



Money in Politics Research Action Project

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Giving and Getting: Analysis of Campaign Contributions to 2004 Portland City Candidates

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Executive Summary

As the Portland City Council considers taking the historic step to become the first municipality in the nation to have a system of comprehensive public financing for candidate campaigns, questions have arisen about weaknesses in the current system of private campaign financing that a full public financing system might address. This report tackles some of those questions.

An analysis of contributions in the 2004 elections reveals five key ways in which Portland races for City Council are out of balance.

- > Dollars from small donors, contributors who gave \$50 or less, make up less than 5 percent of all of the money raised in the contested general election races.
- > A significant percentage of contributions in competitive races come from contributors who give to both candidates in the race, presumably for reasons that have more to

do with gaining access than ideological agreement.

- > Candidates running in the private campaign financing system depend heavily on a few sectors of the economy.
- > Contributions come from an uneven geographic concentration of the city.
- > Incumbents enjoy a significant fundraising advantage under the current system.

Voter Owned Elections, public financing for candidate campaigns, will diminish the role of these factors considerably.

Forty-one candidates ran in the 2004 elections. Only 17 of those raised or spent enough money to fall under regulations requiring them to disclose their campaign finance reports to the City Auditor’s office. In all, the candidates raised more than \$3 million for the 2004 City Council races.

Only four candidates found themselves in contested races in the general election runoff. Among them, these four candidates raised 85.9 percent of all of the money contributed to all candidates in 2004.

The elections produced two atypical outcomes. From 1970, the candidate who raised the most money in races for city council won 87 percent of the time. However, in 2004, two candidates who raised less money than their opponents won their races.

One of those candidates, Mayor Tom Potter, imposed contribution limits on himself while facing an incumbent candidate, Jim Francesconi, who raised more than \$1 million dollars. Some factors in the outcome include voter disenchantment over Francesconi's fundraising and Potter's name recognition and ability to campaign full time since he was retired.

Potter's self-imposed limits doubtlessly contributed to the large portion of contributions he gathered from those who gave him \$50 or less in either the primary or general.

By contrast, the pressure to raise money appears to have brought about large increases in the roles that the general business and finance/insurance/real estate sectors played in Francesconi's 2004 fundraising, contributing to the perception that Francesconi began making decisions based more on contributor preference than constituent desires.

Perception of the effect of campaign fundraising is also an issue with regard to how

Overview and Methodology

In April 2004, MiPRAP released our first report on historic trends in contributions to candidate campaigns for winners in elections for Portland City Commissioners and Mayor. That analysis looked at races from 1992 through 2002, the time period for which

residents of different parts of the city view the decisions that affect their neighborhoods. People who live on the Westside of Portland are nearly 33 percent more likely to rate city services and quality of life "very good" than Eastsiders. They feel safer in their neighborhoods, they rate their neighborhood parks and recreation programs more highly, they like the water in their taps better, and they enjoy better streets and nicer housing stock.

Westside Portland gives more money to candidate campaigns from fewer people giving larger average contributions. Candidates who want to win under the current system know that they have to go where the money is in order to get their message out to voters. If there is more money in concentrated areas of the city, smart candidates will go there for campaign dollars rather than other, less wealthy parts of the city.

Whether it is true or not that contributions to political campaigns influence how City Council candidates act and vote, many city residents feel that the differences they see in how services are delivered in their neighborhoods are tied to the ability they and their neighbors have to contribute to candidate campaigns. Over time, this is the kind of perception that can eat away at the kind of citizen participation Portland holds so highly.

Finally, there is some question whether public financing will exacerbate the advantages that incumbents currently enjoy. Our analysis suggests that, in fact, Voter Owned Elections has the potential to create a more even playing field by diminishing the uneven contribution averages among incumbents and challengers.

disclosure reports were available from the City elections office.

MiPRAP has compiled 2004 elections data from the six disclosure reports each campaign was required to file in 2004. We have enhanced

the data by coding contributors based on their economic interests.

All city offices (mayor, auditor and four commissioner positions) are elected in non-partisan and citywide races. May primary races are runoffs for the November general election, with the top two voter getters in May running against each other in November. If the primary winner receives over 50 percent of the vote, he or she has effectively won, and appears alone on the general election ballot.

While 41 qualified candidates ran for city office in 2004, our analysis focuses on the four front-runners who ran in contested races in the general election. They are Sam Adams and Nick Fish for Commissioner Position No. 1 and

Database Development

MiPRAP manually entered all 2004 disclosure reports that candidates filed with the City Auditor's office. (The City of Portland, unlike the state, does not yet require electronic filing for any candidates.)

Volunteers and staff then coded each donor based on occupation and employer data provided in the disclosure report. MiPRAP uses the same coding method to determine the economic interest of the donor that the Center for Responsive Politics uses to code federal-level contributions and that the Institute for

Total Contributions by Election

The 2004 elections for Portland City Council featured more than 40 qualified candidates, 17 of whose campaigns met the fundraising and spending threshold that required them to file disclosure reports with the City Auditor's office.

Fundraising in the mayor's race became an important campaign issue. Early favorite Jim Francesconi raised more than one million

Jim Francesconi and Tom Potter for Mayor. We chose to simplify our analysis in this way because the remaining 37 candidates raised a relatively small amount of money in 2004: \$429,109 or 14 percent of the total raised in the 2004 elections. (Of that figure, incumbent Commissioner Randy Leonard, who did not face a challenger in the general election, raised \$267,585, the lion's share at 62.4 percent of total fundraising by the remaining 37 candidates.)

Finally, please note that all dollar figures and percentages have been rounded, so differences may exist between what is reported in disclosure reports and percentages may not add to 100 in the charts presented throughout this report.

Money in State Politics and we use to code state-level contributions.

MiPRAP first looks at employer and occupation information that the contributor provides to each campaign. Absent that information, MiPRAP investigates the contributor's economic interest, primarily using Internet searches. This is a time-consuming process, which is limited by the amount of information available on the Internet. MiPRAP welcomes suggestions for refining interest codes from close observers of Portland politics with additional information about contributors.

dollars over the course of the campaign. Underdog Tom Potter imposed voluntary limits on his campaign, first accepting only \$25 per person in the primary and then raising the per-person limit to \$100 for the general election. The gulf between their fundraising has been viewed far and wide as a significant exception to the rule that candidates who raise the most money win. (In fact, in Portland, this holds true in nearly nine out of 10 races historically.)

Table 1: Total Contributions to 2004 Portland City Council races, Primary and General

Candidate	Primary		General		Combined	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Adams, Jerry For Mayor	\$5,628	0.3%	N/A	N/A	\$5,628	0.2%
Adams, Sam For City Council	\$439,624	22.1%	\$253,318	23.9%	\$692,943	22.7%
Busse, Phil Vote	\$10,817	0.5%	N/A	N/A	\$10,817	0.4%
Dixon, Frank for City Council	\$21,599	1.1%	N/A	N/A	\$21,599	0.7%
Fish, Nick, for City Council	\$331,050	16.6%	\$268,763	25.4%	\$599,814	19.7%
Francesconi, Jim, for Mayor/Friends Of	\$715,538	35.9%	\$380,592	35.9%	\$1,096,130	35.9%
Lakeman, Mark	\$10,879	0.5%	N/A	N/A	\$10,879	0.4%
Leistner, Paul, Friends of	\$9,331	0.5%	N/A	N/A	\$9,331	0.3%
Leonard, Friends of Randy	\$261,885	13.0%	\$5,700	0.5%	\$267,585	8.7%
Mcknight, Bonny, Friends of	\$1,344	0.1%	N/A	N/A	\$1,344	0.0%
Newell for Council	\$5,201	0.3%	N/A	N/A	\$5,201	0.2%
Posey, James, Friends of For Mayor	\$12,354	0.6%	N/A	N/A	\$12,354	0.4%
Potter, Tom, Friends Of	\$83,221	4.2%	\$151,154	14.3%	\$234,374	7.7%
Rempfer, Jeffrey C. for Mayor	\$2,445	0.1%	N/A	N/A	\$2,445	0.1%
Stephens, Scott for Portland	\$1,050	0.1%	N/A	N/A	\$1,050	0.0%
Taylor, Jeff for Mayor Committee	\$75,601	3.7%	N/A	N/A	\$75,601	2.5%
Whittenburg, Jim	\$5,273	0.3%	N/A	N/A	\$5,273	0.2%
Total	\$1,992,843	100.0%	\$1,059,527	100.0%	\$3,052,370	100.0%

Note: Candidates that faced a challenger in the General are in **bold** text.

Not surprisingly, given the longer period of time candidates have in the primary to raise funds, the frontrunners who moved on to contested races in the general raised more money during the primary period. Overall, nearly two-thirds of all of the money raised

came in during the primary. This also reflects the importance of the primary in non-partisan contests; they can be won outright and become “the race.”

Table 2: Primary contributions as a percentage of total giving to Portland city races in 2004

Candidate	Primary	General	Combined	Primary % of combined
Adams, Jerry for Mayor	\$5,628	N/A	\$5,628	100.0%
Adams, Sam for City Council	\$439,624	\$253,318	\$692,943	63.4%
Busse, Phil Vote	\$10,817	N/A	\$10,817	100.0%
Dixon, Frank for City Council	\$21,599	N/A	\$21,599	100.0%
Fish, Nick, for City Council	\$331,050	\$268,763	\$599,814	55.2%
Francesconi, Jim, for Mayor/Friends of	\$715,538	\$380,592	\$1,096,130	65.3%
Lakeman, Mark	\$10,879	N/A	\$10,879	100.0%
Leistner, Paul, Friends of	\$9,331	N/A	\$9,331	100.0%
Leonard, Friends of Randy	\$261,885	\$5,700	\$267,585	97.9%
Mcknight, Bonny, Friends of	\$1,344	N/A	\$1,344	100.0%
Newell for Council	\$5,201	N/A	\$5,201	100.0%
Posey, James, Friends of /for Mayor	\$12,354	N/A	\$12,354	100.0%
Potter, Tom, Friends of	\$83,221	\$151,154	\$234,374	35.5%
Rempfer, Jeffrey C. for Mayor	\$2,445	N/A	\$2,445	100.0%
Stephens, Scott for Portland	\$1,050	N/A	\$1,050	100.0%
Taylor, Jeff for Mayor Committee	\$75,601	N/A	\$75,601	100.0%
Whittenburg, Jim	\$5,273	N/A	\$5,273	100.0%
Total	\$1,992,843	\$1,059,527	\$3,052,370	65.3%

Note: Candidates who faced a challenger in the General are in **bold**.

The proportions are about the same for the city council frontrunners as for the combined races except in Tom Potter’s campaign for Mayor. The major reason for this anomaly was now-Mayor Potter’s decision to limit contributions to his primary campaign to \$25 per person,

which he raised to \$100 per person in the general election. However, when we look just at the four front-runners, we see that they raised just under 60 percent of their contributions in the primary.

Table 3: Primary contributions as a percentage of total giving to Portland City Council candidates in contested general election races in 2004

Candidate	Primary	General	Combined	Primary % of combined
Adams, Sam for City Council	\$439,624	\$253,318	\$692,943	63.4%
Fish, Nick, for City Council	\$331,050	\$268,763	\$599,814	55.2%
Francesconi, Jim, for Mayor/Friends of	\$715,538	\$380,592	\$1,096,130	65.3%
Potter, Tom, Friends of	\$83,221	\$151,154	\$234,374	35.5%
Total	\$1,569,433	\$1,053,827	\$2,623,261	59.8%

Small Donor Contributions and Campaign Finance

Small (\$50 or less) and average itemized contributions (as shown in Table 4 below) to our four contested campaigns also reflect the different way Tom Potter chose to fundraise for this race. Under state campaign finance law, candidates are allowed to aggregate all contributions from donors who give \$50 or less in an election period into one lump sum, which they often list as miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less.

For whatever reason, some candidates choose to list each contribution separately. In our analysis of average contribution size and percentage of small donor contributions, MiPRAP treats all aggregated contributions of \$50 or less in an election period as miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less.

In the primary, Potter has far and away the largest percentage of small donor

contributors, with nearly one in five dollars coming from contributors who gave \$50 or less to his campaign. Francesconi’s aggregated small donor contribution total comes to less than 1 percent of all the money he raised.

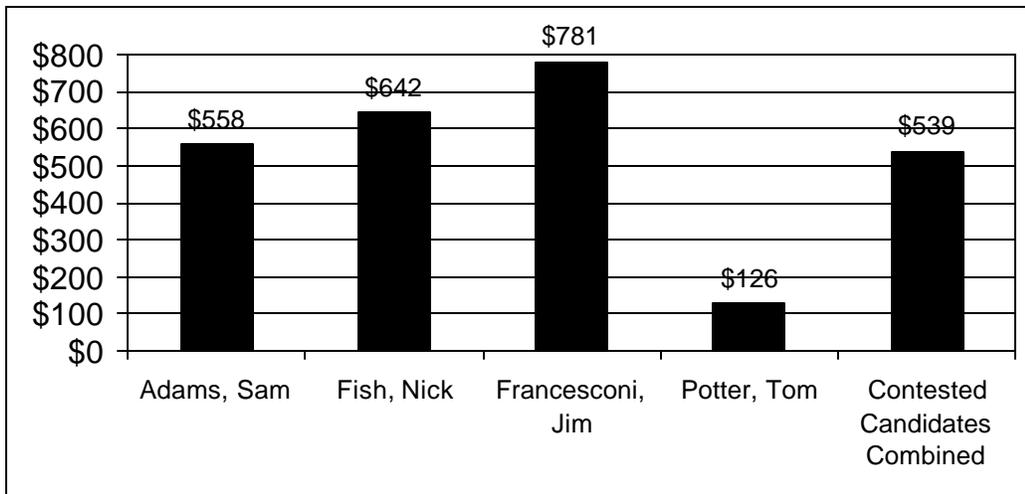
Francesconi nudges the percentage of dollars from small donors to 1 percent in the general, and Potter’s share of dollars from small donors drops to only two in five.

Overall, the four candidates raise just shy of 6 percent of their combined total from donors giving less than \$50 in the primary or general election. (In our earlier report on historical data, we found that city council winners from 1992 through 2003 raised 3.2 percent of their dollars from contributors who gave \$50 or less in an election.)

Table 4: Average itemized contribution to Portland City Council candidates with contested general election races in 2004

Election Period	Candidate	Total	Miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less		Itemized contributions >\$50			
			\$	% of total contributions	\$	# of contributors	Average	% of total contributions
Primary	Adams, Sam	\$439,624	\$23,641	5.4%	\$415,983	824	\$505	94.6%
	Fish, Nick	\$331,050	\$8368	2.5%	\$322,683	535	\$603	97.5%
	Francesconi, Jim	\$715,538	\$6391	0.9%	\$709,147	937	\$757	99.1%
	Potter, Tom	\$83,221	\$64,980	78.1%	\$18,241	140	\$130	21.9%
	Period Total	\$1,569,433	\$103,379	6.6%	\$1,466,054	2436	\$1995	93.4%
General	Adams, Sam	\$253,318	\$10,679	4.2%	\$242,639	357	\$680	95.8%
	Fish, Nick	\$268,763	\$5560	2.1%	\$263,203	377	\$698	97.9%
	Francesconi, Jim	\$380,592	\$3825	1.0%	\$376,767	453	\$832	99.0%
	Potter, Tom	\$151,154	\$30,646	20.3%	\$120,508	958	\$126	79.7%
	Period Total	\$1,053,827	\$50,710	4.8%	\$1,003,117	2145	\$2,335	95.2%
Combined	Adams, Sam	\$692,942	\$34,320	5.0%	\$658,622	1181	\$558	95.0%
	Fish, Nick	\$599,814	\$13,928	2.3%	\$585,886	912	\$642	97.7%
	Francesconi, Jim	\$1,096,130	\$10,216	0.9%	\$1,085,914	1390	\$781	99.1%
	Potter, Tom	\$234,374	\$95,626	40.8%	\$138,749	1098	\$126	59.2%
	Period Total	\$2,623,260	\$154,090	5.9%	\$2,469,171	4,581	\$539	94.1%

Figure 1: Average itemized contribution to City Council candidates with contested races in the 2004 general election



Overall, the contested candidates average itemized contribution was \$539, with Francesconi’s average contributor giving \$781

(or 44.9 percent more than the overall average) and Potter raising an average of \$126 (or 76.6 percent less than the overall average).

Double Giving and Campaign Finance

Competitive political races often give rise to double giving, or when a contributor gives to both candidates in a race. The patterns of giving with this group of contributors suggest that they view their contributions as an opportunity to gain access to a future office holder rather than as a way of expressing their desire to support one candidate over another.

The race between Sam Adams and Nick Fish for Commission Position #1 provides a good example of how double giving plays out in a competitive election.

Dollars from double givers comprised 8.6 percent of Adams’ and 11 percent of Fish’s

primary fundraising. General election double giving to Adams was essentially the same at 8.9 percent. Double giving as a percentage of Fish's general election fundraising increased to 12.8 percent.

A factor in this jump is that some Adams primary contributors gave to both Adams and Fish in the general election. "These double

givers gave only to Adams in the primary and gave again to his general election campaign. Then, it appears that they looked at Fish's solid primary returns and made the political calculation to ensure that they would back a winner by contributing to both candidates," commented Debbie Aiona, action chair with the Portland League of Women Voters.

Table 5: Double Giving in 2004 Commissioner Position #1 Portland City Council Race

Double Giving Patterns	Primary				General			
	Adams		Fish		Adams		Fish	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Hedge Bets All the Way - primary and general double giving	\$18,200	4.1%	\$11,200	3.4%	\$8,450	3.3%	\$15,000	5.6%
Bide Your Time & Then Hedge Bets - general double giving only					\$4,250	1.7%	\$7,249	2.7%
I like them both and/or keep them both happy early on - primary double giving only	\$8,450	1.9%	\$10,450	3.2%				
Hedged Bets Early - double giving in primary then gave only to Fish	\$9,050	2.1%	\$12,950	3.9%				
Hedged Bets Early - double giving in primary then gave only to Adams	\$1,900	0.4%	\$1,800	0.5%				
Only Gave to Adams in Primary then Double Giving in General					\$4,750	1.9%	\$7,150	2.7%
Only Gave to Fish in Primary then Double Giving in General					\$5,000	2.0%	\$5,000	1.9%
Double-Giving Total	\$37,600	8.6%	\$36,400	11.0%	\$22,450	8.9%	\$34,399	12.8%
Campaign Contributions Total	\$439,624		\$331,050		\$253,318		\$268,763	

Double giving is a trap for business people, if a Committee of Economic Development survey is any guide. This national survey of 300 corporate executives was done in 2000 with a focus on federal elections and key findings include:

- > 74 percent of executives say pressure is placed on business leaders to make large political donations.
- > 51 percent of executives fear adverse legislative consequences for themselves or their industries if they turn down requests for campaign contributions.

"My hunch is that Portland polling numbers would be similar, and I can only imagine that some of these double giving checks are written accompanied by a sigh of frustration about the way campaigns are now financed," said Thompson. "The system is a trap, and some

donors probably view their double giving as an unfortunate cost of doing business."

The largest portion of double giving dollars came from donors who gave contributions to Adams and Fish in both the primary and general elections. "These donors were hedging their bets from start to finish," noted Thompson.

Comcast Cable and RB Pamplin Corp. were the largest double givers. Comcast gave \$7,500 to Adams (\$5,000 in the primary and \$2,500 in the general election) and \$9,000 to Fish (split \$3,000 and \$6,000 between the primary and general elections.) RB Pamplin Corp. gave Adams \$8,000 (split \$7,000 and \$1,000 between the primary and general elections) and \$5,000 to Fish (\$2,000 in the primary and \$3,000 in the general). (See Tables 6a-g for a complete listing of double givers organized by double giving pattern.)

Finally, some double givers gave to both Adams and Fish in the primary, but then made general election contributions only to Nick Fish. Presumably, this was because Fish came so close to winning a seat on the council with his good showing in the primary. (See Table 6d.)

"No one should be surprised by these patterns of double giving," summarized Thompson. "It is the unfortunate way that the game is played right now and a good indication of why all of Portland would benefit from Voter Owned Elections."

Table 6a: Hedge Bets All the Way (Primary and General) Double Giving

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
COMCAST CABLE (PARENT CO., COLORADO)	\$5,000	\$3,000	\$2,500	\$6,000
EMERSON HARDWOOD GROUP	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000
HERITAGE INVESTMENT CORP	\$500	\$500	\$250	\$500
HOYT STREET PROPERTIES	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000
KAISER, MARVIN	\$200	\$250	\$100	\$150
MACNICHOL, CARTER	\$1,000	\$500	\$500	\$500
MCCORMACK, WIN	\$900	\$1,000	\$500	\$1,000
POLLIN, HAROLD	\$650	\$250	\$1,000	\$750
RB PAMPLIN CORP	\$7,000	\$2,000	\$1,000	\$3,000
SCOTT, WILLIAM	\$200	\$200	\$100	\$100
TEACHERS VOICE IN POLITICS	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$250
WINKLER, JAMES	\$500	\$1,250	\$250	\$750
Double Giving Subtotal	\$18,200	\$11,200	\$8,450	\$15,000

Table 6b: Bide Your Time & Then Hedge Bets - Double Giving Only in General Election

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
23 RD & KEARNEY ST LLC			\$250	\$250
FOWLER, PEGGY			\$100	\$200
HDR ENGINEERING INC			\$500	\$500
JAY, ROY			\$100	\$100
OREGON NATURAL RESOURCES COUNCIL			\$100	\$100
PORTLAND OREGON SPORTS AUTHORITY			\$200	\$200
PORTLAND TRAIL BLAZERS			\$1,000	\$2,540
SN INVESTMENT PROPERTIES LLC			\$1,000	\$2,500
TRI-COUNTY COUNCIL PAC			\$100	\$100
TRI-COUNTY LODGING ASSN PAC			\$500	\$500
WIDMER BREWING CO			\$400	\$259
Double Giving Subtotal			\$4,250	\$7,249

Table 6c: I Like Them Both and/or Keep Them Both Happy Early on-Double Giving Only in Primary

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
AEGEAN CORP	\$1,000	\$1,000		
BROWN, PAMELA	\$100	\$100		
BUILDING A BETTER OREGON COMMITTEE	\$500	\$500		
CARTER, JOHN D.	\$250	\$750		
GOE, JENNIFER	\$250	\$200		
GSB LAND COMPANY	\$1,000	\$1,000		

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
LYNCH, KEVIN	\$100	\$100		
MCCLAVE, DONALD	\$100	\$100		
MCKEAN, ROBERT	\$250	\$250		
MILES, RAYE K	\$500	\$200		
NAITO, STEVEN	\$200	\$1,000		
NICOLAI, T R	\$100	\$100		
ONDER, JOHN A.	\$200	\$200		
OREGON WORSTED COMPANY	\$500	\$500		
OTHMAN, NAWZAD	\$500	\$500		
PELETT, WALTER	\$100	\$750		
R & H CONSTRUCTION	\$500	\$500		
ROSE QUARTER	\$1,000	\$1,000		
SMITH, CHRISTOPHER	\$100	\$100		
STOEL RIVES LLP	\$500	\$500		
WEBB & ASSOCIATES	\$200	\$100		
YOSHIDA, JUNKI	\$500	\$1,000		
Double Giving Subtotal	\$8,450	\$10,450		

Table 6d: Hedged Bets Early – double giving in primary then gave only to Fish

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
AMY, STAN	\$2,500	\$2,500	--	\$2,500
BARROWS, DAVID S.	\$250	\$250	--	\$250
BLOMGREN, DOUG	\$100	\$400	--	\$500
GAFFNEY, JIM	\$500	\$500	--	\$250
GBD ARCHITECTS	\$500	\$500	--	\$250
HEWITT, HENRY H	\$500	\$500	--	\$250
KOLDKIST ICE CO.	\$500	\$1,000	--	\$500
NATURAL GAS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE	\$250	\$2,500	--	\$3,000
OTAK	\$1,500	\$1,000	--	\$1,000
PGE EMPLOYEE CANDIDATE ASSISTANCE FUND	\$500	\$1,000	--	\$1,500
RHODES, VICTOR	\$250	\$250	--	\$250
SHACKELFORD, MICHAEL W	\$100	\$250	--	\$100
STADUM, STEVEN D	\$100	\$100	--	\$100
WHEELER, SAM	\$1,500	\$2,200	--	\$3,000
Double Giving Subtotal	\$9,050	\$12,950		

Table 6e: Hedged Bets Early - double giving in primary then gave only to Adams

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
ALEXANDER, RICHARD	\$750	\$1,000	\$750	--
JENSEN, EDMUND	\$700	\$500	\$500	--
LINEHAN, ANDREW O.	\$250	\$100	\$350	--
VAN VALKENBURG, E. WALTER	\$200	\$200	\$100	--
Double Giving Subtotal	\$1,900	\$1,800		

Table 6f: Only Gave to Adams in Primary then Double Giving in General

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
BBB ENERPRISES	\$500	--	\$500	\$500
CONKLING, GARY	\$250	--	\$250	\$300
HILTON HOTEL (PORTLAND)	\$1,000	--	\$1,250	\$1,150
KALBERER COMPANY	\$500	--	\$450	\$200
MALSIN, BRADLEY J.	\$500	--	\$500	\$1,000
MCCARL, BRIAN	\$450	--	\$300	\$250
NORTHWEST CEDARS PROPERTIES	\$250	--	\$250	\$1,500
SINGER BURNSIDE LLC	\$500	--	\$250	\$250
SINGER DAZZLE BLDG LLC	\$500	--	\$250	\$250
SINGER FAMILY LLC, THE	\$500	--	\$250	\$1,250
WASHBURN, DONALD	\$1,000	--	\$500	\$500
Double Giving Subtotal			\$4,750	\$7,150

Table 6g: Only Gave to Fish in Primary then Double Giving in General

Contributor	Primary		General	
	Adams	Fish	Adams	Fish
GERDING EDLEN DEVELOPMENT	--	\$5,000	\$5,000	\$5,000
Double Giving Subtotal			\$5,000	\$5,000

The Role of Economic Interests in Campaign Finance

In order to understand what economic interests might be driving money to certain candidates, MiPRAP codes contributors economic interests

based on the occupation and employer information the contributors provide.

Table 7: Contributions to Sam Adams' 2004 campaign by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Adams, Sam for City Council	Agriculture/Timber	\$6,507	1.5%	\$2,500	1.0%	\$9,007	1.3%
	Candidate/Party	\$50,550	11.5%	\$1,500	0.6%	\$52,050	7.5%
	Communications/Electronics	\$28,670	6.5%	\$10,815	4.3%	\$39,485	5.7%
	Construction	\$24,679	5.6%	\$13,625	5.4%	\$38,304	5.5%
	Defense	\$250	0.1%	--	--	\$250	0.0%
	Energy/Natural Resources	\$8,525	1.9%	\$1,650	0.7%	\$10,175	1.5%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$83,117	18.9%	\$51,650	20.4%	\$134,767	19.4%
	General Business	\$85,634	19.5%	\$56,772	22.4%	\$142,407	20.6%
	Health	\$9,151	2.1%	\$5,475	2.2%	\$14,626	2.1%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$13,148	3.0%	\$34,204	13.5%	\$47,352	6.8%
	Labor	\$450	0.1%	\$600	0.2%	\$1,050	0.2%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$22,239	5.1%	\$12,375	4.9%	\$34,614	5.0%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$37,535	8.5%	\$18,517	7.3%	\$56,052	8.1%
	Small Contributions	\$22,431	5.1%	\$10,447	4.1%	\$32,878	4.7%
	Transportation/Tourism	\$10,875	2.5%	\$8,253	3.3%	\$19,128	2.8%
	Unknown	\$35,862	8.2%	\$24,935	9.8%	\$60,797	8.8%
Total	\$439,624	100.0%	\$253,318	100.0%	\$692,943	100.0%	

General business makes up the largest piece of Adams' campaign funding pie, followed

closely by the finance/insurance/real estate sector. Adams' garnered a relatively high

percentage of money from ideological groups, not surprising given his status as an openly gay man running for political office. Indeed, \$38,914, or 82.2 percent of the ideology

subtotal, came from organizations or activists promoting rights for gay men, lesbians, bisexuals and transgendered people.

Table 8: Contributions to Nick Fish's 2004 campaign by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Fish, Nick, for City Council	Agriculture/Timber	\$10,250	3.1%	\$9,750	3.6%	\$20,000	3.3%
	Candidate/Party	\$34,680	10.5%	\$1,508	0.6%	\$35,188	6.0%
	Communications/Electronics	\$12,750	3.9%	\$10,655	4.0%	\$24,405	4.1%
	Construction	\$15,425	4.7%	\$15,200	5.7%	\$30,625	5.1%
	Energy/Natural Resources	\$11,150	3.4%	\$18,825	7.0%	\$29,975	5.0%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$60,521	18.3%	\$66,407	24.7%	\$126,928	21.2%
	General Business	\$43,684	13.2%	\$50,968	19.0%	\$94,652	15.8%
	Health	\$1,350	0.4%	\$1,650	0.6%	\$3,000	0.5%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$1,213	0.4%	\$600	0.2%	\$1,813	0.3%
	Labor	\$44,550	13.5%	\$38,305	14.3%	\$82,855	13.8%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$40,179	12.1%	\$25,015	9.3%	\$65,194	10.9%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$29,619	8.9%	\$16,365	6.1%	\$45,984	7.7%
	Small Contributions	\$8,008	2.4%	\$5,215	1.9%	\$13,223	2.2%
	Transportation/Tourism	\$3,925	1.2%	\$4,125	1.5%	\$8,050	1.3%
	Unknown	\$13,748	4.2%	\$4,175	1.6%	\$17,923	3.0%
Total		\$331,051	100.0%	\$268,763	100.0%	\$599,816	100.0%

The top three players in Fish's campaign are the finance/insurance/real estate, general business, and labor sectors. Fish's money from

lawyers/lobbyists as a portion of his campaign fundraising is twice as large as Adams'.

Table 9: Contributions to Jim Francesconi's 2004 campaign by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Francesconi, Jim, for Mayor/Friends of	Agriculture/Timber	\$54,007	7.5%	\$24,400	6.4%	\$78,407	7.2%
	Communications/Electronics	\$25,890	3.6%	\$16,075	4.2%	\$41,965	3.8%
	Candidate/Party	\$300	0.0%	\$7,200	1.9%	\$7,500	0.7%
	Construction	\$52,930	7.4%	\$21,590	5.7%	\$74,520	6.8%
	Energy/Natural Resources	\$43,600	6.1%	\$24,900	6.5%	\$68,500	6.2%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$195,447	27.3%	\$103,024	27.1%	\$298,472	27.2%
	General Business	\$129,136	18.0%	\$72,035	18.9%	\$201,171	18.4%
	Health	\$10,635	1.5%	\$4,905	1.3%	\$15,540	1.4%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$975	0.1%	\$450	0.1%	\$1,425	0.1%
	Labor	\$31,750	4.4%	\$24,557	6.5%	\$56,307	5.1%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$44,271	6.2%	\$20,597	5.4%	\$64,868	5.9%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$39,842	5.6%	\$23,195	6.1%	\$63,037	5.8%
	Transportation	\$52,714	7.4%	\$20,250	5.3%	\$72,964	6.7%
	Unknown	\$34,041	4.8%	\$17,415	4.6%	\$51,456	4.7%
	Total		\$715,538	100.0%	\$380,593	100.0%	\$1,096,132

Francesconi raised more than a quarter of his money from the finance/insurance/real estate sector, with general business making up the

next largest chunk at 18.4 percent. He also brought in an unusually large proportion of contributions from the agriculture/timber sector

at 7.2 percent. (Francesconi's lack of small donors is a little misleading. Since he chose not to aggregate miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less, he appears to be missing any small donors in our analysis of economic interest. However, contributions from donors giving \$50 or less made up 0.9 percent of all contributions to his campaign in 2004.)

Anecdotal reports suggest that one reason Francesconi lost his race for mayor was that voters perceived that he had changed his positions to reflect his donors, not his constituents. It might be instructive to compare the economic interests of his contributors in 2004 to those who gave to his first campaign in 1996.

Table 10: Contributions to Jim Francesconi's 1996 campaign by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Francesconi, Jim, for Mayor/ Friends of	Agriculture/Timber	\$3,300	1.6%	\$2,907	1.4%	\$6,207	1.5%
	Candidate/Party	\$22,004	10.5%	\$28,451	13.9%	\$50,455	12.2%
	Communications/Electronics	\$3,770	1.8%	\$1,800	0.9%	\$5,570	1.3%
	Construction	\$11,087	5.3%	\$12,055	5.9%	\$23,142	5.6%
	Energy/Nat Resource	\$4,843	2.3%	\$6,425	3.1%	\$11,268	2.7%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$33,354	15.9%	\$45,882	22.4%	\$79,236	19.1%
	General Business	\$35,292	16.8%	\$32,123	15.7%	\$67,415	16.3%
	Health	\$11,264	5.4%	\$6,135	3.0%	\$17,399	4.2%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$2,365	1.1%	\$258	0.1%	\$2,623	0.6%
	Labor	\$1,650	0.8%	\$2,400	1.2%	\$4,050	1.0%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$35,039	16.7%	\$21,776	10.6%	\$56,815	13.7%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$22,111	10.6%	\$17,699	8.6%	\$39,810	9.6%
	Small Contributions	\$6,871	3.3%	\$4,535	2.2%	\$11,406	2.8%
	Transportation	\$6,653	3.2%	\$8,450	4.1%	\$15,103	3.6%
	Unknown	\$9,921	4.7%	\$13,757	6.7%	\$23,678	5.7%
Total	\$209,524	100.0%	\$204,653	100.0%	\$414,177	100.0%	

Francesconi saw the part of his total fundraising that came from the finance/insurance/real estate sector increase by 43 percent from his first contested race in 1996 to his 2004 race. The general business sector increased from 1996 to 2004 by 34.2 percent as a share of his total fundraising.

In the meanwhile, self-financing as a percentage of Francesconi's war chest dropped 18-fold. Funding from ideological groups dropped to about a fifth of the sector's share of Francesconi's 1996 fundraising. In 2004, Francesconi's financing from the health care sector and

from small donors dropped to about a third of each groups share in 1996. The share in 2004 of contributions from civil servants, retirees, teachers and others dropped to about half of its 1996 level.

These patterns in Francesconi's campaign contributions reinforce the idea that he moved away from his grassroots base, as significantly more of his money came from the business and finance/insurance/real estate sectors. The changing patterns of the economic interests of his contributors create the perception that the contributions affected his decision making.

Table 11: Contributions to Tom Potter's 2004 campaign by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Potter, Tom, Friends of	Agriculture/Timber	\$150	0.2%	\$660	0.4%	\$810	0.3%
	Candidate/Party	\$2,992	3.6%	\$9,535	6.3%	\$12,527	5.3%
	Communications/Electronics	\$700	0.8%	\$5,936	3.9%	\$6,636	2.8%
	Construction	\$825	1.0%	\$4,940	3.3%	\$5,765	2.5%
	Energy/Natural Resources	--	--	\$400	0.3%	\$400	0.2%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$625	0.8%	\$10,269	6.8%	\$10,894	4.6%
	General Business	\$2,300	2.8%	\$17,832	11.8%	20,132	8.6%
	Health	\$475	0.6%	\$7,210	4.8%	\$7,685	3.3%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$200	0.2%	\$2,150	1.4%	\$2,350	1.0%
	Labor	--	--	\$300	0.2%	\$300	0.1%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$1,675	2.0%	\$10,075	6.7%	\$11,750	5.0%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$5,383	6.5%	\$32,063	21.2%	\$37,445	16.0%
	Small Contributions	\$64,306	77.3%	\$29,683	19.6%	\$93,989	40.1%
	Transportation	--	--	\$975	0.6%	\$975	0.4%
	Unknown	\$3,591	4.3%	\$19,126	12.7%	\$22,717	9.7%
	Total	\$83,221	100.0%	\$151,153	100.0%	\$234,374	100.0%

Because Tom Potter placed voluntary limits on contributions to his campaign, he has a much higher than normal percentage of contributions from miscellaneous individuals who gave \$50 or less. Since these contributions are reported as an aggregate, it is not possible to discern the economic interest of the people making them.

Contributions from civil servants, retirees, teachers, which are reflected in the "other" category, are also unusually high at 16.0 percent. Historically, they made up about 5 percent of contributions to winning

candidates, and were no more than 8.1 percent of the combined totals for any of the other 2004 candidates with contested general elections.

Our historical data shows that the general business and finance/insurance/real estate sectors tend to vie for first place as a percentage of total fundraising for city council candidates. However, the general business sector is only the fourth largest piece of Potter's fundraising pie, while the finance/insurance/real estate sector has dropped to sixth place.

Table 12: Contributions to all Portland City Council candidates' 2004 campaigns by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
All 2004 Primary and General Election Candidates	Agriculture/Timber	\$73,139	3.7%	\$37,310	3.5%	\$110,449	3.6%
	Candidate/Party	\$184,932	9.3%	\$19,742	1.9%	\$204,674	6.7%
	Communications/Electronics	\$82,474	4.1%	\$43,981	4.2%	\$126,455	4.1%
	Construction	\$138,836	7.0%	\$55,355	5.2%	\$194,191	6.4%
	Defense	\$250	0.0%	--	--	\$250	0.0%
	Energy/Nat Resource	\$76,732	3.9%	\$45,775	4.3%	\$122,507	4.0%
	Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$456,546	22.9%	\$231,350	21.8%	\$687,896	22.5%
	General Business	\$306,851	15.4%	\$198,608	18.7%	\$505,459	16.6%
	Health	\$24,941	1.3%	\$19,240	1.8%	\$44,181	1.4%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$15,736	0.8%	\$37,404	3.5%	\$53,140	1.7%
	Labor	\$114,900	5.8%	\$67,762	6.4%	\$182,662	6.0%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$115,365	5.8%	\$68,062	6.4%	\$183,427	6.0%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$126,287	6.3%	\$90,339	8.5%	\$216,626	7.1%
	Small Contributions	\$101,218	5.1%	\$45,345	4.3%	\$146,562	4.8%
	Transportation	\$76,564	3.8%	\$33,603	3.2%	\$110,167	3.6%
	Unknown	\$98,071	4.9%	\$65,651	6.2%	\$163,722	5.4%
	Total	\$1,992,842	100.0%	\$1,059,526	100.0%	\$3,052,369	100.0%

Among all of the candidates that raised money in 2004, aggregated small contributions of \$50 or less continue to make up only a small part of the money raised. The usual economic sectors dominate: Finance/insurance/real estate makes up 22.5 percent of the total raised, general business comprises 16.6 percent and other (civil servants, retirees, teachers, and some non-profit employees) makes up 7.1 percent. Together, at 46.2 percent, these three sectors make up nearly half the money that all candidates raised in 2004.

It is also interesting to note that the candidate/party category is a much larger piece of the puzzle in the primary than it is in the general. In these non-partisan races, this category is almost wholly made up of self-financing. The category's larger role in the primary suggests that candidates give or loan themselves money in that phase of a campaign as a way of ensuring

that they continue to the run-off in the general.

By contrast, the candidate/party category plays a much larger role overall in Oregon's partisan state legislative races, especially in the general election. Candidate self-financing and political party contributions made up more than one in every five dollars that legislative candidates received in 2002 (the last year for which complete state data with economic coding is available).

Finally, contributions from labor are often thought to play a large role in Portland politics. However, groups representing labor (and individuals employed by them) contributed only 6 percent of the total to all candidates, or about a quarter of what the top-giving fire, insurance, and real estate sector contributed.

Table 13: Contributions to 2002 state legislative candidates by economic sector

Recipient	Group	Primary		General		Combined	
		\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
All 2002 State Legislative Candidates	Agriculture/Timber	\$323,613	6.0%	\$927,611	8.1%	\$1,251,224	7.4%
	Candidate/Party Contributions	\$812,951	15.0%	\$3,012,527	26.2%	\$3,825,478	22.6%
	Communications/Electronics	\$161,021	3.0%	\$194,141	1.7%	\$355,162	2.1%
	Construction	\$185,449	3.4%	\$569,337	5.0%	\$754,786	4.5%
	Energy/Natural Resources	\$165,927	3.1%	\$312,502	2.7%	\$478,429	2.8%
	Finance/ Insurance/Real Estate	\$409,790	7.6%	\$846,377	7.4%	\$1,256,167	7.4%
	General Business	\$620,639	11.5%	\$1,731,899	15.1%	\$2,352,538	13.9%
	Health	\$595,509	11.0%	\$640,678	5.6%	\$1,236,187	7.3%
	Ideology/Single Issue	\$229,532	4.2%	\$466,638	4.1%	\$696,170	4.1%
	Labor	\$456,604	8.4%	\$1,476,549	12.9%	\$1,933,153	11.4%
	Lawyers/Lobbyists	\$352,628	6.5%	\$337,541	2.9%	\$690,169	4.1%
	Non-Contributions	\$16,239	0.3%	\$61,170	0.5%	\$77,409	0.5%
	Other/Retiree/Civil Servants	\$507,524	9.4%	\$330,159	2.9%	\$837,683	5.0%
	Small Contributions	\$297,508	5.5%	\$201,574	1.8%	\$499,082	3.0%
	Transportation	\$131,288	2.4%	\$303,606	2.6%	\$434,894	2.6%
	Unknown	\$143,535	2.7%	\$75,664	0.7%	\$219,199	1.3%
Total	\$5,409,757	100.0%	\$11,487,973	100.0%	\$16,897,730	100.0%	

The general business and labor sectors come in a far second and third behind candidate and party contributions. The finance, insurance and real estate sector, so dominant in Portland city

council elections, makes up only 7.4 percent of total fundraising for state legislators, vying with agriculture and timber for fourth place in predominance.

Analysis by Geographic Sector

For our geographical analysis, we assigned each zip code in the city to one of six sectors: Downtown, North, Northeast, Northwest, Southeast and Southwest. Our geographic analysis also includes three other designations: non-Portland zip codes in Oregon; non-Oregon zip codes; and no address given.

There are 51 Portland zip codes, including 29 that are P.O boxes or that include suburbs.

Of the 51 zip codes, contributions came from 43 to winners in City Council races from 1992 to 2003. In 2004, contributions came from 44 zip codes.

Table 13 ranks the top 10 zip codes for contributions to winning candidates for the Portland City Council in elections from 1992 through 2003. The list is dominated by zip codes located on the Westside.

Table 14: Top 10 contributing zip codes to Portland city council winners from 1992 to 2003

Zip Code	Sector	Total Contributions	% of Grand Total
97201*	Downtown	\$515,658	12.0%
97204*	Downtown	\$410,594	9.5%
97205*	Downtown	\$339,983	7.9%
97209*	NW	\$233,197	5.4%
97219*	SW + suburban	\$215,508	5.0%
97210*	Northwest	\$160,520	3.7%
97221*	SW + suburban	\$150,913	3.5%
97232*	NE	\$145,414	3.4%
97239	SW	\$141,400	3.3%
97212*	NE	\$115,981	2.7%
Subtotal of top 10 Portland zip codes		\$2,429,168	56.4%
Other 33 Portland zip codes		\$909,085	21.1%
Non-Portland zip codes in Oregon		\$569,747	13.2%
Non-Oregon zip codes		\$222,786	5.2%
No address given		\$173,895	4.1%
Grand total		\$4,304,680	100.0%

Note: * indicates top-10 contributing zip code for 2004 primary election

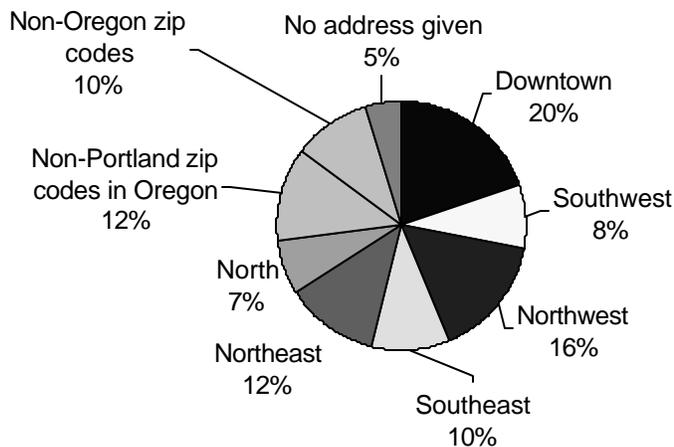
Table 15 and figure 2 show a breakdown of contributions to Portland City Council candidates for the 2004 elections by sector. The Westside also dominated in the amount of contributions to candidates in the 2004 elections. Contributions from

Northwest, Southwest and downtown Portland totaled \$1,343,750, which is 60 percent of the Portland total of \$2,224,048. By contrast, contributions from North, Northeast and Southeast Portland totaled only \$880,299.

Table 15: Contributions to All 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector, Including P.O. Box and Bordering Zip Codes

Sector	Total Contributions	% of Grand Total	P O. Box Zip Codes			Bordering Zip Codes		
			Zip Codes	Total Contributions	% of Grand Total	Zip Codes	Total Contributions	% of Grand Total
Downtown (97201, 97204, 97205, 97258)	\$597,314	19.6%	97207, 97240	\$44,588	--		N/A	--
SW (97239)	\$257,583	8.4%	97280	\$3,050	--	97219, 97221	\$178,574	--
NW (97209, 97210)	\$488,853	16.0%	97208, 97228, 97296	\$108,874	--	97229, 97231	\$43,121	--
SE (97202, 97206, 97214, 97215, 97216, 97266)	\$295,114	9.7%	97242, 97282, 97286, 97292, 97293	\$37,825	--	97233, 97236, 97290	\$15,958	--
NE (97211, 97212, 97213, 97218, 97220, 97232)	\$372,818	12.2%	97238	\$4,459	--	97230, 97294	\$34,664	--
North (97203, 97217, 97227)	\$212,367	7.0%	97283	\$2,400	--		N/A	--
Subtotal	\$2,224,048	72.9%		\$201,196	7.0%		\$272,317	8.9%
non-Portland zip codes in Oregon	\$382,315	12.5%						
Non-Oregon zip codes	\$297,860	9.8%						
No address given	\$148,146	4.9%						
Grand total	\$3,052,369	100.0%						

Figure 2: Contributions to 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector



The 2004 Portland elections featured several candidates who (along with their families) gave or loaned their campaigns large amounts of money. This anomalous

candidate self-financing was especially concentrated in a few sectors, and represents a specific class of contributors. Therefore, our analysis takes into account

contribution totals and without candidate self-financing. Table 16 lists the individual

occurrences of self-financing in the 2004 primary campaign with sectors identified.

Table 16: Self-financing by 2004 City Council Candidates and Family Members

Sector	Contributor	Race	Contribution Subtotal	Sector Subtotal
Downtown	Frank Dixon	Commissioner Position #4	\$1000	\$1000
SW	N/A	--	--	\$0
NW	N/A	--	--	\$0
SE	Tom Potter	Mayor	\$2892	\$21,957
	Karin Hansen	Mayor	\$9000	
	Jerry Adams	Mayor	\$5005	
	Mark Lakeman	Commissioner Position #4	\$1500	
	Jennifer Lakeman	Commissioner Position #4	\$860	
	Paul Leistner	Commissioner Position #4	\$2700	
NE	Nicholas Fish	Commissioner Position #1	\$31,434	\$38,882
	Jim Francesconi	Mayor	\$5,050	
	Shelley Francesconi	Mayor	\$200	
	James Posey	Mayor	\$200	
	Jimmy Whittenburg	Commissioner Position #4	\$1969	
	Bonnie McKnight	Commissioner Position #4	\$30	
North	Jeff Taylor	Mayor	\$75,100	\$129,763
	Sam Adams	Commissioner #1	\$25,000	
	Greg Eddie	Commissioner #1	\$25,000	
	Phil Busse	Mayor	\$4663	
Grand Total*			\$191,602	\$191,602

Note: * There were also \$3710 in contributions from family members who lives outside of Portland.

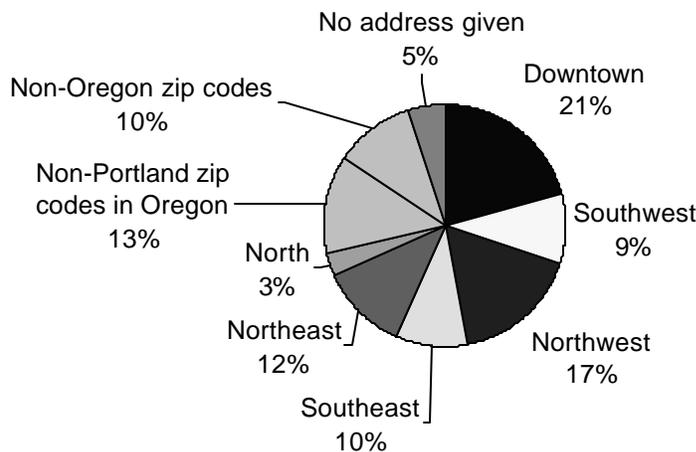
Table 17 adjusts the contributions by sector by factoring out candidate self-financing. Without self-financing, the East Portland total was only \$689,697, or 24.1

percent of the Portland total without self-financing; contributions minus self-financing from West Portland totaled \$1,342,750.

Table 17: Contributions to 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (Minus Candidate Self-Financing), including P.O. Box and Bordering Zip Codes

Sector	Total Contributions (minus self-financing)	% of Grand Total	P O. Box Zip Codes			Bordering Zip Codes		
			Zip Codes	Total Contributions (minus self-financing)	% of Grand Total	Zip Codes	Total Contributions (minus self-financing)	% of Grand Total
Downtown (97201, 97204, 97205, 97258)	\$596,314	20.9%	97207, 97240	\$44,588	--		N/A	--
SW (97239)	\$257,583	9.0%	97280	\$3,050	--	97219, 97221	\$178,574	--
NW (97209, 97210)	\$488,853	17.1%	97208, 97228, 97296	\$108,874	--	97229, 97231	\$43,121	--
SE (97202, 97206, 97214, 97215, 97216, 97266)	\$273,157	9.6%	97242, 97282, 97286, 97292, 97293	\$37,825	--	97233, 97236, 97290	\$15,958	--
NE (97211, 97212, 97213, 97218, 97220, 97232)	\$333,936	11.7%	97238	\$4,459	--	97230, 97294	\$34,634	--
North (97203, 97217, 97227)	\$82,604	2.9%	97283	\$2,400	--		N/A	--
Portland Subtotal	\$2,032,446	71.1%		\$201,196	7.0%		\$272,287	9.5%
non-Portland zip codes in Oregon	\$382,215	13.4%						
Non-Oregon zip codes	\$294,250	10.3%						
No address given	\$148,146	5.2%						
Grand total	\$2,857,057	100.0%						

Figure 3: Contributions to 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (Minus Candidate Self-Financing)



The changes in the list of top 10 contributing zip codes due to factoring out candidate self-financing are reflected in

Table 18 and Figure 4. Two of the Eastside zip codes in the top 10 for contributions

included large percentages of candidate self-financing.

North Portland zip code 97217 is the home of mayoral candidates Phil Busse and Jeff Taylor, and Sam Adams, a candidate for city commissioner position #1. Along with Adams' then-partner Greg Eddie, these three candidates loaned their campaigns a combined \$129,763, or 74.5 percent of the total contributions raised in that zip code. Without this level of candidate self-financing, 97217 drops out of the top 10.

By contrast, the remaining 38 candidates in the campaigns gave or loaned a combined \$61,839 to their campaigns.

Northeast Portland zip code 97212 is home to four candidates who contributed a combined \$38,852 (or 27.1 percent) of the total raised in that zip code. Although the zip code remains in the list of top 10 contributing zip codes after factoring in the self-financing, its share of the total contributions decreases from 4.7 percent to 3.7 percent.

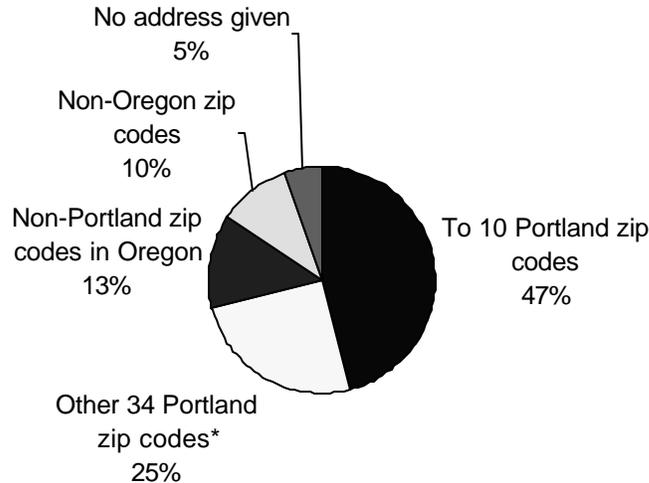
Table 18: Top 10 Contributing Zip Codes to All 2004 Portland City Council Candidates

Zip Code	Sector	Total Contributions	% of Grand Total	Total Contributions Minus Self-Financing	% of Grand Total Minus Self-Financing
97201*	Downtown	\$216,878	7.1%	\$216,878	7.6%
97209*	NW	\$201,445	6.6%	\$201,445	7.0%
97204*	Downtown	\$178,195	5.8%	\$178,195	6.2%
97217	North	\$174,236	5.6%	\$44,473	1.6%
97205*	Downtown	\$157,173	5.1%	\$156,173	5.5%
97212*	NE	\$143,416	4.7%	\$104,564	3.7%
97210*	NW	\$135,413	4.4%	\$135,413	4.7%
97232*	NE	\$100,332	3.3%	\$100,332	3.5%
97219*	SW+	\$90,948	3.0%	\$90,948	3.2%
97221*	SW+	\$87,626	2.9%	\$87,626	3.1%
Top 10 Portland zip codes		\$1,485,662	48.7%	\$1,316,047	46.1%
Other 34 Portland zip codes [†]		\$738,386	24.2%	\$716,399	25.1%
Non-Portland zip codes in Oregon		\$382,315	12.5%	\$382,215	13.4%
Non-Oregon zip codes		\$297,860	9.8%	\$294,250	10.3%
No address given		\$148,146	4.9%	\$148,146	5.2%
Grand Total		\$3,052,369	100.0%	\$2,857,057	100%

Notes: * indicates top-10 contribution zip code for 1992 to 2003 City Council winners.

[†] contributions came from one additional zip code during the 2004 elections as compared to the 1992-2003 contributions database.

Figure 4: Contributions to 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (Minus Candidate Self-Financing)



**Note: contributions came from one additional zip code during the 2004 elections as compared to the 1992-2003 contributions database*

Each candidate is required by law to itemize each contribution of \$50 or more, including the name of the contributor along with the contributor’s address. We calculated the average itemized contributions for each sector as a measurement of what the typical contributor in the area is able to give to candidates. This measurement indicates relative disparities in “giving power” among the residents of different sectors.

contributor without having to report the address of the contributor, so there is no way to accurately distribute these contributions by sector. These contributions are shown under the “No address given” designation in the various tables and figures in this report. These small contributions combined make up just 4.7 percent of the total contributions in the 2004 elections.

Candidates are allowed to lump together contributions of less than \$50 from the same

Itemized contribution data for the 2004 elections are broken down by sector and size of contribution (\$50 or less, or more than \$50) in Table 19.

Table 19: Total and Average Itemized Contributions to All 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector

Sector	Itemized Contributions (\$50)		Itemized Contributions (>\$50)		Sector Subtotal	Average Itemized Contribution
	Total Contributions	% of Sector Subtotal	Total Contributions	% of Sector Subtotal		
Downtown	\$1580	0.3%	\$595,734	99.7%	\$597,314	\$682
SW	\$2244	0.9%	\$255,339	99.1%	\$257,583	\$402
NW	\$2367	0.5%	\$486,486	99.5%	\$488,853	\$559
SE	\$2717	0.9%	\$292,397	99.1%	\$295,114	\$401
NE	\$4220	1.1%	\$368,598	98.9%	\$372,818	\$396
North	\$1002	0.5%	\$211,365	99.5%	\$212,367	\$1067
Non-Portland zip codes in Oregon	\$3357	0.9%	\$378,958	99.1%	\$382,315	\$474
Non-Oregon zip codes	\$717	0.2%	\$297,143	99.8%	\$297,860	\$741
No address given*	\$70	4.4%	\$1513	95.6%	\$1583	
Grand total	\$18,275	0.6%	\$2,887,532	99.4%	\$2,905,807	

*Note: *Approximately 99 percent of the contributions with no address given are miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less, and are not included in this total.*

Because candidate self-financing played such a large role in the contributions in North Portland, we analyzed how the average contributions solely in the more-than-\$50

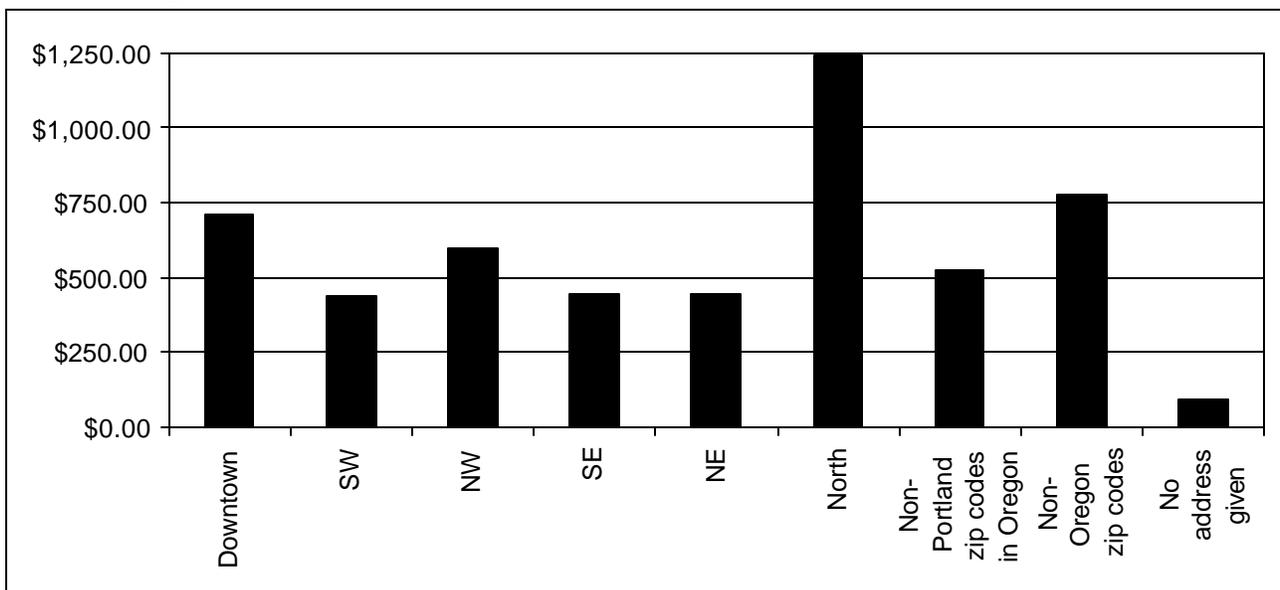
category broke down. Table 20, and Figures 4 and 5 display the total and average itemized contributions by sector with and without self-financed contributions.

Table 20: Total and Average Itemized Contributions of \$50 or More to All 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (Minus Candidate Self-Financing)

Sector	With Candidate Self-Financing			Without Candidate Self-Financing		
	Total Itemized Contributions (\$50)	Number of Itemized Contributions (\$50)	Average Itemized Contribution	Total Itemized Contributions (\$50)	Number of Itemized Contributions (\$50)	Average Itemized Contribution
Downtown	\$595,734	836	\$713	\$594,734	835	\$712
SW	\$255,339	588	\$434	\$255,339	588	\$434
NW	\$486,486	813	\$598	\$486,486	813	\$598
SE	\$292,397	658	\$444	\$270,440	652	\$415
NE	\$368,598	830	\$444	\$329,745	825	\$400
North	\$211,365	170	\$1243	\$81,602	166	\$492
Non-Portland zip codes in Oregon	\$378,958	726	\$522	\$378,858	725	\$523
Non-Oregon zip codes	\$297,143	383	\$776	\$293,583	374	\$785
No address given*	\$1513	17	\$89	\$1513	17	\$89
Grand Total	\$2,887,532	5021	\$575	\$2,692,300	4995	\$539

Note: *Approximately 99 percent of the contributions with no address given are miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less, and are not included in this total.

Figure 5: Average Itemized Contribution for All 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (With Candidate Self-Financing)

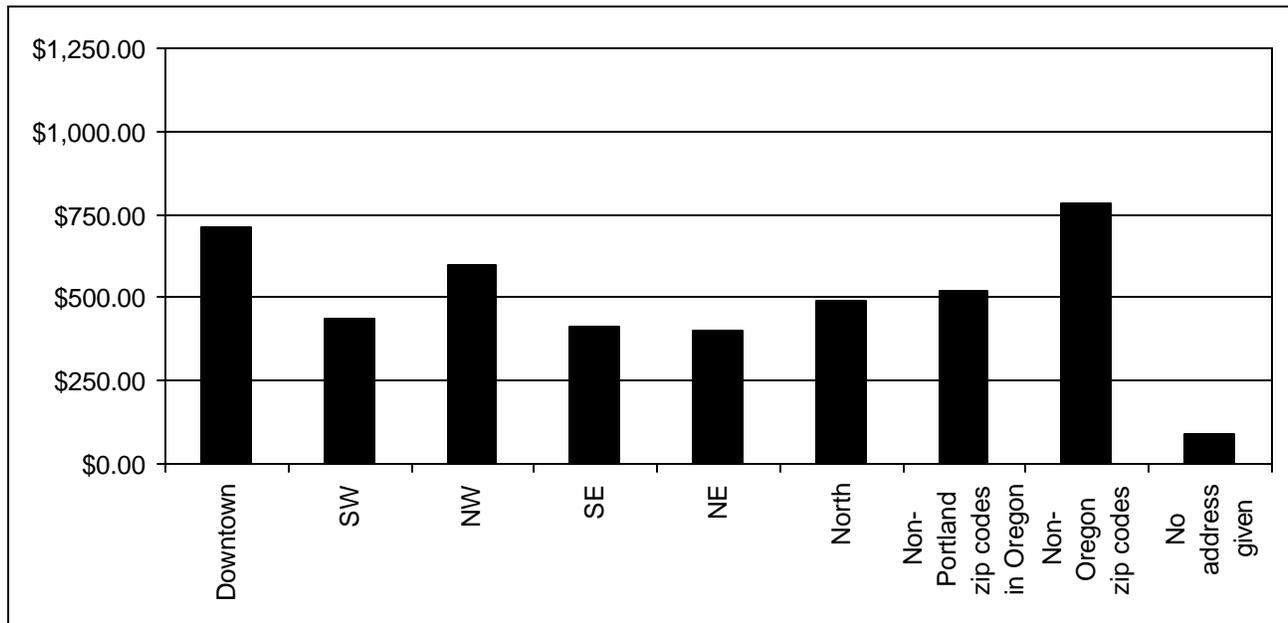


Note: *Approximately 99 percent of the contributions with no address given are miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less, and are not included in this total.

The average itemized contribution for North Portland differs so extremely from the other averages in Figure 4 because, as noted previously, three candidates and a family

member made campaign loans of nearly \$130,000, or 70 percent of the total raised in North Portland. These figures are adjusted in Figure 5 to account for self-financing.

Figure 6: Average Itemized Contribution for All 2004 City Council Candidates by Sector (Without Self-Financing)



Note: *Approximately 99 percent of the contributions with no address given are miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less, and are not included in this total.

Incumbency and Campaign Finance

“Fundraising got much easier after my initial campaigns. I was a long shot early in 1996 and my fundraising included more of those valued but hard-won \$50 contributions. Once in office, the money comes easier and in bigger checks.”

This observation, offered by Commissioner Erik Sten reflecting on the increase in his average campaign contribution in our report on contributions to City Council winners last April, echoes our findings that incumbents enjoy a significant fundraising advantage over challengers.

It may be instructive to compare the fundraising averages of the incumbent candidates in the 2004 race, Jim Francesconi and Commissioner Randy Leonard, to see how incumbency affected their ability to raise

money. In addition, we will look at the changes in contribution averages for Commissioners Dan Saltzman and Erik Sten.

The averages in this analysis are from contributors who gave more than \$50 in either the primary or general election. MiPRAP bases averages on these contributors because state law allows candidates the discretion to aggregate contributions from contributors who give \$50 or less in either the primary or general election.

Francesconi’s first race was in 1996. He ran again in 2000 and 2004. Commissioner Leonard ran first in 2002, and again in 2004. Commissioner Saltzman’s first run was in 1998, and he was re-elected in 2002. Commissioner Sten’s first run was a special election in 1996 and he has won re-election in 1998 and 2002.

Figure 7: Itemized Contribution Averages for Jim Francesconi over Three Elections

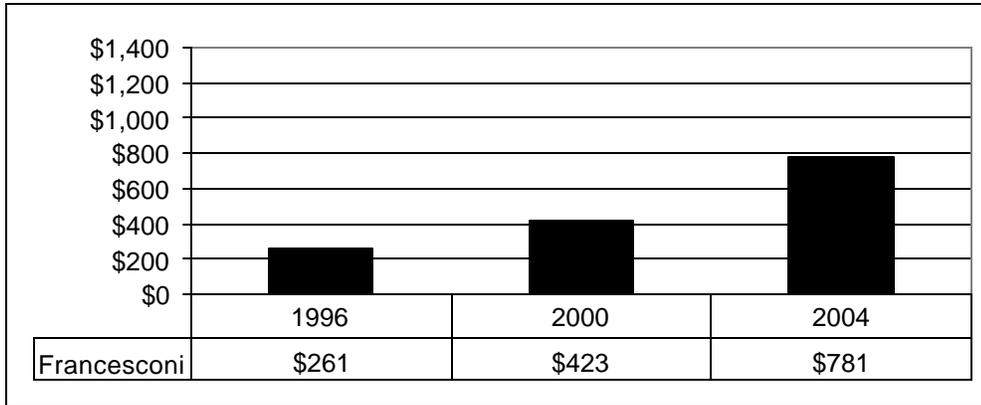


Figure 8: Itemized Contribution Averages for Commissioner Randy Leonard over Two Elections

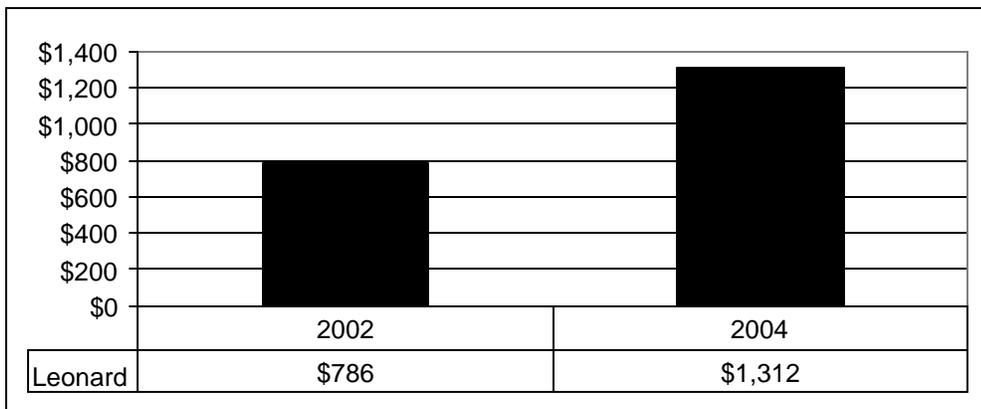


Figure 9: Itemized Contribution Averages for Commissioner Dan Saltzman over Two Elections

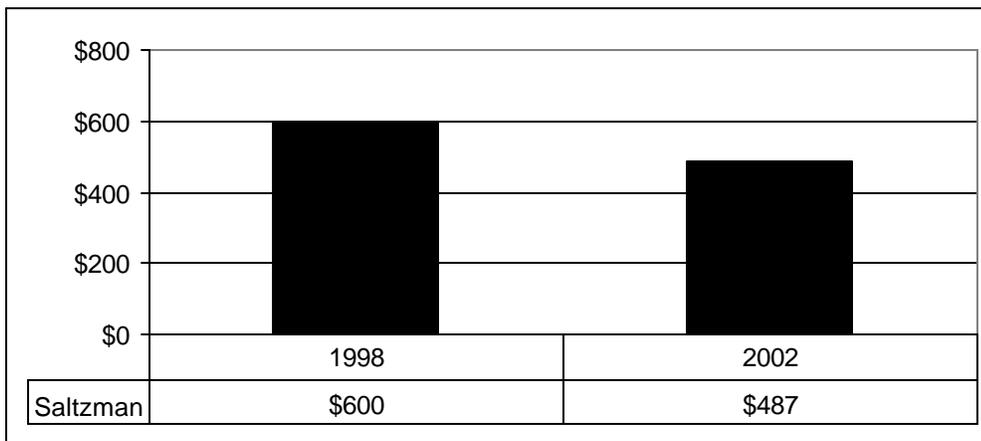
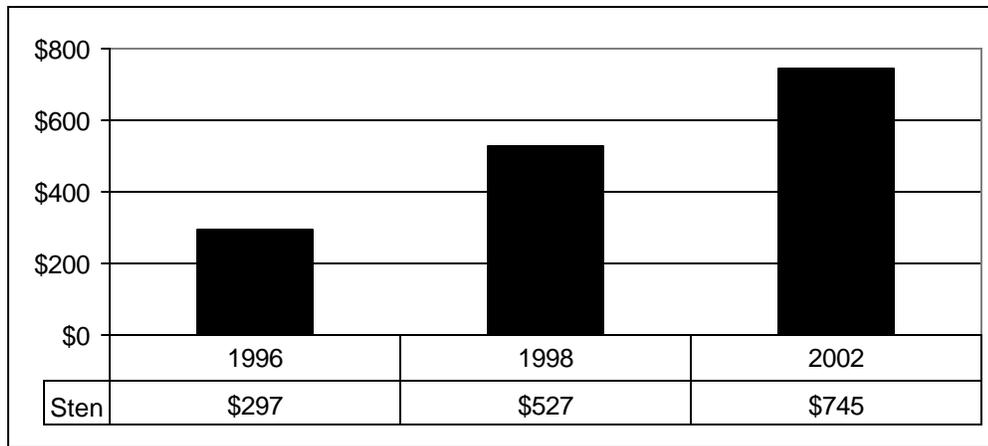


Figure 10: Itemized Contribution Averages for Commissioner Erik Sten over Three Elections



Francesconi’s average contribution increased nearly three fold from his first election in 1996 to his last race in 2004. Commissioner Leonard’s average contribution increased by about 67 percent in 2004 over his 2002 special election average. Commissioner Sten’s average contribution was 2.5 times more in 2002 than in 1996. While some of these changes can be attributed to inflation, incumbency likely accounts for their ability to raise more money from fewer contributors.

Dan Saltzman's 1998 and 2002 campaigns show an opposite trend. His 2002 average itemized contribution was \$487, a decline from his 1998 average of \$600. This is presumably a reflection of his 1998 campaign against Tanya Collier being a much more competitive race than his 2002 election coupled with his ability to provide funds to his own campaign. In 1998, he gave or loaned his campaign \$83,171. The lack of competition meant that he did not need to raise as much money, so the 2002 figures do not include large amount of self-financing that skewed his contributor average in 1998.

Commissioner Leonard had served as a State Representative and Senator for many years prior to running for his City Council seat, which may help account for his high starting average contribution. MiPRAP’s historic data

from 1992-2002 City Council winners shows that they averaged between \$240 and \$600 in their first races.

Candidates who already hold a seat appear to be more easily able to convince people and organizations with wealth that they have something to offer based on their past success. Under our current system of private campaign financing, they are stuck in a system where it makes sense for them to spend time talking with contributors than it does to talk with their constituents.

One concern that proponents of campaign finance reform often hear about systems of public financing is that they will create a form of protection for incumbents. The argument usually goes that because a public financing system creates a more even playing field with regard to how much money a candidate has to run a campaign, an incumbent has the built in advantages, starting with a greater level of name recognition as well as the bully pulpit of the office.

While public financing cannot do anything about the intrinsic advantages that incumbents enjoy, it has the potential to even the fundraising field, in fact making it easier for challengers to run a viable campaign.

Conclusion

“Residents along the block of North Webster Street in Portland’s Humboldt neighborhood were disturbed to find the man’s body, left uncovered in the street for hours Tuesday morning before he was removed by authorities.”

This excerpt from a March 2004 Oregonian story about a shooting victim illustrates why there are questions in people’s minds about different Portland neighborhoods receiving

different levels of attention from city authorities.

A 2003 citizen survey, conducted as part of the City Auditor’s regular review of services and accomplishments, provides answers broken down by different sectors of Portland. For example, the results of a two-part question asking about cleanliness and maintenance of park facilities are shown in Table 21. The question asked citizens, “In general, how do you rate the quality of parks near your home?”

Table 19: Satisfaction with Portland City Park Facilities by Sector

	SW	NW/ Downtown	N	NE		SE		E	City Total
				Inner	Central	Inner	Central		
Clean facilities:									
Very good/good	65%	63%	49%	47%	47%	56%	54%	53%	54%
Neither good nor bad	30%	27%	36%	36%	39%	33%	32%	34%	33%
Bad/very bad	6%	9%	11%	17%	14%	11%	15%	13%	13%
Well-maintained facilities:									
Very good/good	63%	67%	50%	49%	49%	56%	52%	53%	55%
Neither good nor bad	29%	27%	36%	37%	37%	33%	36%	36%	34%
Bad/very bad	7%	8%	15%	15%	14%	11%	13%	11%	13%

Source: 2003 Portland Citizen Survey

These results show that there is significantly higher satisfaction with city services in downtown Portland and on the Westside than on the Eastside. In fact, the survey reveals that Westside residents are, on average, nearly 33 percent more likely to rate city services and quality of life “very good” than Eastsiders. They feel safer in their neighborhoods, they rate their neighborhood parks and recreation programs more highly, they like the water in their taps better, and they enjoy better streets and nicer housing stock.

Many people living east of the Willamette River in Portland feel that the city of Portland treats them unequally, as the City Auditor’s recent citizen survey of residents and businesses underscores. As a group, they also contributed considerably less money to City Council campaigns in the 2004 elections, than did people living on the Westside.

Whether it is true or not that contributions to political campaigns influence how City Council candidates act, clear disparities exist between the Eastside and the Westside. The fact that candidates out of necessity spend so much of their time talking with campaign contributors while running for office means that they have less time to spend with others in the community who may not have money to give.

Campaign contributions also create perceptions that only people with wealth matter to City Council decisions, and the small amount of money that candidates raise from people who give \$50 or less reinforces this idea. Again, the money race created under our current system forces candidates to spend more time talking with donors who can give them large chunks of money rather than with constituents who may have little or no money, but lots of ideas, to share.

Not only is the money that candidates raise concentrated in the hands of a relative few donors, but those donors are concentrated in a only a few sectors of the economy. For city candidates, the finance/insurance/real estate sector makes up the largest part of the fundraising pie. Candidates running for office in the city of Portland must know and spend a large portion of time talking with people who represent these interests if they are going to amass the kind of campaign treasury they need to win under our current private financing system.

Finally, incumbents enjoy significant advantages under the private financing system. In general, once a candidate gains office, he or she can count on having a much easier time fundraising for subsequent runs. The size of average itemized contributions increase, so that incumbents can raise more money with less effort.

Portland has a unique opportunity to greatly diminish the negative perceptions that private political contributions create by enacting a new voter-owned system of campaign financing. Voter owned elections will allow candidates to spend their time talking with voters, not just campaign contributors.

Candidates will be freer to speak their minds about issues without fear that they will offend their contributors. Voter owned elections will allow people with broad ties to their communities but few ties to wealth to consider running for office. It will create a more even playing field for challengers to incumbents by diminishing the differences between their fundraising ability. Voters will have more opportunities to vote for candidates who reflect their voices.