



Money in Politics Research Action Project

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Campaign Contributors Hedge Their Bets in 2004 Portland City Council Race “Double Giving” Underscores Need for Voter Owned Elections

Contributors whose giving suggests more interest in buying access than supporting a candidate point to a broken system that could be fixed by a proposal City Council will consider today.

"Double giving or contributions from the same donor to both candidates in a race are about hedging your bets and keeping whoever wins happy," says Janice Thompson, Executive Director of the Money in Politics Research Action Project (MiPRAP). "I don't fault these contributors or the candidates, because they are stuck in a broken system of private financing for political campaigns. Donors, candidates, and - most important - Portland residents will benefit from the Voter Owned Elections proposal to be heard today by the City Council."

Dollars from double givers were 8.6 percent of Sam Adams' and 11 percent of Nick Fish's primary fundraising. General election double giving to Adams moved to 8.9 percent. Double giving as a percentage of Nick Fish's general election fundraising increased to 12.8 percent.

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 1: 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 2a-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 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 2d.)

"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 2a: 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 2b: Bid Your Time and 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 2c: 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		
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 2d: 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 2e: 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 2f: 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 2g: 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

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