Seattle

Ethics

And

Elections

Commission



ABOUT THE SEATTLE ETHICS AND ELECTIONS COMMISSION: The Commission is a seven-member, citizen body that interprets, administers and enforces the Seattle Elections Code, Code of Ethics, Election Pamphlet Code and Whistleblower Protection Code. Three members are appointed by the Mayor (confirmed by the City Council), three are appointed by the City Council and the seventh is appointed by the other six and confirmed by the City Council. The members serve three year terms.

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Council appointee thru December 2000
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Citizens of Seattle July 26, 2000

Re: Report Of Contributions and Expenditures In The 1999 City Election

Dear Citizen:

The attached report is published by the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission to give you information about the financing of the 1999 Seattle City campaigns. It was compiled from the campaign finance disclosure reports that the candidates and ballot issue committees were required to file, under the Seattle Elections Code. The data presented here includes all such reports filed for the 1999 election cycle.

Five City Council positions were on the ballot in 1999, as well as fifteen separate ballot propositions. Council Positions 1, 7 and 9 were open this year because incumbent Councilmembers Choe, Donaldson and Podlodowski did not run for reelection. The incumbents in Council Positions 3 and 5, Councilmembers Steinbrueck and Pageler, did run for reelection. Proposition 1 on the general election ballot was a levy to fund improvements and construction to Seattle Center facilities as well as neighborhood community centers. Propositions 2 through 15 included various amendments of the City's Charter.

The data discloses four trends of note:

- For the first time, the total amount of contributions raised and expenditures made by City Council campaigns reached one million dollars. In 1995, the total amount of contributions raised and expenditures made by City Council campaigns was \$718,444 raised and \$753,896 spent; in 1997, \$838,816 raised and \$860,406 spent; and in 1999, \$1,110,780 raised and \$1,112,164 spent.
- In the City Council races there is increasing reliance on large contributions as a source of campaign funding. The average contribution size jumped significantly this year, from \$88 in 1995 and \$94 in 1997 to over \$107 in 1999, an increase of 14% from 1997, far in excess of inflation. At the same time, the number of contributors decreased. In 1995 there were 10,183 contributors to City Council candidates. The number of contributors dropped to 9,382 in 1997 and to 9,069 in 1999.
- For the first time, significant Independent Expenditures were made promoting and opposing candidates for City Council. Over \$110,000 was spent by individuals and committees independently this year, 10% of the amount spent by authorized candidate committees.
- Spending on ballot issue campaigns has continued its five year drop. In 1995 \$1.4 million was spent promoting or opposing Seattle ballot measures. In 1996 this dropped to \$699,000. The trend has continued, with \$525,000 spent in 1997, \$489,000 in 1998 and just \$289,043 spent in 1999 to promote or oppose measures that appeared on the ballot.

Since July 1995, we have distributed reports of the campaign finances of City office candidates and City ballot issue committees in paper copy and on the web. This year's web version can be found at:

http://www.ci.seattle.wa.us/ethics/el99a/report/filings/filings.htm

We hope this report assists you in understanding and participating in City government. If we can provide more information, please call us at 206/684-8500, e-mail us at carol.van.noy@ci.seattle.wa.us, or come into the office at 226 Municipal Building, 600 Fourth Avenue, Seattle, 98104. We welcome your interest.

Sincerely, Carolyn M. Van Noy, Executive Director

Data compiled by: Robert B. DeWeese, IT Professional

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I. INTRODUCTION

The information for this report was compiled from the disclosure filings of each candidate and ballot issue committee. The data found here covers all disclosed activity from the beginning of each campaign through the end of the 1999 election cycle, April 30, 2000.

Throughout this report, the names of ballot issues may be followed by "Passed"/"P" or "Failed"/"F" and candidate names may be followed by an "Incumbent"/"I" and/or "Elected"/"E". All City office elections are non-partisan, so party affiliation is not reported. The following is a list of 1999 City primary and general election (in bold) ballot issue committees and candidates:

Council Position 1
Cheryl Chow
Bob Hegamin
Judy Nicastro (E)

Judy Nicastro (I Daniel Norton

Council Position 3

Don Hennick
Lenora Jones
Stan Lippmann
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)

Council Position 5

Lee Carter
Curt Firestone
Margaret Pageler (E/I)
E Mike Rodosovich

Council Position 7

Elbert Brooks
Charlie Chong
George Freeman
David Lawton
Thomas Whittemore
Heidi Wills (E)

Council Position 9
Jim Compton (E)
Alec Fisken
Dawn Mason
Andrew Scully

Seattle Center /
Community Center Levy (Passed)
Yes on Proposition One

Propositions 2-9,11-15 (All Passed) {No Committees For/Against}

Proposition 10 (Failed)
{No Committees For/Against}

II. 1999 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE VOTE RETURNS

A. Primary Election Vote Returns, September 14, 1999

(compiled from reports by King County Records and Elections)

| Registered Voters Ballots Cast | 348,955 80,229 23.0% | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| Council Position 1 | | Council Position 7 | |
| Bob Hegamin Cheryl Chow Judy Nicastro (E) Daniel Norton | 6,984 9.2% 29,497 38.8% 26,592 34.9% 13,019 17.1% | George Freeman Charlie Chong Heidi Wills (E) Elbert V. Brooks | 3,071 4.0% 30,839 40.1% 29,330 38.2% 3,031 3.9% |
| Votes cast for this office | 76,092 | Thomas Whittemore David W. Lawton | 8,024 10.4% 2,524 3.3% |

| Votob basicion into onition 70,0 | Council Position 3 | Votes cast for this office | 76,819 |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------|
|----------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--------|

| Lenora Jones | 9,924 13.5 | 6 Council Position 9 | |
|----------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 55,087 74.9 | 6 | |
| Stan Lippmann | 3,774 5.1 | √o Dawn Mason √o | 24,480 34.5% |
| Don Hennick | 4,798 6.5 | 6 Andrew Scully | 6,383 9.0% |
| | | Jim Compton (E) | 26,099 36.7% |
| Votes cast for this office | 73,583 | Alec Fisken | 14,072 19.8% |

Council Position 5 Votes cast for this office 71,034

| Lee Carter | 5,705 | 7.8% |
|------------------------|--------|-------|
| E. Mike Rodosovich | 8,365 | 11.4% |
| Curt Firestone | 16,916 | 23.0% |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 42,624 | 57.9% |

Votes cast for this office 73,610

B. **General Election Vote Returns, November 2, 1999**Compiled from reports by King County Records & Elections

| Registered Voters Ballots Cast | 352,090 182,729 | 51.90% | | | |
|---|--|----------------------------|--|---|----------------------------|
| Council Position 1 | | | Council Position 7 | | |
| Cheryl Chow Judy Nicastro (E) | 78,111 79,662 | 49.51% 50.49% | Charlie Chong Heidi Wills (E) | 73,085 89,662 | 44.91% 55.09% |
| Votes cast for this office | 157,773 | | Votes cast for this office | 162,747 | |
| Council Position 3 | | | Council Position 9 | | |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) Lenora Jones | 118,484 29,667 | 79.98% 20.02% | Jim Compton (E) Dawn Mason | 84,511 63,972 | 56.92% 43.08% |
| Votes cast for this office | 148,151 | | Votes cast for this office | 148,483 | |
| Council Position 5 | | | | | |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) Curt Firestone | 97,665 48,048 | 67.03% 32.97% | | | |
| Votes cast for this office | 145,713 | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| Prop 1 - Seattle Center/Co Levy | ommunity Ce | nter | Prop 9 - Civil Service Con | nmission | |
| - | 94,503 76,350 | 55.31% 44.69% | Prop 9 - Civil Service Con Yes (P) No | 99,707 33,753 | 74.71% 25.29% |
| Levy Yes (P) | 94,503 | 55.31% | Yes (P) | 99,707 | |
| Levy Yes (P) No | 94,503 76,350 170,853 | 55.31% | Yes (P) No | 99,707 33,753 133,460 | |
| Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop | 94,503 76,350 170,853 | 55.31% | Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop | 99,707 33,753 133,460 | |
| Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 2 - Gender Neutral L Yes (P) | 94,503 76,350 170,853 anguage 94,134 | 55.31% 44.69% 56.19% | Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 10 - Police Chief Example Yes | 99,707 33,753 133,460 amination 47,021 | 25.29% 32.40% |
| Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 2 - Gender Neutral L Yes (P) No | 94,503 76,350 170,853 anguage 94,134 73,395 167,529 | 55.31% 44.69% 56.19% | Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 10 - Police Chief Example Yes No (F) | 99,707 33,753 133,460 amination 47,021 98,102 145,123 | 25.29% 32.40% 67.60% |
| Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 2 - Gender Neutral L. Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 3 - Obsolete Descrip | 94,503 76,350 170,853 anguage 94,134 73,395 167,529 | 55.31% 44.69% 56.19% | Yes (P) No Votes cast on this prop Prop 10 - Police Chief Example Yes No (F) Votes cast on this prop | 99,707 33,753 133,460 amination 47,021 98,102 145,123 | 25.29% 32.40% 67.60% |

| Prop 4 - Obsolete Comptroller/Treasurer References | | | Prop 12 - Mayor's Favorable | e Action on | Bills |
|--|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| Yes (P) No | 102,258 39,254 | 72.26% 27.74% | Yes (P) No | 85,649 46,518 | 64.80% 35.20% |
| Votes cast on this prop | 141,512 | | Votes cast on this prop | 132,167 | |
| Prop 5 - Annual Budget Est | timates | | Prop 13 - Initiative Process | & Time Lin | nits |
| Yes (P) No | 93,230 45,294 | 67.30% 32.70% | Yes (P) No | 83,010 52,525 | 61.25% 38.75% |
| Votes cast on this prop | 138,524 | | Votes cast on this prop | 135,535 | |
| Prop 6 - Eliminate Auditing References | Committee | | Prop 14 - Oaths of Office | | |
| Yes (P) No | 91,894 43,287 | 67.98% 32.02% | Yes (P) No | 80,994 55,441 | 59.36% 40.64% |
| Votes cast on this prop | 135,181 | | Votes cast on this prop | 136,435 | |
| Prop 7 - Claims and Lawsu | its | | Prop 15 - Drafting of Ordina | ince Amend | dments |
| Yes (P) No | 108,884 28,649 | 79.17% 20.83% | Yes (P) No | 75,852 48,361 | 61.07% 38.93% |
| Votes cast on this prop | 137,533 | | Votes cast on this prop | 124,213 | |
| Prop 8 - Obsolete City Elec | tion Provisi | ons | | | |
| Yes (P) No | 109,776 26,467 | 80.57% 19.43% | | | |

Votes cast on this prop

136,243

III. 1999 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

A. Total Contributions

Table 1 below lists the total amount of contributions received by each candidate committee from three categories: 1) contributions from the candidate, 2) anonymous contributions and miscellaneous receipts such as proceeds from t-shirt sales or transfers from a previous committee for the same office, and 3) contributions from individuals and groups. This chart also reports the number of individual (other than the candidate) and group contributors to each campaign and the average contribution amount made by those contributors.

| | Total | Cand- | | Indivi | iduals & Gr | oups |
|-------------------------|----------|----------|-------|---------|-------------|---------|
| | Receipts | idate | Misc. | Amount | Number | Average |
| | (\$) | (\$) | (\$) | (\$) | (#) | (\$) |
| Council Position 1 | | | | | | |
| Council Position 1 | | | | | | |
| Bob Hegamin | 1,384 | 1,384 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Cheryl Chow | 95,126 | 1,700 | 48 | 93,378 | 844 | 110.64 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 83,140 | 1,103 | 0 | 82,037 | 744 | 110.26 |
| Daniel Norton | 30,610 | 600 | 0 | 30,010 | 333 | 90.12 |
| All Candidates | 210,260 | 4,787 | 48 | 205,425 | 1,921 | 106.94 |
| Council Position 3 | | | | | | |
| Lenora Jones | 3,063 | 800 | 0 | 2,263 | 28 | 80.82 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 63,110 | 0 | 276 | 62,834 | 517 | 121.54 |
| Stan Lippmann | 755 | 755 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Don Hennick | 755 | 755 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| All Candidates | 67,683 | 2,310 | 276 | 65,097 | 545 | 119.44 |
| Council Position 5 | | | | | | |
| Lee Carter | 615 | 615 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| E. Mike Rodosovich | 5,859 | 5,859 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Curt Firestone | 61,266 | 10,420 | 0 | 50,846 | 565 | 89.99 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 92,010 | 21,959 | 424 | 69,627 | 465 | 149.74 |
| All Candidates | 159,750 | 38,853 | 424 | 120,473 | 1,030 | 116.96 |
| Council Position 7 | | | | | | |
| George Freeman | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Charlie Chong | 72,764 | 0 | 0 | 72,764 | 1,027 | 70.85 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 198,309 | 200 | 0 | 198,109 | 1,774 | 111.67 |
| Elbert V. Brooks | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.00 |
| Thomas Whittemore | 23,811 | 7,235 | 45 | 16,531 | 197 | 83.91 |
| David W. Lawton | 16,801 | 16,365 | 0 | 436 | 2 | 218.00 |
| All Candidates | 311,685 | 23,800 | 45 | 287,840 | 3,000 | 95.95 |
| | · | {continu | ექ) | | | |

{continued}

| Total | Cand- | | Indiv | iduals & Gr | oups |
|----------|-------|-------|--------|-------------|---------|
| Receipts | idate | Misc. | Amount | Number | Average |
| (\$) | (\$) | (\$) | (\$) | (#) | (\$) |

| Council Position 9 | | | | | | |
|--------------------|---------|--------|-----|---------|-------|--------|
| Dawn Mason | 106,385 | 9,516 | 169 | 96,700 | 946 | 102.22 |
| Andrew Scully | 14,013 | 0 | 0 | 14,013 | 185 | 75.75 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 155,657 | 45,084 | 22 | 110,551 | 748 | 147.80 |
| Alec Fisken | 71,910 | 10,167 | 28 | 61,715 | 447 | 138.06 |
| All Candidates | 347,965 | 64,767 | 219 | 282,979 | 2,326 | 121.66 |

Table 1

Table 2 shows total receipts for Ballot Issue Committees.

| | Total | Cand- | Indiv | iduals & Gr | oups |
|----------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | Receipts (\$) | idate (\$) | Amount (\$) | Number (#) | Average (\$) |
| Proposition 1 - Seat | tle Center / Comm | nunity Cent | er Levy | | |
| Yes on Prop 1 | 289,043 | 480 | 288,563 | 513 | 562.50 |

Table 2

Table 3 shows total contributions to committees for candidates who did not appear on the 1999 Council election ballot, as well as committees promoting or opposing ballot issues that did not appear on the 1999 ballots.

| Cou | ncil Candidates | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------|
| | Martha C. Choe | \$13,846 |
| | Grant Cogswell | \$0 |
| | Sherry Harris | \$362 |
| | Douglas Mays | \$0 |
| | All Committees | \$14,208 |

| Ballot Issue Committees | |
|---|----------|
| Save the Police & Parks (No on 45) | \$1,780 |
| Back to Basics (Yes on 45) | \$28,075 |
| Free Speech Seattle (Yes on 46) | \$6,082 |
| Neighborhoods 1 st ! (Yes on 48) | \$10,369 |
| All Committees | \$46,306 |

Table 3

Table 4 shows total receipts for each category. This table includes data from candidates who did not appear on the 1999 ballots as well as committees promoting or opposing ballot issues that did not appear on the 1999 ballots.

| | Total | Cand- | | Individuals & Groups | | |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| | Receipts (\$) | idate (\$) | Misc. (\$) | Amount (\$) | Number (#) | Average (\$) |
| All Campaigns | | | | | | |
| Council Campaigns | 1,111,736 | 134,837 | 4,964 | 971,935 | 9,060 | 107.28 |
| Ballot Issue Campaigns | 335,348 | - | 2,149 | 333,199 | 607 | 548.93 |
| All Campaigns | 1,447,084 | 134,837 | 7,113 | 1,305,134 | 9,667 | 135.01 |

Table 4

Figures 1 through 12 below graphically depict the information in **Tables 1 through 4**. The total contributions graphs include contributions from candidates, whereas graphs of total number of contributors and graphs of average contribution size do not include candidate contributions.

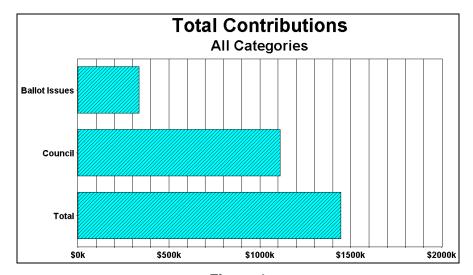


Figure 1

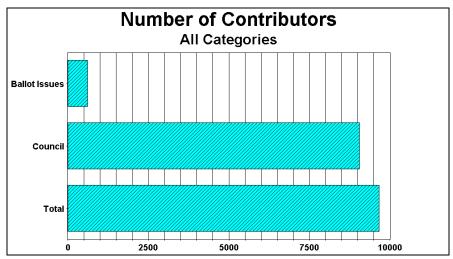


Figure 2

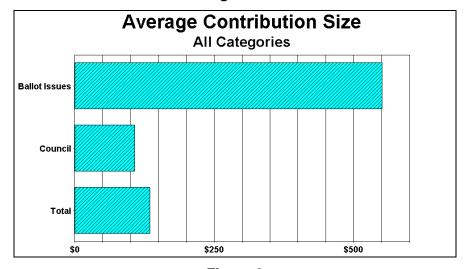


Figure 3

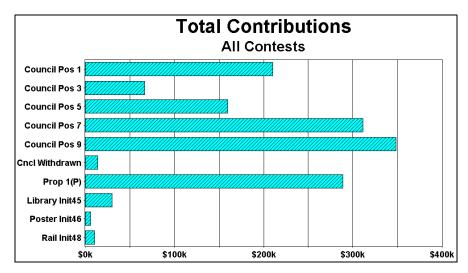


Figure 4

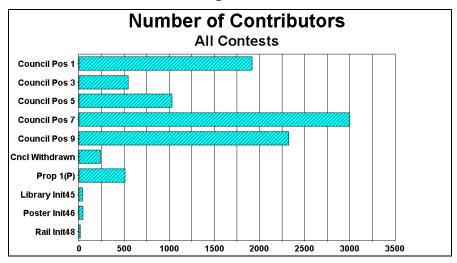


Figure 5

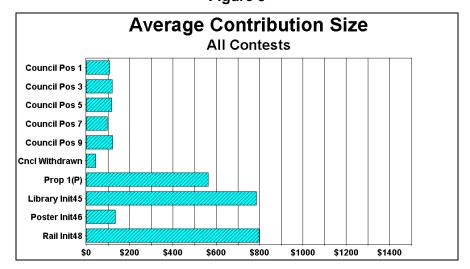


Figure 6

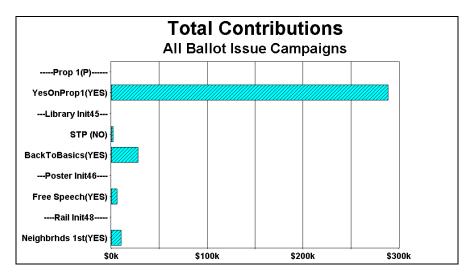


Figure 7

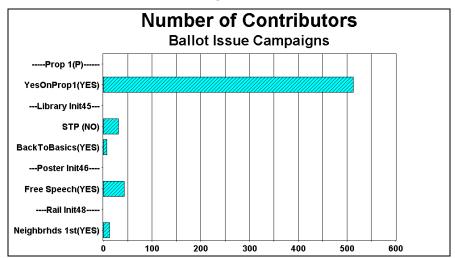


Figure 8

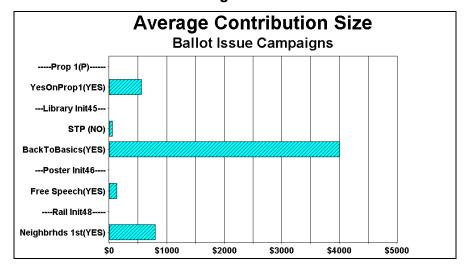


Figure 9

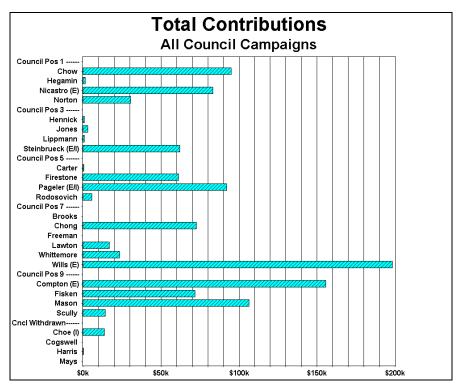


Figure 10

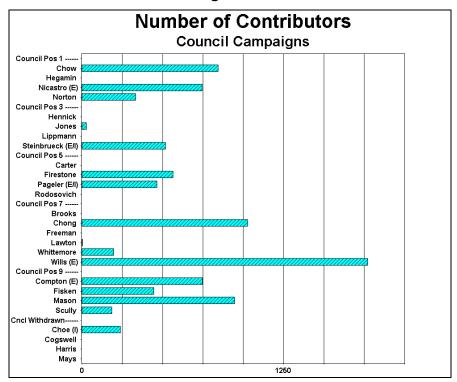


Figure 11

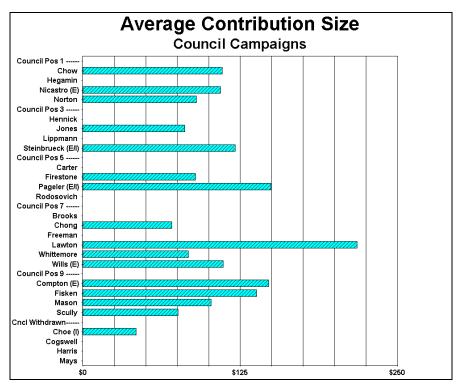


Figure 12

B. Size Of Contributions

The following pie charts graphically report the size of in-kind and monetary contributions received. These charts include candidate contributions to their own campaigns, transfers from a previous campaign, anonymous contributions, loans and miscellaneous receipts such as receipts from a low-cost fundraiser and interest from a bank account. All of these categories are broken out separately on the charts. Loans from candidates to their own committees are categorized as candidate contributions, until repaid.

Almost half of the money raised by 1999 City campaigns came from contributions of \$400 or more, and only 13% came from contributions of less than \$100. See **Figure 13**. However, the story is very different when ballot issue campaigns are separated from Council campaigns. Ballot issue campaigns raised 90% of their funds from contributions of \$400 or more, whereas Council campaigns raised only 34% of their funds from contributors who gave the maximum permitted by law, \$400. This difference can be attributed in large part to the fact that ballot issue campaigns are not subject to a contribution limit. See **Figures 14 and 15**. On the small end of the scale, Council campaigns raised only 16% of their funds from contributions of less than \$100, and ballot issue campaigns raised even less, 3%, from small contributions.

Figures 16 thru 38 show marked differences in the size distribution of contributions among different campaigns.

Please note that these graphs are based on each campaign's dollar receipts, not the number of contributors.

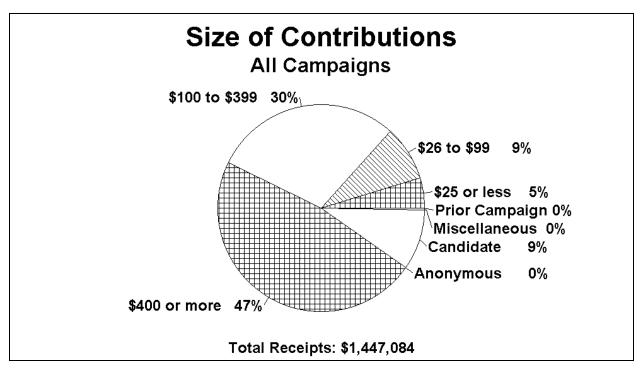


Figure 13

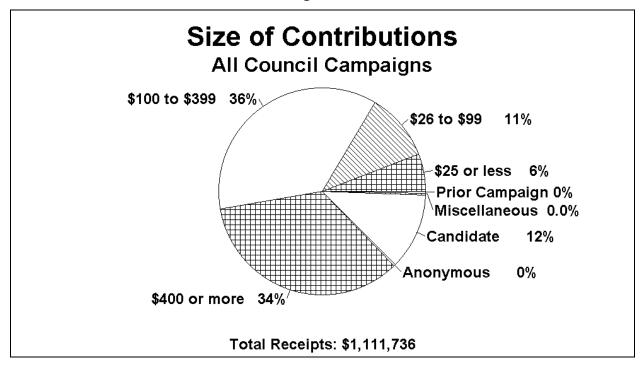


Figure 14

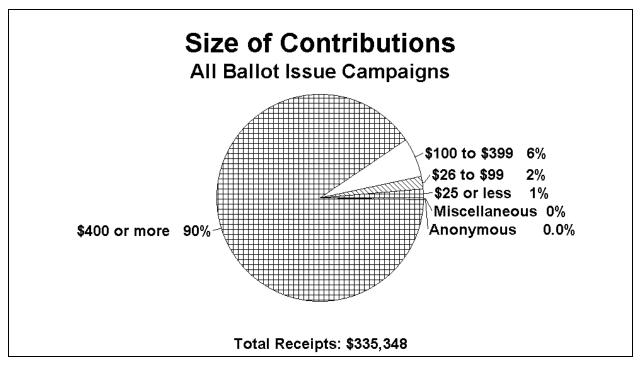


Figure 15

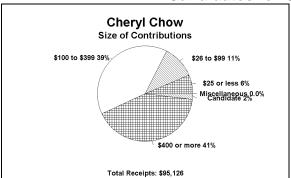


Figure 16

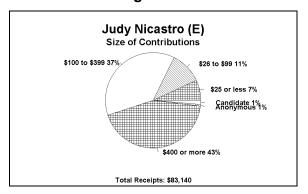


Figure 18

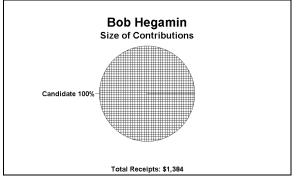


Figure 17

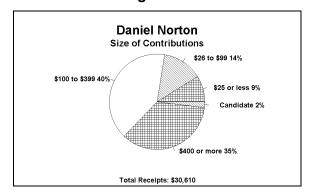
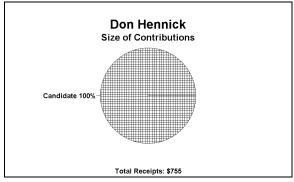


Figure 19



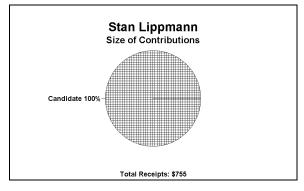
Lenora Jones
Size of Contributions
\$100 to \$399 16%
\$26 to \$99 10%
\$25 or less 8%

Candidate 26%

Total Receipts: \$3,063

Figure 20

Figure 21



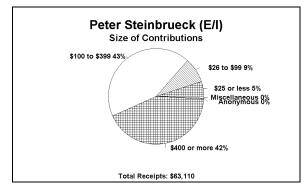
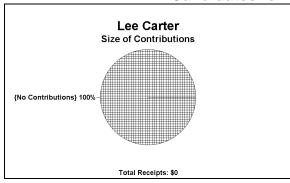


Figure 22

Figure 23



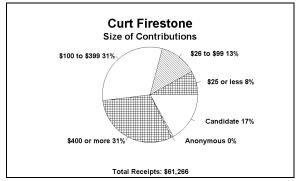
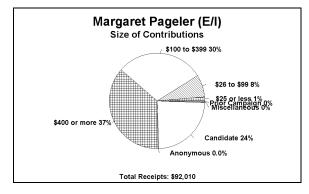


Figure 24

Figure 25



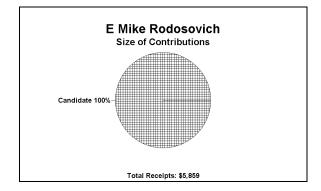
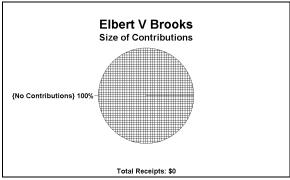


Figure 26

Figure 27



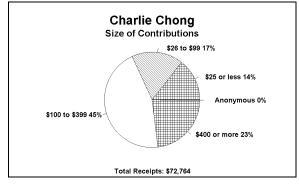
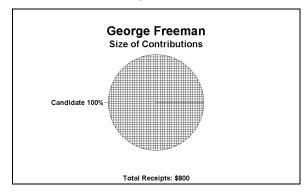


Figure 28

Figure 29



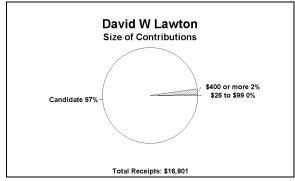
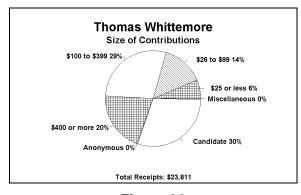


Figure 30

Figure 31



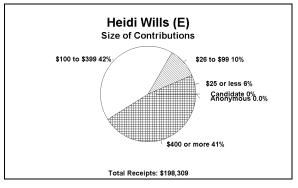
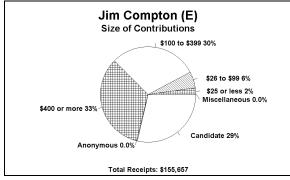


Figure 32

Figure 33





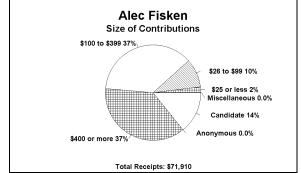
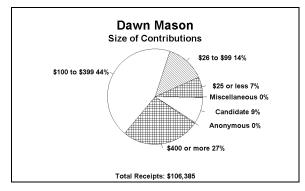


Figure 34

Figure 35



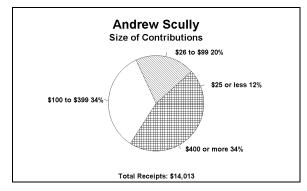


Figure 36

Figure 37

Ballot Issue Committees

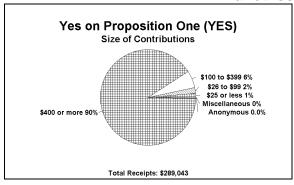


Figure 38

C. Area Of Contributors

The following pie charts report the areas that the contributors reported were the locations of their home or business addresses. The areas inside the City limits include Capitol Hill/Madrona, Queen Anne/Magnolia, Downtown, Greenlake/University District, West Seattle, Ballard/NW Seattle and Mt. Baker/Rainier Valley. The report also includes contributions from Outside of the City and "Area Unknown." Receipts from the following sources are broken out into their own categories: candidate contributions or loans to his or her own campaign, loans to ballot issues, miscellaneous receipts such as bank interest or receipts from a low cost fundraiser, transfers from a previous campaign, and anonymous contributions.

Over one-third of the funds raised by the 1999 City campaigns came from addresses in Downtown/Belltown (16%) or from outside the City (20%). Another 12% came from Queen Anne or Magnolia and 11% came from Capitol Hill or Madrona. Together, these four areas were the source of almost 60% of the contributions raised by all 1999 City campaigns. The remainder was somewhat evenly distributed among the broad regions we've identified, anywhere from 9% originating in Mt Baker or the Rainier Valley, to 3% from Ballard and the Northwest section of the City. See **Figure 39**.

There are marked differences in the regional distribution of Council campaigns and ballot issue campaigns. Ballot Issue committees received over 80% of their funds from Downtown/Belltown, Queen Anne/Magnolia, Capitol Hill/Madrona and from outside the City. Council campaigns received just over 50% of their contributions from these areas. See **Figures 40 and 41**.

Figures 42 through 64 show dramatic differences in the regional distribution of campaign funds for different campaigns.

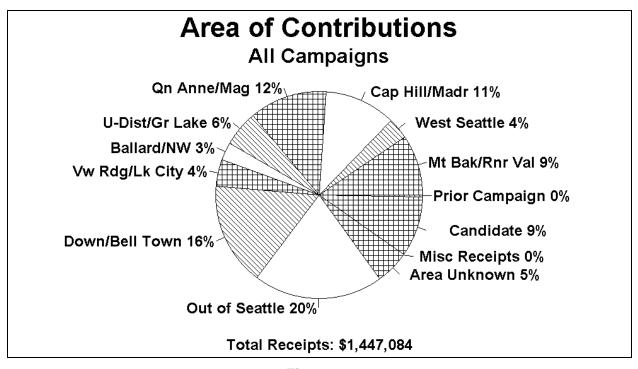


Figure 39

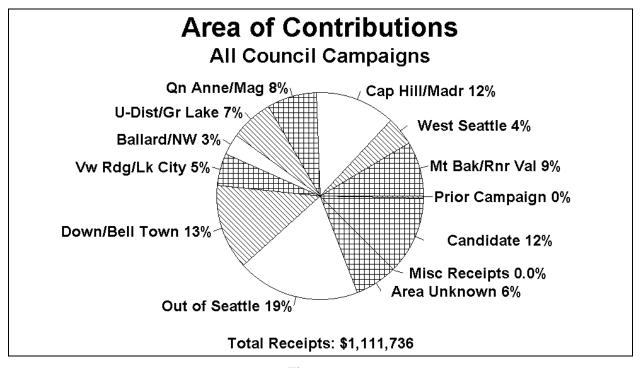


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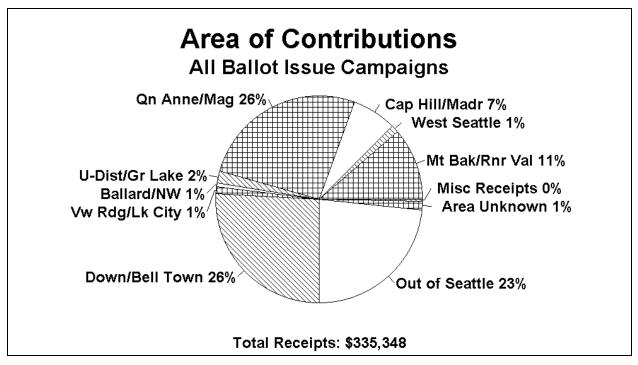


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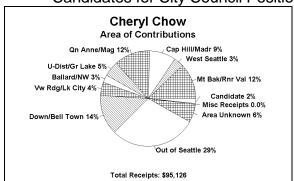


Figure 42

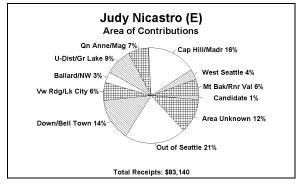


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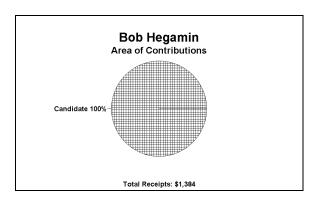


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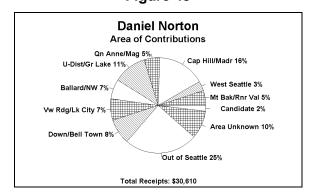


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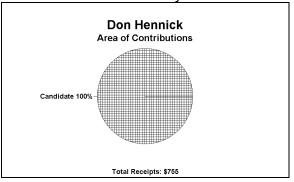


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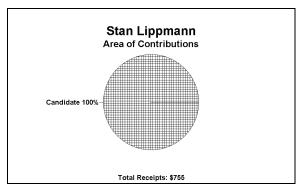


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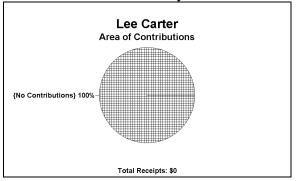


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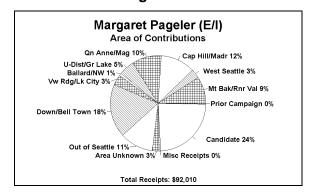


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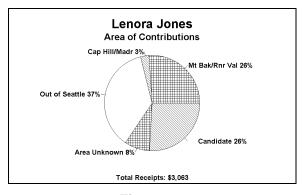


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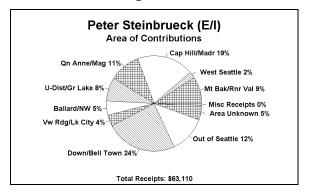


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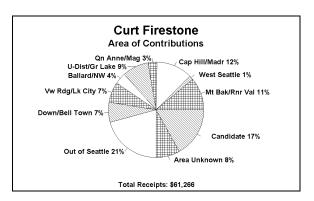


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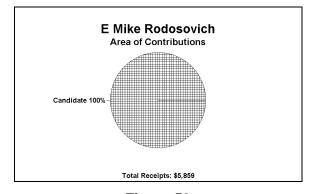


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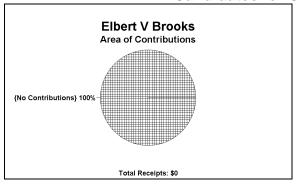


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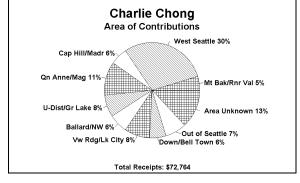


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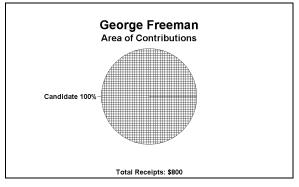


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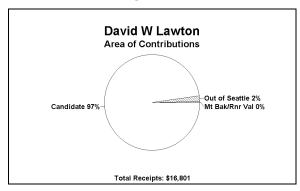


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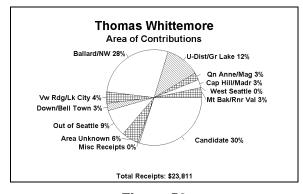


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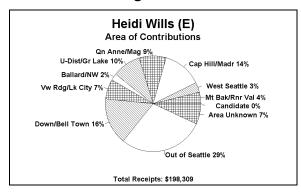


Figure 59



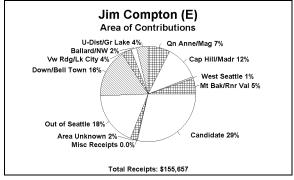


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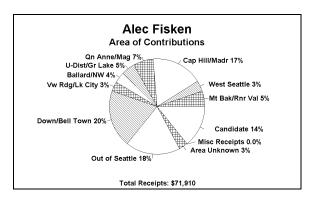
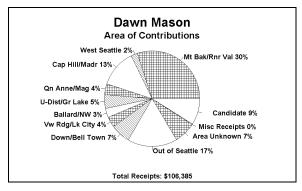


Figure 61



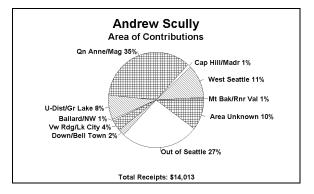


Figure 62

Figure 63

Ballot Issue Committees

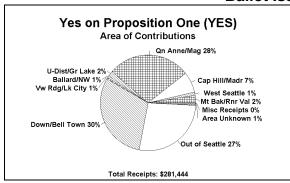


Figure 64

C. Type Of Contributors

The following pie charts graphically report the type of contributors that gave to the 1999 City campaigns. The graphs include categories for individual contributors, PACs (Continuing Political Committees), businesses, organizations not required to report as PACs, candidates, miscellaneous receipts, and uncoded contributors. The latter category, uncoded contributors, includes most contributors of less than \$100.00, as well as all anonymous contributions. These contributors are not coded because coding of such small contributions would be too time-consuming. A random sample of 400 contributors of between \$25.01 and \$99.99 was coded, however, and over 99% of the contribution amount in that sample was from individual contributors. It is likely that almost all of the uncoded contributions are from individuals.

More than two-thirds of all contributions to 1999 City campaigns came from individual contributors. **Figure 65** shows this, with 53% of total contributions received from coded individuals and likely another 15% from individuals who were not coded. Businesses were the second largest category, with 13%, followed by candidates at 9% and organizations at 7%. Only 3% of contributions were from PACs.

The overall numbers, however, mask significant differences between Council campaigns and ballot issue campaigns. Council campaigns received 75% of their funds from individual contributors whereas ballot issue campaigns received only 40% from individuals. Ballot issue committees received well over 50% of their funds from businesses and organizations whereas Council campaigns received only 8% from these sources. See **Figures 66 and 67**. The individual campaign pie charts in **Figures 68 thru 90** show noticeable differences in the sources of funds for each campaign.

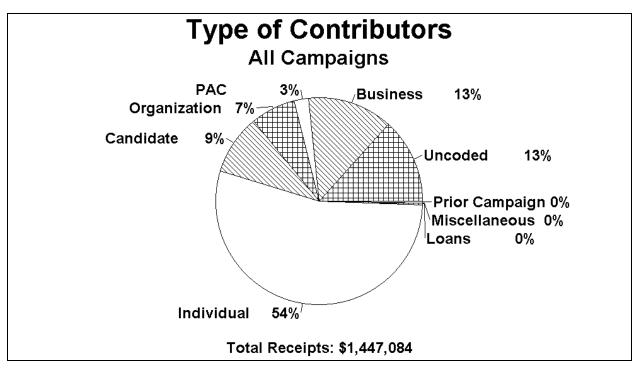


Figure 65

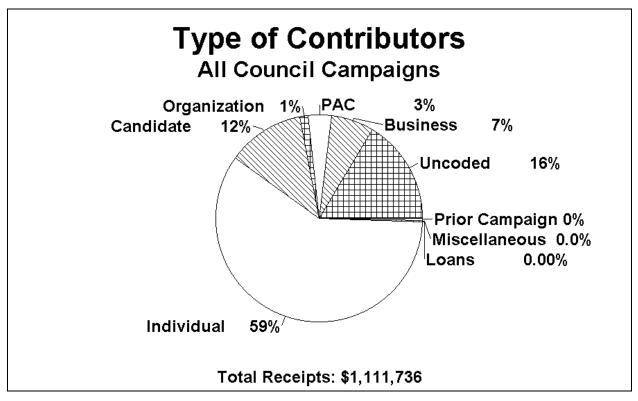


Figure 66

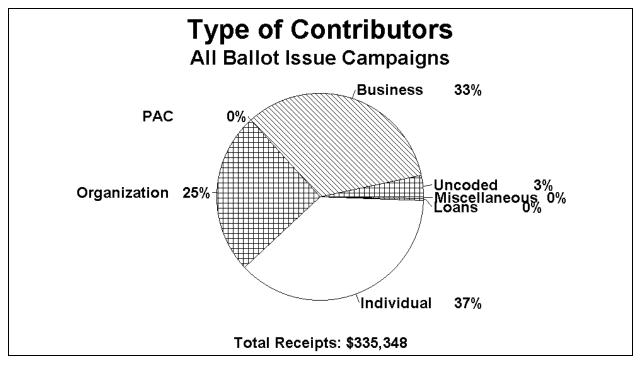


Figure 67

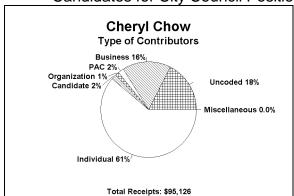


Figure 68

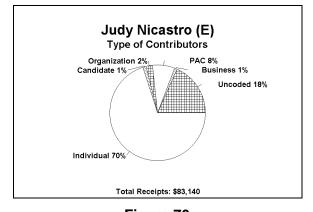


Figure 70

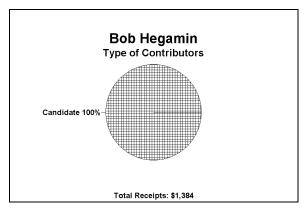


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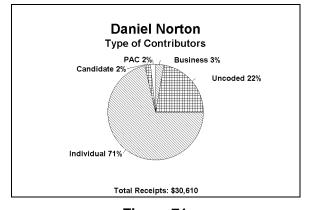


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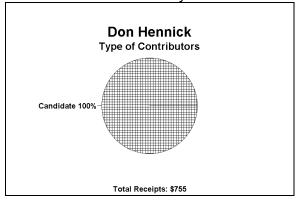


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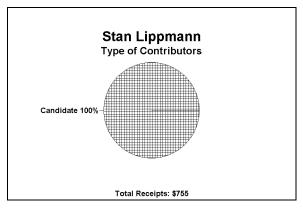


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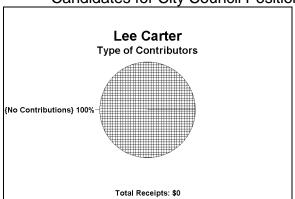


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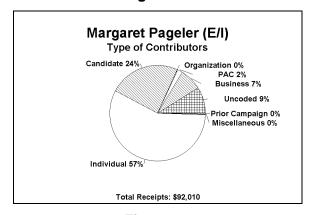


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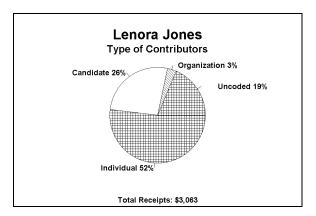


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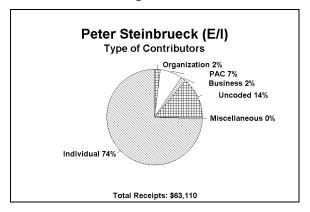


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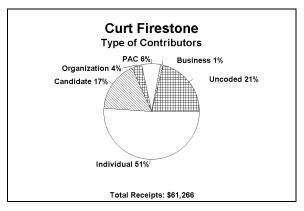


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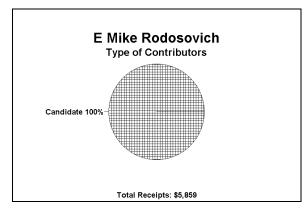


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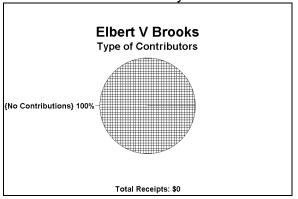


Figure 80

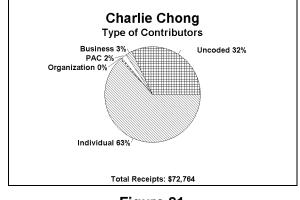


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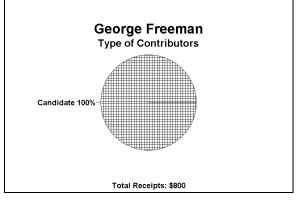


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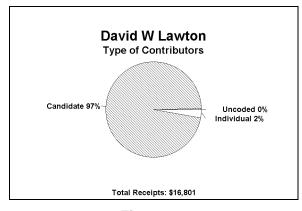


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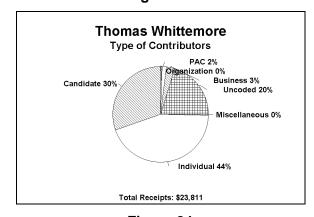


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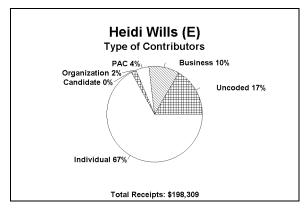


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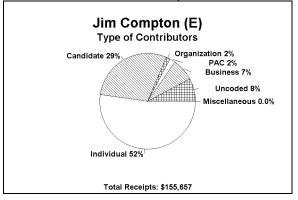


Figure 86

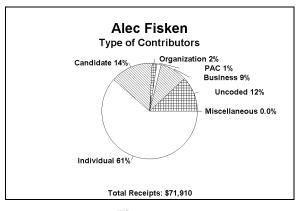
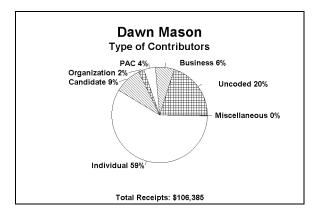


Figure 87



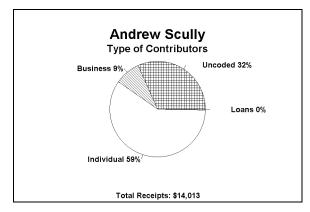


Figure 88

Figure 89

Ballot Issue Committees

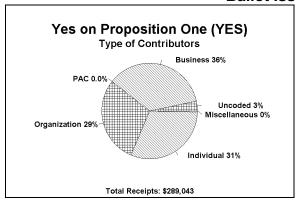


Figure 90

IV. 1999 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES

A. Total Expenditures

Tables 5, 6 and 7 below, report the total expenditures for all 1999 City campaigns. **Figures 91 thru 94** portray this information graphically.

| Council Position 1 | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| | |
| Bob Hegamin | \$ 1,384 |
| Cheryl Chow | \$ 95,126 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | \$ 83,152 |
| Daniel Norton | \$ 30,620 |
| | |
| All Candidates | \$ 210,282 |

| Council Position 3 | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| | |
| Lenora Jones | \$ 3,193 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | \$ 61,971 |
| Stan Lippmann | \$ 755 |
| Don Hennick | \$ 755 |
| All Candidates | \$ 66,674 |

| Council Position 5 | |
|------------------------|---------------|
| | |
| Lee Carter | \$ 823 |
| E. Mike Rodosovich | \$ 5,859 |
| Curt Firestone | \$ 61,266 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | \$ 92,010 |
| | |
| All Candidates | \$ 159,957 |

| Council Position 7 | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| | |
| George Freeman | \$ 1,120 |
| Charlie Chong | \$ 72,809 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | \$ 198,309 |
| Elbert V. Brooks | \$ - |
| Thomas Whittemore | \$ 23,582 |
| David W. Lawton | \$ 16,801 |
| | |
| All Candidates | \$ 312,621 |

| Council Position 9 | | |
|--------------------|----------|---------|
| Down Mosen | c | 106 205 |
| Dawn Mason | \$ | 106,385 |
| Andrew Scully | \$ | 14,413 |
| Jim Compton (E) | \$ | 155,657 |
| Alec Fisken | \$ | 71,911 |
| All Candidates | \$ | 348,366 |

Table 5

Ballot Issue Committees

| Prop 1 – SeaCtr/CommCtr Levy (Passed) | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|--|
| Yes on Prop 1 | \$289,043 | |
| All Committees | \$289,043 | |

Table 6

Candidates who did not appear on the ballot.
Ballot Issue committees whose ballot issue did not appear on the ballot.

| Council Candidates | | | | |
|--|----|----|-------------------------|--|
| Martha C Choe Grant Cogswell Sherry Harris Douglas Mays | | \$ | 13,902 - 362 - | |
| All Candidates | \$ | 14 | 1,264 | |

| Ballot Issue Committees | |
|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Save the Police & Parks (No on 45) | \$ 683 |
| Back to Basics (Yes on 45) | \$ 26,208 |
| Free Speech Seattle (Yes on 46) | \$ 6,028 |
| Neighborhoods 1st! (Yes on 48) | \$ 10,371 |
| All Committees | \$ 43,290 |

Table 7

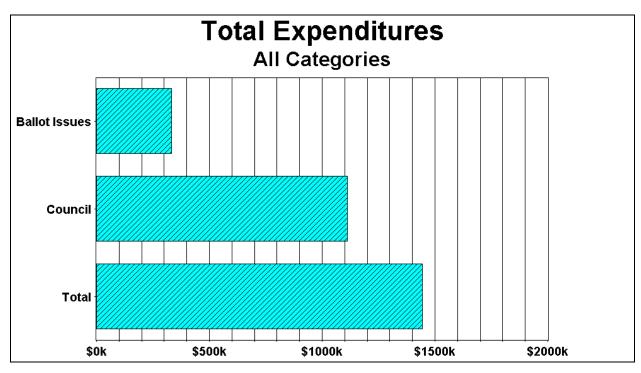


Figure 91

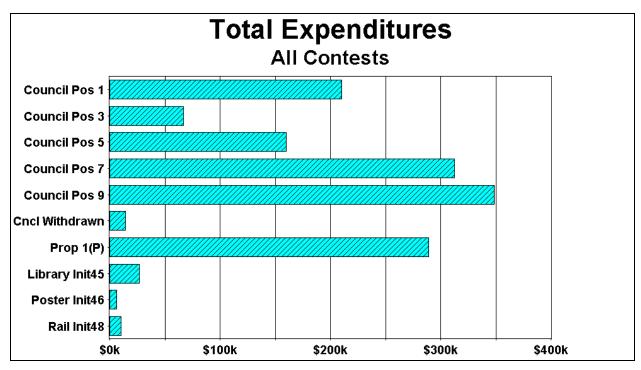


Figure 92

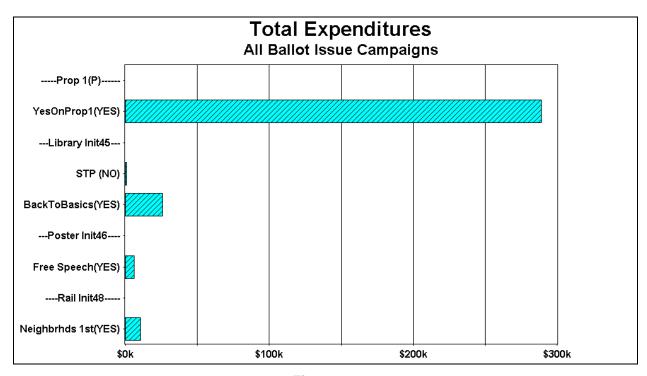


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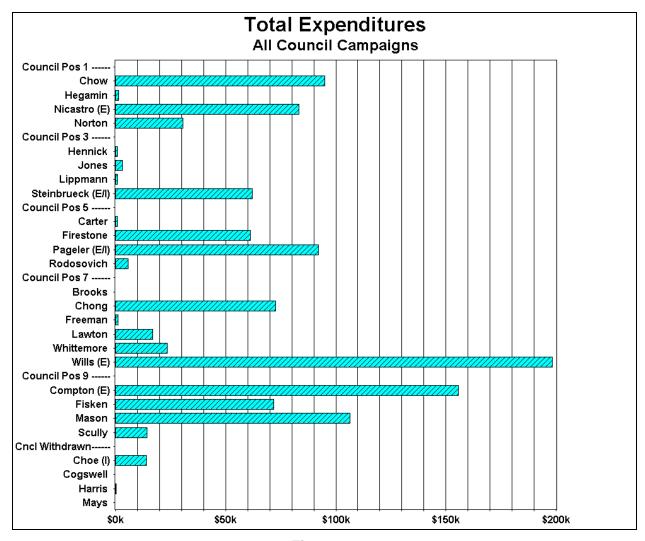


Figure 94

B. Types Of Expenditures

Each campaign itemized and described all expenditures over \$50. Commission staff then reviewed the descriptions provided by the campaigns and coded each expenditure into the following categories:

- Fundraising: Solicitation mailings, printing, postage, event costs and fundraising consulting
- Lit & Mail: Promotional literature, design, postage, printing, copying, lists, labels and consulting
- TV & Radio: Broadcast advertising production, time buys and consultants
- Staff/Consult: Staff wages, payroll taxes and general consulting fees
- ♦ Operations: Rent, office supplies, food, travel, phone, research, computer, office equipment
- Newspaper Ads: Ad design and buys
- Other Ads: Yard signs, internet, bus signs, t-shirts, bumper stickers, phone banks
- ♦ Uncodable: Unitemized or insufficient information available to code appropriately
- Miscellaneous: Signature gathering, contributions to charities and other committees, transfers to new committee, fines & penalties

1999 City campaigns spent two-thirds of their funds on some form of voter contact. The most popular form of advertising was direct mail, which accounted for 50% of all expenditures. Radio and television advertising was a distant second, accounting for 7% of all expenditures. Staff & Consultants accounted for 17% and General Operations accounted for 9% of all expenditures. See **Figure 95**.

There were no dramatic differences in the overall voter contact spending of Council campaigns and ballot issue campaigns. Council campaigns spent slightly more on voter contact, 66%, ballot issue campaigns spent 55% of their funds on voter contact. There were sharp differences, however, in how voter contact spending was allocated. Council campaigns overwhelmingly used direct mail to get their message out, accounting for 56% of their expenditures. By contrast, ballot issue campaigns split their funding somewhat equally between direct mail and radio/television advertising, with 27% spent on literature and mail, and 22% spent on television and radio advertising. See **Figures 96 and 97**.

Interestingly, Council campaigns spent a far bigger proportion of their funds on fundraising activity than did ballot issue campaigns, 6% as opposed to 1%. Ballot issue campaigns received only 3% of their funds from contributions of less than \$100, whereas Council campaigns received 17% of their funding from this source. See **Figures 14, 15, 96 and 97**.

Figures 98 thru 120 show some differences in how 1999 City campaigns allocated their funds. Some larger campaigns spent 80% or more of their funds on voter contact while others spent 60% or less for this purpose.

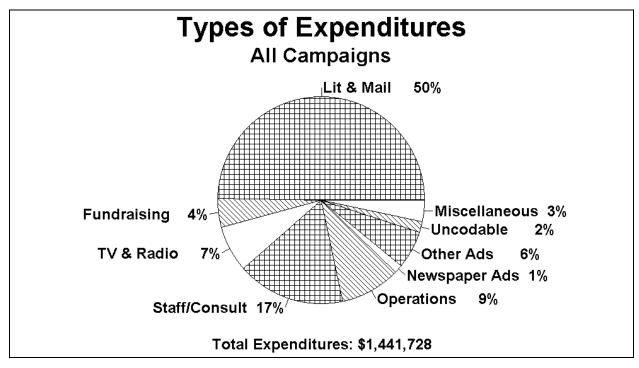


Figure 95

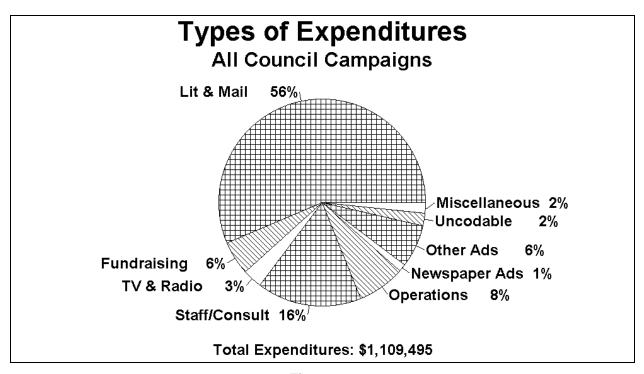


Figure 96

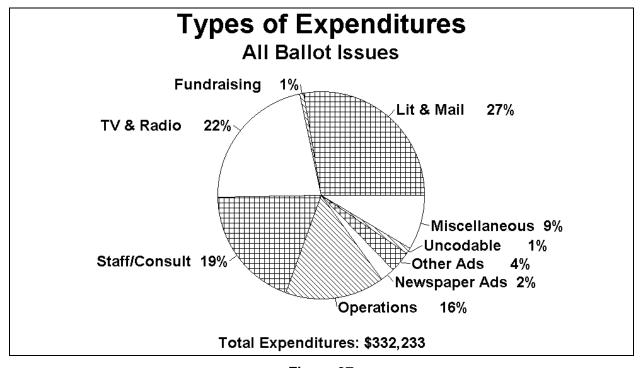
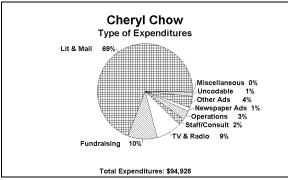


Figure 97

Candidates for City Council Position 1



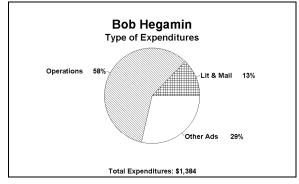
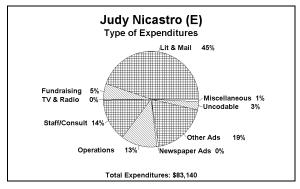


Figure 98

Figure 99



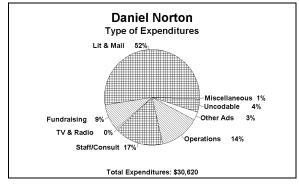
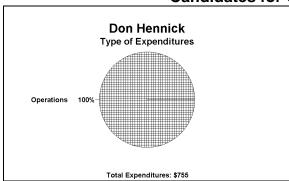


Figure 100

Figure 101

Candidates for City Council Position 3



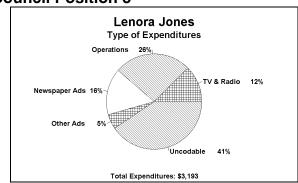
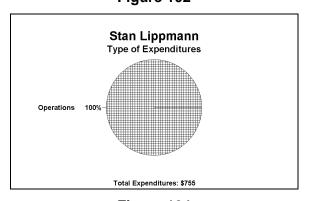


Figure 102

Figure 103



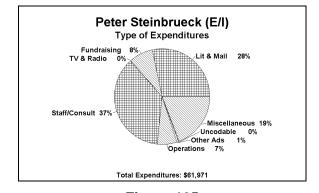
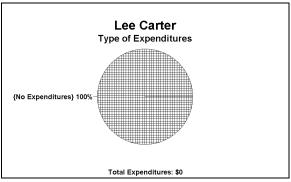


Figure 104

Figure 105

Candidates for City Council Position 5



Curt Firestone
Type of Expenditures

Lit & Mail 57%

Uncodable 1%

Fundraising 3%
TV & Radio 0%

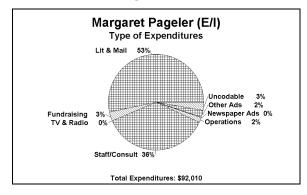
Staff/Consult 17%

Operations 4%

Total Expenditures: \$61,266

Figure 106

Figure 107



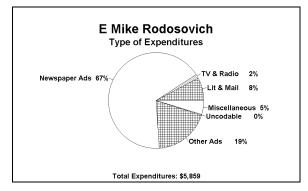
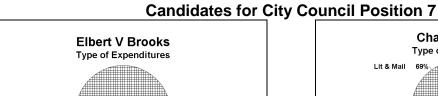


Figure 108

Figure 109



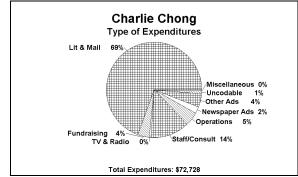
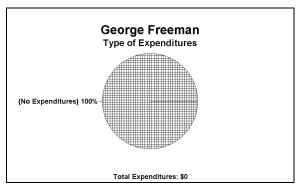


Figure 110

{No Expenditures} 100%

Figure 111



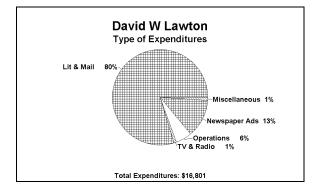


Figure 112

Figure 113

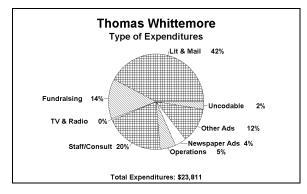


Figure 114

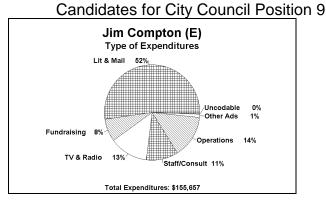


Figure 116

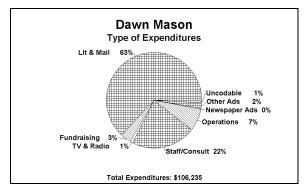


Figure 118

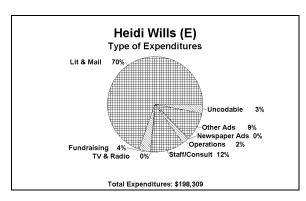


Figure 115

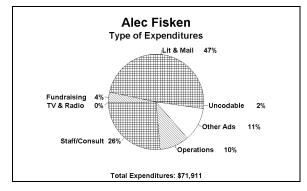


Figure 117

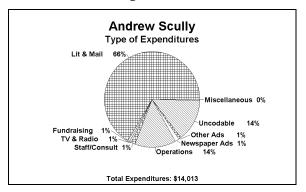


Figure 119

Ballot Issue Committees

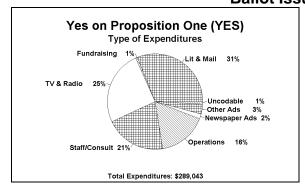


Figure 120

V. YEAR TO YEAR TRENDS

A. Total Contributions Received, Averaged By Council Position

The following graph compares the average amount of money raised by Council campaigns over the last four regular election cycles. The amounts used in the graph are calculated by dividing the total contributions raised by all Council campaigns by the number of positions appearing on the ballot that year. This calculation is necessary because in 1993 four Council positions were on the ballot, whereas five positions were on the ballot in the other years.

Fundraising for Council positions increased dramatically in 1999, continuing an upward trend. On average, over \$219,000 was raised by all candidates for each position on the 1999 ballot, a roughly 20% increase from 1997 (\$176,000) and 1995 (\$179,000). This amount is more than double the 1993 level of \$104,000. We have not seen a straight line increase over the past four cycles, total funds raised in 1997 were actually somewhat less than in 1995. This may be attributable to the impact of Mayoral campaign fundraising competing with Council fundraising in both 1993 and 1997. See **Figure 121**.

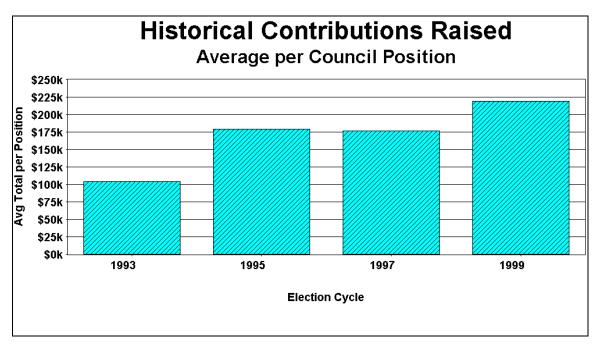


Figure 121

B. Average Contribution To Council Campaigns and Number of Contributors

There was an alarming increase in the average contribution size to the 1999 City Council candidates. Campaigns are relying less and less on small contributions to fund their campaigns. The average contribution size for the 1999 Council campaign is a little over \$107, an increase of 14% over the 1997 average of \$94, well in excess of inflation. At the same time that total contributions increased, the number of contributors to 1999 Council campaigns declined 3% from 1997 levels, from 9,382 to 9,060. See **Figures 122 and 123**.

Please note that averages for 1993 were calculated without using the number of contributors of \$25 or less in the equation. As a result, the 1993 calculation is higher than the calculation for 1995-1999, in which contributors of less than \$25 were included.

It is hard to discern a trend in the average contribution size to ballot issue campaigns. Because there are no contribution limits for ballot issues, this figure can be dramatically affected by "outlier"

data. For example, the average contribution size in 1998 was roughly three times the similar figure for 1995, 1997 and 1999. This was due, in large part, to the fact that the 1998 pro-library levy campaign received over 40% of its contributions from one large contributor. See **Figure 124**.

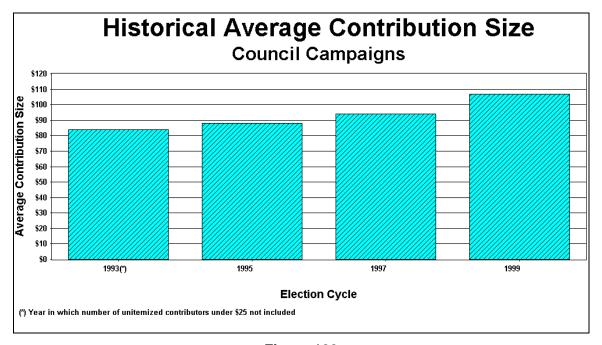


Figure 122

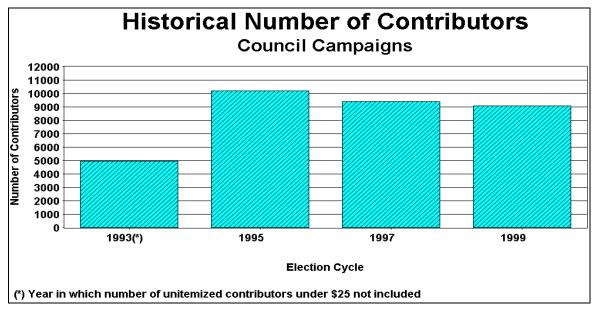


Figure 123

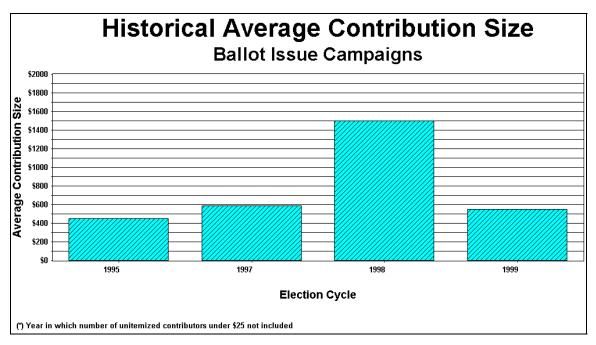


Figure 124

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION SIZE To Council Candidates

| 1993 | \$84 |
|------|-------|
| 1995 | \$85 |
| 1997 | \$94 |
| 1999 | \$107 |

Table 8

NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS

To Council Candidates

| 1993 | 4,946 |
|------|--------|
| 1995 | 10,183 |
| 1997 | 9,382 |
| 1999 | 9,060 |

Table 9

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION SIZE
To Ballot Issue Committees

| 1995 | \$452 |
|------|---------|
| 1997 | \$590 |
| 1998 | \$1,563 |
| 1999 | \$550 |

Table 10

C. The Impact of Public Financing

Seattle's experience with partial public financing in the 1970's and 80's demonstrates two things: 1) the use of such financing results in broader participation in political campaigns, more people contribute to campaigns in this environment, and 2) the use of such financing encourages campaigns to rely more on small contributions as a source of funding. With one exception, the following charts and tables clearly show two trends in years when partial public financing was in place: 1) the average number of contributors to each campaign was much higher, and 2) the average contribution size was much lower.

There was one exception to the trend, the average number of contributors to 1987 Council campaigns was lower than years in which there was no public financing. The author of the study on which this data is based attributed this to a methodological issue. The author claims that several important campaigns were left out of the results because they started late and were thus not included in the category of "closely contested City Council races" in 1987.

In three election cycles, 1979, 1981 and 1987, City Council candidates who agreed to cap their expenditures received matching funds from the City, dollar for dollar up to \$50 for each individual campaign contributor. The matching program was also in place in the 1989 and 1991 election cycles and applied to other City Offices such as Mayor and City Attorney. Unfortunately, no compiled data exists for these election cycles.

The 1975-1987 information in the following charts and tables was compiled by the former Seattle Elections Administrator, Allen Miller. The data presented are not for all City Council races, only the "highly contested City Council races." The trend is clear, during the years when Seattle had public financing: 1979, 1981 and 1987, the average contribution was lower than the previous and following years in which public financing was not in place and the average number of contributors was greater in 1979 and 1981.

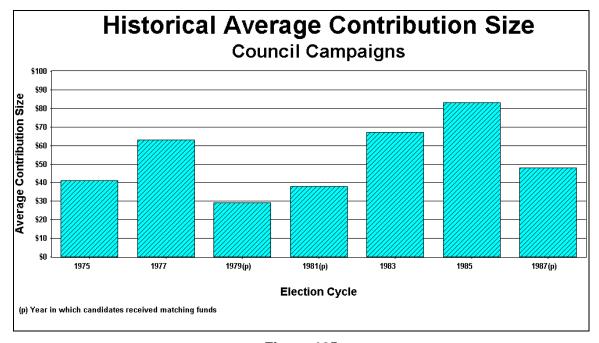


Figure 125

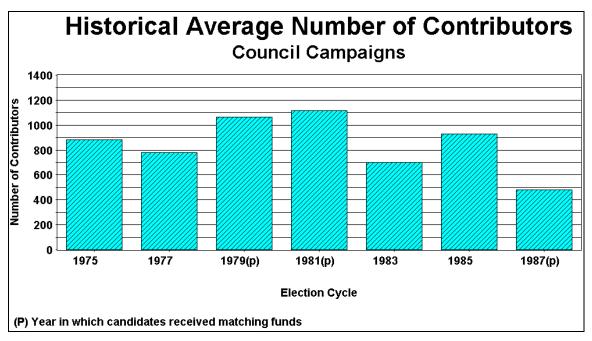


Figure 126

AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION SIZE

To Council Candidates

(public financing was in place during the bolded years)

| 1975 | \$41 |
|------|-------------|
| 1977 | \$63 |
| 1979 | \$29 |
| 1981 | \$38 |
| 1983 | \$67 |
| 1985 | \$83 |
| 1987 | \$48 |

Table 11

AVERAGE NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS

To Council Candidates

(public financing was in place during the bolded years)

| 1975 | 882 |
|------|------|
| 1977 | 778 |
| 1979 | 1063 |
| 1981 | 1114 |
| 1983 | 698 |
| 1985 | 929 |
| 1987 | 483 |

Table 12

The Seattle Elections Code currently imposes a \$400 limit on contributions to each candidate. Seattle no longer has expenditure limits, however. The United States Supreme Court ruled that

expenditure limits may not be imposed on candidates without giving them something in return. <u>See Buckley v Valeo</u>, 424 U.S. 1, 96 SCt 612, 46 L.Ed.2d 659 (1976). Prior to 1992, the Seattle Elections Code required expenditure limits of those City office candidates who accepted partial public financing. In November 1992, Washington voters passed Initiative 134, which prohibits the use of public funds for state or local elections. As a result, Seattle lost the authority to offer partial public financing of campaigns and with it the authority to impose expenditure limits.

VI. LISTS

Top 20 Contributors to all Candidates

The following is a list of the top 20 contributors to all Council candidates appearing on the 1999 ballot. The reported employers and occupations of individual contributors are also shown. Where the various campaigns have reported different employers or occupations, all reported employers and occupations are listed.

The list includes 7 labor PACs, 3 other PACs, 3 developers, 2 property management companies, 1 retiree, 1 lobbyist, 1 policy consultant, 1 attorney and 1 horticulturalist.

| | Human Services & Housing Now PAC | |
|-------|----------------------------------|------|
| | Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| | Curt Firestone | 400 |
| | Alec Fisken | 400 |
| | Dawn Mason | 400 |
| | Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| | Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| | Thomas Whittemore | 400 |
| | Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | | 3200 |

| Martin J Durkan Martin J Durkan Ir Consultant/Lobby | nc |
|---|----------|
| Cheryl Ch | ow 400 |
| Jim Compton | (E) 400 |
| Alec Fish | ken 400 |
| Dawn Mas | son 400 |
| Judy Nicastro | (E) 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (I | E/I) 200 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (I | E/I) 400 |
| Heidi Wills | (E) 400 |
| Total | 3000 |

| Maryanne Tagney-Jones dba Tresaith Co. dba Maryanne Tagney-Jones Policy Consultant | |
|---|------|
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Daniel Norton | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2800 |

| Public Service & Industrial Work Local 1239 | rkers |
|---|-------|
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2800 |

| PTS | GE Preston Gates & Ellis PA | С |
|-------|-----------------------------|------|
| | Cheryl Chow | 350 |
| | Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| | Alec Fisken | 400 |
| | Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| | Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 350 |
| | Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| | Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | | 2700 |

| | Lennartz, Ann dba Ann Lennartz Horticulturalist | |
|-------|---|------|
| | Charlie Chong | 400 |
| | Curt Firestone | 400 |
| | Dawn Mason | 400 |
| | Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| | Daniel Norton | 400 |
| | Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Total | | 2400 |

| JAMPAC Joint Artists & Musicians PAC | |
|---|------|
| Charlie Chong | 400 |
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2400 |

| Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 77 PAC | |
|---|------|
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2400 |

| Seattle Firefighters Voluntary PAC | |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2400 |

| Int'l Federation of Professional & | |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Technical Engineers Local 17 PAC | |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2400 |

| B Gerald Johnson Preston Gates & Ellis Attorney | |
|---|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 250 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 200 |
| Total | 2050 |

| Kenneth Alhadeff Miken Prop./Elttaes Ent./Alhadeff Cos. Investor/Real Estate Management | |
|---|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| Matt Griffin Pine Street Development LLC Real Estate Development | |
|--|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| King Co Committee on Political Education (AFL-CIO) | |
|---|------|
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| Laborers & Hodcarriers Local 242 PAC | |
|--------------------------------------|------|
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| H Jon Runstad Wright Runstad & Co Real Estate Development | |
|---|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| The Vance Corporation | |
|-------------------------|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 2000 |

| Nitze-Stagen Co Inc | |
|------------------------|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 325 |
| Total | 1925 |

| Ancil H Payne Retired | |
|--------------------------|------|
| Jim Compton (E) | 400 |
| Alec Fisken | 400 |
| Judy Nicastro (E) | 400 |
| Daniel Norton | 100 |
| Margaret Pageler (E/I) | 400 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 200 |
| Total | 1900 |

| Plumbers & Pipefitters UA Local 32 | |
|------------------------------------|------|
| Cheryl Chow | 400 |
| Curt Firestone | 400 |
| Dawn Mason | 400 |
| Peter Steinbrueck (E/I) | 250 |
| Heidi Wills (E) | 400 |
| Total | 1850 |

Table 13

Top 20 Contributors to all Ballot Issues

The following is a list of the top 20 contributors to all ballot issue committees on the ballot in 1999. There was only one committee supporting or opposing a ballot issue on the ballot in 1999, so below is the list of the top 20 contributors to Yes on Prop 1, a committee in support of the Seattle Center/Community Center Levy.

| Seattle Center Foundation Pacific Northwest Ballet Seattle Opera Bank of America The Boeing Company | \$48,099 \$17,436 \$15,800 \$15,000 |
|---|--|
| Microsoft Gerald Hanauer Retired | \$10,000 \$10,000 |
| Washington Mutual Bank | \$7,500 |
| Encore Media Group | \$6,990 |
| Starbuck's Coffee Company | \$5,075 |
| Herman Sarkowsky dba Herman Sarkowsky, Investor Jack Benaroya | \$5,000 \$5,000 |
| dba Jack Benaroya, Investor Jeremy Jaech Visio Corporation, CEO | \$5,000 |
| Key Bank | \$5,000 |
| Wells Fargo & Co. | \$5,000 |
| Seattle Mariners Pistol Creek Financial Co. Craig McCaw Eagle River Inc, Telecom Exec LMN Architects AT&T Wireless Services | \$5,000 \$5,000 |
| | \$5,000 \$4,000 \$4,000 |
| | |

Table 14

Top 20 Employers of Contributors

The following is a list of the top 20 employers of contributors to 1999 Council campaigns and the aggregate amount their employees gave to these campaigns. Campaigns are required to report the employer and occupation of each person who contributes \$100 or more. The information provided on these reports was aggregated to create this table.

| State of Washington City of Seattle King County Microsoft Not Employed | \$23,311.66 \$23,040.00 \$15,572.00 \$15,225.00 \$11,637.34 |
|--|---|
| Preston Gates & Ellis LLP Federal Government APCO Associates Seattle School District Windermere Real Estate | \$6,975.00 \$4,305.00 \$4,275.00 \$4,055.00 \$4,028.75 |
| Foster Pepper & Shefelman PLLC The Boeing Company Martin J Durkan Inc Wright Runstad Pine Street Development LLC | \$3,866.35 \$3,490.00 \$3,400.00 \$3,375.00 \$3,300.00 |
| Alhadeff Companies/Miken Properties/Elttaes Enterprises Heller Ehrman White & Mcauliffe Ann Lennartz Argosy Cruises Uwajimaya Inc | \$2,800.00 \$2,619.85 \$2,400.00 \$2,400.00 \$2,325.00 |
| | |

Table 15

List of Contributors

The list of contributors is not available in the web version of this report. These lists are available elsewhere on the Commission web site at:

www2.ci.seattle.wa.us/ethics/searchlist/lists.asp

and:

www2.ci.seattle.wa.us/ethics/searchlist/searchlist.asp