley, Al	(D)	284
94	Bastin, Gary	(D)	190
95	Case, Bill	(R)	210
96	Seikel, Mark	(D)	338
97	Cox, Kevin	(D)	220
98	Pope, Tim R.	(R)	320
99	Toure, Opio	(D)	364
100	Phillips, Richard	(R)	314
101	Claunch, Forrest	(R)	212

## Larry E. Adair (D) 86th District

Hometown: Prairie Grove, Arkansas  
Elected: 1982  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 17, 1946  
Church: First Baptist  
Education: Northeastern State University,  
1969, B.A., Ed.  
Family: Married, Janice Faye (Eversoll);  
children, Anesa (Mrs. Jerry) Hooper  
Occupation: Industrial Development Consultant  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1983 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 422  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7394  
Home Address: 1207 Kerry Drive,  
Stilwell, Oklahoma, 74960  
Home Phone: 918-696-7718  
Leadership Positions: Speaker Pro Tempore  
Committees: Ex-Officio Voting Member of All Committees



Adair County is on the Arkansas border. When combined with portions of Cherokee and Delaware counties, it is the basis of House District 86. Cattle ranching and horse breeding are popular activities here, as is Republican party politics. Democrats still far outnumber Republicans here by registration, but the GOP has a long record of gubernatorial and presidential competitiveness in the county. It is probably the most Republican non-urban county in east Oklahoma. Recently Republicans have won control of the county commission in Adair, but have had far less success in the other parts of District 86.

Democratic incumbent Larry Adair was opposed for reelection by restaurateur Bobby J. McAlpine (R-Stilwell), but Adair was easily reelected to his eighth term. Adair is an Industrial development consultant and active in a number of civic organizations. He serves as Speaker Pro Tempore of the Oklahoma House of Representatives.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Larry E. Adair - D	6,356	59.4%
	Bobby McAlpine, Jr. - R	4,341	40.6%
1994	Larry E. Adair - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,460                      Republican: 4,861                      Independent: 783

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$46,086.32	\$57,769.84	\$9,048.77

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

- KOCH PAC, (Wichita, KS) energy, oil, gas \$750.00
- Sinclair W. Armstrong (physician, banking) \$1,250.00
- OK House Democratic Caucus PAC \$1,350.00
- OKIE-PAC (energy) \$1,100.00
- Cherokee County Federated Women's Democrat Club \$1,500.00
- OK AGC PAC (highway construction) \$3,000

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**86th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$22,379	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 7%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 13%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 36%	Percent Employed in Service: 47%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 13%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 0%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Scott Adkins (R) 80th District

Hometown: Fort Smith, Arkansas

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: November 5, 1962

Church: Arrow Heights Baptist

Education: University of the Ozarks, B.S.;  
Southern Methodist University, M.B.A.

Family: Married, Angela; children, Alexandra, Scotty

Occupation: Banker

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 510 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7338

Home Address: 4004 S. Narcissus Ave.,  
Broken Arrow, OK 74011

Home Phone: 918-455-1585

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Education  
Subcommittee), Banking and Finance, Energy,  
Environment and Natural Resources, Insurance, Small Business



Broken Arrow is divided between two House districts. District 80 is to the south, and takes in parts of the city below New Orleans Street; everything above New Orleans Street to the Broken Arrow Expressway, is in House District 76.

Freshman Republican Scott Adkins (R) was challenged in the primary by Carroll Hunt, a retired teacher, but he got a walk in November. A banker, Adkins received his M.B.A. from Southern Methodist University. Now in his second term, Adkins serves on the Banking and Finance Committee as well as the Appropriations and Budget Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Scott Adkins - R	unopposed
1994	Scott Adkins - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 6,771                      Republican: 11,464                      Independent: 1,119

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$28,909.49	\$26,118.71	\$5,361.72

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
State Bank & Trust

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

The Williams Company \$500.00  
Kermit Hoffmeier \$1,250.00  
OIPA PAC \$750  
Aubry McClendon, Pres., Chesapeake Energy \$500.00  
Steve Hayes, Owner, Small Loan Company \$2,986.86

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 80

**80th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$42,342	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 29%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 32%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 72%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 12%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 15%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Jari Askins (D) 50th District

Hometown: Duncan, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: April 27, 1953

Church: First Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)

Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A.,

Journalism, 1975; J.D., 1980

Family: Parents, Ollie M. and  
Anita (Bicknell) Askins

Occupation: Attorney; Vice President, Stephens  
County Abstract Company Closing Office

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - D

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7327

Home Address: P.O. Box 391, Duncan, OK 73534

Home Phone: 405-672-6460

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader;  
Chair, Government Operations and Oversight  
Committee; Vice Chair, Small Business Committee; Vice Chair, General Government  
Subcommittee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (General Government Subcommittee), County and  
Municipal Government, Criminal Justice, Government Operations and Agency  
Oversight, Judiciary, Small Business



As you head west from Ardmore on the two lane roads of south Oklahoma, the Arbuckle Mountains peter out, the trees are fewer, and one enters what Scott Momaday called “the middle and immeasurable meadow of North America” — the rolling plains of Oklahoma. Staple crops (wheat, peanuts) are popular here, and there is some money to be made in petroleum. District 50 takes in the western part of Stephens County, including the town of Duncan, named for a frontier store owner.

This is still Democratic country, with Democrats filling all the local offices. However, like a lot of New Deal Democratic areas, Duncan and the surrounding areas have voted Republican when presented with a “national” (read “liberal”) Democrat. Bill Clinton won here, but Ross Perot ran ahead of his statewide percentage, indicating that dissatisfaction with George Bush did not carry home a lot of Democrats who gave Bush the district in 1988.

Incumbent Jari Askins (D) drew two possible Republican challengers: Ricky Stewart, an investment representative from Duncan, and Sam Holthe, a computer analyst. In November, she defeated Holthe with over 55 percent of the vote. Askins, an attorney in her second term, is considered by many to have a promising political future. She chairs the Government Operations and Oversight Committee as well as the Joint Committee on State and Education Employees Group Insurance. She also authored HJR 1024 which created the Task Force on Taxation.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Jari Askins - D	7,311	55.9%
	Sam Holthe - R	5,770	44.1%
1994	Jari Askins - D	6,727	60.0%
	Robert H. Arthur - R	4,453	40.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,060      Republican: 4,787      Independent: 479

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$42,417.13	\$30,255.85	\$22,175.38

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Amquest Bank NA / investments, interest  
 Amquest Bank NA / investments, individual retirement acct.  
 Anadarko Petro. Co. / oil & gas production, royal interest  
 Self -employment / attorney, law practice  
 Washita Valley Abstracts / abstracts, dividends

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Leach, Sullivan, Sullivan, and Watkins, Attorneys, \$2,250  
 Marty Askins, Abstractor, Stephens County Abstract \$1,500  
 SW Bell EMPAC \$500.00  
 OK Independent Energy, Independent Petro. Assoc. PAC \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**50th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,782	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 15%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 57%
Percent Employed in Government: 19%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 19%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 35%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Gary Bastin (D) 94th District

Hometown: Pauls Valley, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1984  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: January 24, 1950  
Church: Del City First Baptist Church  
Education: Central State University, B.B.A., 1977  
Family: Gloria Fern (Garcia);  
children, Gary Charles II  
Occupation: Owner, Bastin Insurance  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1985 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 410  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7370  
Home Address: 3035 Southeast 20th,  
Del City, OK 73115  
Home Phone: 405-672-5589  
Leadership Positions: First Assistant  
Majority Leader  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (General Governmental Subcommittee), Education  
(Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Government Operations and  
Agency Oversight, Retirement Laws, Rules, Science and Technology



Parts of Oklahoma City, Del City, and Midwest City make up District 94. Generally the district falls east of I-35, south of I-40, and north of I-240. On the east it is bounded by Sooner Road. Compared to the state, the district is disproportionately African-American, working class, and Democratic.

Incumbent Gary Bastin (D-Del City), an insurance man, was opposed by 29-year Del City attorney, Kevin Calvey (R), but Bastin claimed his seventh term with nearly 60 percent of the vote. A member of the leadership team, he currently serves as First Assistant Majority Leader and is on the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He authored a request for an interim study on placing a cap on fees for higher education.



## Jack Begley (D) 61st District

Hometown: Kellyville, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: January 27, 1934  
Church: Methodist  
Education: Panhandle State University, B.S.  
Family: Married, Christine (Jones);  
children, Mitchell Rafe, Scott Eric  
Occupation: Retired Higher Education Administrator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 441  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7384  
Home Address: P.O. Box 668,  
Goodwell, OK 73939  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Education Subcommittee  
Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget  
(Education Subcommittee), Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher  
Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Energy, Environment, and Natural  
Resources



Extreme western Oklahoma is commonly known as the Panhandle. On paper it resembles a surveyor's error, jutting between Kansas and Texas only 30 miles in width, but over 100 miles in length.

Another name for this part of the state is "No-Man's Land." This is the last part of the continental U. S. to be organized as a territory, when it was appended to Oklahoma Territory in 1890. Before then it had been a land of ranchers, herders, and occasional refugees from formal law. This is still ranching and herding country. Almost 3.5 million acres of the district are dedicated to agriculture, although oil and natural gas also contribute to the economy: Texas County produces more natural gas than any county in the U.S.

The three counties of the Panhandle — Beaver, Cimarron, and Texas — combine with Harper County to constitute District 61. As in much of northwestern Oklahoma, local Republican officeholders are common (about 35 percent of local officials), and Republicans usually receive generous support in statewide races.

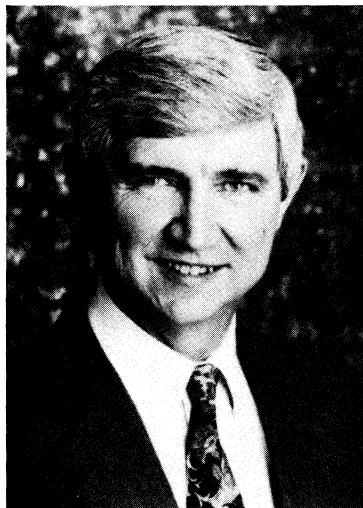
The incumbent here is a Demcorat, Jack Begley of Goodwell. His only opponent in 1996 was Carla Smalts (R), a rancher from Keyes. Begley, also a rancher, was reelected to his fifth term with about 55 percent of the vote. He chairs the Education Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He also serves on the Task Force on Centrally Assessed Properties.





## Loyd L. Benson (D) 63rd District

Hometown: Comanche, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1984  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: April 2, 1940  
Church: First United Methodist Church, Frederick  
Education: Cameron Junior College, A.A.S., 1960;  
University of Oklahoma, B.A., 1962; J.D., 1965  
Family: Married, Judy Linda Jo (Calame);  
children, Bradford Lee, Brenton Todd,  
Belynda Dawn  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1984 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 401  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7100  
Home Address: P.O. Box 486, Ninth and Floral,  
Frederick, OK 73542  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Speaker of the House of Representatives  
Committees: Ex-Officio Voting Member of All Committees



District 63 is composed of all of Tillman County (pop. 10,384 in 1990) and about 20,000 residents of south Comanche County (Lawton). Tillman County was named in honor of 19th Century South Carolina senator Benjamin "Pitchfork Ben" Tillman, who was an acquaintance of current senator Strom Thurmond.

While vegetable farming and ranching constitute the backbone of the agricultural economy here, this small county is seeking to become the next economic marvel of the Great Plains region of Oklahoma. The county seat, Frederick, built an industrial park that includes a 6,000 foot runway, refueling services, and a reservoir to attract industry. Unemployment is relatively low, but so are incomes. This is one of the more heavily Hispanic districts in the state.

Politics here is unabashably Democratic at the local and legislative level. Republicans have not enjoyed great success, and any advances are less due to the popularity of the GOP than to the limited appeal of national Democrats. Ross Perot and Wes Watkins both ran at their statewide levels in this district.

The incumbent in this district is the new Speaker of the House, Loyd Benson of Frederick. However, in 1996 he did draw both primary and general election opposition. In the primary, Carl Ussery, a fuel salesman from Lawton, challenged the well-regarded Benson. And, in the general election, he faced Republican and self-described domestic engineer Juliana Peyravay. Benson came through virtually unscathed receiving nearly 80 percent of the general election vote. Benson, an attorney, had a distinguished community record prior to becoming a legislator in the second session of the 39th Legislature (1984). The First Session of the 46th Legislature has been praised by many as one of the most successful in memory and Benson's leadership in the House is given substantial credit for that success.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Loyd L. Benson - D	8,198	77.8%
	Juliana Peyravy - R	2,338	22.2%
1994	Loyd L. Benson - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,504                      Republican: 3,409                      Independent: 822

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$27,139.32	\$129,359.43	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

McBee & Benson / law practice  
 Benson Farm / cattle & grain sales  
 1st of Grandfield Corp. / banking, dividends

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Med. PAC \$1,000.00  
 Halliburton PAC \$1,000.00  
 5 Civilized Tribes \$1,000.00  
 United Community Bankers \$1,000.00  
 Realtors PAC of OK \$1,000.00  
 OK Independent Energy PAC \$1,500.00  
 OK Society of Anesthesiologists \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**63rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,863	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 63%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 13%	Percent Hispanic American: 8%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Randy Beutler (D) 60th District

Hometown: Elk City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: January 5, 1961  
Church: none given  
Education: Southwestern Oklahoma State University,  
B.A., Education, 1983  
Family: none given  
Occupation: Rancher  
Political Career: Governor's Advisory Council  
on Children, 1980-87; Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 328 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7311  
Home Address: 304 Sondra Drive,  
Elk City, OK 73644  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader;  
Vice Chair, Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources  
Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Agriculture,  
Corrections, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Government Operations and  
Agency Oversight, Tourism and Recreation



Greer County was claimed by both Texas and Oklahoma. In 1896, the Supreme Court decided it was part of Oklahoma. Greer County proper has shrunk, being parted into Beckham, and Harmon Counties. These counties, plus the southern part of Roger Mills County, are in House District 60. Ranching and agriculture are important, and there is still a substantial oil presence in Roger Mills. I-40 traverses the middle of the district, headed for the empty counties of the Texas panhandle.

Democrats still run very well in District 60 at all levels. This was not strong country for Frank Keating, although he ran better here than previous Republican candidates. Local politics is still the domain of the party of Jefferson and Jackson. It will be interesting to see whether hispanic immigration affects those political attitudes.

Incumbent Randy L. Beutler (D-Elk City) was unopposed for reelection and is now in his third term. Beutler, a rancher, was twice named "Teacher of the Year" by the Weatherford Public Schools. He is an Assistant Majority Leader and vice-chair of the Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Randy L. Beutler - D	unopposed
1994	Randy L. Beutler - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 15,190                      Republican: 3,051                      Independent: 789

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$15,110.00	\$15,386.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Ranching / sale of cattle  
 Apache Cor. / oil & gas, mineral interest

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Panhandle Eastern Corp. PAC \$250.00  
 Phillips Petroleum Company, PAC \$300.66  
 Gail and Faye Graybill, farmer/rancher \$1,000.00  
 David Hutchinson, Hutchinson Oil Co. Owner \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**60th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$25,192	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 13%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 22%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 39%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 5%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Debbie Blackburn (D) 88th District

Hometown: Woodward, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: January 12, 1951

Church: Christian

Education: Southwestern Oklahoma State University,  
1973, B.A.; Oklahoma State University,  
Post Graduate hours in history

Family: Married, Bob L. Blackburn; children, Beau

Occupation: Publisher and Educator

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 321

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7396

Home Address: 126 N.W. 22nd Street,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73103

Home Phone: 405-525-0656

Leadership Positions: Majority Caucus Secretary;  
Vice Chair, Administrative Rule Review;  
Vice Chair, Human Services

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Banking and Finance, Community and Family  
Responsibilities, Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher Education  
Subcommittee), Human Services, Small Business



Oklahoma City University is a fine private institution with a reputation for academic excellence. House District 88 is centered on OCU, and also captures some fine old neighborhoods of the city, as well as some not so fine, and a variety of urban institutions associated with health care and conventioning.

Incumbent Debbie Blackburn (D-Oklahoma City) was opposed for reelection by local businessman Pat Smith (R-Oklahoma City). Blackburn was easily reelected to a second term. A publisher and educator, Blackburn has been involved in redevelopment efforts including membership on the Board of Directors for the Paseo Redevelopment Corporation and serving on the Neighborhood Alliance of Oklahoma City and Downtown Now. She serves as the Majority Caucus Secretary and as Vice-Chair of both the Administrative Rule Review Committee and the Human Services Committee.



## Jack Bonny (D) 55th District

Hometown: Elk City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 18, 1939  
Church: none given  
Education: Southwestern Oklahoma State University,  
B.A., M.A., political science and education  
Family: Married, Janet (Brooks);  
children, Christy and Jackie  
Occupation: Farmer/Educator  
Political Career: Mayor, Burns Flat  
Capitol Address: Rm. 338  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7312  
Home Address: Box 595, Burns Flat, OK 73624  
Home Phone: 405-462-3306  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Small Business  
Committee  
Committees: Agriculture, Small Business, Tourism  
and Recreation, Transportation, Wildlife



A vast stretch of land between the Canadian River and the Red River, west of Anadarko, is represented by District 55. The district takes in two entire counties — Kiowa and Washita — and the northern part of a third — Caddo County. The population of the district is roughly evenly dispersed among the counties. Local elected officials are almost always Democrats. However, the counties in the district have all voted Republican for president, and Washita County is closely contested in major statewide races.

Jack Bonny (D-Burns Flat) was unopposed for a third term in the legislature. A farmer and an educator, Bonny accumulated a substantial record of community service prior to going to the legislature. He chairs the Small Business Committee. He is active in a variety of legislative areas and requested interim studies covering small business issues, watershed, and affordable housing — among others.





## Betty Boyd (D) 23rd District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: December 9, 1924  
Church: First Baptist, Tulsa  
Education: Attended Tulsa University and  
Iowa State University  
Family: Married, William W. Boyd;  
children, Beverlie Bryant and Barry W. Boyd  
Occupation: Legislator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 328 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7379  
Home Address: 11039 E. 26th Pl.,  
Tulsa, OK 74129  
Home Phone: 918-622-5649  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Common Education  
Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Education Subcommittee), Education (Common  
Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Education Subcommittee), Public Health, Public  
Safety, Rules



District 23, in Tulsa County, is one of the physically-smallest legislative districts in the state; it takes in about 20 square miles from 31st Street to the east of downtown Tulsa.

Betty Boyd, the Democratic incumbent, was challenged for reelection by a 33-year-old businessman, Jon Mullican (R-Tulsa). In a very close race, Boyd was reelected to her fourth term. She finds herself holding a number of critical appointments in the House including membership on the Appropriations and Budget Committee and chairing the Common Education Subcommittee of the Education Committee. Among her other legislative activities, Boyd authored the legislation allowing local school boards to contract with a superintendent for up to three years.



## Laura Boyd (D) 44th District

Hometown: Charlottesville, Virginia  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: June 5, 1949  
Church: St. Johns Episcopal, Norman  
Education: Duke University, B.A., German, 1970;  
Marywood College, M.S., Humanistic  
Education, 1978; International College, Ph.D.,  
Psychology, 1982  
Family: Married, J. David Rambo;  
children, Susan Rebecca and Brooke Caitlin  
Occupation: Marriage and Family Therapist  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 329  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7323  
Home Address: P.O. Box 721258,  
Norman, OK 73072  
Home Phone: 405-366-1123



Leadership Positions: Chair, Community and Family Responsibilities Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Education Subcommittee), Community and  
Family Responsibilities, Criminal Justice, Education (Common Education Subcommittee  
and Higher Education Subcommittee)

The city of Norman was founded during the "Run of '89"; the provisional government was up and running on April 22, the day of the run. Unlike other cities which bid for the state capitol, Norman bid for and obtained the territory's first college, which became the University of Oklahoma. The old city and campus are largely encompassed by District 44. This is definitely a "town-and-gown" district, with university faculty and staff, students, and locals who depend in some part on the university for their living.

It has often been speculated that the "liberal" image of Norman prevents local politicians from having real influence at the state level. The incumbent in this district, Laura Boyd, is tempted to buck this trend. Her name has been advanced as a candidate for governor, and she has formed a committee for the purposes of a campaign. However, it does remain to be seen whether the politics of a 30,000 person college town district can translate to a conservative state of 3 million.

Two Republicans, dental hygienist Kennette Hughes and small businessman John Canon, filed to run against incumbent Laura Boyd (D-Norman). Hughes prevailed in the primary, but was easily defeated by incumbent Boyd in the general election. Boyd, a marriage and family therapist, has been legislatively active, especially in the area of family law and services. She is the author of the Ryan Luke Law. She chairs the Community and Family Responsibilities Committee. For her work as a child advocate, Boyd was named as one of the *Oklahoma Observer's* top ten legislators for her performance in the First Session in 1997.



## David B. Braddock (D) 52nd District

Hometown: Carlsbad, New Mexico  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: March 20, 1957  
Church: First United Methodist Church, Altus  
Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A., 1979,  
J.D., 1982  
Family: Married, Suzie Downs;  
children, Adam Shepard, Rachel Ann,  
Anna Elizabeth  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997- present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - F  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7369  
Home Address: P.O. Box 898, Altus, OK 73522  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Criminal Justice  
Committee  
Committees: Criminal Justice, Economic Development,  
Education (Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Transportation



When Oklahoma first organized as a territory open for settlement, some of the lands in the state were in dispute. In southwest Oklahoma, Greer County was claimed by both Texas and Indian Territory. The dispute went to the Supreme Court, which in 1896 declared that Greer County was indeed part of Oklahoma.

What was then Greer County has been parceled into three counties: Greer, Harmon, and Jackson. The southern half of the disputed territory — Jackson County and Harmon County south of US 62 — constitute House District 52. Jackson County dominates the district (roughly 85 percent of the district population is in Jackson), and Altus Air Force base dominates Jackson County. Altus is the biggest employer in the district, although an agricultural economy is sustained in cotton, sorghum, and wheat.

The politics of the area are very southern. Democrats dominate registration and local offices, while Republicans have dominated presidential races since 1972. Independents run well here: Ross Perot ran ahead of his state average in Jackson County, and Wes Watkins pulled 30 percent of the district vote in 1994.

Incumbent Democrat Howard Cotner did not seek reelection in 1996; the contest to succeed him was waged between attorney David E. Braddock (D-Altus) and Ronald Osterhout (R-Altus) an engineer. Braddock prevailed with about 55 percent of the vote. He was named Vice-Chair of the Criminal Justice Committee. Further, he authored a request for a joint interim study on the Fiscal Impact of Truth in Sentencing in Community Corrections to Counties. He is also a member of Red River Boundary Commission.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	David B. Braddock - D	4,867	54.4%
	Ronald D. Osterhout - R	4,078	45.6%
1994	Howard Cotner - D	5,077	70.0%
	Charles D. Suggs - R	2,174	30.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,812                      Republican: 2,796                      Independent: 631

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$38,374.00	\$37,880.60	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

Jackson County Public Finance Authority / attorney  
 Altus public schools / teaching salary, attorney's fees  
 OK Dept. of Transportation / attorney fees

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

PAC, P.O. Box 12923, OKC, 73157 \$1,000  
 Democratic National Congressional Campaign Committee (Washington, D.C.) \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 3

**52nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,698	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 23%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 11%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 12%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 20%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 28%
Percent African American: 9%	Percent Hispanic American: 12%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## John Bryant (R) 70th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1988

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: September 19, 1957

Church: none given

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.,  
Public Administration, 1980

Family: Married, Patricia Ann (Brown);  
children, Allison Marie, Austin Matthew

Occupation: Real Estate

Political Career: aide to Senator Don Nickles,  
1981-82; aide to Tom Daxon, 1983; aide to  
Congressman Mickey Edwards, 1983-96;  
Member, OK House of Representatives,  
1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 543

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7359

Home Address: P.O. Box 702343, Tulsa, OK 74170

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: Minority Caucus Vice Chair;  
Vice-Chair, Banking and Finance Committee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget  
(Education Subcommittee), Banking and Finance, Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee), Mental Health, Rules



Many of Tulsa's neighborhoods and parts of the business district are in House District 70, which stretches out from downtown between the Crosstown Expressway and the Broken Arrow Expressway, and then runs east to the edge of incorporated Tulsa.

Incumbent Republican John Bryant was unopposed for reelection. Bryant, a realtor who has been an aide to a number of prominent Republican politicians in the state, is in his fifth term. He serves as the Minority Caucus vice-chair and is vice-chair of the Banking and Finance Committee. He also serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee. Bryant co-authored a request for an interim study on casino nights sponsored by charitable organizations for fund raising.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	John Bryant - R	unopposed
1994	John Bryant - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,275                      Republican: 12,357                      Independent: 1,084

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$1,100.00	\$773.43	\$1,097.40

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
The Bryant Co. / salary & commission

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Tulsa Firefighters PAC \$100.00  
OK Society of CPAs \$100.00  
OK Society of Anesthesiologists \$200.00  
R.E. Holding, Owner, Sinclair Oil Corp. \$100.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

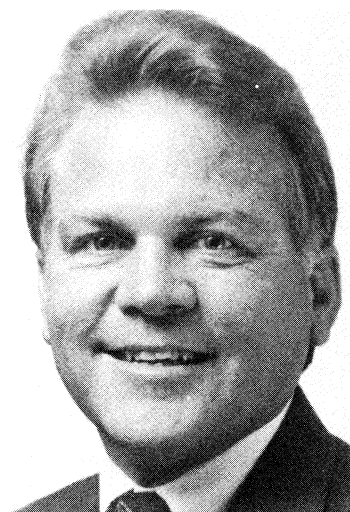
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 50

**70th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$52,642	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 32%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 11%	Percent College-Educated: 47%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 78%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 31%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Bill Case (R) 95th District

Hometown: Akron, Ohio  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: December 10, 1954  
Church: none given  
Education: Appalachian State University, North  
Carolina, B.S., Parks and  
Recreation Administration, 1977  
Family: Married Darlene;  
children, Bradley, Kimberly  
Occupation: General Manager, Howard Equipment  
Company  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 539  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7314  
Home Address: 1319 Aviola Drive,  
Midwest City, OK 73110  
Home Phone: 405-732-5795  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Community and Family Responsibilities, Criminal Justice, Economic  
Development, Tourism and Recreation



Tinker Air Force Base is the workshop of the USAF. Repair facilities are here for B-52s, still the 40-year workhorse of the United States Air Force. Tinker had a close call with the base closure commission. There was talk of shutting down the facility during the early 1990s; however, a change of mission and the presence of the SAC/TAC radar control craft at Tinker continued this economic engine located in southern Oklahoma County. District 95 contains Tinker and the communities to the east, out to Anderson Avenue. The district is similar to so many suburbs near military installations. The residents are less affluent; crime is higher; and many of the businesses near the base — the pawn shops, check cashers, and bars — do not lend themselves to attracting the affluent or upwardly mobile.

Incumbent Bill Case (D-Midwest City) was unopposed for reelection. A general manager at the Howard Equipment Company, Case moved to the legislature by way of the Midwest City Council and Mayor of Midwest City. In his second term, Case serves on the Economic Development and the Criminal Justice Committees, among others.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Bill Case - R	unopposed	
1994	Bill Case - R	4,949	53.0%
	Jim Isaac - D	4,385	47.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 9,426                      Republican: 6,705                      Independent: 1,338

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$4,137.00	\$9,388.21	\$1,250.26

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Howard Equip. Co. / sales & service (lawn equip.), salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Bill Harper, executive, Data Monitor Systems \$300.00  
David Hudiburg, Hudiburg Auto Group \$300.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

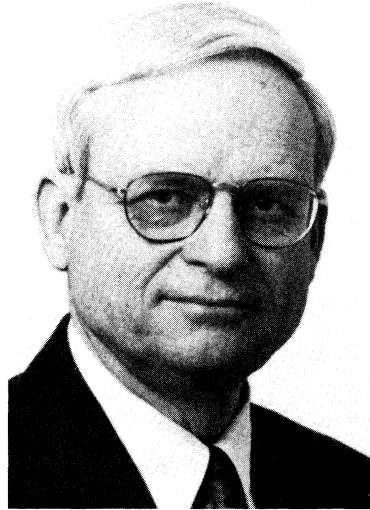
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 73

**95th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$33,284	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 17%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 24%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 13%	Percent Employed in Service: 65%
Percent Employed in Government: 21%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 1%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 25%
Percent African American: 7%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Forrest Claunch (R) 101st District

Hometown: Pampa, Texas  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: December 26, 1939  
Church: Country Estate Baptist Church  
Education: Midwest City Leadership, 1993  
Family: Married, Mary Ellen (Hawkins)  
Occupation: Controller  
Political Career: Oklahoma State House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 505  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7395  
Home Address: 10320 Oak Park Drive,  
Midwest City, OK 73130  
Home Phone: 405-427-5473  
Leadership Positions: Minority Caucus Chairman  
Committees: Administrative Rule Review, County  
and Municipal Government, Economic  
Development, Tourism and Recreation



Midwest City is the heart of House District 101 in Oklahoma County. B Southeast 10th and Southeast 34th, it runs all the way west to Sooner Road, but it has a stair-step edge down until it reaches Southeast 29th where its western edge is Douglas Boulevard. Its eastern boundary is Anderson Road.

Incumbent Forrest Claunch (R-Midwest City) was opposed for reelection by 28-year-old public relations man, J. Alex Greenwood (D-Midwest City), but Claunch was reelected with 55 percent of the vote. Now in his second term, he is the Minority Caucus Chairman. Claunch, who gained Anderson Road.

Incumbent Forrest Claunch (R-Midwest City) was opposed for reelection by 28-year-old public relations man, J. Alex Greenwood (D-Midwest City), but Claunch was reelected with 55 percent of the vote. Now in his second term, he is the Minority Caucus Chairman. Claunch, who gained fame opposing a state lottery, requested an interim study on charity and for-profit gaming and their revenues and economic impacts.



## Carolyn Coleman (R) 53rd District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 15, 1952  
Church Home: Lakeview Park Church  
of the Nazarene  
Education: Attended Rose State College and  
Southwestern Bible College  
Family: Married, Richard E. Coleman;  
children, Mary Rachel and Sarah Elizabeth  
Occupation: Oil Business  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1990 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 505  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7346  
Home Address: 1617 S.E. 5th, Moore, OK 73130  
Home Phone: 405-799-1403  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee),  
Human Services, Public Health, Transportation



Moore is divided by two districts. The more industrial part of the city is in District 54; the southern and eastern parts of the city, plus parts of Norman west of I-35, are in District 53. This district takes in a rapidly developing part of Cleveland County. Between I-35 and Western Avenue new subdivisions and strip shopping centers are popping up. And, like many "exurban" districts in the U.S., this one votes Republican up and down the ticket.

Republican incumbent Carolyn Coleman was opposed for reelection by Mary Sue Schnell (D-Norman), the director of a performing arts academy. Coleman is an energetic campaigner, stomping the district door-to-door in her minivan. She won her fourth term by a comfortable margin. She is a member of the Education Committee and often uses that forum to push her perspective on education issues.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Carolyn Coleman - R	9,127	63.8%
	Mary Sue Schnell - D	5,178	36.2%
1994	Carolyn Coleman - R	8,139	69.0%
	David McCullough - D	3,707	31.0%
1992	Carolyn Coleman - R	9,579	62.0%
	Mary Sue Schnell - D	5,758	38.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,011                      Republican: 9,976                      Independent: 1,321

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$7,705.00	\$13,702.56	\$1,535.49

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Charles Lackey, physician \$500.00  
 OKIE PAC \$500.00  
 Bruce Graff Jamie, Moore Family Clinic, Chiropractic Care \$600.00  
 SWB OK EmPAC \$400.00  
 OSA PAC \$500.00  
 OKIE PAC \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 5                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 90

**53rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$45,352	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 31%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 4%	Percent College-Educated: 33%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 66%
Percent Employed in Government: 10%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 11%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 11%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Wallace Collins (D) 45th District

Hometown: Norman, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: April 11, 1941  
Church: St. Joseph Catholic Church, Norman  
Education: Graduated Norman High School, 1959  
Family: Married, Pat (Womack);  
children, Eddy, David, Greg, Mike, Ryan, John  
Occupation: Machinist, Collins Auto Machine  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 320  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7386  
Home Address: P.O. Box 124, Norman, OK 73070  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Commerce,  
Industry, and Labor Committee  
Committees: Commerce, Industry, and Labor,  
Insurance, Mental Health, Public Safety



A substantial part of residential Norman near the OU campus is in the 45th District. This is a district of old and new subdivisions, small businesses and some larger ones. The University is important to the district residents, although a substantial number no longer make their living in Norman, but up I-35 in nearby Oklahoma City.

Incumbent Democrat Ed Crocker vacated this seat to run an unsuccessful campaign against Congressman J. C. Watts (R). Five candidates sought to succeed him in office. Wallace Collins, a machinist and small business owner, defeated attorney Ken Adair in the Democratic primary. On the Republican side, private school teacher Steve Byas outpolled attorney Fred Roper for the GOP nomination. In the general election they were joined by Libertarian Randy Boyd. Collins was elected with a plurality 49 percent of the vote. Education, economic, and family issues are priority issues for Collins who was appointed vice-chair of the Commerce, Industry, and Labor Committee.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Wallace Collins - D	5,674	49.0%
	Steve Byas - R	5,495	47.5%
	Randy L. Boyd - Lib.	405	3.5%
1994	Ed Crocker - D	4,836	50.0%
	Steve Byas - R	4,776	50.0%
1992	Ed Crocker - D	7,820	57.0%
	Steve Byas - R	5,807	43.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,556                      Republican: 6,864                      Independent: 1,505

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$26,174.08	\$25,598.79	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

D.R.I.V.E. PAC \$1,000.00  
 AFL-CIO COPE PAC \$1,000.00  
 Democratic Congressional Campaign, Washington, D.C. \$2,500.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$4,500.00  
 Citizens for a Responsible Legislature \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**45th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,455	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 15%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 31%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 73%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 13%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 15%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## James E. Covey (D) 57th District

Hometown: Los Angeles, California

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: February 1, 1949

Church: Independence United Methodist

Education: University of Oklahoma, B.B.A., 1973

Family: Married, Yvonne (Debord);

children, Justin Zane, Burke Wayne, Jill Vonn

Occupation: Farmer/Rancher

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - E

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7325

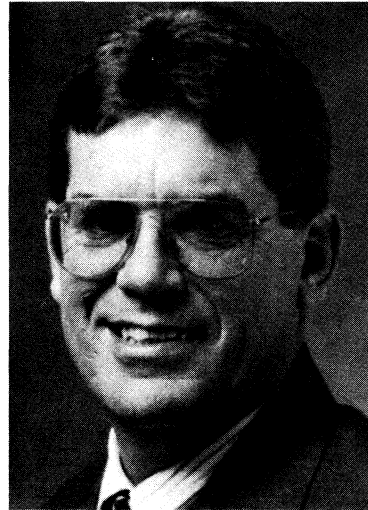
Home Address: Rt. 1, Box 82,

Custer City, Oklahoma, 73639

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Veterans and  
Military Affairs Committee

Committees: Agriculture, Economic Development,  
Education (Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Veterans and  
Military Affairs Committee



George A. Custer and James G. Blaine both wanted to be president; neither was. But, the counties in western Oklahoma that bear their names are in District 57, along with a sliver of Dewey County south of Putnam, OK. Custer County dominates the district. About eighty percent of the district resides in Custer, while about one-third of Blaine County residents and a smattering from Dewey are in the district.

The area represented by this district lies atop the Anadarko Basin; the economy is tied closely to the performance of petroleum. Even in the wake of the oil bust, incomes here are higher than in most of the state. One of the state's four-year public universities, Southwestern Oklahoma State, is located in the district's major town, Weatherford.

Politics are competitive, with Democrats and Republicans both doing well. More recently, Democrats have prevailed in the bottom of the ballot races while Republicans have done well in statewide contests.

Incumbent Bill Widener (D) did not seek reelection. Two Democrats and two Republicans sought to replace him, with James Covey (D-Custer City) ultimately defeating Rick Webb (R-Custer City) in a close race. Covey, a farmer and rancher who was born in Los Angeles, was active in various agriculturally-oriented organizations prior to his election. He is a member of the Agriculture Committee and Vice-Chair of the Veterans Affairs.



## Kevin Cox (D) 97th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1980

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: December 1, 1949

Church: St. John Baptist Church

Education: Florida, A&M University, B.A.,  
Political Science, 1972; University of Georgia,  
M.P.A., 1974

Family: Married, Carlise Ann (Washington);  
children, Kenny Cox

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1981 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 537 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7367

Home Address: 5909 N. Terry,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73111

Home Phone: 405-521-2711

Leadership Positions: Chair, Insurance Committee

Committees: Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee),  
Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources, Insurance, Public Health, Rules



This is a sizeable district that lies to the northeast of Oklahoma City, and centers on Lake Aluma. I-35 and I-44 cut through and merge in this district that is largely east of Sante Fe and north of Northeast 23rd. On the east side it stops just short of Jones, but picks up Spencer. The north boundary is approximately Memorial Road.

The incumbent here is Kevin Cox (D-Oklahoma City). In 1996 he confronted primary opposition from fellow Democrat Ronald Skip Kelly and the winner of the Republican primary match-up, Jim Shirazi (R-Edmond), who was defeated by Oklahoma City Republican Nan Miller. Cox regained his seat for the ninth time with nearly 70 percent of the vote. He chairs the Insurance Committee. He is also active on the Public Health Committee and authored requests for two interim studies in the public health field.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Kevin Cox - D	7,578	69.5%
	Nan Miller - R	3,332	30.5%
1994	Kevin Cox - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,360                      Republican: 3,744                      Independent: 875

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$31,071.21	\$50,549.48	\$17,122.21

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

D.R.I.V.E. PAC \$1,000.00  
 Columbia HCA PAC (health care) \$300.00  
 AFL-CIO \$800.00  
 OKIE PAC \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**97th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$34,080	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 19%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 24%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 69%
Percent Employed in Government: 12%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 27%
Percent African American: 64%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Bob Ed Culver (D) 4th District

Hometown: Tahlequah, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: September 25, 1934

Church: none given

Education: Northeastern State University, 1956;

Dallas Mortuary School, 1957

Family: Married, Jo Ellen (Priest);

children, Bob Ed Jr., Kimberly Ballew,

Rebecca Randolph, David Lawrence

Occupation: Retired owner of funeral home

Political Career: Member, OK House of

Representatives, 1990 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 335

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7408

Home Address: 610 West Delaware,

Tahlequah, OK 74464

Home Phone: 918-456-8100

Leadership Positions: Chair, Corrections Committee

Committees: Corrections, Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech

Subcommittee), Human Services, Public Health



District 4 takes in the southern two-thirds of Cherokee County, and represents over 90 percent of the county residents. The largest city in the district, Tahlequah, was established in 1839 as the seat of the Cherokee Nation. This area has grown steadily, doubling in population since 1960. The history of this area is dotted with the presence of famous outlaws, including Frank and Jesse James and Belle Starr.

The politics of this district, like so much of this part of Oklahoma, is overwhelmingly Democratic. Sixty-two-year old Democrat Bob Ed Culver (Tahlequah) was reelected without opposition in 1996. Retired from both the funeral home business and from volunteer firefighting, Culver has held this safe seat since election in 1990. He serves as the chairman of the Corrections Committee and as a member of the Education Committee, the Human Services Committee, and the Public Health Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Bob Ed Culver - D	unopposed
1994	Bob Ed Culver - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,415                      Republican: 4,490                      Independent: 952

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$4,610.00	\$2,808.76	\$2,183.28

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
OK Firefighters / retirement  
Boatmen's Bank / real estate, rental

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Cherokee County Women's Democratic Club, \$1,000.00  
Gilbert or Reba Green, business investor, \$500.00  
Patrick Pointer, business investor, \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**4th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$25,501	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 26%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Odilia Dank (R) 85th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: September 3, 1938

Church: none given

Education: Casady School, Randolph Macon  
Woman's College, B.A.; University of  
Oklahoma, M. Ed.

Family: Married David M. Dank; children, Trina

Occupation: business woman, retired educator

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 510 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7392

Home Address: 6705 Reed,  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73116

Home Phone: 405-947-5510

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Corrections, Economic Development, Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Tourism and Recreation



Upscale northwest Oklahoma City is the site of House District 85. A large, professional population in this district tends to be Republican and conservative. It serves as the home for the Fleming Foods headquarters and for Deaconess and Integris hospitals. Penn Square Mall also attracts many visitors to this district.

Incumbent Odilia Dank (R-Oklahoma City) was unopposed for reelection. She is a retired educator and presently a businesswoman. Education is a primary concern of hers as she supports charter schools and school choice legislation. She serves on the Education Committee. Her interest in truth in sentencing and tax relief for small businesses is reflected in her membership on the Corrections Committee and the Economic Development Committee.





## Frank Davis (D) 31st District

Hometown: Ada, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1978  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: August 24, 1936  
Church: First United Methodist Church, Guthrie  
Education: East Central State University, B.A.,  
1958; University of Oklahoma, LL.B., 1959  
Family: Married, Kay Diane (Higginbotham);  
children, David Lincoln and Paul Michael  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Chairman, Pontotoc Co.  
Republicans, 1957-59; Logan Co. Republicans,  
1965-70; Republican State Comm., 1970-1975  
Capitol Address: Rm. 509  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7350  
Home Address: 115 N. Division, Guthrie, OK 73044  
Home Phone: 405-282-1478  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Judiciary Committee  
Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget (Public Safety and Transportation  
Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Government Operations  
and Agency Oversight, Judiciary, Rules



Guthrie was the territorial capitol of Oklahoma. It is also the site of the largest urban district on the National Historic Register, which takes in fourteen blocks of red brick, Victorian structures that date from the territorial days. The capitol was removed to (or stolen by, depending on who you talk to) Oklahoma City in June of 1910. And, while Oklahoma City has grown into a major, nationally-known metropolis, Guthrie has remained largely unchanged in size and character for almost a century.

District 31 includes the city of Guthrie and Logan County south of the Cimarron River, and parts of Edmond and Oklahoma County that straddle I-35. This is a district with strong Republican leanings. Except for a period during FDR's presidency, this district has voted Republican in state and national elections since statehood. Half of the local officials (but none of the county commissioners) are Republicans, and the district representatives have been Republican since 1972. Edmond, on the southern edge of the district, is one of the most prosperous and conservative communities in Oklahoma, and Guthrie has a strong GOP tradition.

Retired electrical engineer Jim Hunt (D-Guthrie) challenged incumbent Republican Frank Davis in this district in 1996, but he made little headway. Davis is an attorney with a long career in public service. He was assistant minority leader in the House for two terms and is currently a rare Republican in a committee leadership position. He is vice-chair of the Judiciary Committee and is a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Frank W. Davis - R	9,575	73.4%
	C. E. Jim Hunt, Jr. - D	3,464	26.6%
1994	Frank W. Davis - R	unopposed	
1992	Frank W. Davis - R	9,386	66.0%
	Dan Triplett - D	4,711	34.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 9,156                      Republican: 10,159                      Independent: 1,105

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$6,215.00	\$7,658.63	\$431.37

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Guthrie Public Schools / salary  
 Estate of Rosella Gaskill / attorney's fees  
 Estate of Ruby Tryon / attorney fees  
 Rural Water District No. 1 / attorney's fees not paid from appropriated funds  
 Nat'l Livestock Commission Co. / cattle sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Frank W. Davis, Attorney \$1,700.00  
 United Community Bankers, PAC \$300.00  
 House GOP PAC 250.00  
 OG&E Employee PAC \$250.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 40                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 3                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 90

**31st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$39,407	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 5%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 25%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 23
Percent African American: 8%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Abe Deutschendorf (D) 62nd District

Hometown: Cordell, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: February 12, 1935

Church: Trinity Baptist Church, Lawton

Education: Cameron College; University of Central Oklahoma, B.A., History, 1957

Family: Married, Sammy L. (Thomas); children, Jerry, Terri

Occupation: Retired School Administrator

Political Career: Member, OK House of Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 325

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7374

Home Address: 223 Crystal Hills Drive, Lawton, OK 73505

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: Chair, Science and Technology Committee

Committees: Economic Development, Education

(Common Education Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee), Public Health, Science and Technology



Fort Sill was established by General Philip Sheridan in 1869 as a cavalry fort. Now it is the home of the Army's Field Artillery Training Center. If it goes boom, they have it in Lawton. The area just south of Fort Sill and to the west of I-44 constitutes House District 62. Contrary to the image one gets immediately near Fort Sill — the pawn shops, check cashers, and car dealerships that typify Army towns — Lawton is a clean city with middle class homes and institutions of higher learning such as Cameron University.

The Democrats have not lost a state legislative race in Lawton since the New Deal. Success at higher levels has become more elusive, however. Lyndon Johnson was the last Democrat to carry Comanche County for president. More recently, Frank Keating was the first Republican gubernatorial candidate to carry Comanche County since World War I. Voter registration remains overwhelmingly Democratic, although this is not an accurate reflection of voter preferences in this district or county.

Incumbent Abe Deutschendorf (D) was opposed for reelection by Douglas Bayless (R), but was reelected with two-thirds of the votes. He is a retired school administrator in his second term. He authored the request for an interim study on outstanding reading programs. He chairs the Science and Technology Committee and is a member of the Joint Legislative Oversight Committee on Local Government Finance and Accountability. He is vice-chair of the joint committee on Federal Funds, Data Processing, and Telecommunications.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Abe Deuschendorf - D	5,965	66.3%
	Douglas F. Bayless - R	3,032	33.7%
1994	Abe Deuschendorf - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,768                      Republican: 4,651                      Independent: 879

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$20,229.00	\$18,769.00	\$647.58

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
OK Teacher's Retirement System

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Medical PAC \$600.00  
Independent Energy PAC \$500.00  
OK House of Reps. Democratic Party PAC \$470.32 + \$2,350.00  
George Kaiser, Pres., Kaiser Francis Oil Co. \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**62nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$34,789	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 17%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 31%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 15%	Percent Employed in Service: 73%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 14%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 14%
Percent African American: 20%	Percent Hispanic American: 6%
Percent Asian American: 4%	

## James H. Dunegan (D) 21st District

Hometown: Albany, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: January 28, 1940  
Church: none given  
Education: graduated, Albany High School  
Family: Married Sandra M. (Loyd);  
children, Michael H., Stephen W., Lori Ann,  
Tammy Michelle, and step-daughter Diane Renae  
Occupation: Owner, Dunegan Crop Insurance Agency,  
Cattle Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1990 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 332  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7366  
Home Address: P.O. Box 425, Calera, OK 74730  
Home Phone: 580-434-5852  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Tourism and Recreation  
Committee; Vice Chair, Public Safety and Transportation Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Public Safety and Transportation Subcommittee),  
Criminal Justice, Tourism and Recreation, Transportation



Bryan County is District 21, or at least all but a few square miles of it. Nestled on the Texas border where the Blue and Red Rivers converge, Bryan County has incomes above the average for Little Dixie, and low unemployment thanks to the presence of several manufacturing concerns and the presence of Southeastern Oklahoma State University, whose new president is former Speaker of the House Glen Johnson.

Democrats dominate politics and outnumber registered Republicans almost 9 to 1. All of the local officials are Democrats, and Republicans have not carried the district for any major office in living memory. That loyalty may be soft. Bill Clinton carried the county with less than a majority in 1992, and in 1994 Wes Watkins took 60 percent of the district vote as an independent. Watkins came within 300 votes of carrying the district in his Republican congressional bid in 1996.

Despite these faint Republican rumblings, incumbent Democrat James Dunegan of Calera seems quite safe; he had no opposition for renomination or reelection in 1996. He began his fourth term receiving an appointment to the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the chairmanship of the Tourism and Recreation Committee. He authored the request for several interim studies including one on tourism and recreation and another on the fire ant problem in Oklahoma.



## Mary Easley (D) 78th District

Hometown: Cassville, Missouri  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: none given  
Religion: none given  
Education: Friends University, Wichita, B.A.,  
Language Arts and Business; Northeastern  
Oklahoma State University, M.A.  
Family: Married, Truman Easley;  
children, Michael Easley, Senator Kevin Easley,  
Lisa Gage  
Occupation: Retired Teacher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - C  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7334  
Home Address: 1360 S. 99th Street East Avenue,  
Tulsa, OK 74128  
Home Phone:  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Insurance  
Committee  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Criminal Justice,  
Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources



The University of Tulsa is one of several colleges in Tulsa. Tulsa University is one of the finest universities in the western plains, and probably the finest private college in Oklahoma. TU sits in the center of House District 78, just above Expo Square and to the west of the downtown medical centers that constitute the western edge of the district.

Incumbent Flint Breckinridge (R) was challenged for reelection by retired school teacher Mary Easley (D). This "retired school teacher" had some advantages, however. Perhaps chief among them is that one of her children is state Senator Kevin Easley. In the end, Easley captured a 300 vote victory. She now serves as the Vice-Chair of the Insurance Committee and was a co-sponsor of the request for the watershed interim study.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mary Easley - D	7,312	51.0%
	Flint Breckinridge - R	7,014	49.0%
1994	Flint Breckinridge - R	unopposed	
1992	Flint Breckinridge - R	8,756	53.0%
	Bruce E. Niemi - D	7,821	47.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 9,600                      Republican: 9,585                      Independent: 1,181

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$45,345.00	\$45,610.88	\$0.12

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Teacher's Retirement System of OK

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Oklahoma State AFL-CIO COPE \$2,000.00  
Chesapeake Energy Corp. \$1,000.00  
Mike Cantrell, businessman, (OKC) \$2,200.00  
Democratic Caucus \$4,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 3

**78th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$32,212	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 31%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 73%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Joe Eddins (D) 6th District

Hometown: Muskogee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: October 7, 1934  
Church: Methodist  
Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A., 1953  
Family: Married, Suzanne;  
children, John, Michael, Thomas  
Occupation: Cattleman  
Political Career: Vinita City Council,  
Vinita School Board  
Capitol Address: Rm. 323  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7319  
Home Address: 601 North Miller, Vinita, OK 74301  
Home Phone: 918-256-2205  
Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader;  
Chair, Mental Health  
Committees: Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Mental Health, Public Health, Retirement  
Laws, Small Business



Craig County makes up about 45 percent of House District 6. The rest of the district takes in northwestern Mayes County, and the northern stretches of Rogers County above Claremore. Local politics here are a largely Democratic affair. Most local offices are won and held by Democrats, and registered Democrats far outnumber Republicans. However, Democrats suffer from the debilitating disease noted by Rogers County son Will Rogers, who said "I am a member of no organized party; I am a Democrat." Republican candidates have run well here at the national and statewide level.

Incumbent Joe Eddins (D, Vinita) confronted Republican challenger Joe Franklin in the general election. Eddins serves as chair of the Mental Health Committee and also on the Public Health Committee, and the Small Business Committee. He is also an Assistant Majority Leader. Active in the health field, he authored requests for interim studies on mental health, public health home visits, and child care. He also serves on the Task Force on Medicaid Managed Care Services for People with Developmental Disabilities.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Joe Eddins - D	6,915	52.6%
	Jay Franklin - R	6,235	47.4%
1994	Joe Eddins - D	5,494	52.0%
	Mike Roark - R	5,004	48.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,466                      Republican: 5,603                      Independent: 798

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$25,849.00	\$23,112.00	\$3,258.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Crockett Corp. / motel, land sale  
 William D. Novell/ motel, land sale  
 F&R Livestock Auction / livestock sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Citizens for a Responsible Legislature \$1,000.00  
 House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$4,850.00  
 OK State AFL-CIO \$1,000.00  
 Curtis Mewbourn (oil interests) \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

**6th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$30,088	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 16%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 62%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Mike Ervin (D) 28th District

Hometown: Henryetta, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: October 12, 1961  
Church: First Baptist Church, Wewoka  
Education: Seminole Junior College, Associate's Degree, Business Administration  
Family: Married, Johnna (McKenzie); Children, Mica, Jon, Michael, Trey  
Occupation: Electrician  
Political Career: Wewoka City Council  
Capitol Address: Rm. 319  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7372  
Home Address: P.O. Box 1663, Wewoka, OK 74884  
Home Phone: 405-257-5916  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Revenue and Taxation  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources, Government Operations and Agency Oversight, Revenue and Taxation, Transportation



All of Seminole county, and small portions of Okfuskee and Lincoln County, make up House District 28. Incomes are higher than the regional average, in part due to the continued presence of the oil industry here since the 1920s. Much of the local economy is tied to businesses that support the oil industry, or to light manufacturing and agriculture.

Politics is predominantly Democratic at the local level. No local officeholder is a Republican. Republicans have had limited success in statewide contests: Reagan and Nixon ran well here, but Bill Clinton carried the district in 1992 and Wes Watkins won a majority of the district vote as an independent in 1994. In 1996, incumbent Mike Ervin (D-Wewoka), was challenged by 27-year-old audio installation man Mark Gwartney from Seminole.

Ervin gained relatively easy reelection to his second term. Ervin is an electrician who chairs the Joint Committee on Interstate Cooperation. He is also vice-chair of the Revenue and Taxation Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mike Ervin - D	6,180	63.8%
	Mark Gwartney - R	3,507	36.2%
1994	Mike Ervin - D	6,100	68.0%
	Billy Mack Jones - R	2,902	32.0%
1992	Danny Williams - D	8,422	73.0%
	Billy Mack Jones - R	3,162	27.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,159

Republican: 2,780

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$30,063.21	\$29,640.67	\$422.54

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Ervin Electric / elect. contractor, salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

KOCH Industries \$500.00  
OK House of Representatives Democratic PAC \$2,000.00  
OK House Dem. Caucus PAC \$1,000.00  
OKIE PAC \$750.00  
Tulsa General Drivers \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10  
Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 7

**28th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$23,910	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 25%	Percent Employed in Service: 55%
Percent Employed in Government: 9%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 11%
Percent Over Age 55: 27%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 36%
Percent African American: 9%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Randall L. Erwin (D) 19th District

Hometown: Nashoba, Oklahoma

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: July 18, 1951

Church: none given

Education: East Central University, B.A., Math and Physics; Southeastern Oklahoma State University; graduate work at the University of Oklahoma

Family: Married, Diane (Long); children, Tara Lee and Brittini Dawn

Occupation: Educator

Political Career: Member, OK House of Representatives, 1993 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 535 - C

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7382

Home Address: P.O. Box 18, Nashoba, OK 74558

Home Phone: 918-755-4415

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader; Vice Chair, Natural Resources Subcommittee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Natural Resources Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Government Operations and Agency Oversight, Transportation, Wildlife



Situated along the Texas border, District 19 encompasses two entire counties and part of a third. About half of the district residents are in Choctaw County; another 10,000 reside in Pushmataha County, and 5,000 residents of western McCurtain County are cobbled into this district to bring it up to population standards. Choctaw County is the economically less-developed part of the district, relying mainly on agriculture. While agriculture is also the basis of the economy in Pushmataha, manufacturing jobs help keep unemployment lower there than in Choctaw County.

Like much of Little Dixie, Democrats predominate in local and legislative races. However, that loyalty is as much to individuals as to party: Independent Wes Watkins won a majority of the vote in this district in 1994, and he ran ahead of the rest of the GOP ticket in his 1996 congressional bid. The incumbent, Democrat Randall Lee Erwin from Nashoba, was unchallenged for reelection in 1996. Erwin was a school superintendent when elected to the legislature in 1992. He is in the middle of the House leadership being an Assistant Majority Leader, a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee, and a member of the Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Committee.



## Larry Ferguson (R) 35th District

Hometown: Pawnee, Oklahoma

Elected: 1984

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 4, 1937

Church: First Christian Church, Cleveland

Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A., 1960

Family: Married, Nina Gay;

children, Lori, Rustin, Kari

Occupation: Publisher, Ranching, and Farming

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1985 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 548

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7344

Home Address: P.O. Box 7, Cleveland, OK 74020

Home Phone: 918-358-2365

Leadership Positions: Minority Floor Leader

Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and  
Budget (Education Subcommittee), Rules,  
Tourism and Recreation, Transportation



The land that traces the southern shore of the Arkansas river is rich with agriculture and cattle ranching. Noble County and Pawnee County make up the bulk of District 35; a small part of Osage County is attached to this district to round out the population count. Pawnee County provides half of the district population, but Noble County has provided a lot of the political distinction. Two governors, two congressmen, and a U.S. Senator have been provided by this tiny county that contains less than one-half of one percent of the state's population.

Although this district elects several Democratic local officials, Republicans have been historically competitive here in statewide elections. Indeed, except for the first eight years of the New Deal, the counties in this district have almost always been carried by Republicans for president and governor. Two Democrats, Joe Vickers of Pawnee and Peggy Lucas Prewitt of Cleveland, squared off in the August primary for the right to challenge incumbent Republican Larry Ferguson. Ferguson easily won reelection over Prewitt. A publisher, rancher, and farmer, Ferguson has been in the legislature since 1985. He has been the Minority Floor Leader since 1991.





## Lloyd Fields (D) 18th District

Hometown: Pawhuska, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: September 10, 1957  
Church: Nazarene  
Education: Attended Kiamichi Vo-Tech  
Family: Married, Mary Ann (Riddle);  
children, Amanda, Tabatha, Kylie  
Occupation: Plumbing Contractor and Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 535 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7376  
Home Address: P.O. Box 3189,  
McAlester, OK 74501  
Home Phone: 918-389-4864  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Commerce, Industry  
and Labor Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Public Safety and Transportation), Commerce,  
Industry, and Labor, Corrections, Small Business, Transportation



McAlester and the northern part of Pittsburg County constitute District 8. This is the heart of Little Dixie. The politics here are overwhelmingly Democratic. McAlester has a tradition of producing politicians that make their mark in state politics. Such notables as Carl Albert and George Nigh have come out of the courthouses and civic organizations of Pittsburg County.

Agriculture, especially cash crops and meat processing (the McAlester Union Stockyards are among the largest in the Southwest), are important to the local economy. This is an area that also collects governmental institutions. The U.S. Army has a large ammunition plant here, and in the mid-1980s McAlester probably had more former elected officials in residence than any other city due to the presence of the Oklahoma State Penitentiary.

All of the local officials in the area are Democrats, and they have been for as long as anyone can remember. Richard Nixon carried this district in 1972, but even then George McGovern ran ahead of his statewide performance. The county has been solidly Democratic in presidential elections since then. Independent Wes Watkins carried a plurality of the vote here in 1994, and Ross Perot (1992) and George Wallace (1968) both ran ahead of their statewide performances in Pittsburg County.

The incumbent, Lloyd Fields (D-McAlester), was challenged in the general election by retired gas man David Attebury. Fields, a plumber and rancher, has been active in community affairs. He handily won his third term. Fields is chair of the Commerce, Industry, and Labor Committee and a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. Fields drafted a variety of legislation during the First Session of the Forty-Sixth Legislature including a law on unemployment compensation and one creating a Public Health Insurance Plan Reserves Task Force.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	LLoyd L. Fields - D	8,530	65.8%
	David L. Attebury - R	4,436	34.2%
1994	LLoyd L. Fields - D	8,628	83.0%
	Charles T. Horsley - I	1,821	17.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,687	Republican: 2,492	Independent: 776
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**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$18,065.00	\$19,352.00	\$606.80

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House Representatives  
 LLoyd L. Fields Town & Country Plbg., Htg., & Air Cond. / plumbing & AC contractor

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Dental PAC \$500.00  
 OK House of Reps. Dem. PAC \$2,000.00  
 AFL-CIO COPE PAC \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

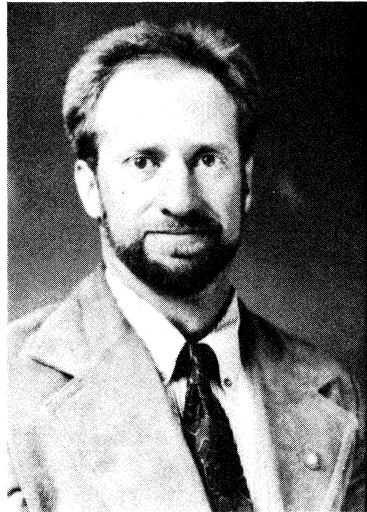
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**18th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$25,519	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 10%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 20%	Percent Employed in Service: 61%
Percent Employed in Government: 12%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 30%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 37%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## **Bobby Frame (D) 15th District**

Hometown: Muskogee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: March 14, 1959  
Church: Church of Christ  
Education: Graduated Checotah High School  
Family: Married, Karen (Stieglitz);  
children, Trey, Megan, Allan  
Occupation: Retail Building Materials  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - D  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7375  
Home Address: 305 S.W. 4th Street,  
Checotah, OK 74426  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Wildlife Committee  
Committees: Agriculture, Insurance, Tourism and  
Recreation, Wildlife



District 15 includes all of Haskell and McIntosh Counties, as well as about 5,000 residents of Muskogee County south of I-40. This area was first settled by Creeks, and later by the Choctaw. The county seat of McIntosh — Eufaula — takes its name from an old Creek town in Alabama. The oldest newspaper in the state, *The Indian Journal*, is published here. The economy includes meat packing, milling, and shipping. Incomes are below the state average.

Incumbent Democrat Chester Rhodes did not seek reelection in this district. A crowded field of six, including five Democrats, emerged. The lone Republican was George Hedrick, a retired government worker. Among the Democrats were Bobby Frame, a Checotah building materials retailer; Jim Jones, a banker from Checotah; Mark Mann, a Checotah realtor; Chuck Johnson, a contractor from Eufaula; and Kim Ray Brownfield, a counselor from Council Hill. In November, Frame easily defeated Hedrick. Frame was appointed to the Agriculture Committee and named vice-chair of the Wildlife Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Bobby Frame - D	9,423	71.6%
	George M. Hedrick - R	3,745	28.4%
1994	Chester Dusty Rhodes - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 19,917                      Republican: 1,898                      Independent: 575

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$11,304.12	\$11,386.82	\$700.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (Washington, DC) \$5,000.00  
 Rodger Beaud, Choctaw, OK \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 9

**15th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$21,676	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 7%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 11%
Percent Over Age 55: 32%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 41%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Darrell Gilbert (D) 72nd District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: February 8, 1950  
Church: Sequoyah Hills Baptist Church  
Education: Tulsa University, B.F.A.  
Family: Married, Kathryn (Fluke);  
children, Karyn, Darren, Shawn  
Occupation: Graphic Artist  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 326  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7391  
Home Address: 4417 E. Woodrow Place,  
Tulsa, OK 74115  
Home Phone: none given  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Mental  
Health Committee  
Committees: County and Municipal Government,  
Economic Development, Education (Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech  
Subcommittee), Mental Health



From the gleaming towers of downtown Tulsa (built by oil money) the view to the north is striking; at the center of that view is Mohawk Park, also built by oil money with liberal assistance from nature and taxation. District 72 stretches from just to the east of the glass city on the hill, runs north along the side of Tulsa International Airport, and then fans out in a “t” shape to the south of Owasso.

The incumbent in this district, Democrat Don McCorkell, ran for the U.S. Senate and did not seek reelection. The fight to succeed him was waged by three candidates. Tulsa businessman Leo Burgard was the lone Republican candidate, while Democrats Darrell Gilbert and Gene Cooper met in the August primary. Gilbert won that contest and again in November. Gilbert is a graphic artist. He serves as vice-chair of the Mental Health Committee and is a member of the Joint Committee to Evaluate Psychology Masters Degree Programs. Gilbert stresses the importance of economic development issues to his district.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Darrell Gilbert - D	5,114	66.7%
	Leo P. Burgard - R	2,549	33.3%
1994	Don McCorkell, Jr. - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,835                      Republican: 3,699                      Independent: 1,326

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$12,406.52	\$11,700.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
NATCO / graphic artist mfg., salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus PAC \$1,850.00  
Teamsters Local 523 D.R.I.V.E. PAC \$1,000.00  
OK AFL-CIO COPE PAC \$800.00  
I.B.E.W. Educational PAC \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

**72nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$19,635	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 4%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 0%	Percent College-Educated: 12%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 24%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 26%	Percent Hispanic American: 4%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## James R. Glover (D) 65th District

Hometown: Holdenville, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1976  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: December 3, 1945  
Church: Baptist  
Education: Cameron University  
Family: Linda Gayle (Martinez);  
children, Tim Len, James Bruce, Jennifer Ray  
Occupation: Farmer and rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1977 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 408  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7305  
Home Address: P.O. Box 560, Elgin, OK 73538  
Home Phone: 405-521-2711  
Leadership Positions: Speaker Pro Tempore  
Emeritus; Vice Chair, Judiciary and Law  
Enforcement Subcommittee  
Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and  
Budget (Judiciary and Law Enforcement Subcommittee), Corrections, Rules,  
Transportation



In 1997, the *Chicago Sun-Times* declared Lawton to be the number-one vacation bargain for Chicago families. A day's drive from the Windy City, Lawton has history, recreation, and scenery, much of which can be found in House District 65. Taking in Comanche County north of US 62 and Fort Sill, the 65th includes Lake Ellsworth and some of the finest hiking in the Wichita hills, as well as much of the 95,000 acre Fort Sill.

Incumbent Jim Glover (D-Comanche) was opposed by the operator of a commercial laundry, Chris Smith (R-Fletcher). Glover was comfortably reelected and has entered his third decade in the legislature. He carries the title Speaker Pro Tempore Emeritus. There is nothing emeritus about his performance, though. His successful battle to provide for fines for those not wearing seat belts (a reversal of his previous position) put him on Frosty Troy's list of top legislative performers.





## Bill Graves (R) 84th District

Hometown: Sweeny, Texas

Elected: 1988

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 4, 1937

Church: Heritage Baptist Church

Education: University of Oklahoma, B.A.,

Journalism: Oklahoma City University, J.D.

Family: Married Connie (Martin);

children, Melissa, Jennifer, Zac, Ben,

Jonathan, Timothy

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: State Representative, 1978 - 1986;

Minority Whip, 1983 - 84; Asst. Minority

Floor Leader, 1985 - 86; Member, OK House  
of Representatives, 1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 501

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7348

Home Address: 200 N. Harvey Ste. 304,

Oklahoma City, OK 73102

Home Phone: 405-235-5811

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Criminal Justice, Judiciary, Public Health, Revenue and Taxation



Just west of Oklahoma City proper is some of the most densely populated parts of Oklahoma: the communities of Warr Acres and Bethany. This district is a piece of redistricting artistry, stretching along North 50th for about two-and-a-half miles near the Deaconess Hospital, then jutting south through Warr Acres to the west of Will Rogers Park, and then bearing west-northwest to pick up Bethany and Southern Nazarene University.

Republican incumbent Bill Graves was opposed for reelection by Bethany firefighter Herb Bradshaw (D). Except for a brief period in the mid-1980s, Graves has been in the House of Representatives since 1978. He is an attorney by profession and serves on both the Judiciary and the Criminal Justice Committees. A well-known conservative activist who leads the fight to change the ordering of parties on the Oklahoma ballot, he requested an interim study on the identification and separation of public library materials.



## Charles Gray (D) 89th District

Hometown: Binger, Oklahoma

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: September 18, 1948

Church: none given

Education: Graduated Central State  
University, 1971

Family: Married, Twyla (Mason);  
children, Sarah

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Served in the 37th and 38th  
Legislatures, Member OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 536

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7397

Home Address: 3045 S.W. 37th Street,  
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73119

Home Phone: 405-682-2444

Leadership Positions: Chair, Administrative Rule Review

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Insurance, Public Health, Public Safety



The center of downtown Oklahoma City for many people is the Myriad Gardens, just off I-40. If you head southwest from the Myriad, you will cross I-40 and eventually end up at the old Downtown Airpark. The small, compact area between, encompassing about eight square miles, is House District 89.

Charles Gray (D-Oklahoma City) was unopposed in his bid for a third term in the legislature. In a previous go around, Gray served in the House in the 37th and 38th Legislatures. He serves as the chair of the Administrative Rule Review Committee.



## Joan Greenwood (R) 54th District

Hometown: Glendale, California  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 7, 1942  
Home Church: Shekinah Fellowship  
Education: San Jose University, B.A., English  
Family: Married, Tom Greenwood;  
children, Laura, Douglas, Holly  
Occupation: Legislator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 502  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7343  
Home Address: 2513 Ridgewood Drive,  
Moore, OK 73160  
Home Phone: 405-794-0746  
Leadership Positions: Minority Caucus Secretary  
Committees: Community and Family Responsibilities,  
Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Human  
Services, Public Health



The city of Moore stretches across northern Cleveland County. District 54 represents the northern, industrialized part of Moore, and stretches in a thin line along the Oklahoma County/Cleveland County line. Unlike Norman (the other major city in Cleveland County), Moore is working class and less prosperous. Religious fundamentalism is more common here.

Two Democrats sought to oppose incumbent Joan Greenwood in the general election: Leigh Tucker, a professor, and Stephen Jevons (D-Moore). In the end, Greenwood easily defeated Tucker to win her fifth term. A former English teacher who hails from California, she serves on the Education Committee and the Community and Family Responsibilities Committee. Greenwood also serves as the Minority Caucus Secretary. She authored a request for an interim study on prepaid college tuition.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Joan Greenwood - R	7,017	62.4%
	Leigh Tucker - D	4,235	37.6%
1994	Joan Greenwood - R	unopposed	
1992	Joan Greenwood - R	7,960	61.0%
	Leigh Tucker - D	4,995	39.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,722                      Republican: 8,085                      Independent: 1,156

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$11,905.00	\$10,329.22	\$1,479.64

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Optometric PAC \$450.00  
 OKIE PAC \$200.00  
 SW EmPAC \$200.00  
 Chiro PAC \$200.00  
 AT&T PAC \$200.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 5                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 90

**54th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$34,032	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 20%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 24%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 20%	Percent Employed in Service: 67%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 14%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 15%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## James Hager (D) 36th District

Hometown: Hominy, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: November 10, 1953  
Church: none given  
Education: Attended Eastern Oklahoma State College  
Family: Married Alma (Rennick);  
children, Geoffrey and Matthew  
Occupation: Retailer  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 305 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7322  
Home Address: P.O. Box 728, Pawshuska, OK 74056  
Home Phone: 918-287-3836  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Education Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Education  
Subcommittee), Banking and Finance, Corrections,  
Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee,  
Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Rules



If one looks in the *Oklahoma Almanac* at the description of Osage County, they would see that "In 1872, the United States Government purchased land from the Cherokee Nation for the Osage tribe . . . at statehood, the Osage Reservation became Osage County." Three-quarters of the old Osage Reservation make up District 36. Oil was found here early on, and still contributes to the economy (Bartlesville is just outside the district borders), as does cattle and horse ranching. The Osage tribe is still headquartered in Pawhuska. About 15 percent of the district is Native American; however, unlike the counties with large Indian populations to the southeast, incomes here are high and unemployment is low.

This is the most northwestern of the predominantly Democratic counties in the state, and the district votes more Democratic than any other on the Kansas border. All local officeholders are Democratic, and both Bill Clinton and Jack Mildren carried this district in their statewide contests. However, the Republicans are quite alive and well here, if not a little feisty. Incumbent James Hager (D-Pawhuska) was challenged by Republican Handshy in the November election, but Hager received nearly three-quarters of the votes cast. Hager, about to complete a decade in the House, is chair of the Education Committee and is also on the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He and Barbara Staggs requested an interim study on the Oklahoma School Testing Program.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	James Hager - D	7,626	73.9%
	John Handshy - R	2,693	26.1%
1994	James Hager - D	6,133	72.0%
	John Handshy - R	2,444	28.0%
1992	James Hager - D	8,792	76.0%
	John J. May - R	2,850	24.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 11,442                      Republican: 3,780                      Independent: 670

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$32,579.00	\$32,672.18	\$1,320.95

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

KOCH PAC (oil and gas) \$500.00  
 Democratic Caucus PAC (OKC) \$1,500.00  
 OK Independent Energy PAC \$1,100.00  
 Aubrey McClendon (CEO-Chesapeake Energy Corp.) \$750.00  
 Tulsa General Drivers Teamsters Local 523 D.R.I.V.E. PAC \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

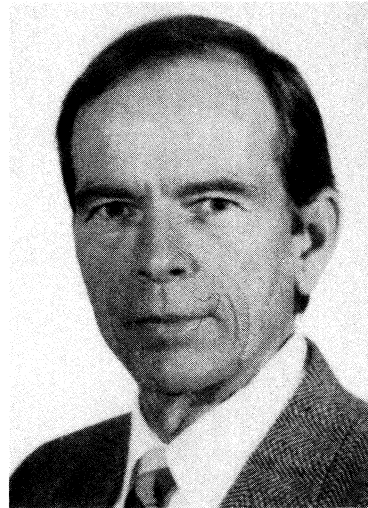
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 6

**36th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$25,828	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 24%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 12%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 15%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## James E. Hamilton (D) 3rd District

Hometown: Howe, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1984  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: December 2, 1935  
Church: none given  
Education: Oklahoma State University, 1957;  
University of Oklahoma, J.D., 1960  
Family: Married, Nancy Jo (Livesay);  
children, Lance Lee and Melissa Lea  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: President Pro Tempore, OK State  
Senate, 1973-74; Member OK Senate, 1967-1976;  
Member, OK House of Representatives,  
1985 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 432 - D  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7330  
Home Address: P.O. Box 660, Poteau, OK 74593  
Home Phone:



Leadership Positions: Chair, Appropriations and Budget Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Judiciary and Law Enforcement Subcommittee),  
Community and Family Responsibilities, Revenue and Taxation, Rules, Science and  
Technology

East of US 271 in LeFlore County lies most of District 3, including the county seat of Poteau. The country has a rich political history. Senator Robert S. Kerr, "the King of the Senate," resided here. Another congressional great is immortalized by Carl Albert State College, named for the long-time congressman from Little Dixie who served as Speaker of the U.S. House.

Like many Little Dixie districts, the politics of the 3rd is decidedly Democratic. Bill Clinton won here in 1992 and 1996, and Democratic registrants outnumber the few Republicans by staggering proportions. However, personalities also matter. Wes Watkins won this district as an independent gubernatorial candidate in 1994, and he also ran better here than previous Republicans in the 1996 congressional elections.

Incumbent James Hamilton (D-Heavener) was reelected without primary or general election opposition in 1996. He chairs the powerful Appropriations and Budget Committee. Hamilton initially served in the State Senate (from 1967-1976) before being elected to the House in 1984. Beyond his responsibilities for appropriations, Hamilton is active in other budgetary and bonding issues and chairs the Joint Budget and Oversight Program Committee. He also serves on a number of state committees including the University Hospitals Trust Legislative Advisory Task Force.



## Chris Hastings (R) 79th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 30, 1955  
Church: Resurrection  
Education: University of Notre Dame, B.B.A.;  
University of Oklahoma, J.D.  
Family: Married, Toni (Cullison);  
children, David, Kristen, Blake  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1994 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 539 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7330  
Home Address: 6547 South Hudson Place,  
Tulsa, OK 74136  
Home Phone: 918-588-4587  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Judiciary, Rules,  
Transportation, Veterans and Military Affairs



House District 79 takes in much of Tulsa near the I-44/Broken Arrow Expressway interchange, including neighborhoods near Hicks Park and Whiteside Park, and then runs southeast to Broken Arrow, where it ends at Garnett Avenue.

Chris Hastings (R) was challenged for reelection by attorney Bret Unterschuetz (D), but was handily reelected. A Notre Dame graduate, Hastings returned home to receive his J.D. from the University of Tulsa. In his second term, Hastings has set a busy agenda for himself. He serves on five committees and requested two interim studies, including one on the privatization of the state insurance fund. He also serves on the Joint Electric Utility Task Force. He was named Legislator of the Year by the Oklahoma Tax Action Group.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Chris Hastings - R	10,576	76.5%
	Bret A. Unterschuetz - D	3,242	23.5%
1994	Chris Hastings - R	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 7,205                      Republican: 12,588                      Independent: 1,181

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$52,079.00	\$55,274.00	\$2,712.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Attorney

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Blake Hastings, businessman \$2,500.00  
 J. Dasovich, attorney (OKC) \$2,500.00  
 OKIE PAC \$1,000.00  
 Ray H. Siegfried, chairman, Nordam \$5,000.00  
 Robin Siegfried, businessman, Lori \$1,000.00  
 Aubrey McClendon, Chesapeake Energy \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 63

**79th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$41,244	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 29%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 46%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 78%
Percent Employed in Government: 2%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 22%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 21%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## **Jerry W. Hefner (D) 12th District**

Hometown: Wagoner, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: July 25, 1949  
Church: none given  
Education: Northeastern Oklahoma State University  
Family: Children, Jeffrey  
Occupation: Owner, Hefner Block Plant  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 328  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7388  
Home Address: Rt. 3, Box 345, Wagoner, OK 74467  
Home Phone: 918-485-8666  
Leadership Positions: Chair, General Government  
Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (General  
Government Subcommittee), Energy, Environment  
and Natural Resources, Judiciary, Transportation



Wagoner County north of the Muskogee Turnpike is in District 12, including the county seat of Wagoner (pop. 6894) and Fort Gibson Lake. One of the earliest cattle trails in the west, the East Shawnee Trail, cut through this territory, and white settlement in this area far predates the opening of the territory. The Port of Tulsa is important to the local economy, although the backbone of the economy is still grain and cattle.

Incumbent Democrat Jerry Hefner attracted two Republican challengers: Jerry Hill, a cattleman from Muskogee, and Kerry Monroe, a businessman from Broken Arrow. Hefner overcame a strong challenge from Hill in November to win his fifth term. He is the chair of the General Government Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. In the First Session of the Forty-Sixth Legislature, Hefner sponsored legislation changing the definition of war veterans and authorizing various commemorative license plates.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Jerry W. Hefner - D	7,279	56.0%
	Jerry Hill - R	5,667	44.0%
1994	Jerry W. Hefner - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,459                      Republican: 6,179                      Independent: 917

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$38,094.47	\$35,491.08	\$10,851.02

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 OK National Guard / salary  
 Hefner Block Plant / manufacturing, salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

L.E.G.A.L. PAC \$2,500.00  
 Tulsa Teamsters \$1,000.00  
 OK House of Rep. Democratic PAC \$4,000.00  
 Democrats for Better Government \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**12th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$31,654	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 19%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 28%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 20%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 27%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Todd Hiett (R) 29th District

Hometown: Kellyville, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: July 9, 1967

Church: First Baptist Church, Sapulpa

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S., 1989

Family: Married, Bridget Anne (Beil);  
children, Jimmy and John

Occupation: Rancher and Dairyman

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 547

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7353

Home Address: Rt 1, Box 32, Kellyville, OK 74039

Home Phone: 918-247-3697

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Agriculture, Corrections, Revenue and  
Taxation, Transportation



Creek County is divided between two state legislative districts. The eastern part of the county, around Sapulpa, is in District 30; the balance of the county — Shamrock, Oilton, Mannford, and Bristow, among others — is located in District 29. I-44 traverses this district. The economy here was briefly based on oil in the early part of the century; however, the oil and everything else dried up in the 1920s. Now, Creek County hosts a thriving clay dinnerware industry.

One-term representative David L. Thompson (D-Bristow) attempted a comeback in this district against freshman incumbent Todd Hiett (R-Kellyville), but Hiett pulled over 57 percent of the votes. A rancher and a dairyman, Hiett has been active in related organizations. In the legislature, he serves on the Agriculture Committee. He was also one of several representatives requesting an interim study on watersheds.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Todd Hiett - R	6,604	57.5%
	David L. Thompson - D	4,878	42.5%
1994	Todd Hiett - R	5,131	54.0%
	David L. Thompson - D	4,420	46.0%
1992	David L. Thompson - D	6,839	56.0%
	Kevin Farmer - R	5,350	44.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 11,056                      Republican: 5,845                      Independent: 747

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$30,194.32	\$30,275.42	\$4,712.45

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Farmer, rancher / ag. prod., farm income

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Republican State Party \$1,000.00  
OKIE PAC \$750.00  
Republican Majority Fund (Ponca City) \$1,000.00  
Bill Bartmann (CEO, Comm. Fin. Services) \$4,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 80

**29th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,863	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 13%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 31%	Percent Employed in Service: 61%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 20%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 25%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Danny Hilliard (D) 22nd District

Hometown: Sulphur, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: February 4, 1957  
Church: Church of Christ  
Education: Attended East Central University,  
College of Mortuary Science, Dallas  
Family: Married, Karen (Wood);  
children, Rhianan  
Occupation: President, Murray County Insurance  
Agency  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 333  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7412  
Home Address: P.O. Box 380, Sulphur, OK 73086  
Home Phone: 405-622-5484  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Public Safety and  
Transportation Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Public Safety  
and Transportation Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and Natural Resources,  
Government Operations and Agency Oversight, Rules, Small Business, Transportation,  
Veterans and Military Affairs



House District 22 links the less developed east side of Cleveland County, Garvin County east of Pauls Valley, Carter County northeast east of Ardmore, the eastern edge of McClain County, and north Johnston County. This produces a disparate constituency: a smattering of more liberal Norman voters, combined with Native Americans, farmers, ranchers, textile workers, and mineral exploration are all included in this district, which contains no one whole county but nonetheless divides five.

This district sits on the edge of Little Dixie. Traditionally-Democratic voting habits apply, but the areas around Norman and Moore have been increasingly Republican; increased suburbanization of east Cleveland County will continue this GOP trend, although it will probably not threaten the current incumbent.

The incumbent legislator, Danny Hilliard (D-Sulphur), is from the geographic center of the district, Murray County. Both his primary challenger, Norma Sapp, and general election opponent, Ron Gordon, were from Norman. In the general election, Hilliard received nearly 80 percent of the votes. Highly regarded by many people, Hilliard has received a number of "Legislator of the Year" awards since his first election in 1990. He currently serves as chair of the Public Safety and Transportation Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He also drafted a request for an interim study on franchise tax laws that was assigned to the Small Business Committee of which he is also a member.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Danny Hilliard - D	8,385	79.0%
	Ron Gordon - R	2,270	21.0%
1994	Danny Hilliard - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,522                      Republican: 2,760                      Independent: 704

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$38,075.64	\$32,017.14	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Murray County Insurance Inc. / insurance agency, commercial bldg. rent  
 Murray County Insurance Inc. / insurance agency, dividends

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Reps. Dem. Caucus \$1,350.00  
 SW Bell OK EmPAC \$700.00  
 OK Independent Energy PAC \$1,250.00  
 Chickasaw Nation \$1,000.00  
 Sam and Rosalina Jewell, Callaway Nursing Home \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (1-100): 10

**22nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,160	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 10%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 23%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 11%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Joe J. Hutchison (D) 5th District

Hometown: Eucha, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: August 14, 1937  
Church: Church of Christ  
Education: Attended Eastern A & M, Wilburton  
Family: Married, Sandra Jo (Coaly);  
children, Pamela Ellen, Jo Ann, Jacob, Jason  
Occupation: Captain, OK Dept. of Wildlife Division  
(retired)  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 535 - C  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7415  
Home Address: Rt. 4, Box 138, Jay, OK 74346  
Home Phone: 918-253-8471  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Wildlife Committee  
Committees: Mental Health, Tourism and Recreation,  
Transportation, Wildlife



District 5 encompasses Delaware County north of Colcord, and the easternmost part of Mayes County that lie along State Highway 82. Salina, the oldest white settlement in Oklahoma, is on the western edge of the district.

Incomes here are a bit higher than to the south. This is partly due to the tourism brought in by Grand Lake, Lake Eucha, and Lake Hudson. Beef production, chicken processing, and dairying are the other major industries in the district. Crime rates here are low, but not as low as in some rural counties.

Democrats dominate the politics of this area. All of the localities in the 5th district regularly elect Democrats. Despite very long odds, Republican Carolyn Allen from Bird Island challenged incumbent Democrat Joe J. Hutchison. She was not able to overcome the odds, though, and Hutchison was comfortably reelected. In his third term, Hutchison chairs the Wildlife Committee. Prior to his legislative service, he had been a Captain in the Enforcement Division of the Oklahoma Department of Wildlife. He also serves on the Tourism and Recreation Committee and the Transportation Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Joe J. Hutchison - D	8,111	61.5%
	Carolyn Allen - R	5,071	38.5%
1994	Joe J. Hutchison - D	unopposed	
1992	Joe J. Hutchison - D	8,065	57.0%
	Kenneth Crowder - R	5,987	43.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,207                      Republican: 6,501                      Independent: 948

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$25,611.98	\$23,874.96	\$1,807.88

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 RETNA Insurance / Dept. of Wildlife / retirement  
 Northeast Rural Electric / utility, board member

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Citizens for a Responsible Legislature PAC, \$1,000.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus PAC, \$3,5000.00  
 Independent Oil, \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**5th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$24,613	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 15%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 30%	Percent Employed in Service: 58%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 33%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 40%
Percent African American: 0%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Terry Ingmire (R) 34th District

Hometown: Ponca City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: September 8, 1956  
Church: Sunnybrook Christian Church  
Education: Northwestern Oklahoma State University,  
1979  
Family: Married, Fawn (Lamb);  
children, Blake and Kalli  
Occupation: Lead Business Consultant, Oklahoma  
Natural Gas  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 547  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7411  
Home Address: 2005 Karr Ct., Stillwater, OK 74075  
Home Phone: 405-743-2628  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Economic Development, Mental Health,  
Retirement Laws, Tourism and Recreation



Stillwater is the home Oklahoma State University, which is also the largest employer in the county. Started as Oklahoma A & M College, the school has grown dramatically in academic and athletic reputation; few forget that OA&MU won two NCAA basketball titles back in the days of the two-hand set shot under the tutelage of Mr. Iba.

District 34 takes in Stillwater proper and some of the surrounding countryside. Unlike Norman, which has a decidedly more historic Democratic tilt, Stillwater and Payne County have more balanced political competition. Democrats and Republicans both win in local elections, and Payne County has voted generally Republican since the 1950s. The extent of this partisanship is evident from the experiences of Stillwater resident Wes Watkins. Watkins pulled a plurality countywide in his 1994 gubernatorial bid, but this was the weakest county for Watkins running as a Democrat in his old congressional district. He then carried a solid majority in the 3rd district as a Republican in 1996.

Incumbent Calvin Anthony did not seek reelection. Four candidates — two Democrats and two Republican — sought the seat. On the Democratic side, Payne County commissioner Bernice Mitchell squared off with Stillwater insurance agent Dave Hessel. The Republican primary saw two unknowns, 21-year-old Lance Compton and 40-year-old Terry Ingmire, square off. Ingmire emerged victorious over Mitchell in November.



## Charles Key (R) 90th District

Hometown: Lubbock, Texas

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: April 18, 1954

Church: Northwest Church of Christ

Education: Attended Oklahoma City Community  
College, Oklahoma City University

Family: Married, Janice J.;

children, Kyan, Joshua, Jacob, Chelsea

Occupation: Insurance and Securities

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1986 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 508

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7354

Home Address: 700 Manchester Road,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73127

Home Phone: 405-787-9333

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Banking and Finance, Criminal Justice,

Education (Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Wildlife



When one flies into Will Rogers World Airport, three sites greet you that embody Oklahoma in spirit and in history. First, there are huge arrow shafts impaled in the ground which harken to the Native American heritage of the state. Second, working oil wells are in sight, which reflect the love-hate relationship between Okies and black gold. Third, the area around the airport seems to be shaking off a decade-long period of dormancy in which little development occurred.

This airport, and all of its symbols, are in House District 90. This is the part of Oklahoma City where the "gentlemen's clubs" are found, as well as the sprawl of modern middle-class life: shopping centers, wholesale clubs, fast-food joints, and car dealerships.

No Democrat ran in District 90 in 1996. Incumbent Charles Key (R-Oklahoma City) did face opposition in the primary from Mannix Barnes (R-Wheatland). Key, in the insurance and securities business, is in his second decade in the House. He serves on the Banking and Finance Committee. Key is best known for his efforts to have a grand jury investigate an alleged cover-up of the Oklahoma City bombing



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Charles Key - R	unopposed	
1994	Charles Key - R	6,045	73.0%
	Bill Wise - D	2,224	27.0%
1992	Charles Key - R	7,144	60.0%
	Phillip R. Shirey - D	4,744	40.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,101                      Republican: 7,475                      Independent: 1,370

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$9,331.24	\$850.29	\$8,480.95

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Anpac P&C Ins. / ins., commission  
 Anico Life Ins. / ins., commission  
 USG Annuity & Life / ins., commission  
 Indianapolis Life / ins., commission  
 Legacy Marketing / ins., commission  
 A.M.E. Aussie Miracle Ex. / health care products / commissions  
 Stonebridge Village Apts. / condominiums, consulting

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

SW Bell OK EmPAC \$400.00  
 Lynn Barnes (OKC), PAC \$450.00  
 OIPA PAC \$500.00  
 AT&T PAC \$500.00  
 Gun Owners of America \$1,324.31

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 5                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 52

**90th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$30,410	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 15%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 22%	Percent Employed in Service: 69%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 18%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 18%
Percent African American: 9%	Percent Hispanic American: 4%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Don Kinnamon (D) 32nd District

Hometown: Shawnee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: February 3, 1940  
Church: Catholic  
Education: Graduated Dale High School  
Family: Married, Lavonna (Bassinger);  
children, Keith, Janell Hand, Patricia Reid  
Occupation: Groceryman, Rancher, and Oil Producer  
Political Career: Stroud City Council and  
Chamber of Commerce Board  
Capitol Address: Rm. 409  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7368  
Home Address: P.O. Box 257, Stroud, OK 74079  
Home Phone: 918-968-3385  
Leadership Positions: Executive Majority Leader  
Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Banking  
and Finance, Energy, Environment and Natural  
Resources, Revenue and Taxation, Rules, Transportation



In the 19th century, Texas cattle herds were driven north along the West Shawnee Trail, headed for Kansas and the markets of the east. That trail passed through the heart of District 32, which is centered on Lincoln County. This was mainly farm country at the time of statehood, with cotton being a principal crop. However, the discovery of oil near the Lincoln County towns of Chandler and Davenport (both in the district) changed the local economy. Incomes here are decidedly higher than in the counties to the south and east, and unemployment has usually been below both the state and national averages. Politicians have reason to keep honest. This is also the home of the International Brick Throwing Contest.

Politics here is bipartisan. Democrats and Republicans both routinely win local offices. Still Republicans are not as strong as they would want. Until recently Lincoln county was a reliable Democratic county in statewide elections. More recently it has exhibited increased support for Republicans in national and state contests, although independents Ross Perot and Wes Watkins ran ahead of their statewide averages here. Incumbent Don Kinnamon faced both primary and general election opposition to return to the legislature. In the primary he was challenged by Mike Shields (D-Stroud); in the general election Lincoln County newspaper publisher Don Sporleder carried the GOP banner. In a close race, Kinnamon was reelected to his fifth term. He identifies himself as a grocery man, rancher, and oil producer. He is the Executive Majority Leader. He co-authored a request for an interim study on the privatization of the state insurance fund.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Don Kinnamon - D	6,112	52.3%
	Don E. Sporleder - R	5,572	47.7%
1994	Don Kinnamon - D	unopposed	
1992	Don Kinnamon - D	8,652	67.0%
	Paul E. Nelson - R	4,239	33.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,043                      Republican: 6,303                      Independent: 831

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$54,761.66	\$52,733.43	\$3,483.12

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Kinnamon Foods / retail grocery, salary  
 Pan-Energy / nat. gas services, nat. gas sales RI & WI

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Malt PAC \$600.00  
 OKIE PAC \$1,000.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus PAC \$1,000.00  
 Charlie O. Morgan, Promoters of Private Enterprise \$1,700.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**32nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$25,786	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 13%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 23%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 10%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Ron Kirby (D) 64th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: February 3, 1940  
Church: Church of Christ  
Education: Northeastern State University, B.S.,  
Business Administration and Psychology, 1962  
Family: Children, Sherry Jo  
Occupation: Broadcaster  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 329 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7398  
Home Address: 1722 N. 31st Street,  
Lawton, OK 73505  
Home Phone: (405) 357-5202  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Veterans and Military  
Affairs Committee  
Committees: Corrections, Public Health, Public  
Safety, Veterans and Military Affairs



Lawton was founded in 1901 when the lands of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were opened to white settlement. This city, the third largest in Oklahoma, relies heavily on the presence of Fort Sill to sustain its economy. However, unlike other military towns, Lawton is surprisingly tame. The crime rate is far lower than in either Oklahoma City or Tulsa, and is indeed more comparable to that in the toney college towns of Norman and Stillwater. The east side of Lawton is represented by House District 64.

The Democrats dominate the local and state politics of Lawton. No Republican has ever been sent to the legislature from Comanche County. Often the Republicans do not field candidates. At the national level, the GOP has carried this district since 1968, while GOP gubernatorial success is more fleeting.

Incumbent Ron Kirby (D-Lawton) was opposed in the general election by Tab Turner (R), a local businessman, but was reelected with nearly two-thirds of the votes. A broadcaster, Kirby is now in his third term. He chairs the Veterans Affairs Committee. He co-authored an interim study request to consider the problems of out-of-state tags for motor vehicles. Kirby also co-authored the Oklahoma Quality Jobs Act.



## Tony Kouba (R) 43rd District

Hometown: Yukon, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: November 1, 1930

Church: none given

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S., 1953

Family: Married Beth Sue (Lang);  
children, Jana Sue, Corby Ray, Timothy Ray,  
Toni Lea

Occupation: Farmer/Rancher

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 500

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7352

Home Address: 2801 N. Frisco Road,  
Yukon, OK 73099

Home Phone: 405-354-6404

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Public Safety  
Committee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Public Safety and Transportation Subcommittee),  
Banking and Finance, Government Operations and Agency Oversight, Public Safety,  
Rules, Small Business, Transportation



Yukon, in eastern Canadian County, lies on the old Chisholm Trail. Agriculture is important to the economy of the surrounding communities, and milling was a growth industry for Yukon. Many residents now commute down I-40 to make their living in Oklahoma City.

District 43 includes Yukon and the immediate surrounding areas. Two thirds of the district residents come from this town, which is a bit more Democratic than the rest of Canadian County. Still, this is Republican territory. Yukon Republican Tony Kouba is the incumbent in this district; he was unopposed for reelection in 1996. A farmer/rancher and a businessman, Kouba is in his fourth term in the House. He serves on Appropriations and Budget and is vice-chair of the Public Safety Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Tony Kouba - R	unopposed
1994	Tony Kouba - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 7,742                      Republican: 10,105                      Independent: 1,091

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$450.00	\$5,050.00	\$4,185.80

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Canadian Valley Vo-Tech / spouse 's salary  
 Mid Continent Co-op / wheat sales  
 Banner Co-op / wheat sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Tum PAC, Veteranarian \$100.00 (Broadway, OKC)  
 Certified Public Acct's PAC \$100.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 60

**43rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$41,387	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 31%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 29%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 13%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 17%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Ron Langmacher (D) 56th District

Hometown: Ogallala, Nebraska  
Elected: 1992  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: April 30, 1937  
Church: none given  
Education: Southern Nazarene University, B.A.  
Family: Married, Linda Sue (Raibourn)  
Occupation: Investments  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 338  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7401  
Home Address: Route 2, Box 20,  
Carnegie, Oklahoma, 73015  
Home Phone: 405-654-1015  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Revenue and Taxation  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Education  
(Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech  
Subcommittee), Revenue and Taxation, Transportation



Caddo County is sufficiently large to have its own house district; however, it is divided, dominating District 56. Parts of Canadian County southwest of El Reno and Grady County west of US 81 make up the balance of the district. The principal city in the district, Anadarko, is the home of the annual American Indian Exposition. The city has placed a great deal of emphasis on renewing its economic vitality and historic points of interest.

Republicans have been increasingly competitive in this area. In fact, the gubernatorial vote in Caddo County was nearly evenly split among the three candidates in 1994, with less than 100 votes separating the three candidates (out of 7,900 cast).

Caddo county Democrat Ron Langmacher drew a bevy of Republicans in opposition to his bid for a third term in office: Kenneth Crawley (R-Carnegie) a registered nurse; Pat Hayes (R-Anardarko) a rehabilitation counselor; and Brent Parmer (R) a rancher from Custer City. Among the Republicans, Parmer won the right to be soundly defeated by Langmacher, now in his third term. He identifies his occupation as investments and uses that expertise as chair of the Revenue and Taxation Committee. He is also a member of the Task Force on Centrally Assessed Property.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Ron Langmacher - D	6,577	68.9%
	Brent Parmer - R	2,967	31.1%
1994	Ron Langmacher - D	5,458	70.0%
	Pat Hayes - R	2,328	30.0%
1992	Ron Langmacher - D	7,013	64.0%
	Raymond McPherson - R	3,934	36.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,678                      Republican: 2,733                      Independent: 625

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$13,142.00	\$6,683.92	\$6,163.36

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Liberty Bank, OKC / banking, interest

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Columbia HCA OK Hospital PAC \$300.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$1,350.00  
 OK Oil Marketer Association PAC, Petro Marketing \$400.00  
 Lyn D. Johnson, Phone Co. Manager \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 40

**56th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$24,299	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 18%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 14%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 4%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## M.C. Leist (D) 16th District

Hometown: Liberal, Kansas

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 17, 1942

Church: Baptist

Education: Attended Oklahoma State University;  
Panhandle State University, B.A., Social Studies,  
1964

Family: Children, Benita Jean, Donna Carol,  
Brion Clyde

Occupation: Educator and Sub-State Planner

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 439

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7373

Home Address: Rt. 1, Box 75, Morris, OK 74445

Home Phone: 918-733-4102

Leadership Positions: Chair, Agriculture Committee;

Vice Chair, Health and Social Services Subcommittee

Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget (Health and Social Services  
Subcommittee), Rules, Tourism and Recreation, Wildlife



District 16 represents virtually all of Okmulgee County. This is country originally settled by the Creek, and the county seat and principle city in the district, Okmulgee, is the seat of the Creek Nation. Shipping is an important industry here. While unemployment is typically high compared to much of the state, the economy is fairly diverse. Some light manufacturing and a glass plant are found in the district. Soybeans, cattle, and wheat dominate the agricultural sector. Deaths exceed births and divorce is on a pace with marriages here. It is not surprising, then, that economic development, education, and retirement issues are important to this district.

The incumbent, M. C. Leist (D-Morris), was confronted in the general election by Republican Brian Priegel, an Okmulgee insurance agent. Leist easily won reelection to his sixth term in this overwhelmingly Democratic district. A cattleman by background, Leist is chair of the Agriculture Committee. He also holds an important appointment to the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He sponsored a number of pieces of important environmental legislation including the bill creating the Department of Environmental Quality and the Bad Actor Bill for Hazardous Waste Management. The *Oklahoma Observer* named him one of its top legislators for 1997 for his work on legislation regulating the hog farm industry.



## Al Lindley (D) 93rd District

Hometown: Goodland, Kansas  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: October 20, 1946  
Church: Grace Lutheran  
Education: Attended Kansas University and  
Oklahoma City Community College  
Family: Married, June Elaine (Merica);  
children, Jason and Wendy (deceased)  
Occupation: Legislator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 324  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7371  
Home Address: 2529 S.W. 55th Street,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73119  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Public Health  
Committees: Corrections, Mental Health, Public Safety,  
Veterans and Military Affairs



The residential area between I-35 and I-44, to the south of the Downtown Airpark, is largely contained in House District 93. Like many urban districts, it has been crafted and molded to fit the requirements of population, as well as of politicians. In this case, District 93 is shaped like a ziggurat or a chunky pyramid, stepping from near I-240 up to a peak south of downtown.

Incumbent Wanda Jo Peltier (D-Oklahoma City) did not seek reelection in this district, running for the Corporation Commission instead. Four candidates — two Republicans, two Democrats — sought to succeed her. On the Republican side, Steve Hammontree, a corporate sales manager, was opposed by Carol Murray, a quality control supervisor. The Democratic nomination was fought for by former state Tax Commission employee, Al Lindley, and 28-year-old attorney, Barry Nance. In November, Lindley prevailed over Hammontree with over 60 percent of the vote. He serves as Vice-Chair of the Public Health Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Al Lindley - D	4,438	60.6%
	Steven James Hammontree - R	2,890	39.4%
1994	Wanda Jo Peltier - D	4,723	72.0%
	Steven James Hammontree - R	1,850	28.0%
1992	Wanda Jo Peltier - D	7,375	78.0%
	Perry Boston - R	2,116	22.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,780                      Republican: 4,219                      Independent: 1,275

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$21,178.00	\$19,385.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK Tax Commission / compensation

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

LEGAL PAC \$1,000.00  
 OK House Democratic Caucus PAC \$4,000.00  
 Teamsters Local 886 \$1,500.00  
 OK State AFL-CIO \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 10

**93rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$21,678	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 6%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 0%	Percent College-Educated: 8%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 38%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 12%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Mark Liotta (R) 77th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: January 20, 1963  
Church: St. Pius, Tulsa  
Education: Oklahoma Military Academy Candidate  
Officer School  
Family: Married, Alice Elizabeth (Sullivan);  
children, John, Catherine, Cassandra, Thomas,  
Christina  
Occupation: Human Resource Manager  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 503  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7410  
Home Address: 4929 E. 2nd Street,  
Tulsa, OK 7411  
Home Phone:  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Corrections, Mental Health, Public  
Safety, Veterans and Military Affairs



The area around Tulsa started as a crossroads; westward-bound Indian tribes passed through here, as did California settlers, Texas cattle herds, and, eventually, airplanes. There are several airports in Tulsa; however, the largest is Tulsa International Airport, situated on the Gilcrease Expressway and sprawling over almost eleven square miles. For travelers, Tulsa is more often a terminus or a dropping-off point than a crossroads; the major hubs for the region are to the north (St. Louis), the south (Dallas), and the east (Memphis), leaving Tulsa as a place to be gone too, rather than gone through. House District 77 encompasses the airport and surrounding neighborhoods near Cooley Lake and McClure Park.

Mark Liotta, a 33-year-old Republican, challenged veteran incumbent Gary Stottlemire (D) and emerged victorious in one of the season's closest elections. A mere 125 votes would have reelected Stottlemire. A former Oklahoma National Guardsman, Liotta is a human resource manager. He serves on the Veterans Affairs Committee as well as the Mental Health, Corrections, and Public Safety Committees. He is also a member of the Joint Committee to evaluate psychology masters degree programs.



## Elmer Maddux (R) 58th District

Hometown: Mooreland, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1989  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: May 6, 1934  
Church: none given  
Education: Mooreland High School  
Family: Married, Rita (Hepner);  
children, Ronni Bambi Poe, Nancy Maddux,  
Dallett Maddux  
Occupation: Farmer/Rancher  
Political Career: County Commissioner  
Capitol Address: Rm. 544  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7339  
Home Address: Route 1, Box 164-A,  
Mooreland, Oklahoma 73852  
Home Phone: 405-994-2533  
Leadership Positions: Vice-Chair, County and  
Municipal Government Committee  
Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget  
(Natural Resources Subcommittee), County and Municipal Government, Revenue and  
Taxation, Small Business



District 58 encompasses all of Major County and Woods County, as well as about 13,000 residents of Woodward County. Agriculture, manufacturing, and the petrochemical industry contribute to a diversified economy. Deaths and births are roughly equal, but the district population fell almost six percent from 1980 to 1990, mainly coming from the outmigration of young residents. This emptying out is not new to west Oklahoma, and has gone on since the days of Steinbeck.

Politics here are typically Republican. Over half of the local officials in District 58 are Republican. Even during the new Deal, Republicans ran strong, although FDR did carry the counties in the district in 1932 and 1936. More recently, national Democrats have run a poor third behind Ross Perot and Wes Watkins; in fact, these were Watkins' strongest counties outside Little Dixie in 1994.

Incumbent Elmer Maddux (R-Mooreland) was unopposed for reelection and is in his fifth term. A farmer and rancher, his family was named farm family of the year in 1969. He serves as vice-chair of the County and Municipal Government Committee. Maddux is a member of the Agriculture Committee and the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He also serves as a member of the Joint Legislative Oversight Committee on Local Government Finance and Accountability.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Elmer Maddux - R	unopposed
1994	Elmer Maddux - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,636	Republican: 9,735	Independent: 866
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**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$1800.00	\$2065.00	\$394.37

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Cabot Petroleum / oil & gas production  
 Farmers United Pool / oil & gas production  
 Consolidated Farm Service Agency / farm programs  
 Farmer's Co-op / sale of wheat  
 Woodward Livestock / cattle sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Optometric PAC \$250.00  
 Chiropractic PAC \$200.00  
 OK Osteopathic PAC \$200.00  
 SWB EmPAC \$200.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 60

**58th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,696	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 12%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 21%
Percent Over Age 55: 27%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 0%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Michael Mass (D) 17th District

Hometown: McAlester, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 29, 1951  
Church: Church of Christ  
Education: Attended Grayson Co. College  
(Sherman, TX) and Eastern Oklahoma State  
College  
Family: Married, Suzanne (Kline);  
children, Elena, Angie, Micah, Lucas  
Occupation: Businessman and Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 334  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7302  
Home Address: P.O. Box 105  
Hartshorne, OK 74547  
Home Phone: 918-297-3602  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Regulatory Services Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Regulatory Services Subcommittee), Energy,  
Environment and Natural Resources, Rules, Transportation, Wildlife



The 17th District is divided into thirds from east to west: In the east, there are about 10,000 residents of Leflore County; in the middle, there are 10,300 residents of Latimer County; and, in the west, there are about 10,500 residents of south Pittsburgh County. This was once coal country; however, since the 1920s agriculture and ranching have been the staple of the economy. Eastern Oklahoma State College is in Wilburton.

The incumbent, Mike Mass (D-Hartshorne,) was challenged in both the primary and the general election. In the primary, Melvin Meeks, a rancher from Wister, filed to run against the incumbent. The Republican candidate, rancher Larry Boggs, was unopposed in the GOP primary. In the end, the incumbent was once more elected. In his fourth term, Mass serves as chair of the Regulatory Services Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. A businessman and a rancher by background, Mass was one of several members requesting an interim study on equine activities liability. He also requested a study on the release of inmates.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Larry Boggs - R	3,416	30.3%
	Mike Mass - D	7,868	69.7%
1994	Mike Mass - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,909                      Republican: 1,508                      Independent: 535

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$63,516.64	\$61,765.11	\$1,913.30

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House Democratic Caucus- \$3,500.00  
 Choctaw Nation of OK \$5,000.00  
 OK AFL-CIO \$1,800.00  
 Mike and Suzzane Mass \$5,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**17th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$22,796	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 25%	Percent Employed in Service: 57%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 10%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 36%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Terry J. Matlock (D) 1st District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: November 27, 1962

Church: none given

Education: Southeastern Oklahoma State University,  
B.S., Business Administration

Family: Married, Kerrey Lynn (Thomas);  
children, Trevor Tate and Taylor Joe

Occupation: Rancher and Businessman

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 433

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7363

Home Address: P.O. Box 131, Garvin, OK 74736

Home Phone: 405-286-3040

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Whip;  
Vice Chair, Regulatory Services Subcommittee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Regulatory

Services Subcommittee), Banking and Finance, Public Safety, Rules, Transportation



District 1 is composed of Leflore County south of Page, and all McCurtain County except for a swath of land west of Idabel and below the Little River. This is the depth of Little Dixie. Settlers from Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas came to this part of the Choctaw Nation and brought their politics and history straight from the old South. This is still predominantly Democratic country. Bill Clinton won here in 1992 and 1996, but Wesley Watkins carried the district in the 1994 gubernatorial election.

Forestry and agriculture are part of a fairly diverse economy that also includes tire manufacturing and garments. This is poor country. Average incomes were less than \$9,000 in 1990, and the divorce rate, compared to marriages, is high. Property values were declining in the first part of the decade. Still, the history is rich. The Caddoan mounds builders contributed archeological treasures which can still be viewed today.

Incumbent Terry J. Matlock (D-Garvin) sought reelection unopposed in this very safe Democratic district. A businessman and rancher by background, Matlock served on both the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the Banking and Finance Committee in the 46th Legislature. He is the Assistant Majority Whip. During the First Session of the 46th Legislature, Matlock sponsored legislation concerning agreements with tribal governments, livestock, tourism fees, and home health care. He also authored the resolution leading to an interim study regarding a college savings task force. He is a member of the Red River Boundary Commission.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Terry Matlock - D	unopposed
1994	Terry Matlock - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,420                      Republican: 961                      Independent: 486

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$7,910.00	\$8,484.60	\$1,811.29

**Personal Financial History**

Southeastern OK State University / spouse  
 Liberty Housing / retail sales, proceeds

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

James Hodge, auto dealer \$500.00  
 SW Bell Empac \$300.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 23

**1st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$21,564	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 12%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 31%	Percent Employed in Service: 56%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 24%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 11%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Raymond G. McCarter (D) 51st District

Hometown: Duncan, Oklahoma

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: October 2, 1946

Church: none given

Education: Oklahoma College of Liberal Arts, B.A.;

Southwestern State College, M.Ed.;

University of Oklahoma, Ed.D.

Family: Married, Kathy (Bowles);  
children, Tammi Lynn and Clinton

Occupation: Teacher and Administrator

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 322

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7405

Home Address: Rt. 3, Box 23, Marlow, OK 73055

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Tourism and  
Recreation Committee,

Committees: Agriculture, Economic Development,  
Education, (Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Tourism and  
Recreation



Once upon a time the Big Pasture positively teemed with primordial beasts that surged up and down, bowing down their great steel heads and then surging up again, driving liquid crude from the ground. Over a thousand producing oil wells dotted Stephens, Jefferson, and Cotton counties like giant herds, and many men got wealthy quick in the fields north of the Red River; the wildcatters are gone, collapsed like James Dean's Jet Rink from the film *Giant*. Oil sells for less than 20 percent of its 1980 price, and the populations and incomes of District 51 have diminished accordingly. Oil is still important (but not like the 1950s), as are agriculture and ranching.

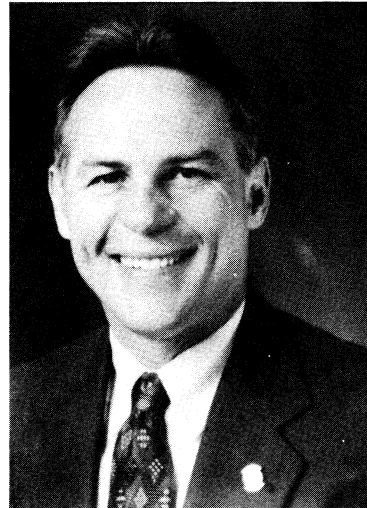
Politics are still Democratic at the local level, with an overwhelming number of voters registered as Democrats, and still voting somewhat Democratic at the top of the ticket when given a reason. But, Republican legitimacy is creeping down from the gubernatorial and presidential races. Republican (and black) congressman J. C. Watts defied tradition here in 1996, nearly carrying the counties of District 51, including over 40 percent of registered Democrats. His support has continued to grow here since his corporation commission campaign in 1990. Given the right circumstances, Republicans can win in this part of Oklahoma.

Incumbent Bill Smith did not seek reelection. The Democrats and Republicans both had contested primaries to choose his potential successor. On the Democratic side, retired teacher Raymond G. McCarter (D-Marlow) was opposed by Bray rancher Otho Lamar. The Republican nomination was contested by Lonnie Ward (R-Walters) and Bennie Patrick, an embalmer from Waurika. In November, McCarter defeated Ward with nearly 64 percent of the vote. With a background that includes teaching and coaching, as well as serving as a counselor, principal, and



## Doug Miller (R) 46th District

Hometown: Ardmore, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: March 29, 1955  
Church: Western Hills Church  
Education: University of Oklahoma, 1977  
Family: Children, Braden and Britton  
Occupation: Owner, Challenger Business Products  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 301 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7329  
Home Address: 13 Southcliff, Norman, OK 73072  
Home Phone: 405-360-8097  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Community and Family  
Responsibilities, Economic Development,  
Public Safety, Transportation



Most of McClain County, including Purcell, as well as south Cleveland County (Lexington, Slaughterville) are in District 46. The southern boundary of the district rests on the old California Trail, which 49ers followed out to California during the gold rush. This is still a predominantly rural district; however, I-35 gives quick access to Oklahoma City. The new suburbs sprouting up along the I-35 corridor are just starting to appear on Highway 9.

Registration in this area is still predominantly Democratic, but the incumbent is not. Republican incumbent Doug Miller was challenged by animal sanctuary director Jamie McAloon (D-Norman). Miller, a businessman, won with relative ease over his strong challenger. His success has been attributed to his periodic willingness to buck his party to support his constituents. He serves on, among others, the Economic Development Committee.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Doug Miller - R	7,953	62.0%
	Jamie McAloon - D	4,866	38.0%
1994	Doug Miller - R	5,800	52.0%
	Gary R. York - D	5,328	48.0%
1992	Gary R. York - D	8,899	63.0%
	Jim Reedy - R	5,224	37.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,957                      Republican: 6,102                      Independent: 942

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$27,582.84	\$43,204.71	\$9,855.60

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Challenger Business Products / retail, salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Dental PAC \$500.00  
NRA Political Victory Fund \$500.00  
Hoyt P. Mayes (Norman, Banker) \$1,000.00  
OK Independent Energy \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 70

**46th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$32,313	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 27%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 9%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 21%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Bill Mitchell (D) 42nd District

Hometown: Alex, Oklahoma

Elected: 1984

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: September 6, 1934

Church: none given

Education: none given

Family: Married Wynella Faye (Smith);  
children, Joel Scott, Kim Michele DeSpain,  
Joe Skip

Occupation: Barber/Farmer

Political Career: Mayor of Lindsay, 1973-76;  
member, Lindsay City Council, 1971-1977,  
1979-1981; Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1985 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 438

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7365

Home Address: 201 S.W. 11th,  
Lindsay, Oklahoma 73052

Home Phone: 405-756-2947

Leadership Positions: Chair, Appropriations and Budget

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Human Services Subcommittee), Human Services,  
Rules, Transportation, Wildlife



This district encompasses parts of three counties which, if left intact, could each dominate a district by themselves: western and central Garvin County, including Pauls Valley and Maysville; McClain County west of Wayne and South of Purcell; and Grady County east of US 81 and to the south of I-44, including much of Chickasha. However, mapmakers had to compensate for the needs of rural legislators from districts needing more population, and the desire not to grant liberal Norman any more political clout than necessary. So, in both the House and Senate, these three counties often find themselves parted out to balance the needs of legislators from other communities.

Incumbent Bill Mitchell (D) is from Lindsay, the geographic center of this sprawling district. He was unopposed for reelection. A barber and farmer, Mitchell has served in the House since 1985. He chairs the Human Services Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He set himself a busy agenda for the legislative interim by requesting six different interim studies.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>
1996	Bill Mitchell - D
1994	Bill Mitchell - D

<u>Vote</u>
unopposed
unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,622                      Republican: 3,234                      Independent: 583

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$2,212.00	\$591.00	\$10,121.54

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Bill Mitchell Barber Shop / barber

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

CPA-OK \$200.00  
 Chiropractic Assoc. \$200.00  
 Kerr-McGee Corp. \$200.00  
 SW Bell EmPAC \$200.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 33

**42nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,293	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 13%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 20%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 15%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Fred Morgan (R) 83rd District

Hometown: St. Louis, Missouri

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: February 9, 1954

Church: none given

Education: St. Louis University, 1976, B.A.;  
Oklahoma City University, 1980, J.D.,

Family: Married, Page (Price)  
children, Megan, Dan

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 539 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7409

Home Address: P.O. Box 1121,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73101

Home Phone: 405-232-8231

Leadership Positions: Asst. Minority Floor Leader

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Judiciary  
and Law Enforcement Subcommittee), Banking and Finance, Commerce, Industry and  
Labor, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources



Some of the toniest addresses in Oklahoma City — Nichols Hills and the Village, and some other neighborhoods near Lake Hefner — are represented in House District 83. The district is a dumbbell shape, pinched in the middle by the less affluent Districts 99 and 100. These neighborhoods are in some respects out of step with most of Oklahoma. There are restrictive covenants that ban the parking of pickup trucks in driveways for example. With the growth of the Republican party they are at the leading edge of Oklahoma politics, however.

The incumbent here, Republican attorney Fred Morgan, was unopposed for reelection. Only in his second term, Morgan is an Assistant Minority Floor Leader. He also serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee. Morgan is a member of the University Hospitals Trust Legislative Advisory Task Force. He is an OCU attorney who serves as president of a convenience store. He is an alumnus of both Leadership Oklahoma City and Leadership Oklahoma.



## Jim Newport (R) 37th District

Hometown: Okmulgee, Oklahoma

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: March 24, 1961

Church: First Baptist Church, Ponca City

Education: Central State University, B.S., 1984

Family: Married, Michele (Sullivan);  
children, B. Andrew and Shea Michele

Occupation: Business Owner

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 503

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7355

Home Address: 2409 Canterbury,  
Ponca City, OK 74604

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Commerce, Industry and Labor,

Education (Common Education Subcommittee,

Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and Natural Resources; Small Business;

Transportation



The 1990 census indicated that there were about 50,000 people in Kay County. When district boundaries were drawn, the county was partitioned into two districts. Ponca City, the major town in Kay County, is the core of District 37; the rest of the county is mated to sparsely populated Alfalfa and Grant Counties to make District 38. Ponca City grew up as a trading town located between Wichita, Kansas, and Oklahoma City. The discovery of gas and oil in the 1920s set this city on the road to industrialization and economic prosperity. Incomes in the district are just below that for the more prosperous districts in OKC and Tulsa.

Ponca City is the home of one of the most powerful politicians in America, the Assistant Majority Leader of the U.S. Senate, Don Nickles. Other Republicans do well here, routinely winning local and statewide contests.

Incumbent Republican James D. Holt did not seek reelection; two Democrats and three Republicans filed to succeed him. Jim Newport, a businessman, emerged the winner over Bernie Jackson.



## Mike O'Neal (R) 40th District

Hometown: Independence, Missouri  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: January 18, 1949  
Church: Oakwood Christian  
Education: Central Missouri State University,  
B.S., 1975  
Family: Married Jennie (Hoad);  
children, Tricia, Dennis, Katie  
Occupation: Realtor  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 510  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7317  
Home Address: 1306 W. Maine, Enid, OK 73703  
Home Phone: 580-234-8509  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Agriculture, Education (Common  
Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Energy, Environment, and Natural  
Resources, Transportation



House District 40 represents two-thirds of the city of Enid, in Garfield County. The commerce of this area is tied to the skies — Vance Air Force Base and Northrop World Wide Air are the major employers in Enid. A variety of smaller firms have grown up in services related to the oil industry and steel fabrication. Some wells near Enid have been in continuous production since the 1920s. Phillips University is located in Enid.

Politics is largely Republican, with Enid dominating the politics of Garfield County and District 40 (90 percent of the county population lives in the city). The district routinely votes Republican in national and state elections.

Republican incumbent Mike O'Neal was opposed by Democrat Rick Lowery, a professor at Phillips Theological Seminary. O'Neal gathered nearly 57 percent of the votes. He is a realtor in his second term. He is a member of the Battlefield Preservation and Development Commission. Among his committee assignments are Agriculture and Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources.





## Phil Ostrander (D) 74th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: May 11, 1957

Church: First Baptist, Collinsville

Education: none given

Family: Married, Memory (Sunderland);  
children, Nichole, Alicia, Ben, Tony

Occupation: Firefighter

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 315

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7377

Home Address: P.O. Box 309,  
Collinsville, OK 74021

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Corrections  
Committee

Committees: Corrections, Education (Common  
Education Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee), Retirement Laws, Small  
Business, Transportation



When one drives north from Tulsa, toward the Kansas border, development thins out quickly. While the entirety of Tulsa County has been laid out and gridded in the midwestern tradition of townships, sections, and quarter-sections, many of these roads are little more than gravel farm-to-market drives. It is here that one sees the other Tulsa: the Tulsa of sweeping rural landscapes, ranching, and agriculture. District 74 encompasses virtually all of Tulsa County north of 56th street, running from the airport north to Washington County.

Incumbent John Smaligo (R-Owasso) drew both primary and general election opposition. In the primary, he was confronted by 70 year old Charles Burris from his home town of Owasso. In the general election, furniture and appliance store owner Phil Ostrander sought election on the Democratic ticket. In this case, the challenger prevailed with 55 percent of the vote. A firefighter and the owner of a furniture and appliance store, Ostrander has been active in community affairs. He is the Vice-Chair of the Corrections Committee which he sees along with transportation as major issues for his district.



## Bill Paulk (D) 92nd District

Hometown: Shawnee, Oklahoma

Elected: 1988

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: December 14, 1931

Church: South Oaks Free Will Baptist Church

Education: attended South Oklahoma City Junior College; holds "Certified Instructor of Apprentices" degree from Purdue University

Family: Married, Dorothy (Ball); children, Jon, Fred, Lizabeth Patterson

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Member, OK House of Representatives, 1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 434

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7404

Home Address: 100 S.W. 68th,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73139

Home Phone: 405-632-0394

Leadership Positions: Chair, Criminal Justice Committee

Committees: Commerce, Industry, and Labor, Criminal Justice, Judiciary, Public Health



This district in southwest Oklahoma County takes in the city of Valley Brook and southwest Oklahoma City. South of Oklahoma City, headed toward Moore, there is evidence of an economy that has still not entirely recovered from the oil bust. Store fronts intended for fashionable boutiques house pawn brokers, and much of the architecture is dated and slightly careworn. You see similar deterioration in New Orleans and Houston, where development outstripped need when the oil collapse came in the 1980s. Still, there are signs of economic life here: Crossroads Mall is filled to capacity, and the sprawl along the I-240 corridor is dotted with large, new retail outlets that speak toward economic recovery. This east-west strip of neighborhoods that follow the I-240 corridor constitutes House District 92.

The incumbent, Democrat Bill Paulk, attracted two Republican opponents: Tom Shephard, a retiree from Oklahoma City, and Eddie Cox, the president of an Oklahoma City construction firm. In November Paulk defeated Cox with nearly 54 percent of the vote. He serves as chair of the Criminal Justice Committee and also a member of the Judiciary Committee. Paulk also serves on the Oklahoma Criminal Justice System Task Force Committee. He requested a joint interim study on sex offender registration.



## Fred Perry (R) 69th District

Hometown: Kansas City, Missouri  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: May 25, 1940  
Church: Tulsa Bible Church  
Education: Kansas University, B.A., Business and Political Science, 1963  
Family: Married Marcia K. (Ediger); children, Diana, Matt  
Occupation: Sales Manager, Computer Industry  
Political Career: U.S. Congressional District One, 1996 Conference Chairman; former Vice President, Tulsa Republican Men's Club; Member, OK House of Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 506  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7331  
Home Address: 10328 S. Sandusky, Tulsa, OK 74137  
Home Phone: 405-557-7331  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Science and Technology Committee  
Committees: Corrections, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Science and Technology, Transportation



Oral Roberts started his career as a faithhealer, engaging in charismatic evangelism in the early and mid-20th century. Although no one has accused Roberts of being Elmer Gantry, he has certainly proven to be more successful. Testimony to this success is the beautiful campus of Oral Roberts University, situated near the Arkansas River and just to the south of the Skelly Drive highway.

Prodginy Richard Roberts now runs the University, the campus of which anchors one end of House District 69; the district then runs south, across the Arkansas River, where Tulsa County thins out as one heads away from the principal neighborhoods of the old city and through the sprawl of suburbia brought on by the cycles of boom and bust that typify Oklahoma economics.

Incumbent Fred Perry (R) of Tulsa was opposed for reelection by 62-year-old Harold Wilmott (D-Jenks), but the outcome never seemed in doubt. Perry's occupation is a sales manager, and he is now enjoying his second term. He serves as vice-chair of the Science and Technology Committee. He was a 1996 legislator of the year according to Oklahomans for Children and Families.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Fred Perry - R	10,457	72.9%
	Harold G. Wilmott - D	3,894	27.1%
1994	Fred Perry - R	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 6,952                      Republican: 12,954                      Independent: 1,133

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$33,194.09	\$34,483.13	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Stonebridge Technologies / computer services, sales & commission  
 Kari Furniture / rental, furniture business rental & purchase of bldg. in Kansas

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions, 1995-96**

OK Medical PAC \$750.00  
 OKIE PAC \$750.00  
 T.E. Kloehr, Owner, Tax and Accounting Software \$500.00  
 Jim Lewis, Owner Oil Capitol Electric \$545.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 66

**69th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$51,462	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 31%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 10%	Percent College-Educated: 41%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 17%	Percent Employed in Service: 75%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 17%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 17%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Wayne Pettigrew (R) 39th District

Hometown: McAlester, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 26, 1962  
Church: Peace Lutheran Church, Edmond  
Education: East Central University, B.S.,  
Business Administration  
Family: Married, Toni (Wofford); children, Alex  
Occupation: Owner, Group and Pension  
Planners, Inc.  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 327  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7312  
Home Address: 1813 W. Denna Drive,  
Edmond, OK 73003  
Home Phone: 405-340-9290  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Human Services,  
Transportation, Wildlife



The cross-shaped District 39 takes in the towns and ranches to the north and west of Oklahoma City, where the plains of western Oklahoma start and stretch endlessly to the Texas Panhandle. This district takes in Canadian County north of I-40 (including El Reno, famous for its onion-fried hamburgers), Kingfisher county to the east of US 81, and some sections of Oklahoma County, including much of Edmond.

This is predominantly Republican and conservative territory. David Boren is the only Democrat since the time of FDR to show consistent electoral strength here, and the district has been reliably Republican in statewide contests. Locally, Republicans have had greater success in the Kingfisher parts of the district and in Edmond, while Democrats have performed well in El Reno.

Youthful incumbent Wayne Pettigrew (R-Edmond) was opposed for reelection by Piedmont businessman Bill Long (D). Reelection to his second term came easily to Pettigrew, however. He is the owner of a group and pension benefits company. He serves on the Human Services Committee and authored the 1995 Welfare Reform Act.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Wayne Pettigrew - R	6,181	61.0%
	Bill Long - D	3,933	39.0%
1994	Wayne Pettigrew - R	6,629	56.0%
	George C. Fina - D	5,240	44.0%
1992	John A. Bass - D	7,578	50.0%
	Jim Marshall - R	7,563	50.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,492                      Republican: 9,746                      Independent: 929

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$31,404.52	\$30,952.98	\$2,042.63

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Group & Pension Planner Inc. / ins. brokerage, commissions

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Independent Energy \$500.00  
Charles R. Boyd, auto dealer \$500.00  
Clayton I. Bennett, OKC, Newspaper Business \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 83

**39th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$35,555	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 20%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 26%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 67%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 9%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 24%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Richard Phillips (R) 100th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 22, 1964

Church: Putnam City Baptist Church

Education: University of Central Oklahoma;

University of Oklahoma, B.A.,

Business Administration

Family: Married, Chalynn;

children, Emily Bridges

Occupation: Commercial Real Estate Broker,

Certified Property Manager, Certified

Occupancy Specialist

Political Career: Member, OK House of

Representatives, 1993 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 540 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7403

Home Address: 5817 NW 40th Street,

Warr Acres, OK 73122

Home Phone: 405-789-8009

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Appropriations and Budget (General Government

Subcommittee), Commerce, Industry and Labor, Economic Development, Veterans and

Military Affairs



To the far northwest of Oklahoma City is District 100 — running to the western edge of Oklahoma County. The district includes part of Warr Acres.

Youthful (31-year-old) incumbent Richard Phillips (R-Warr Acres) was opposed in the GOP primary by Gary Dawson, an attorney from Oklahoma City, but got a free ride in the general election. Phillips is a commercial real estate broker and a former councilman in Warr Acres. He serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee. He also serves on the Economic Development and the Commerce, Industry and Labor Committees.



## Bob Plunk (D) 25th District

Hometown: Ada, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: September 12, 1931

Church: Baptist, Allen

Education: Attended East Central University, 1956;  
University of Oklahoma, 1957-59

Family: Children, Bruce

Occupation: Self-employed

Political Career: Secretary, Pontotoc County  
Election Board; Member OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 314

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7336

Home Address: P.O. Box 237

Ada, Oklahoma 74820

Home Phone: 580-332-2719

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Whip;  
Vice Chair, Transportation Committee

Committees: County and Municipal Government, Energy, Environment, and Natural  
Resources, Human Services, Small Business, Transportation



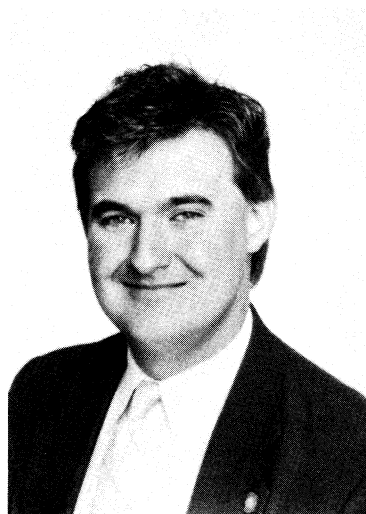
People who know livestock call District 25 “Hereford Heaven”. About half of Pontotoc County’s land and most of its residents are represented in House District 25. Agriculture, especially livestock breeding, is important to the local economy, as are the extraction of natural resources, including mineral mining and some of the richest oil production in Oklahoma. This is another area with Mississippi roots: Pontotoc County was named for the original home of the Chickasaw Indians in Mississippi.

Bob Plunk, the incumbent Democrat from Ada, was challenged by Republican Tom Bush in 1996, with Plunk emerging as a better than two-to-one winner in this heavily Democratic district. Plunk, in his second term, is the Assistant Majority Whip and vice-chair of the Transportation Committee. He identifies economic development, education, and good roads for rural Oklahoma as legislative priorities.



## Clay Pope (D) 59th District

Hometown: Watonga, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: September 16, 1969  
Church: Loyal United Methodist Church  
Education: Oklahoma State University, 1992, B.S.  
Family: Married, Lorie (Wilson)  
Occupation: Farmer/Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 317  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7407  
Home Address: Rt. 1, Box 76, Loyal, Oklahoma  
Home Phone: 405-729-4336  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Agriculture  
Committee  
Committees: Agriculture, County and Municipal  
Government, Economic Development, Revenue  
and Taxation, Small Business



It has been said of west Oklahoma that it contains “a whole lot of nothing, which people put fences around, to keep your something off their nothing.” No where is this saying more appropriate than in the western counties of District 59, Rogers Mills County and Ellis County. In 1930, these two counties combined had almost 26,000 residents, and each sent a representative to the state legislature. Now, there are not enough residents to constitute even half the vote of one state house district; the actual population of those two counties has fallen by almost 70 percent, with the decline starting during the dust bowl and continuing to this day.

District 59 lies below District 58 and District 61. To the south, is bordered by the Washita River in Roger Mills County, and then follows the southern boundary of Dewey County east, where it splits Blaine County to the south of Watonga. There is still a great deal of oil and gas exploration here. One of the largest employers is U.S. Gypsum. The largest gypsum deposit in the U.S. is located in Blaine County.

Two Republicans sought to unseat Clay Pope (D-Loyal), the youngest member of the general assembly: Carolyn McLarty, a veterinarian from Woodward; and Mike “Hoss” Manske, a rancher and auctioneer from Shattuck. Pope, however, easily won his second term over McLarty. A farmer and a rancher, he serves as vice-chair of the Agriculture Committee. He also co-authored a request for an interim study on equine activities liability. In addition, Pope serves on the Joint Electric Utility Task Force.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Clay Pope - D	8,240	64.5%
	Carolyn L. McLarty - R	4,538	35.5%
1994	Clay Pope - D	6,959	59.0%
	Dale Cameron - R	4,829	41.0%
1992	Frank D. Lucas - R	8,138	57.0%
	Barbara Selby - D	6,184	43.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,266                      Republican: 8,368                      Independent: 601

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$31,363.63	\$27,754.05	\$1,004.26

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Pope Hilltop Dairy / farming, ranching, wheat, dairy, & beef

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$4,500.00  
 John U. Rich, Pres. Heartland Care Group \$1,000.00  
 Citizens for a Responsible Legislature \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 40

**59th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,535	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 14%	Percent Employed in Service: 59%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 24%
Percent Over Age 55: 28%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 34%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Tim R. Pope (R) 98th District

Hometown: Mooresville, Indiana  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 2, 1957  
Church: none given  
Education: Mooresville (IN) High School  
Family: Married, La Donna (Freeman);  
children, Melissa, Andrea, Erica  
Occupation: Public Relations  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 504  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7362  
Home Address: 517 N. Lakeside Terrace,  
Mustang, OK 73064  
Home Phone: 405-376-4709  
Leadership Positions: Minority Whip  
Committees: Commerce, Labor, and Industry,  
Corrections, Public Safety, Transportation



District 98 is an odd-shaped layout that rings around part of the southeast corner of Oklahoma City. It includes the city of Mustang and follows the Canadian River.

Incumbent Tim Pope (R-Mustang) faced general election opposition from Democrat Jack Perry of Yukon but easily prevailed with over 60 percent of the vote. Pope serves as a Minority Whip and is a member of both the Public Safety and Corrections Committees.





## Dan Ramsey (R) 47th District

Hometown: Chickasha, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 23, 1945  
Church: First Christian Church, Chickasha  
Education: Central State University, B.S., 1967  
Family: Married, Marilyn;  
children, Michelle and Jason  
Occupation: Independent Insurance Agent  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 500  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7333  
Home Address: 1828 Carolina Ave.,  
Chickasha, OK 73018  
Home Phone: 405-224-4801  
Leadership Positions: Minority Whip  
Committees: Agriculture, County and Municipal  
Government, Insurance, Small Business, Transportation



Take I-44 east from Lawton and you pass through the heart of the Chickasaw Nation; to the south of the interstate is Chickasha and Rush Springs; to the west, Anadarko. And, to the north, a rural stretch of Grady county and the town of Union City in Canadian County. That last stretch of land, plus Union City and the parts of Chickasha north of I-44, is House District 47. This is agricultural country, with both large operations utilizing the huge irrigation and watering systems, and smaller scrub farms.

Incumbent Dan Ramsey (R-Chickasha) was challenged by Richard Allen (D), an attorney and farmer. Ramsey, an independent insurance agent, gained election to this second term with 58 percent of the vote. Ramsey, in line with his background, serves on both the Insurance Committee and the Small Business Committee. He is also the Minority Whip.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dan Ramsey - R	6,886	58.1%
	Richard Allen - D	4,973	41.9%
1994	Dan Ramsey - R	5,740	56.0%
	Richard Allen - D	4,458	44.0%
1992	Flake Todd - D	6,919	53.0%
	Scott D. Gibson - R	6,103	47.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 11,977                      Republican: 6,180                      Independent: 968

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$39,768.83	\$38,570.54	\$969.86

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Mollett - Hunter, Inc. / ins. agency, contracting fees & interest on note

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

C&H Properties, Sooner Road \$1,100.00  
 Northern Grady County Republican Party \$870.50 + \$2,192.01

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 60                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 70

**47th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$29,795	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 16%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 24%	Percent Employed in Service: 61%
Percent Employed in Government: 8%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 28%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Jim Reese (R) 38th District

Hometown: Blackwell, Oklahoma

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: June 20, 1958

Church: not available

Education: Northern Oklahoma College, Drafting and Design, 1978; Oklahoma State University, B.S., Engineering Technology, 1980

Family: Married, Margaret L. (Lobmeyer); children, Joanna, Drew, Lainey, Spencer

Occupation: Mechanical Designing, Farming

Political Career: Member, OK House of Representatives, 1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 546

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7332

Home Address: 22900 W. Canteen Road, Nardin, OK 74646

Home Phone: 405-363-4600

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Retirement Laws Committee

Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget (General Government Subcommittee), Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Retirement Laws



At the height of the New Deal, Republicans were wiped out in a variety of states, especially in the south and border south. However, even throughout the Great Depression and the New Deal, a tier of Oklahoma counties along the Kansas border elected Republicans to local and state legislative offices, and had only a very brief flirtation with FDR's brand of social salvation. Alfalfa and Grant Counties are among the most historically Republican counties in Oklahoma. Today they are paired with rural portions of Kay County to form a very safe Republican house district that is neither suburban nor upscale.

Republican Jim Reese was unopposed for reelection in 1996. In his sixth term, Reese is otherwise a mechanical designer and a farmer. For a Republican, he has a very strong set of committee assignments: vice-chair of the Retirement Laws Committee, and membership on Agriculture, Appropriations and Budget, and Education.



## Larry D. Rice (D) 8th District

Hometown: Pryor, Oklahoma

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 5, 1953

Church: none given

Education: Northeastern State University, B.S., 1975;  
M.Ed., 1979; Oklahoma State University, Ed.D.,  
Higher Education Administration, 1992

Family: Married, Peggy (Smith);  
children, Autumn Lea and Nathan Todd

Occupation: College professor and administrator,  
University of Tulsa

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 407

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7364

Home Address: P.O. Box 693, Pryor, OK 74362

Home Phone: 918-825-4381

Leadership Positions: Chair, Energy, Environment and  
Natural Resources

Committees: Commerce, Industry and Labor, Criminal Justice, Economic Development,  
Energy, Environment and Natural Resources



District 8 takes in southwest Mayes county and southern Rogers county. Most of the economy here is based on agriculture (Mayes County is the third-largest producer of dairy products in the state), shale, and coal mining. The Port of Catoosa is in the far western reach of the district, and the western tip of the district also takes in Claremore, home of the Will Rogers Museum. Tourism is also important to this district because of its lakes.

Larry Rice (D-Pryor), first elected in 1986, escaped challenge in 1996. Rice, a former police officer, received his Ed.D. from Oklahoma State in 1992. He is now a university administrator at the University of Tulsa. Rice, who has interests in environmental, natural resource, and energy policies, is the chair of the Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Committee. He favors "strong but fair environmental laws." Rice is also a member of the Commission on Natural Gas Policy.



## Russ Roach (D) 66th District

Hometown: Red Rock, Oklahoma

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: January 6, 1947

Church: none given

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.A., 1969;  
University of Cincinnati, M.A., 1971

Family: Married, Cheryl (Capps); children, Ryan

Occupation: Real Estate Management and Appraisal

Political Career: Mayor's Advisory Council

Capitol Address: Rm. 400 - B

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7390

Home Address: 1420 E. 20th Street,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma 74120

Home Phone: 918-743-1935

Leadership Positions: Chair, Economic Development  
Committee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Regulatory  
Services Committee), Commerce, Industry and Labor, Economic Development, Public  
Safety, Rules



If you take the Keystone Expressway west from Owen Park toward Sand Springs, the Osage Reservation lies to the north; to the south, the Arkansas River. This stretch of land, plus parts of downtown Tulsa near 1st Street, are the boundaries of House District 66. The Tulsa residents tend to be a bit older than most, while the economic mix combines downtown business and some industrial production. The residential areas in Sand Springs share an interest in economic development.

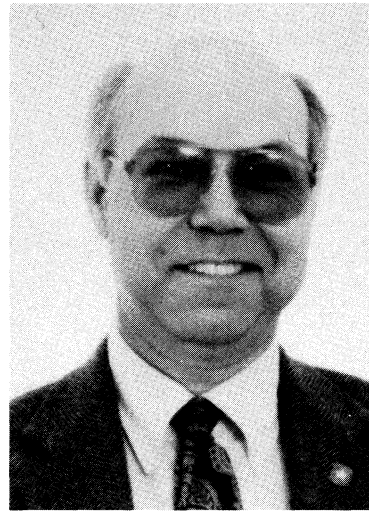
Incumbent Russ Roach faced both primary and general election opposition and won in November with less than 52 percent of the vote. Roach has a background in urban economic development and is currently in property management. He chairs the Economic Development Committee in the House. He also authored requests for interim studies on the reorganization of economic development incentives for depressed urban and rural areas and on privatization of the state insurance fund. The *Oklahoma Observer* named him a top legislator for his bulldogging Governor Keating about his use of the state airplane.





## Larry D. Roberts (D) 7th District

Hometown: Fairland, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1982  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: December 21, 1946  
Church: First Baptist Church, Commerce  
Education: Northeastern Oklahoma A & M,  
A.A., 1967  
Family: Parents, Charley M. (deceased) and  
Delilah Jane (Flint)  
Occupation: Educator, County Treasurer,  
Real Estate Broker  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1983 - present  
Capitol Address: R. 433 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7399  
Home Address: 202 C N.W., Miami, OK 74354  
Home Phone: 918-542-5162  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Retirement Laws  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher  
Education Subcommittee), Human Services, Retirement Laws



Ottawa County and House District 7 are coterminous. This is an area with an especially strong Native American heritage. More Indian tribes have resided in Ottawa County than anywhere else in the U.S. One of the best-preserved stretches of Route 66 runs through the district in Afton.

Although about half of the district lives in Miami, the economy of District 7 is heavily agricultural. Over 70 percent of the district's lands are in agricultural production, mainly dairy and livestock, as well as staple cereals. In the early 1990s unemployment ran high here (near 10 percent), and incomes were low. Public assistance constitutes about 10 percent of total income.

Politics here is traditionally Democratic. This is one of the few districts where Lt. Gov. Jack Mildren (D) carried a majority in his 1994 gubernatorial bid, and all of the local officeholders are Democrats. Incumbent Democrat Larry D. Roberts was challenged by a 32-year old science teacher from Miami, Kim McClain (R). Roberts, a member of the Cherokee Nation, has been in the legislature since 1983 and has long been active in community activities. Roberts, who identifies himself as an educator, serves on the Education Committee, as well as Banking and Finance and Human Services. He chairs the Retirement Laws Committee and authored two different interim study requests assigned to that committee. He is a member of the Grand River Dam Authority Lakes Advisory Commission.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Larry D. Roberts - D	7,222	63.8%
	Kim McLain - R	4,102	36.2%
1994	Larry D. Roberts - D	5,671	67.0%
	Grace Goodeagle - R	2,844	33.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,679                      Republican: 4,107                      Independent: 875

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$15,908.60	\$18,058.62	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$4,000.00  
 OKIE PAC \$500.00  
 George B. Kaiser, Francis Oil Co. Pres. \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**7th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$22,527	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 7%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 18%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 27%	Percent Employed in Service: 63%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 7%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 38%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Don Ross (D) 73rd District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1982  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: March 11, 1941  
Church: none given  
Education: Central State University, B.S., M.S.  
Family: Children, James Kavin, Edward Alonzo,  
Reginald Andrew, Ronald Charles, Curtis Wayne,  
Donna Annette  
Occupation: Public Relations  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1983 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 440  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7406  
Home Address: P.O. Box 167, Tulsa, OK 74120  
Home Phone: (918) 582-1741  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Health and Social  
Services Subcommittee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Health  
and Social Services Subcommittee), Education  
(Common Education Subcommittee, Higher  
Education Subcommittee), Rules, Science and  
Technology, Tourism and Recreation



Tulsa is sometimes referred to as the “Oil Capital of the World”, a title now disputed by some individuals in the Persian Gulf. Once this moniker was most deserved. Over 5,000 independent oil producers in Oklahoma produced more oil revenue per capita than any other place in the world and a lot of that oil business flowed through Tulsa. Now, production well-heads in the state are down substantially from two decades ago, and Tulsa, like the other major cities of the Oil Patch — New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, and Oklahoma City — has seen its share of foreclosures and empty office space downtown. But, times are good again, with a more diversified economy and stable (but not stellar) oil prices.

Incumbent Don Ross (D) was unopposed for reelection in this Tulsa district. He is president of a public relations firm, was in the newspaper business, and was a community leader before being elected to the legislature. In his eighth term, he is the chair of the Health and Social Services Subcommittee of Appropriations and Budget and also serves on the Rules, Education, and Tourism and Recreation Committees.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Don Ross - D	unopposed
1994	Don Ross - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,756                      Republican: 1,480                      Independent: 971

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$9,529.00	\$9,097.94	\$661.06

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

General Drivers' Local 523 \$1,500.00  
 Jim Barker Consulting Co. \$650.00  
 Thomas Dee Frazier, attorney \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 19

**73rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$21,219	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 9%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 72%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 35%
Percent African American: 71%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Al Sadler (D) 48th District

Hometown: Berwyn, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: April 2, 1936  
Church: First Presbyterian, Ardmore  
Education: Attended University of Oklahoma,  
Ardmore Higher Education Center  
Family: Married, Marion (Hanson)  
Occupation: Electrical Contractor  
Political Career: Member, OK of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 336  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7326  
Home Address: 516 Regent, N.W.,  
Ardmore, OK 73401  
Home Phone: 580-223-6737  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Natural Resources  
Subcommittee



Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Natural Resources Subcommittee), Tourism and Recreation, Transportation, Veterans and Military Affairs

The Washita River flows from the Texas Panhandle across south-central Oklahoma, and then passes through the Arbuckle Mountains south of Pauls Valley. The beautiful hills and dells south of Pauls Valley are in House District 48, which centers itself on the city of Ardmore in Carter County, and also encompasses rural stretches of Garvin and Murray Counties to the west of the Washita River. This area prospered from oil early in the history of Oklahoma. Healdton field once produced over 95,000 barrels of oil a day. Despite the early presence of oil, the economy is diversified, with manufacturers and agriculture.

Even here on the western edge of Little Dixie, local politics are Democratic. However, national and statewide politics are trending Republican. Frank Keating won a plurality here in 1994, and Bill Clinton never carried a majority in the district. The Democratic candidate for the Second Congressional District, and former Democratic Senate leader, Darryl Roberts, is from here, but did not carry a majority in the 48th District.

Two Republicans and a Reform Party candidate filed to challenge incumbent Al Sadler (D-Ardmore). In the Republican primary, Greg Piatt, a banker from Ardmore, was opposed by realtor Don Ray Thomason. The Reform candidate was Mike Thompson, an insurance and investment broker. Sadler beat Piatt by about 750 votes with the Reform candidate drawing a little more than 300 votes. Sadler, an electrical contractor, is in his fourth term. He chairs the Natural Resources Subcommittee of the Appropriations and Budget Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Al Sadler - D	5,731	51.9%
	Greg Piatt - R	4,985	45.2%
	Mike Thompson - Rfm.	324	2.9%
1994	Al Sadler - D	4,774	55.0%
	Don Ray Thomason - R	3,878	45.0%
1992	Al Sadler - D	7,899	64.0%
	Don Ray Thomason - R	4,433	36.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,027                      Republican: 3,501                      Independent: 856

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$35,417.81	\$32,641.87	\$1,322.40

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
OTRS / retirement

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Chickasaw Nation \$1,000.00  
Citizens for a Responsible Legislature \$1,500.00  
Dale Sadler, CPA \$1,500.00  
OK House Democratic Caucus \$4,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 33  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 33

**48th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,065	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 11%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 3%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 65%
Percent Employed in Government: 19%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 12%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 11%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Shelby Satterfield (D) 68th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: February 28, 1945  
Church: New Home Freewill Baptist Church  
Education: Attended Oklahoma State University,  
Computer Science/Business  
Family: Married, Beverly (Lewallen);  
children, Thad, Shelly, Jan  
Occupation: President, Broker, Big 8 Real Estate  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 331  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7340  
Home Address: 5000 W. 21st Street,  
Tulsa, OK, 74107  
Home Phone: 918-660-0974  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Public Safety  
Committees: Energy, Environment and Natural  
Resources, Insurance, Public Safety, Transportation



Tulsa County is shaped roughly like a “t”; the longer leg, to the west of downtown, is divided among four House districts. Most of that part of the county is physically in House District 68, which stretches from the neighborhoods around Chandler Park and Oakhurst out to 209th West Avenue, south of the Arkansas River.

Democratic incumbent Shelby Satterfield was opposed for reelection by a 37-year-old architect, M. Bradley Gaskins (R). Satterfield was elected to his fourth term with about 55 percent of the vote. He is the President of Big 8 Real Estate. He chairs the Public Safety Committee. Consequently, he co-authored the request for an interim study on out-of-state tags and several other measures assigned to the Public Safety Committee.





## Mark Seikel (D) 96th District

Hometown: Harrah, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: November 14, 1950  
Church: St. Teresa Catholic Church  
Education: University of Oklahoma, 1969-1974  
Family: Married, Judy (Hargrave);  
children, Katie, John Paul  
Occupation: Real Estate Developer  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 437  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7400  
Home Address: Box 355, Harrah, OK 73045  
Home Phone: 405-454-3202  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Human Services  
Committee  
Committees: Administrative Rule Review,  
Appropriations and Budget (Human Services Subcommittee), Human Services,  
Insurance, Small Business, Transportation



House District 96 takes in the eastern third of Oklahoma County, to the east of Tinker Air Force Base and Midwest City. To the north it continues over to the edge of Edmond. House District 96 takes in all the vast, rural stretches of east Oklahoma County, including the towns of Luther, Arcadia, Choctaw, and Harrah.

Incumbent Mark Seikel (D-Harrah) drew a trio of Republican challengers: John Chambless from Choctaw; Darlene Pointer, a 38-year-old consultant from Choctaw; and Arcadia businessman Tim Clem. In November, Seikel gained reelection with just under 55 percent of the vote over Pointer. A real estate developer, Seikel was on the Board of Trustees and Mayor of Harrah prior to election to the House in 1988. He chairs the Human Services Committee. In 1995, he was named Legislator of the Year by the National Association of Social Workers, Oklahoma Chapter, and the Children's Legislator of the Year by the Oklahoma Academy of Pediatricians.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mark Seikel - D	6,628	54.2%
	Darlene Pointer - R	5,591	45.8%
1994	Mark Seikel - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 9,775                      Republican: 7,480                      Independent: 1,296

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$36,283.55	\$33,991.88	\$2,291.67

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Citizens for a Responsible Legislature \$1,000.00  
 John V. Rich (Executive Health Care) \$1,000.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$3,500.00  
 Melvin H. and Ruth E. Modewell (Jones, OK), Recycling Metals \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 40

**96th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$36,955	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 25%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 21%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 18%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 18%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 17%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 21%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Bill Settle (D) 13th District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: November 16, 1937

Church: none given

Education: Northeastern State University, B.A.,  
Education, 1960; University of Tulsa Law  
School, J.D., 1966

Family: Married, Kathleen Ann (Ward);  
children, Lisa Anne, Shelley Kathleen, Bill M.

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Muskogee City Council, 1981-  
1990; Muskogee Co. Democratic Chairman,  
1970-75; Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 304

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7381

Home Address: P.O. Box 1368  
Muskogee, OK 74402

Home Phone: 918-682-8089

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Appropriations and Budget Committee; Chair, Judiciary  
and Law Enforcement Subcommittee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Judiciary and Law Enforcement Subcommittee),  
County and Municipal Government, Judiciary, Revenue and Taxation, Rules



Wagoner County and most of Muskogee County south of the Muskogee Turnpike are in House District 13. The district splits the county seat, Muskogee, taking in the parts of the city west of US 69 and south of State Highway 165.

This district has been voting Republican in presidential elections since the 1960s, and went Republican in two of the past three gubernatorial contests. Local politics is still decidedly Democratic; there are no locally elected Republicans. Still, the potential for Republican growth exists, although it is difficult to link a conservative small-town legislator to the national Democratic Party in a constituency where everyone "knows better".

The incumbent, Bill Settle (D-Muskogee) was opposed by homemaker-businesswoman Phyllis McLemore. Settle, an attorney, easily won his fourth term. He was named vice-chair of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and Chair of its Judiciary and Law Enforcement Subcommittee. Settle is also a member of the Revenue and Taxation Committee. He authored a request for an interim study on the Teacher Retirement System.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Bill Settle - D	6,520	60.1%
	Phyllis McLemore - R	4,336	39.9%
1994	Bill Settle - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,025      Republican: 3,174      Independent: 901

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$46,571.39	\$64,611.55	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 USF&G / insurance, legal fees  
 Settle & Landrum / law practice, legal fees

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma \$2,000.00  
 Jim and Kay Barker, lobbyist \$1,000.00  
 Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee \$2,500.00  
 Bill Settle \$1,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**13th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,776	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 14%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 24%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 31%
Percent African American: 24%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Dale Smith (D) 27th District

Hometown: Tribbey, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: April 11, 1937

Church: Church of Christ

Education: Murray State College, 1957; Oklahoma

Baptist University, B.S., Education, 1960

Family: Married, Caroll Ann (Maxwell);

children, Diane, Mickey Dale, David Lynn,

Melanie

Occupation: Retired Educator

Political Career: Member, OK House of

Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 330

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7349

Home Address: Box 119, St. Louis, OK 74866

Home Phone: 405-289-3241

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Economic

Development Committee; Chair, Vo-Tech

Subcommittee

Committees: Economic Development, Education (Common Education Subcommittee,

Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Insurance, Wildlife



Pottawatomie county outside of Shawnee, plus parts of northeast Cleveland County and southwest Lincoln County, make up House District 27. Oil and gas have contributed, but agriculture is the mainstay of the local economy.

Local politics is decidedly Democratic and all of the local officials in the district are Democrats; however, Republicans have carried this district for president with increasing consistency since the 1960s, and Frank Keating won a plurality in Pottawatomie county in 1994.

The potential for GOP growth is evident from the 1996 legislative elections. Three Republicans vied to challenge incumbent Dale Smith (D-Saint Louis). Phil Hartoon was a Tecumseh jeweller; Sheila Hall was a property manager from Macomb; and Pete Pendley was a businessman from McLoud. Smith prevailed, but defeated Hartoon by a relatively narrow margin. Smith, an educator by background, was the president of the Oklahoma Organization of Dependent Schools. In this third term, Smith is vice-chair of the Economic Development Committee and chairs the Vocational-Technical Education Subcommittee of the Education Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dale Smith - D	6,067	52.9%
	Phil Hartoon - R	5,401	47.1%
1994	Dale Smith - D	6,041	64.0%
	John M. Chase - R	3,412	36.0%
1992	Dale Smith - D	6,760	53.0%
	Lyle L. Roggow - R	6,089	47.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 12,438                      Republican: 4,564                      Independent: 963

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$21,248.88	\$20,491.37	\$3,004.26

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Teacher Retirement

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Representatives Democratic Caucus \$4,500.00  
OK Independent Energy PAC \$750.00  
John V. Rich, Executive Heartland Care Group \$1,000.00  
Citizens for a Responsible Legislature PAC \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 25  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**27th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$29,072	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 15%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 14%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 24%	Percent Employed in Service: 56%
Percent Employed in Government: 14%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 6%
Percent Over Age 55: 20%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 27%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Hopper Smith (R) 67th District

Hometown: Dallas, Texas

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: December 2, 1961

Church: St. Benedict, Broken Arrow

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.,  
Geology, 1986

Family: Married, Karen (McGinty);  
children, Shinae Christine, Brianna MacKenzie,  
Brendan Foster, Ashton Bailey

Occupation: Technical Sales

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 301 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7341

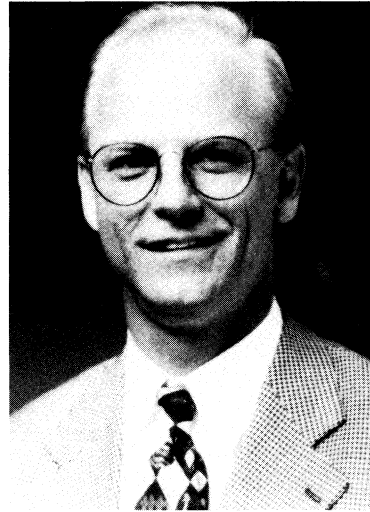
Home Address: 6528 D-1 East 101st Street,  
Suite 444, Tulsa, OK 74133

Home Phone: none given

Leadership Positions: None

Committees: Energy, Environment and Natural

Resources, Public Health, Science and Technology, Tourism and Recreation



District 67 encompasses much of suburban Tulsa. The district stretches southeast from below I-44 and LaFortune Park to Woodland Hills Mall and the Mingo Valley Expressway. Beyond the district lies Broken Arrow, and then Muskogee County.

Incumbent Wayne Cozart (R) did not seek reelection in this predominantly Republican district. Three candidates — all Republicans — sought to succeed him: salesman Hopper Smith, attorney Art Price, and property broker Richard Polishuk, with Smith ultimately prevailing. He authored a request for an interim study on telecommunications technology in the marketplace.





## Barbara Staggs (D) 14th District

Hometown: Hulbert, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1994  
Term Limit: 2006  
Date of Birth: July 18, 1940  
Church: First Baptist Church, Muskogee  
Education: Northeastern State University, B.A.,  
Education, 1963; University of Tulsa,  
M.A., 1968; Ed.D., 1987  
Family: Married, Ross Staggs;  
children, Rick and Matt  
Occupation: Retired teacher and administrator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 304 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7310  
Home Address: P.O. Box 1545,  
Muskogee, OK 74402  
Home Phone: 918-687-5630  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Higher Education  
Subcommittee  
Committees: Community and Family Responsibilities, Economic Development, Education  
(Common Education Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee), Public Health



Most parts of Muskogee County not in District 13 are in District 14. This includes all of the county east of the Turnpike, and the city of Muskogee east of US 69. Historic Fort Gibson and the Port of Muskogee are in the district.

Incumbent Democrat Barbara Staggs attracted opposition in both the primary and general election. In the primary she confronted fellow Democrat Richard Goodwin from Muskogee. In the general election, the Republicans put forward business consultant Dan Chepkaukas who received about 40 percent of the vote. Staggs holds an Ed.D. and is a retired school teacher and administrator. She began her second term by being selected to chair the Higher Education Subcommittee of the Education Committee. She and James Hager requested an interim study on the Oklahoma School Testing Program. She has authored a variety of school related legislation. Staggs serves as chair of the Joint Committee on Data Processing and Telecommunications.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Barbara Staggs - D	7,617	59.0%
	Dan Chepkaukas - R	5,211	41.0%
1994	Barbara Staggs - D	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 14,952                      Republican: 4,224                      Independent: 1,042

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$37,511.69	\$35,483.73	\$9,130.65

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Medical PAC \$1,300.00  
 DRIVE Political Fund \$1,500.00  
 OK Education Assoc. PAC \$500.00  
 OK Independent Energy PAC \$500.00  
 OK State Employees Assoc. PAC \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**14th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,706	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 20%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 26%	Percent Employed in Service: 66%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## Fred Stanley (D) 49th District

Hometown: Madill, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: December 11, 1955

Church: Church of Christ

Education: Southeastern Oklahoma State University,  
B.S., 1982

Family: Married, Leesa (Riddles);  
children, Shaunda Renea and Sonny Dash

Occupation: Insurance and Rancher

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 433

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7383

Home Address: P.O. Box 81, Madill, OK 73446

Home Phone: 580-795-7305

Leadership Positions: Majority Caucus Chairman;  
Chair, Public Health Committee

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Appropriations and Budget (Natural Resources  
Subcommittee), Judiciary, Public Health, Rules



Lake Texoma is one of the principle recreation spots in the state of Oklahoma. Created in 1944 behind the Denison Dam, the lake is the southern boundary of House District 49, which includes all of Marshall and Love Counties and about 40 percent of Carter County. Oil has been very important in this part of the state, and the local economies still rely on the extraction of oil, natural gas, and propane, as well as agriculture and manufacturing.

All of the local officials here are Democratic, but this area, like so much of south Oklahoma, has a Dixified habit of voting Democratic "where they know ya" and increasingly voting Republican at the national level. National and state Democrats still win in this district, but the margins pale compared to thirty years ago.

Incumbent Democrat Fred Stanley was unopposed for reelection to his fourth term. Stanley has a background both in insurance and in ranching. He is the Majority Caucus Chairman, chairs the Public Health Committee, and sits on Appropriations and Budget. He also serves on the Red River Boundary Commission.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Fred Stanley - D	unopposed
1994	Fred Stanley - D	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 17,354                      Republican: 2,520                      Independent: 860

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$29,455.00	\$28,355.36	\$3,241.84

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Don Steele / ranching, sale of ins.  
 Ladybug Stallion Station / ranching, sale of livestock  
 Jack McClellon / ranching, sale of livestock  
 Howard Moore / ranching, sale of livestock  
 David Payne / stock broker, rancher, sale of ins.  
 Martha Prendergast / doctor & rancher, sale of ins.

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK MALT PAC \$1,000.00  
 OK Denturists Assoc. \$2,500.00  
 OK Independent Energy PAC \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 7                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**49th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$27,157	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 16%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 29%	Percent Employed in Service: 54%
Percent Employed in Government: 5%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 12%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 33%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## J. Dwayne Steidley (D) 9th District

Hometown: Claremore, Oklahoma

Elected: 1986

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: March 8, 1959

Church: St. Andrew's Methodist Church

Education: Attended Rogers State College;  
Oklahoma State University, B.A., 1981;  
University of Tulsa, J.D., 1984

Family: Married, Teresa (Brim); children, Terence

Occupation: Attorney and Construction

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1987 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 535 - A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7380

Home Address: 205 N. Chambers Trail,  
Claremore, OK 74017

Home Phone: 918-341-9543

Leadership Positions: Chair, Rules Committee

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Banking and Finance, Community and Family  
Responsibilities, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Judiciary, Rules



District 9 centers on Claremore in Rogers county, which makes up about a third of the district population. This is the hometown of one of the '50s greatest singing sensations, Patti Page, as well as author Lynn Riggs, whose work was the basis for the musical *Oklahoma!*.

The incumbent, Dwayne Steidley (D-Claremore), was confronted in the general election by a 28 year old challenger, Bryan Birdsong (R-Claremore), but won reelection to begin his second decade in the legislature. Steidley is an attorney who engages in some homebuilding. He chairs the Rules Committee and serves on the Administrative Rule Review Committee, and the Banking and Finance Committee. Tax reform is an important issue to Steidley who was also involved in the drafting of H.B. 1213, reforming sentencing in the Oklahoma criminal justice system.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dwayne Steidley - D	8,719	59.6%
	Bryan A. Birdsong - R	5,913	40.4%
1994	Dwayne Steidley - D	6,912	61.0%
	Bryan A. Birdsong - R	4,512	39.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 13,576                      Republican: 7,079                      Independent: 1,100

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$35,413.23	\$31,302.12	\$2,131.59

**Personal Financial History**

OK House of Representatives  
William & Marlar / attorney

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

Dwayne Steidley Rep. Fund \$2,213.25  
George Kaiser, oil and banking \$1,000.00  
Columbia HCA PAC \$500.00  
Tulsa General Drivers \$1,000.00  
OK State Employee's Association \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 30

**9th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$32,633	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 18%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 23%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 27%	Percent Employed in Service: 64%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 21%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 24%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 0%	

## J.T. Stites (D) 2nd District

Hometown: Greenwood Junction, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 7, 1928  
Church: none given  
Education: Northeastern State University, B.S.,  
1955; M.S., 1959  
Family: Married, Mary Jo (Ross);  
children, Tom and Kirk  
Occupation: Retired Educator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 337 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7315  
Home Address: P.O. Box 691, Sallisaw, OK 74955  
Home Phone: 918-775-9226  
Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Education  
Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Education Subcommittee), Economic  
Development, Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher Education  
Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Human Services



Sequoyah County, named for the great Cherokee linguist, sits on the Arkansas border, and was once part of Arkansas. The first capital of the Cherokee nation was here, and Native Americans still make up about a quarter of the county residents. The 2nd House district encompasses all of Sequoyah County, except for a corner of land around Gore, Oklahoma, just to the west of Robert S. Kerr Lake. The economy of the 2nd is agricultural, mainly grain and cattle. The first parimutuel track in Oklahoma was established here, belying the Bible Belt reputation of Little Dixie.

As in most of Little Dixie, the politics here are solidly Democratic. No Republican has represented Sequoyah County in the legislature and national Democrats still run well here. The district media comes from two directions — Fort Smith, Arkansas, and Tulsa — which historically meant that state legislators from this district did not have great attention brought to their activities in Oklahoma City.

The November election pitted incumbent J.T. Stites (D-Sallisaw) against Republican challenger Joe F. Peters, a tax consultant from Sallisaw. Stites, a former high school principal, garnered nearly two-thirds of the votes cast in that race. He serves on the important Appropriations and Budget Committee. He is also Vice-Chair of the Education Committee.





## John Sullivan (R) 71st District

Hometown: Tulsa, Oklahoma

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: January 1, 1965

Church: St. Mary's Catholic Church

Education: Northeastern State University,  
B.B.A., 1992

Family: Married, Judith Marie (Beck);  
children, Thomas Beck

Occupation: Regional Manager, Go! Systems, Inc.

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 301 - C

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7361

Home Address: 3822 S. Utica, Tulsa, OK 74105

Home Phone: (918) 743-2014

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Banking and Finance, Education

(Common Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and  
Natural Resources, Public Health



District 71 is an example of what students of redistricting call a “bacon strip” — a district that combines urban neighborhoods with less-populated suburban and rural areas. In this case, the strip starts on the east bank of the Arkansas River in Tulsa proper, near the Philbrook Museum of Art; it then crosses the river and runs south for about six miles, bounded by Creek County to the west. This is also where the Port of Tulsa is located, the westernmost inland water port city in the U.S.

Youthful (31-years-old) incumbent Republican John Sullivan was opposed for reelection by Democrat Harry Shivery, but easily reelected to his second term. A 1992 graduate of Northeastern State University, Sullivan is a regional manager of Go! Systems, Inc. A member of the Public Health Committee, he also serves on the Community Liaison Board for St. John’s Medical Center. He authored the request for an interim study on the elimination of the sales tax on groceries.



## Leonard E. Sullivan (R) 82nd District

Hometown: Dale, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1986  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: December 12, 1934  
Church: Cherokee Hills Church of Christ  
Education: Oklahoma State University, B.A.  
Family: Married, Marilyn S. (West);  
children, Diana L. Wood, Lee Ann Crull  
Occupation: Commercial and Industrial Realtor,  
Developer, Appraiser, Business Investor,  
Consultant  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1987 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 540  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7357  
Home Address: Business: 10804 Quail Plaza Drive,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73120  
Home Phone: Business: 405-755-5250  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: Banking and Finance, Economic  
Development, Insurance, Rules, Transportation



As you head out the Northwest Expressway from Oklahoma City, the suburbs thin as you head toward Canadian County. If you head north from Wiley Post Airport, you circle around a variety of lakes, including Lake Hefner, Silver Lake, and Ski Island Lake. Eventually, as you bear east, you will pass a variety of golf courses (Quail Creek and the Green), and Quail Springs Mall, until you hit Edmond proper. This land of lakes, golf, and suburbia is House District 82.

The incumbent, Republican Leonard Sullivan, was challenged for renomination by an attorney 30 years his junior, Beth Stathos. No Democrat sought election in District 82. A commercial realtor, developer, and appraiser, Sullivan is in his second decade in the legislature. He serves on the Banking and Finance Committee. Sullivan has a penchant for headlines and while he calls himself a "great guy," some of those who have been the object of his attacks have disagreed.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Leonard Sullivan - R	unopposed
1994	Leonard Sullivan - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,174                      Republican: 15,421                      Independent: 1,416

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$22,375.66	\$19,283.76	\$3,761.24

**Personal Financial History**

Real Estate  
Various / rental properties

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

(not available)

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 9	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 60

**82nd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$54,355	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 40%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 9%	Percent College-Educated: 54%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 11%	Percent Employed in Service: 78%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 4%
Percent Over Age 55: 13%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 11%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Gary S. Taylor (D) 10th District

Hometown: The Boston Pool, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: November 19, 1943  
Church: Catholic  
Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S., 1967  
Family: Married, Judy (Hines);  
children, Jennifer Ann and Tonya Kay  
Occupation: Purchasing Agent  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 435 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7402  
Home Address: 621 S. Moore, Dewey, OK 74029  
Home Phone: 918-534-3419  
Leadership Positions: Chair, County and Municipal  
Government Committee  
Committees: Banking and Finance, County and  
Municipal Government, Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, Transportation



District 10 is divided roughly into thirds between three counties: all of Nowata County, at one time home of the world's largest shallow oil fields; Washington County north of Bartlesville, the home of Phillips Petroleum; and northeast Osage County above US 60, around Lake Hulah.

The Democratic incumbent, Gary Taylor of Dewey, was challenged by a Nowata real estate broker, Dave Neely (R). Taylor was reelected to his fifth term with over 60 percent of the vote. He serves on the Board of the Grand Lake Mental Health, Alcohol and Drug Abuse Center. He was the Assistant Majority Whip from 1988-1992. Taylor chairs the County and Municipal Government Committee and serves on the Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Committee.



## Tommy Thomas (D) 20th District

Hometown: Durant, Oklahoma

Elected: 1989

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: September 24, 1949

Church: none given

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.

Agriculture Education, 1972

Family: Married, Judy Underwood;

children, Mindy, Kate

Occupation: Insurance and Real Estate

Political Career: Oklahoma House of

Representatives, 1989 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 411

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7308

Home Address: P.O. Box 598, Atoka, OK 74525

Home Phone: 580-889-3153

Leadership Positions: Majority Floor Leader

Committees: Corrections, Energy, Environment and

Natural Resources, Human Services, Revenue and Taxation, Rules



Coal mining was once a major industry in south-central Oklahoma. However, a lot of the mines closed 70 years ago, and many residents either left or turned to farming. The 20th District takes in three entire counties — Atoka, Coal, and Johnston — and about 3000 residents of northern Bryan County. 1996 Campaign Financial History. Unemployment is lower than the state average, but far higher in Coal County than elsewhere in the district, where textile and mineral extraction create jobs.

Politics here is decidedly Democratic. There was only one local Republican officeholder as of 1995. However, like much of Little Dixie this district overwhelmingly followed Wes Watkins for governor in 1994. In 1996 Bill Clinton carried the district.

The incumbent legislator, Tommy Thomas (D-Atoka) was unchallenged in the primary and general election. Thomas is the Majority Floor Leader and may well have his eye on the Speakership. He has been in the legislature since 1989 and would need to beat out all the other term-limited members if he is to become Speaker.





## Mike Thornbrugh (R) 75th District

Hometown: Wichita, Kansas

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: October 27, 1959

Church: Aldergate Methodist Church

Education: University of Tulsa, B.S.,  
Political Science

Family: Married, Raeanne (Lambert);  
children, Paul Adam, Emily

Occupation: Business Executive

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1993 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 539

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7356

Home Address: 3516 S. 88th East Avenue,  
Tulsa, OK 74145

Home Phone: 918-664-0910

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Rules Committee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget

(Human Services Subcommittee), Education

(Higher Education Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Energy, Environment, and  
Natural Resources, Government Operations and Agency Oversight, Rules, Wildlife



District 75 encompasses the suburban and rural parts of Tulsa County that are west of the Mingo Valley freeway, and between 31st and 61st streets.

Incumbent Mike Thornbrugh (R) was opposed for reelection by salesman Rudy DeBruin (D). Thornbrugh was easily reelected to his third term. A business executive, he serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee and as Vice-Chair of the Rules Committee. He was named an outstanding legislator by the Oklahoma Sheriffs' Association in 1995.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mike Thornbrugh - R	8,567	72.2%
	Rudy DeBruin - D	3,307	27.9%
1994	Mike Thornbrugh - R	unopposed	
1992	Mike Thornbrugh - R	8,168	59.0%
	Ted Bateman - D	5,633	41.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 7,551                      Republican: 9,351                      Independent: 1,245

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$19,817.77	\$40,618.48	\$13,618.48

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Quicktrip Corp. / salary  
 Baxter / salary, interest & dividends  
 Amer Century 20th / interest & dividends  
 Merrill Lynch B / interest & dividends  
 Neuberger & Berm FD / int. & divs.  
 Price Funds / interest & dividends  
 Putnam Funds A / interest & dividends  
 USAA Group / interest & dividends

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

KOCH PAC \$750.00  
 OKIE PAC \$1,000.00  
 Frank Sanders, self-employed, Tulsa \$500.00  
 Aubrey McClendon, CEO, Chesapeake Energy Corp. \$500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 90                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 50

**75th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$33,581	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 20%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 31%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 20%	Percent Employed in Service: 74%
Percent Employed in Government: 2%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 14%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 14%
Percent African American: 5%	Percent Hispanic American: 3%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Opio Toure (D) 99th District

Hometown: Muskogee, OK

Elected: 1994

Term Limit: 2006

Date of Birth: March 31, 1954

Church: St. Paul Baptist Church

Education: Langston University, B.A., 1976;

University of Oklahoma School of Law, J.D.,  
1979

Family: Married, Linda (Ware);  
children, Jelani and Jabari

Occupation: Attorney

Political Career: Member OK House of  
Representatives, 1995 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 400

Capitol Phone/Fax: 4050557-7393

Home Address: 1144 NE 5th Terrace,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73117

Home Phone: 405-236-4904

Leadership Positions: Chair, Judiciary Committee

Committees: Commerce, Industry and Labor, Education (Higher Education Subcommittee,  
Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Judiciary, Public Health, Rules



House District 99 snakes through Oklahoma City, stretching from the edge of Nichols Hills, south along I-235 and I-35, toward Midwest City. In the process it captures many institutions of the state: the State Capitol, prominent with its domeless top and oil derricks; Presbyterian Hospital; and the University of Oklahoma Health Sciences Center. The most prominent landmark, however, is a vacant lot where once stood the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, destroyed on April 19, 1995 by anti-government right-wingers.

Incumbent Democrat Opio Toure (D-Oklahoma City) attracted three Republican opponents: 75-year-old retiree, Jimmie Stowe; Denise Engle, a risk coordinator; and OKC attorney, Jim Seasholtz. Toure faced Engle in November but received nearly three-fourths of the votes cast to gain reelection to his second term. An attorney, Toure chairs the Judiciary Committee. He also serves on the Oklahoma Criminal Justice Task Force Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Opio Toure - D	5,636	74.0%
	Denise Engle - R	1,982	26.0%
1994	Eddie Hagler - R	1,468	26.0%
	Opio Toure - D	4,268	74.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,747                      Republican: 2,394                      Independent: 922

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$22,095.00	\$22,246.48	\$406.32

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 OKC Board of Educators / spouse  
 Opio Toure, Atty at Law

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK House of Reps. Dem. Caucus \$1,850.00  
 OK State AFL-CIO COPE \$1,000.00  
 IBEW Ed. Committee \$1,300.00  
 LEGAL PAC \$2,500.00  
 D.R.I.V.E. Political Fund \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 8                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 13

**99th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$22,327	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 8%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 0%	Percent College-Educated: 17%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 72%
Percent Employed in Government: 10%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 23%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 29%
Percent African American: 70%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Dale Turner (D) 24th District

Hometown: Wetumka, Oklahoma

Elected: 1996

Term Limit: 2008

Date of Birth: April 16, 1941

Church: First Baptist Church

Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.,  
Agricultural Administration, 1963; M.S.,  
Agricultural Education, 1971

Family: Married, Kathryn Laverne (Meadors);  
children, Tammy

Occupation: Vocational Educator

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 316

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7306

Home Address: Rt. 1, Box 210  
Holdenville, OK 74848

Leadership Positions: Vice Chair, Government  
Operations and Agency Oversight Committee

Committees: Agriculture, Economic Development, Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Vo-Tech Subcommittee), Government Operations and Agency  
Oversight, Small Business, Tourism and Recreation



House District 24 includes all of Hughes County (about 40 percent of the district) and substantial parts of Okmulgee (about 40 percent) and Okfuskee Counties to the north. A predominantly rural district, it bridges Little Dixie to suburban Tulsa, and cuts across what David Morgan and Sam Kirkpatrick called the “urban corridor” of Oklahoma. There is a lot of history in this area. The eleventh governor of Oklahoma, Leon Chase Phillips, was from Okemah (named for a Creek chief), as was “This Land is My Land” composer Woody Guthrie. The Creek Tribe maintains its capital in Okmulgee, and to date no tornado has ever struck the city, verifying the judgement of tribal decision makers. The faint southern echo of this district is most evident in Hughes County, where the annual Sorgham Days festival pays tribute to that sticky commodity.

Agriculture is important here. Several hundred square miles of land are still dedicated to farming; there are over 700 farms in Hughes county alone. However, this is not a growing area. Deaths exceed births, and incomes are not especially high (though higher than in the depths of Little Dixie).

For years here state politics was defined in the person of the former incumbent, Speaker Glen D. Johnson. Johnson unsuccessfully sought election to Congress in 1996, but landed on his feet. He is now president of Southeastern Oklahoma State University.

Three candidates sought to fill Johnson’s seat: Republican Bruce Coker, an attorney from Okemah; and Democrats Dale Turner (D-Holdenville), an auctioneer, and the mayor of Holdenville, Jack Barnett. Turner, a vocational educator, emerged as the victor. Among his initial assignments, he was the vice-chair of the Government Operations and Agency Oversight Committee.



## Mike Tyler (D) 30th District

Hometown: Sapulpa, Oklahoma

Elected: 1988

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: January 21, 1944

Church: First Baptist Church

Education: Attended Oklahoma University and  
Tulsa University

Family: Married, Norma (Hodge);  
children, Bobby, Scot, Natalie

Occupation: Businessman, Tyler's Fine Furniture

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1988 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 436

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7414

Home Address: 19 E. Hobson, Sapulpa, OK 74066

Home Phone: 918-224-6258

Leadership Positions: Chair, Transportation  
Committee

Committees: Commerce, Industry and Labor, Economic Development, Education (Common  
Education Subcommittee), Transportation



Creek County is divided between two state legislative districts. The eastern part of the county, around Sapulpa, is in District 30; the balance of the county — Shamrock, Oilton, Mannford, and Bristow, among others — is located in District 29. The economy here was briefly based on oil in the early part of the century; however, the oil and everything else dried up in the 1920s. Now, Creek County hosts a thriving clay dinnerware industry, and the 30th District is in part composed of bedroom communities to Tulsa. Incomes here are higher than in much of the state, despite the long absence of oil from the local economy.

Incumbent Democrat Mike Tyler was challenged by Pam Ballard (R) in 1996. Tyler, in the legislature since 1988, was reelected with over 55 percent of the vote. He is a businessman in the furniture industry. Tyler chairs the Transportation Committee and requested two interim studies that were assigned to the Subcommittee on Public Safety and Transportation of the Appropriations and Budget Committee.





## Ray Vaughn (R) 81st District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: June 14, 1948  
Church: none given  
Education: Oklahoma Christian College, B.A.,  
Oklahoma City University, J.D.  
Family: Married Suzanne (Steele);  
children; Christin Suzanne DeGeare,  
R. Lawson III, Clinton Robert  
Occupation: Attorney  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 541  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7360  
Home Address: 408 Timberdale Drive,  
Edmond, OK 73034  
Home Phone: 405-478-4818  
Leadership Positions: Assistant Minority Floor Leader; Vice Chair, Community and Family  
Responsibilities  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Regulatory Services Subcommittee), Community  
and Family Responsibilities, Education (Common Education Subcommittee, Higher  
Education Subcommittee), Judiciary, Rules



The *Oklahoma Almanac* sums up the founding of Edmond succinctly. "The town of Edmond sprang up overnight during the great Oklahoma land rush." Founded in a day around the Santa Fe railroad station, Edmond is now a prosperous suburban adjunct to Oklahoma City, but still possessed with a distinctiveness that indicates it is a place separate from its neighbor, OKC. Here one finds one of the finest colleges in the state, the University of Central Oklahoma, and one of the largest stretches of car dealerships in Oklahoma.

Edmond is divided among several legislative districts. District 81, takes in most of Edmond to the west of the Broadway Extension. About 65 percent of the city of Edmond is represented by House District 81. The balance is in District 31, which also encompasses south Logan County.

The incumbent here since 1989 has been Ray Vaughn, an Edmond Republican. He was unopposed for renomination and reelection in 1996. Vaughn is an attorney with a J.D. from Oklahoma City University. He is a former assistant city attorney and associate municipal judge. He was also responsible, for a time, for the OBA Ask-A-Lawyer radio program. In the legislature, he serves as an Assistant Minority Floor Leader and is vice-chair of the Community and Family Responsibilities Committee. He is also a member of the Judiciary and the Appropriations and Budget Committees. He has an interest in marriage law and requested two interim studies in that area.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>
1996	Ray Vaughn - R	unopposed
1994	Ray Vaughn - R	unopposed

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 7,954                      Republican: 13,624                      Independent: 1,289

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$2,835.11	\$0.00	\$17,968.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Ray Vaughn, Atty / law practice

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Ind. Petroleum PAC \$300.00  
CPA, PAC \$100.00  
OK Assoc. of Insurance Agents PAC \$100.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 75  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 70

**81st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$45,916	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 34%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 7%	Percent College-Educated: 49%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 11%	Percent Employed in Service: 77%
Percent Employed in Government: 7%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 5%
Percent Over Age 55: 15%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 18%
Percent African American: 4%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Sean Voskuhl (D) 41st District

Hometown: Enid, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: October 5, 1966  
Church: First Baptist Church  
Education: Oklahoma State University, B.S.,  
Agricultural Economics  
Family: Parents, William Lee and  
Mary Ellen (Murphy) Voskuhl  
Occupation: Farmer and Rancher  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 537 - B  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7321  
Home Address: Rt. 1, Box 60, Marshall, OK 73056  
Home Phone: 580-935-6754  
Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader;  
Vice Chair, Human Services Subcommittee  
Committees: Agriculture, Appropriations and  
Budget (Human Services Subcommittee), Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources,  
Transportation



House District 41 is a donut, of sorts. In addition to northeast Kingfisher County and northwest Logan County, it takes in all of rural Garfield County plus those parts of Enid not represented in District 40; District 41 completely surrounds District 40. About 70 percent of the district population is in Garfield County, mostly in Enid.

This district votes mainly Republican. Although it supported Wes Watkins at a rate higher than the rest of the state in the 1994 governor's race, many of those votes were probably obtained from erstwhile Democrats; Frank Keating ran as well here as Henry Bellmon or Dewey Bartlett. Local politics is competitive in Logan and Kingfisher Counties, while Republicans dominate Garfield politics, making this a potentially competitive district.

Despite these Republican tendencies, the incumbent here is a Democrat. Sean Voskuhl (D-Marshall) was opposed for reelection by rancher Curt Roggow (R-Enid). As a lesson on the importance of voting, Voskuhl was elected by a mere 18 votes to his fourth term. He is an Assistant Majority Leader.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Sean Voskuhl - D	7,178	50.1%
	Curt Roggow - R	7,160	49.9%
1994	Sean Voskuhl - D	7,608	57.0%
	Vic Hayes - R	5,660	43.0%
1992	Sean Voskuhl - D	10,211	65.0%
	John R. Clausing - R	5,579	35.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 8,123	Republican: 11,544	Independent: 614
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**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$57,431.00	\$52,103.00	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Central Halliburton Comm. Co. Inc. / purchase cattle, cattle sales

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK State AFL-CIO PAC \$1,200.00  
DRIVE Political Fund \$1,000.00  
OKIE PAC (OK Independent Petroleum) \$1,000.00  
OK House of Reps. Dem. Caucus \$4,850.00  
Harold Hamm, Pres., Continental Resources, Inc. \$1,000.00  
James B. Cummins, Pres., Cummins Investment Group \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100	Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10	The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 3

**41st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$34,109	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 17%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 4%	Percent College-Educated: 26%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 11%	Percent Employed in Service: 70%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 13%
Percent Over Age 55: 26%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 26%
Percent African American: 1%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Robert Weaver (D) 26th District

Hometown: Shawnee, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1988  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: February 2, 1954  
Church: Central Presbyterian Church  
Education: Attended St. Gregory's College;  
Southern Nazarene University, B.A., 1994  
Family: Children, William Austin, Molly Mae,  
Robert Donovan  
Occupation: Legislator  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1989 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 435  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7345  
Home Address: P.O. Box 214, Shawnee, OK 74802  
Home Phone: 405-275-6340  
Leadership Positions: Chair, Banking and  
Finance Committee  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Health and Social Services Subcommittee);  
Banking and Finance, Community and Family Services, Human Services, Rules



Pottawatomie County is part of the original territory opened to settlement in 1891, and to this day it is one of the largest non-urbanized counties in Oklahoma. With over 58,000 residents in 1990, it was nearly big enough to have two entire House districts. And, mapmakers did just that, crafting an entire district out of Shawnee (pop 26,017) and surrounding areas, and then pairing the rest of the county with small parts of Cleveland and Lincoln Counties. The Shawnee district is House District 26. For a while Shawnee was in the running to become state capitol, and the locals even built a governor's mansion to make their case. Oil and gas have contributed to the growth of Shawnee, but the surrounding areas are still wedded to agriculture. Two private religious colleges are in Shawnee: St. Gregory's College, and Oklahoma Baptist University, where former governor and U.S. senator David Boren once taught government.

Local politics is decidedly Democratic. Republicans rarely win state legislative elections here, and all of the local officials are also Democrats. Incumbent Democrat Bob Weaver (Shawnee) was challenged by Shawnee businessman Rickey Dale Crain (R). It should be no surprise that Weaver was elected to his fifth term with nearly two-thirds of the votes. What may be surprising is that Weaver is a former Republican who switched parties in 1993. A community activist, Weaver has received legislator of the year awards from several groups, including the OPEA and the Oklahoma State Troopers Association. Weaver is a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and chairs the Banking and Finance Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Robert Weaver - D	7,192	65.3%
	Rickey Dale Crain - R	3,822	34.7%
1994	Robert Weaver - D	5,176	55.0%
	Lyle L. Roggow - R	4,153	45.0%
1992	Robert E. Weaver - R	8,092	62.0%
	Tawn Allen Rose - D	4,922	38.0%

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$58,045.22	\$52,370.51	\$2,213.40

**Personal Financial History**

(not available)

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Medical PAC \$1,300.00  
 OK House of Representatives Democratic PAC \$1,979.32  
 Kaye Steele, real estate, Shawnee \$1,100.00  
 George B. Kaiser, Pres., Kaiser-Francis Oil Company \$1,000.00  
 Robert I. Fuller, Bell Finance \$1,100.00  
 OK House of Reps. Dem. Caucus \$1,000.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 50  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 20

**26th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$26,877	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 1%	Percent College-Educated: 19%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 65%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 25%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 34%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 2%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Dan Webb (R) 91st District

Hometown: Checotah, Oklahoma

Elected: 1990

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: June 20, 1947

Church: none given

Education: Attended Oklahoma Baptist University;  
graduated Central State University, Accounting,  
1972

Family: Married, Denise K. (Sterret);  
children, Scott Webb, Amanda Webb, Trey Tipton

Occupation: Self-employed Certified Public  
Accountant

Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 542

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7337

Home Address: 2609 Lakeridge Circle,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73170

Home Phone: 405-631-0506

Leadership Positions: none

Committees: Administrative Rule Review, Economic  
Development, Insurance, Public Health, Rules, Tourism and Recreation



House District 91 takes in a few square miles of Oklahoma County near the airport, then spills south into Cleveland County to round out its population. District 91 is out of the way of the landing patterns of the jets, and includes the shiny campus of Oklahoma City Community College, and the Walnut Creek Golf Club.

Republican incumbent Dan Webb was unopposed in his bid for a fourth term in the legislature. He is a self-employed CPA. Webb busily serves on six committees and requested an interim study to review and study state agencies, boards, and commissions that have not promulgated administrative rules.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dan Webb - R	unopposed	
1994	Dan Webb - R	6,576	67.0%
	Ed Cox - D	3,182	33.0%
1992	Dan Webb - R	8,630	66.0%
	L. Lewis Ogle - D	4,488	34.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 9,806                      Republican: 8,322                      Independent: 1,121

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$3,249.00	\$3,407.96	\$656.47

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 Danny B. Webb / CPA PC, tax acctg. service  
 Ordermatic Electronics Corp. / computer, food service, & manufacturing

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Society of CPA's \$200.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 4                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 63

**91st District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$36,088	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 24%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 22%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 68%
Percent Employed in Government: 11%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 2%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 18%
Percent African American: 3%	Percent Hispanic American: 4%
Percent Asian American: 3%	

## Don Weese (R) 76th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1990  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: September 2, 1946  
Church: none given  
Education: attended Oklahoma State University;  
Central State University, B.B.A, 1972  
Family: Married, Carolyn (Garred);  
children, five daughters (unnamed)  
Occupation: Owner & President, Cardon and  
Associates, Inc., brokerage and management  
consulting  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1991 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 507  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7347  
Home Address: 3405 W. Pittsburg,  
Broken Arrow, OK 74012  
Home Phone: 918-250-3971  
Leadership Positions: None  
Committees: Corrections, Criminal Justice, Revenue and Taxation, and Transportation



The city of Broken Arrow takes its name from a Georgia town. The name was brought by Creek Indians, relocated to Indian Territory to make way for the Georgia Land Lotteries of the 1830s. Broken Arrow grew from an Indian settlement with the arrival of white ranchers. A variety of industries including coal mining, railroads, and farming (and oil) have contributed to the local economy. Now the city of Broken Arrow is part of the Tulsa metropolitan area, and counts nearly 60,000 residents.

The city is divided between two house districts. District 80 is to the south, and takes in parts of the city below New Orleans Street; everything above New Orleans Street to the Broken Arrow Expressway, is in House District 76.

Don Weese (R), a three-term incumbent from Broken Arrow, was unopposed for renomination and reelection. Weese is a businessman with a background in finance, planning and human resources, currently serving his fourth legislative term. In the 45th Legislative session Weese served as an Assistant Minority Floor Leader. Among his committee assignments is Recreation and Tourism. He previously served on a special investigative committee examining allegations of wrongdoings in the Oklahoma Department of Tourism. He was named an "Outstanding Freshman Legislator" in the 43rd Session by *The Oklahoma Constitution*.



## Dale W. Wells (D) 33rd District

Hometown: Erick, Oklahoma

Elected: 1992

Term Limit: 2004

Date of Birth: July 14, 1946

Church: none given

Education: Central State University, B.B.A., 1971

Family: Married, Cheryl A.;

children, Kevin and Scott (deceased)

Occupation: Legislator

Political Career: Member, OK House of

Representatives, 1993 - present

Capitol Address: Rm. 329-A

Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7304

Home Address: 1107 E. 8th, Cushing, OK 74023

Home Phone: 918-225-1698

Leadership Positions: Assistant Majority Leader;

Vice Chair, Education Subcommittee

Committees: Appropriations and Budget

(Education Subcommittee), Corrections, Education (Common Education Subcommittee),

Public Safety



In 1990 Payne County was just big enough to create two legislative districts, and that is exactly what legislative mapmakers did. Most of the college town of Stillwater was packed into District 34. The rest of the county was adjoined to a small part of Logan County to create District 33. Oil was discovered here, and there is agriculture. However, there are also the consequences of rapid development. Environmental damage is still evident from the polluting practices of refineries in the 1920s and 1930s.

Politics here leans Democratic, but Republicans have had success in state and local offices. The current incumbent comes from the eastern end of the district, Cushing. Dale Wells (D) was unopposed for renomination and reelection. He is an Assistant Majority Leader and serves on the Appropriations and Budget Committee.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Dale Wells - D	unopposed	
1994	Dale Wells - D	unopposed	
1992	Jessie Pilgrim - D	9,749	68.0%
	Bob Vaught - R	4,586	32.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 11,744      Republican: 7,494      Independent: 1,314

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$11,435.00	\$10,064.19	\$9,332.67

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 OK Military Dept. / salary (drill pay)  
 Cushing public schools / spouse

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Democratic Party \$2,500.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

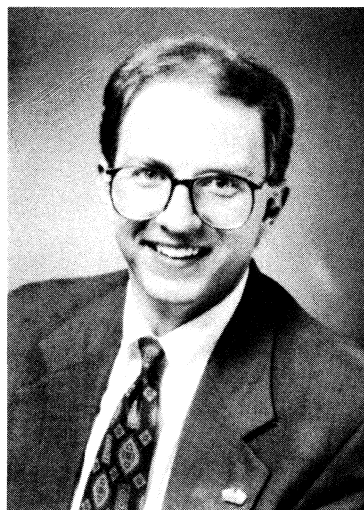
OPEA Advocate (1-100): 100      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 0  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 10      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 0

**33rd District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$28,724	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 13%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 27%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 19%	Percent Employed in Service: 69%
Percent Employed in Government: 4%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 8%
Percent Over Age 55: 19%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 27%
Percent African American: 7%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 2%	

## Mike Wilt (R) 11th District

Hometown: Siloam Springs, Arkansas  
Elected: 1996  
Term Limit: 2008  
Date of Birth: August 21, 1964  
Church: First Baptist Church  
Education: John Brown University, B.S.,  
Broadcasting, 1986  
Family: Married, Sherri Lynn (Catt);  
children, Miranda Caroline  
Occupation: Broadcaster  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1997 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 301 - A  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7358  
Home Address: 1826 Southview Ave.,  
Bartlesville, OK 74003  
Home Phone:  
Leadership Positions: none  
Committees: County and Municipal Government, Education (Common Education  
Subcommittee, Higher Education Subcommittee), Energy, Environment and Natural  
Resources, Human Services



District 11 encompasses most of Bartlesville and south Washington County, as well as a portion of Osage County to the east of Pawhuska. This is one of the wealthiest districts in the state. Oil taken from the land brought wealth, and the wealthy gave back to the community, including a museum and a 4,000-acre wildlife refuge near Bartlesville. Home of the Phillips Petroleum Headquarters and OK Mozart, citizens in this district tend to have high levels of education.

The incumbent in this district, Republican James Dunlap, did not seek reelection. Four candidates emerged to vie for his seat. The respective party primaries pitted two experienced men with time on their hands against each other, for the privilege of opposing one of two young men who are just starting to emerge in their careers. The elders were Democrats, Don Raley, a 71 year old retired postmaster, and Henry "Bud" Morgan, a 58 year old Vera retiree. On the GOP side, 30 year old Bartlesville attorney Todd Cone confronted the acknowledged frontrunner, 31 year old Mike Wilt, who has a background in broadcast news and was an aide to Republican congressman Ernest Istook. Wilt survived the primary and won over two-thirds of the votes in November. He was assigned to the County and Municipal Government Committee, the Energy, Environment, and Natural Resources Committee, and the Education Committee. The latter two are areas he identifies as personal legislative priorities.

**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Mike Wilt - R	10,579	69.0%
	Don Raley - D	4,827	31.0%
1994	James R. Dunlap - R	unopposed	

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,572                      Republican: 13,294                      Independent: 1,342

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$27,429.73	\$26,882.66	\$0.00

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
 U.S. Representative Ernest Istook / congressman, salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

OK Phillips Petroleum PAC \$1,000.66  
 Joyce Phillips, realtor, Bartlesville \$1,100.00  
 Howard Baker, unknown \$1,000.00  
 Steve Songer, unknown \$1,150.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 70                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
 Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 90

**11th District Profile**

Median Household Income: \$43,456	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 33%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 5%	Percent College-Educated: 38%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 21%	Percent Employed in Service: 60%
Percent Employed in Government: 3%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 16%
Percent Over Age 55: 27%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 30%
Percent African American: 2%	Percent Hispanic American: 1%
Percent Asian American: 1%	

## Robert D. Worthen (R) 87th District

Hometown: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma  
Elected: 1986  
Term Limit: 2004  
Date of Birth: June 6, 1947  
Church: May Avenue Methodist  
Education: Attended Central State University and  
University of Oklahoma  
Family: Married, Casey (Lester);  
children, Miranda Caroline  
Occupation: Knight Service Corporation,  
Trebor Industries  
Political Career: Member, OK House of  
Representatives, 1987 - present  
Capitol Address: Rm. 545  
Capitol Phone/Fax: 405-557-7335  
Home Address: Business: 4801 Classen Blvd,  
Oklahoma City, OK 73118  
Home Phone: Business: 405-848-5695  
Leadership Positions: First Assistant Minority Floor Leader  
Committees: Appropriations and Budget (Health and Social Services Subcommittee),  
Criminal Justice, Economic Development, Rules, Science and Technology



Heading north from the Will Rogers World Airport along I-44, one first passes the I-44/I-40 interchange, and then the Oklahoma State Fairgrounds. A little further on is Will Rogers Park, and the Baptist Medical Center. Spanning I-44 along this route is District 87.

Incumbent Robert Worthen (R-Oklahoma City) was opposed for reelection by attorney Coleen Woody (D), but was easily reelected to begin his second decade in the House. A businessman, he serves as the First Assistant Minority Floor Leader and is a member of the Appropriations and Budget Committee and the Rules Committee, among others.



**Electoral History**

<u>Year</u>	<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Percent</u>
1996	Robert D. Worthen - R	7,074	63.2%
	M. Coleen Woody - D	4,119	36.8%
1994	Robert D. Worthen - R	unopposed	
1992	Robert D. Worthen - R	8,407	60.0%
	Rob Abernathy -D	5,586	40.0%

**District Voter Registration**

Democrat: 10,014                      Republican: 8,131                      Independent: 1,367

**1996 Campaign Financial History**

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>Expenditures</u>	<u>Funds Remaining</u>
\$11,231.24	\$9,936.45	\$1,565.32

**Personal Financial History**

OK State House of Representatives  
Knight Service Corp. / commercial cleaning service, annual salary

**Major Sources of Campaign Contributions**

John Sabolich, OKC, self-employed \$1,200.00  
House GOP-PAC \$500.00  
Ron Blalock, The Briet Co. \$500.00  
OKIE PAC \$750.00

**1997 Interest Group Ideological Rankings**

OPEA Advocate (1-100): 80                      Oklahoma Christian Coalition (0-100): 100  
Coalition for America's Children (1-10): 6                      The Oklahoma Constitution (0-100): 93

**87th District Profile**

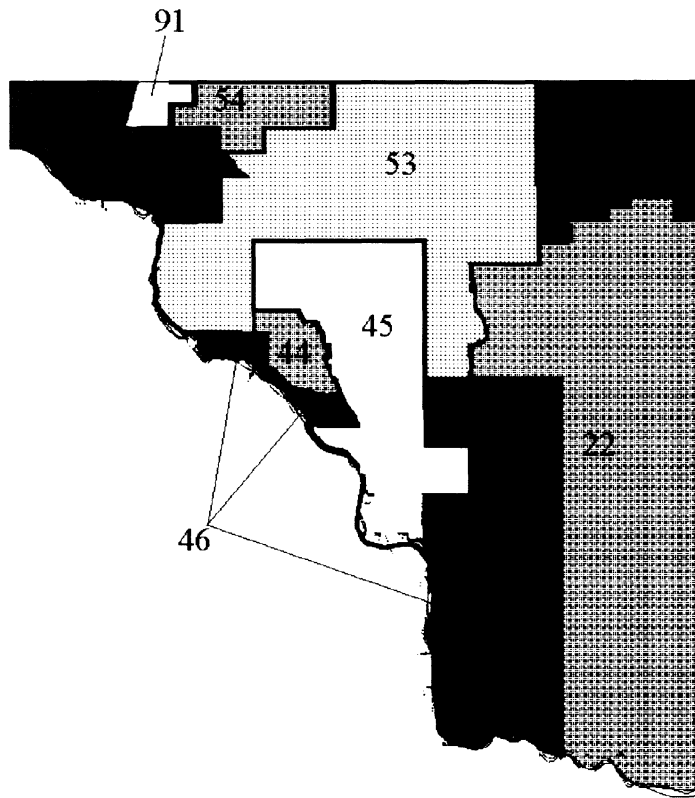
Median Household Income: \$29,009	Percent Greater than \$50,000: 12%
Percent Greater than \$100,000: 2%	Percent College-Educated: 27%
Percent Employed in Manufacturing: 16%	Percent Employed in Service: 75%
Percent Employed in Government: 6%	Percent Employed in Agriculture: 3%
Percent Over Age 55: 29%	Percent Receiving Social Security: 32%
Percent African American: 7%	Percent Hispanic American: 4%
Percent Asian American: 3%	



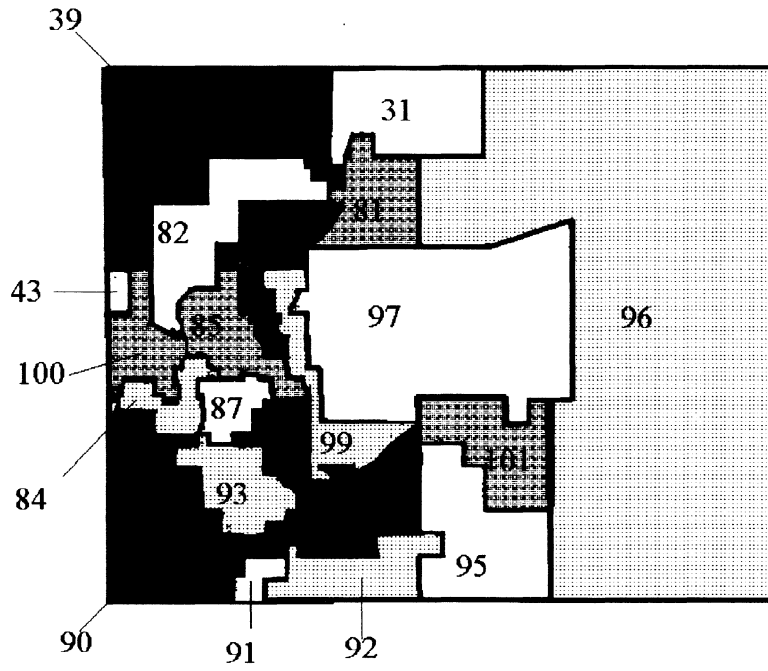
## Legislative District Maps



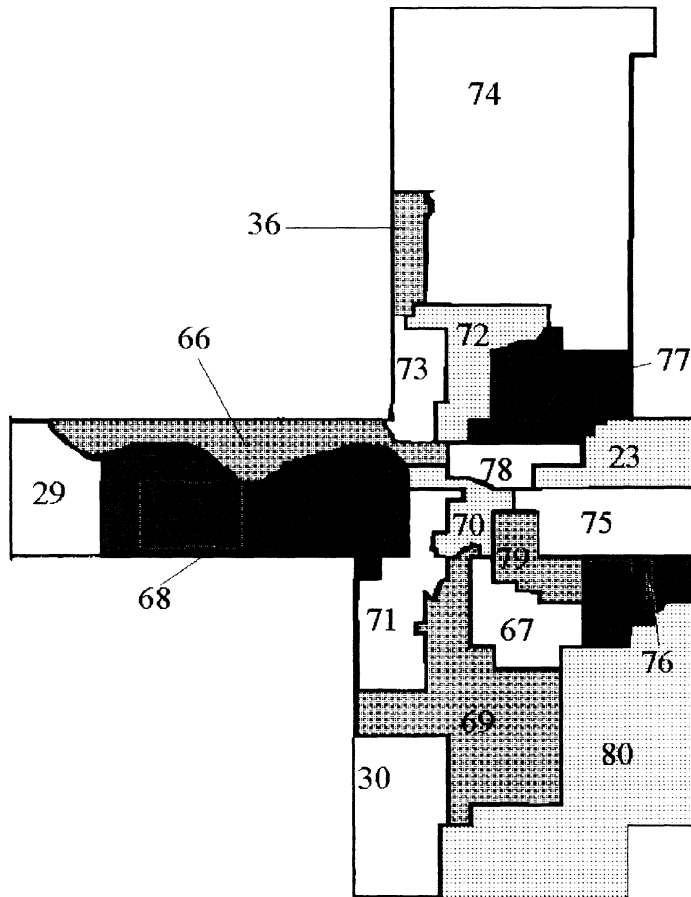




Cleveland County House Districts

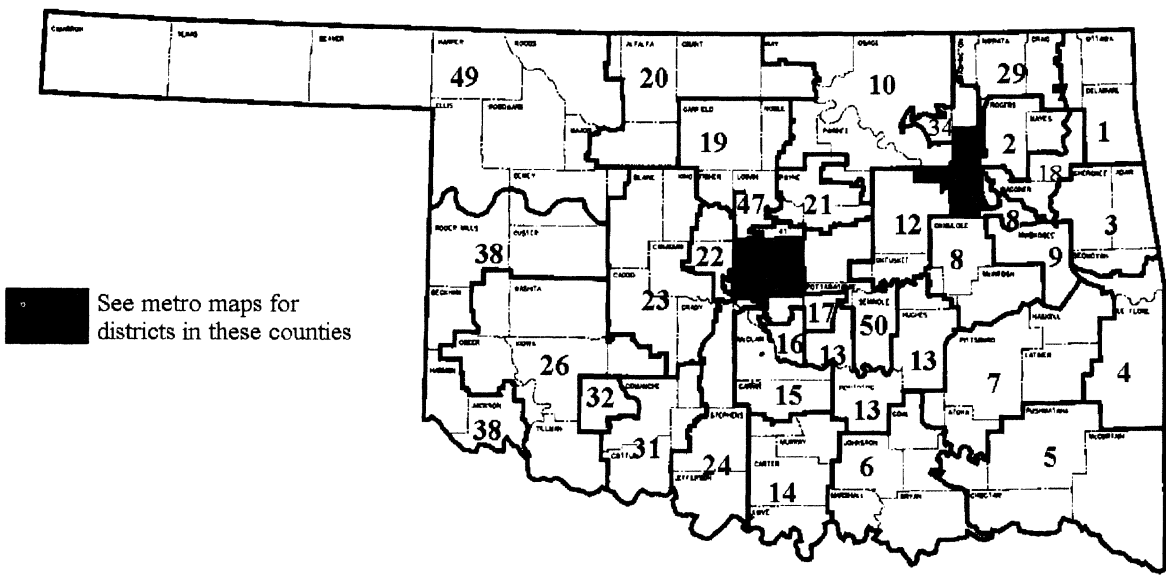


Oklahoma County House Districts

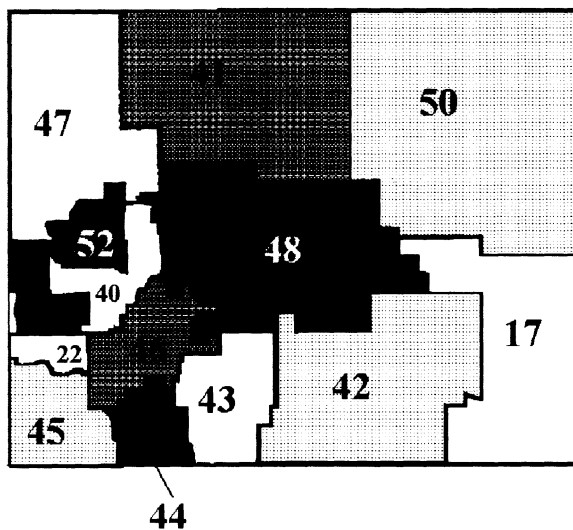


Tulsa County House Districts

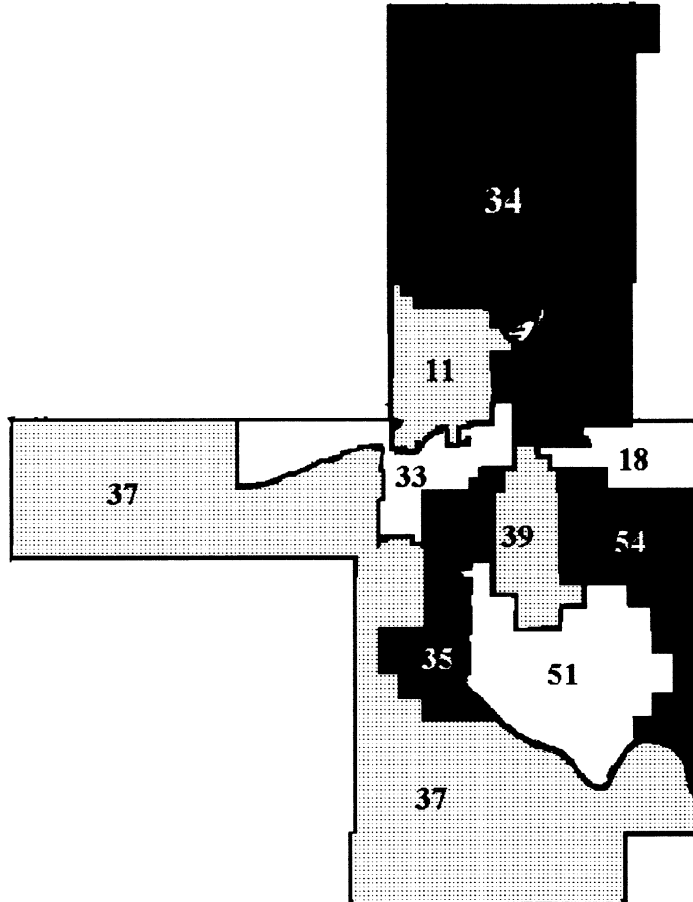




Oklahoma State Senate Districts



Oklahoma County Senate Districts



Tulsa County Senate Districts



## Editors

**Gary W. Copeland** is Associate Professor of Political Science and Associate Director of the Carl Albert Center for Congressional Research and Studies at the University of Oklahoma. He is the co-editor of two books. *Congressional Budgeting* (1984, Johns Hopkins) and *Parliaments in the Modern World* (1994, Michigan) and articles in a variety of political science journals.

**Ronald Keith Gaddie** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma. He is co-author of three books, *The Economic Realities of Political Reform: Elections and the U.S. Senate* (1995, Cambridge); *David Duke and the Political of Race in the South* (1995, Vanderbilt); and *Regulating Wetlands Protection: Environmental Federalism and the States* (forthcoming, SUNY).

**Craig A. Williams** is a Carl Albert Congressional Fellow and Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at the University of Oklahoma. He has presented research at the Southern Political Science Association and the Midwest Political Science Association meetings. Before coming to OU he studied at Georgetown University and in Oxford, England and worked for *U.S. News and World Report*.

## Contributors

**Hannah Atkins** has served for a number of years in the Oklahoma legislature. She has also served as U.S. Delegate to the United Nations for President Carter, Oklahoma Secretary of State, and Cabinet Secretary of Human Resources for Governor Bellmon.

**Rick Farmer** is Visiting Assistant Professor at the Ray C. Bliss Institute at the University of Akron. He is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the University of Oklahoma.

**Jerry Herbel** is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the University of Oklahoma.

**Harry Holloway** is Professor Emeritus of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma

**Donald Maletz** is Associate Professor and former chair of the Department of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma.

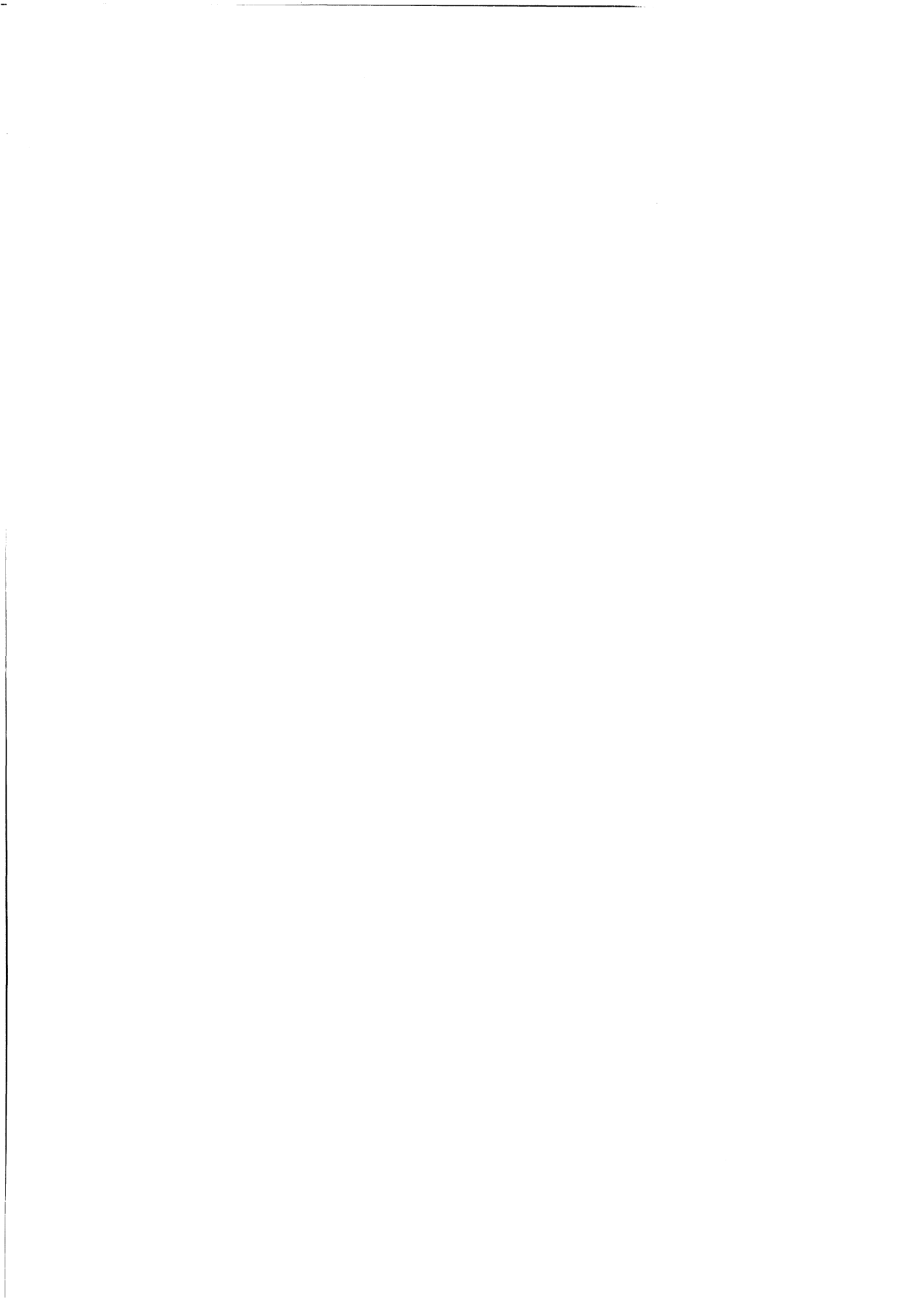
**Lesli McCollum** is a Carl Albert Congressional Fellow and Ph.D. candidate at the University of Oklahoma.

**David Rausch** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at Fairmont State University, West Virginia. He is a former Carl Albert Congressional Fellow and received his Ph.D. in political science from the University of Oklahoma.

**Cindy Simon Rosenthal** is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Oklahoma.

**Larkin Warner** is Regents Professor of Economics at Oklahoma State University.

**Jean Shumway Warner** is a former Carl Albert Congressional Fellow and received her Ph.D. in political science from the University of Oklahoma.

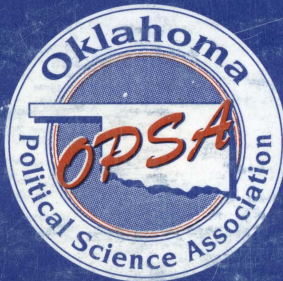


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Department of Political Science  
Oklahoma State University  
Stillwater, OK 74078