# Seattle Ethics And Elections Commission



2003 Year-End Election Report

# 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.

#### The current members are:

Paul Dayton, *Chair* Catherine Walker, *Vice Chair* Mary Brucker J. Patrick Dobel Bruce Heller Mel Kang Michele Radosevich Commission appointee thru December 2003 Mayoral appointee thru December 2003 Council appointee thru December 2004 Council appointee thru December 2004 Council appointee thru December 2003 Mayoral appointee thru December 2005 Mayoral appointee thru December 2005

#### **Commission staff includes:**

Harley Anders Interim Executive Director, 684-8577 or 684-8578, <u>harley.anders@seattle.gov</u>

Robert B. DeWeese IT Professional, 684-8579, <u>bob.deweese@seattle.gov</u>

Polly Grow Strategic Advisor, 615-1248, <u>polly.grow@seattle.gov</u>

Mardie Holden Sr. Training & Education Coordinator, 684-0595 <u>mardie.holden@seattle.gov</u>

Katy Koivastik Administrative Specialist II/TES, 684-8576, <u>ethicsandelections@seattle.gov</u>

#### **Contacting the Commission:**

Address: 700 Fifth Avenue, Suite 4010 Seattle, Washington 98104-5051 Web:http://www.seattle.gov/ethics/ Phone: (206) 684-8500 Fax #: (206) 684-8590 City Mail Stop: KT-40-10 e-mail: <u>ethicsandelections@seattle.gov</u>

# LETTER FROM THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Citizens of Seattle December 22, 2003

Re: Report of Contributions and Expenditures In The 2003 City Election

Dear Citizen:

The attached report is published by the City of Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission, in compliance with the Seattle Municipal Code 2.04.060(H), to give you information about the financing of the 2003 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 reports filed from the beginning of the campaign through December 10, 2003.

Five City Council positions were on the ballot in 2003. Council positions 1, 5, 7 and 9 appeared on the September Primary ballot along with two Ballot Issues: Initiative 75, concerning the enforcement and prosecution of certain marijuana offenses; and Initiative 77, a proposal to fund childcare and early learning through an espresso beverage tax. Because only two candidates filed to run for Council Position 3, there was no need for a run-off election in September.

The candidates for Council Position 3 appeared only on the November ballot. Also on the November ballot were the top two vote getters in the races for Council positions 1, 5, 7 and 9 along with two ballot issues: Proposition 1, a levy for fire stations and other emergency response facilities; and Proposed Charter Amendment 5, concerning the method of electing Seattle's nine-member city council.

The data discloses four trends of note:

- Contribution limit increased by \$250 (62.5%) since 1999 when incumbents last ran. The average contribution increased by 29% from \$107 in 1999 to \$138 in 2003.
- Candidates and ballot issues raised a total of \$2,587,872, \$1.8 million for Council races. It's interesting to note that contributions to Council candidates dropped to \$622,362 in 2001. Taking into account the increase in the contribution limit from \$600 in 2001 to \$650 in 203 does not explain a threefold increase in contributions. It may be that contributors were more focused on the Executive (Mayoral and City Attorney) races in 2001. More than 9,500 contributors in 2001 contributed more than \$1.9 million to the Executive races. A review of the contributions to 1999 Council races shows that candidates raised \$1.1 million from 9,060 contributors in that year, even though the contribution limit was only \$400.
- From 2001 to 2003, the number of contributors to Council races doubled to 11,064 contributors. This is a significant change after four cycles of steady decline. The number of contributors to Council races went from a high of 10,183 in 1995 to a low of 5,122 people in 2001.
- More challengers raising more money early on. In the Spring of 2003, we noticed that a significant number of challengers had begun filing campaign disclosure reports. We compared what incumbents and challengers had raised in the previous two election cycles to the 2003 cycle. Even taking into consideration that there were three open seats on the 1999 ballot compared to no open seats in 2001 and 2003, the numbers showed a dramatic step up in the fundraising efforts. The chart below shows the shift to early fundraising. (See Chart next page).



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. The 2003 Year-End Election Report can be found at:

#### http://www.seattle.gov/elections

The 2003 campaigns are not required to file final reports until May 10, 2004. Therefore, we will issue a 2003 Final Election Report in June 2004.

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 harley.anders@seattle.gov, or come into the office in the Key Tower at 700 Fifth Avenue, Suite 4010, Seattle, 98104-5051. We welcome your interest.

Sincerely, Harley Anders, Executive Director

Report prepared by: Polly Grow Campaign Finance Auditor

Data compiled by: Robert B. DeWeese, IT Professional

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABOL	JT THE SEATTLE ETHICS AND ELECTIONS COMMISSION	i
Letter	r from the Executive Director	ii
Table	of Contents	iv
I. II	NTRODUCTION	1
II. 2	2001 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE VOTE RETURNS	2
Α.	Primary Election Vote Returns, September 18, 2001	2
В.	General Election Vote Returns, November 6, 2001	3
III.	2001 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS	4
Α.	Total Contributions	4
В.	Candidates and Ballot Issues Not on Ballot	5
C.	Size Of Contributions	13
D.	Size of Contributions by Number of Contributors	18
Ε.	Area Of Contributors	20
F.	Type Of Contributors	26
IV.	2001 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES	32
Α.	Total Expenditures	32
В.	Expenditures of Candidates who did not appear on the ballot	
C.	Expenditures of Ballot Issue Committees Not on the Ballot	33
D.	Types Of Expenditures	35
V. Y	EAR TO YEAR TRENDS	41
Α.	Total Contributions Received	41
В.	Average Contribution To Campaigns and Number of Contributors	42
C.	The Impact of Public Financing	46
VI.	INDEPENDENT EXPENDITURES	48
VII.	LISTS	50
Α.	Top 20 Contributors to all Candidates	50
В.	Top 20 Contributors to all Ballot Issues	52
C.	Top 20 Employers of Contributors	52
D.	Contributors of \$100 Or More To 2001 City Candidate Committees	53

# 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 December 10, 2003.

This report does not contain graphs for candidates or ballot issues whose disclosable activity was less than \$1,000.

Throughout this report, 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 names of Ballot Issues may be followed by "Passed"/"P" or "Failed"/"F". The following is a list of 2003 City primary election and general election (in bold) candidates and ballot issues:

Cou	Incil Position 1 David Ferguson Jean Godden (E) Kollin Min Judy Nicastro (I) Robert Rosencrantz	Council Position 7 Jim Compton (E/I) Susan Harmon Bob Hegamin John Manning	
	Art Skolnik Darryl Smith	Council Position 9 Ángel Bolaños David Della (E)	
Cou	incil Position 3 Zander Batchelder Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	Heidi Wills (I) Christal Wood	
Co	uncil Position 5 Linda Averill Dick Falkenbury Margaret Pageler (I) Tom Rasmussen (E) Mike Thompson Thomas Wade		
Primary	Initiative No. 75 Marijuana Priority (Pro) Sensible Seattle		Passed
Primary	Initiative No. 77 Early Childhood Ca (Yes) Early Learning and Care Camp (No) Joined to Oppose the Latte Tax	aign Committee (ELCCC)	Failed
General	<b>Proposition No. 1 Fire and Emerger</b> (Yes) Seattle Fire & Emergency Resp		Passed
General	Proposed Charter Amend. No. 5 Ele(Yes) Seattle Districts Now(No) Neighbors Against Gerrymande(No) One Seattle		Failed

#### II. 2003 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE VOTE RETURNS

Compiled from reports by King County Records and Elections (http://www.metrokc.gov/elections/)

#### A. Primary Election Vote Returns, September 16, 2003

Ballots Cast/Registered Precincts Counted/Tota		128249 1006/10	/358957 006		
<b>Council Pos. No. 1</b> David Ferguson Art Skolnik Jean Godden Robert Rosencrantz Kollin K. Min Judy Nicastro	4,567 8,049 20,317 20,142 19,477 28,958	3.97% 6.99% 17.65% 17.50% 16.92% 25.16%	<b>Council Pos. No. 7</b> Christal Wood Bob Hegamin David J. Della Heidi Wills Total Votes Cast	12,804 11,996 37,180 47,985 109,965	11.64% 10.91% 33.81% 43.64%
Darryl Smith Total Votes Cast <b>Council Pos. No. 3</b> Not on Primary Ballot	13,607 115,117	11.82%	<b>Council Pos. No. 9</b> John E. Manning Angel Bolanos Jim Compton Susan Harmon	26,786 17,449 43,094 20,750	24.78% 16.14% 39.87% 19.20%
<b>Council Pos. No. 5</b> Linda Averill Mike Thompson Thomas L. Wade Tom Rasmussen Margaret Pageler Dick Falkenbury	11,142 6,675 2,806 27,876 42,363 19,000	10.14% 6.08% 2.55% 25.37% 38.56% 17.29%	Total Votes Cast Initiative No. 75 Mariju Yes No Total Votes Cast	108,079 <b>ana Offenses</b> 71,911 52,538 124,449	57.78% 42.22%
Total Votes Cast	109,862		<b>Initiative No. 77 Espres</b> Yes No Total Votes Cast	<b>550 Tax</b> 39,127 86,390 125,517	31.17% 68.83%

#### B. General Election Vote Returns, November 4, 2003

Ballots Cast/Registered Voters: 132513/362270 Precincts Counted/Total Precincts: 1006/1006

<b>Council Pos. No. 1</b> Judy Nicastro Jean Godden Write-In	58,253 63,867 666	47.70% 52.30% 0.55%	<b>Council Pos. No. 5</b> Margaret Pageler Tom Rasmussen Write-In	57,997 62,383 300	48.18% 51.82% 0.25%
Total Votes Cast	122,786		Total Votes Cast	120,680	
Council Pos. No. 3 Peter Steinbrueck Zander Batchelder	97,653 20,725	82.49% 17.51%	<b>Council Pos. No. 7</b> Heidi Wills David J. Della	55,620 65.324	45.99% 54.01%
Write-In	380	0.32%	Write-In	256	0.21%

# General Election Vote Returns, November 4, 2003 (Continued)

Council Pos. No. 9 Jim Compton	63,501	55.90%	Proposed Charter Amered Election of Council	nd. No. 5	
John E. Manning	50,093	44.10%	Yes	58,166	46.25%
Write-In	1,946	1.71%	No	67,605	53.75%
Total Votes Cast	115,540		Total Votes Cast	125,771	
Proposition No. 1 Fire and Emergency Levy	,				
LEVY, YES	87,458	68.85%			
LEVY, NO	39,571	31.15%			
Total Votes Cast	127.029				

#### **III. 2003 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS**

#### A. Total Contributions for Candidates and Committees on Ballot

**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		Anon. &	Individ	luals & Gro	oups
	Contributions	Candidate	Misc.	Amount	Number	Average
Council Position 1						
		• -	•	• -	_	• -
David Ferguson	\$266	\$0	\$266	\$0	0	\$0
Jean Godden (E)	\$153,762	\$60,100	\$185	\$93,477	603	\$155
Kollin Min	\$135,162	\$17,545	\$0	\$117,617	789	\$149
Judy Nicastro (I)	\$170,456	\$1,158	\$702	\$168,596	1,167	\$144
Robert Rosencrantz	\$124,195	\$7,603	\$0	\$116,593	897	\$130
Art Skolnik	\$0 \$10.455	\$0	\$0	\$0 \$00.074	0	\$0
Darryl Smith	\$43,155	\$3,880	\$0	\$39,274	328	\$120
All Committees	\$626,995	\$90,286	\$1,153	\$535,557	3,784	\$142
Council Position 3						
Zander Batchelder	\$1,337	\$1,037	\$0	\$300	1	\$300
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	\$133,756	\$0 \$0	\$12,377	\$121,379	903	\$300 \$134
	\$100,100	ψŬ	φ12,011	<i>Q121,010</i>	000	φισι
All Committees	\$135,094	\$1,037	\$12,377	\$121,679	904	\$135
Council Position 5						
Linda Averill	\$14,814	\$0	\$936	\$13,878	355	\$39
Dick Falkenbury	\$11,478	\$75	\$1	\$11,402	107	\$107
Margaret Pageler (I)	\$223,766	\$29,461	\$185	\$194,120	934	\$208
Tom Rasmussen (E)	\$209,168	\$84,405	\$249	\$124,515	905	\$138
Mike Thompson	\$11,051	\$10,276	\$17	\$757	6	\$126
Thomas Wade	\$988	\$988	\$0	\$0	0	\$0
All Committees	\$471,265	\$125,205	\$1,388	\$344,671	2,307	\$149
Council Position 7						
David Della (E)	\$156,985	\$22,500	\$0	\$134,485	950	\$142
Bob Hegamin	\$0	\$0	\$0 \$0	\$0	0	\$0
Heidi Wills (I)	\$258,118	\$9,691	\$5,637	\$242,789	2,060	\$118
Christal Wood	\$0	\$0,001	\$0	\$0	0	\$0
All Committees	\$415,103	\$32,191	\$5,637	\$377,274	3,010	\$125
		(continued	)			

# A. Total Contributions (continued)

	Total		Anon. &	Individ	uals & Gro	oups
	Contributions	Candidate	Misc.	Amount	Number	Average
Council Position 9						
Ángel Bolaños	\$17,035	\$1,455	\$383	\$15,196	206	\$74
Jim Compton (E/I)	\$111,903	\$125	\$10	\$111,768	686	\$163
Susan Harmon	\$1,871	\$0	\$0	\$1,871	43	\$44
John Manning	\$18,401	\$0	\$0	\$18,401	124	\$148
All Committees	\$149,210	\$1,580	\$394	\$147,236	1,059	\$139
		Table 1				

	Total	Anon. &	Individ	uals & G	roups
	Contributions	Misc.	Amount	Num.	Average
Charter Amendment 5 - Council Districts - Failed					
Seattle Districts Now (YES)	\$105,793	\$500	\$105,293	431	\$244
Neighbors Against Gerrymandering (NO)	\$105	\$0	\$105	2	\$52
One Seattle (NO)	\$56,250	\$0	\$56,250	52	\$1,082
All Committees	\$162,148	\$500	\$161,648	485	\$333
Initiative 75 - Marijuana Priority - Passed					
Sensible Seattle Coalition (YES)	\$154,390	\$0	\$154,390	347	\$445
Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Care Funding - Failed					
Early Learning and Care Campaign					
Committee (YES)	\$144,811	\$43	\$144,769	216	\$670
JOLT (NO)	\$172,007	\$0	\$172,007	160	\$1,075
All Committees	\$316,818	\$43	\$316,776	376	\$842
Proposition 1 - Fire Levy - Passed					
Seattle Fire & Emergency Response	•		•	_	•
Levy (YES)	\$156,850	\$0	\$156,850	62	\$2,530

#### Table 2

**Table 3** shows total receipts for each category.This table includes data from candidates and<br/>ballot issues that appeared on the 2003 ballot.

				Individuals & Groups		
	Total Receipts	Candidate	Misc.	Amount	Number	Average
Ballot Issues	\$790,206	na	\$543	\$789,664	1,270	\$622
Council	\$1,797,666	\$250,299	\$20,949	\$1,526,418	11,064	\$138

#### B. Candidates and Ballot Issues Not on Ballot

**Table 4** shows total contributions to committees for candidates who did not appear on the 2003 election ballot.

Candidate	Contributions Received
Rudi Bertschi David Lawton Dorli Rainey	\$34,952 \$0 \$1,275
Table 4	4

**Table 5** shows total contributions to committees promoting or opposing ballot issues that did not appear on the 2003 ballot.

Ballot Issue Committee	Contributions Received
Citizens for Proportional Representation (2003) (YES on CA)	\$2,147
Seattle Ballot Watch (NO on I-80)	\$15,016
Yes For Seattle (YES on I-80)	\$41,613
1% For Renewables (YES on I-81)	\$611
Seattle Ballot Watch (NO on I-80) Yes For Seattle (YES on I-80)	\$15 \$41

Table 5

**Figures 1 through 12** below graphically depict the information in **Tables 1 through 5**. The Total Contributions graphs include contributions from candidates. Graphs of 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 7



Figure 8





Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

#### C. 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.

In December 2000, the contribution limit for candidate campaigns was raised from \$400 to \$600 per contributor, per election cycle, to each candidate. In May of 2002, the contribution limit was again raised from \$600 to \$650. In the Council races contributions of \$400 and up remained a steady 38% in 2003. At the same time, the number of contributors contributing less than \$100 dropped from 18% in 2001 to 12% in 2003. There was, however, a significant leap in the amount candidates contributed to their own campaigns. In 2001 candidates contributed only 3% of the total funds towards their own campaigns. In 2003, they contributed 14%, almost \$257,000.

2003 is the first year the Council campaigns raised over \$1 million when there were no open seats on the ballot. In 1999, there were three open seats on the Council and campaigns raised \$1.1 million. In 2003 campaigns for City Council raised a total of \$1.8 million almost three times what was raised in 2001. See **Fig. 14**.

While the size of the contributions of more than \$100 to Council campaigns did not vary significantly from 2001 to 2003, the amount of contributions increased dramatically from \$622,362 in 2001 to \$1.8 million in 2003. One explanation is that the 2003 election had no executive positions on the ballot, whereas in 2001 three candidates for an open City Attorney position and twelve candidates for Mayor were soliciting campaign contributions in addition to the candidates running for city council.

Figures 16 through 37 show marked differences in the size distribution of contributions among different campaigns.

Graphs for candidates and ballot issue committees that raised or spent less than \$1,000 are not included.

Please note that these graphs are based on the campaigns' dollar receipts, not their number of contributors.



Figure 13



Figure 14



Figure 15



# **Candidates for City Council Position 1**



Figure 17









# **Candidates for City Council Position 3**



Figure 20

Figure 21

# **Candidates for City Council Position 5**



Figure 22

Figure 23











**Candidates for City Council Position 7** 









Figure 29





Figure 31

# Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 75 - Marijuana Priority



Figure 33

# Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Funding



# Ballot Issue Committees - Charter Amendment 5 - Council Election by District



# Seattle Fire & Emergency Response Levy Size of Contributions - by Amount of Contributions \$400 to \$599 4% \$100 to \$399 3% S600 or more 94%-Total Receipts: \$156,850

#### Figure 38

#### D. Size of Contributions by Number of Contributors

The following pie charts show the number of contributors in each dollar range.

**Figures 39-41** illustrate that 88% of all contributors are evenly split between three categories: \$25 and under, \$26-\$99, and the \$100-\$399. Of the 11,241 contributors to 2003 candidate campaigns more than half made contributions of less than \$100. Only seven percent, i.e. 787 contributors gave \$600 to \$650. In 2001, eleven percent made the maximum contribution.



Figure 39

# **Ballot Issue Committees - Proposition 1 - Fire Facilities Levy**







Figure 41

#### E. Area of Contributors

The following pie charts show the areas that the contributors reported as their home or business addresses. The areas inside the City limits include Capitol Hill/Madrona, Queen Anne/Magnolia, Downtown/Belltown, 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." Position 1 Candidate Linda Averill, filed for and received a court ordered exemption from reporting the names and addresses of her contributors. Therefore, her contributors fall into the "Area Unknown" category.

Receipts from the following sources are shown in designated 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.

Twenty-eight percent of contributions to City Council candidates came from contributors outside of Seattle compared to 2001, when only 19% of contribution to Council candidates came from outside the City. Candidate contributions of their own funds jumped from 3% in 2001 to 12% in 2003. See **Figure 43**.

Contributions to ballot issues from contributors outside of Seattle jumped from 24% in 1999, the last time ballot issues appeared on the ballot, to 48% in 2003. See **Figure 44**.

Contributions from Downtown/Belltown continue to declime from 20% in 1999 to 15% in 2001 to 11% in 2003.

There are marked differences in the regional distribution of the Council and Ballot Issue campaigns. Council campaigns received 28% of their contributions from Outside of Seattle, while the ballot issue campaigns received 42% of their contributions from outside the City. See **Figures 43 and 44**.

**Figures 45 through 62** show dramatic differences in the regional distribution of campaign funds for different candidate campaigns. **Figures 63 through 68** show the regional distributions of ballot issue campaigns.



Figure 42







Figure 44 Candidates for City Council Position 1



Figure 45









Figure 49

# **Candidates for City Council Position 3**





Figure 50

Figure 51











Figure 56





Figure 57











#### Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Funding



Figure 64





# Ballot Issue Committees - Charter Amendment 5 - Council Election by Districts







# **Ballot Issue Committees - Proposition 1 - Fire Facilities Levy**



Figure 68

## F. Area of Contributions by Number of Contributors

The following pie charts show the number of contributors in each dollar range.

**Figures 69-71** illustrate that 57% of all contributors are evenly split between eight Seattle areas. The significant increase in the "Area Unknown" category can be attributed to the Averill campaign that requested an exemption from reporting the names and addresses of its contributors.



Figure 69



Figure 70



Figure 71

#### G. Type Of Contributors

The following pie charts graphically report the type of contributors that gave to the 2003 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 \$100 or less, 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 more than 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.

There were no significant changes in the types of contributors contributing to Council Candidates and Ballot Issue Committees in 1999 and 2003. In 2001, however, Council candidates accounted for only 3% of the contributions to their own campaigns. In 1999, when there were three open seats, candidates contributed 12%. In 2003, with no open seats, candidates contributed 14% to their own campaigns.

Contributions from Businesses and Organizations jumped dramatically from 7% in 2001 to 27% in 2003. It's important to note, however, that Businesses and Organizations accounted for 20% of the contributions in 1999, the last time ballot issues appeared on a regularly scheduled ballot. The dip in 2001 contributions can likely be explained by the absence of any active ballot measures that year.

The biggest difference in the pie charts is the amount of contributions from businesses and organizations to candidates versus ballot issues. Business and Organization contributions ranged from 8% in the Council races to 64% in the Ballot Issue campaigns. PACs continue to provide campaigns with about 3% of the contributions. See **Figures 72 through 74**.

Figures 75 through 98 provide a breakdown of each campaign's contribution type.



Figure 72







# **Candidates for City Council Position 1**







# **Candidates for City Council Position 5**

#### Figure 82



Figure 84



Figure 86









Figure 85


# **Candidates for City Council Position 9**

#### Figure 89











Figure 92

## Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 75 - Marijuana Priority



Figure 93

# Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Funding







# Ballot Issue Committees - Charter Amendment 5 - Council Election by Districts





Figure 97





Figure 98

## **IV. 2003 CITY OFFICE AND BALLOT ISSUE CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES**

#### A. Total Expenditures

Tables 6 and 7, below, show the total expenditures for all 2003 City campaigns. Figures 99 through 101 portray this information graphically. Please note these figures do not include obligations to vendors that were still outstanding as of November 30, 2003. As campaigns pay these obligations, their expenditure totals will increase.

Council Position 1	Total Expenditures
David Ferguson	\$265
Jean Godden (E)	\$145,466
Kollin Min	\$133,983
Judy Nicastro (I)	\$168,035
Robert Rosencrantz	\$120,657
Art Skolnik	\$0
Darryl Smith	\$37,570
All Committees	\$605,978
Council Position 3	
Zander Batchelder	\$1,537
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	\$112,958
All Committees	\$114,495
Council Position 5	
Linda Averill	\$11,962
Dick Falkenbury	\$11,478
Margaret Pageler (I)	\$223,658
Tom Rasmussen (E)	\$197,086
Mike Thompson	\$5,099
Thomas Wade	\$988
All Committees	\$450,270

Council Position 7	Total Expenditures
David Della (E)	\$154,795
Bob Hegamin	\$0
Heidi Wills (I)	\$256,485
Christal Wood	\$0
All Committees	\$411,280
Council Position 9	
Ángel Bolaños	\$17,045
Jim Compton (E/I)	\$111,514
Susan Harmon	\$1,115
John Manning	\$16,638
All Committees	\$146,311

#### Table 6

Initiative 75 - Marijuana Priority - Passed	Total Expenditures
Sensible Seattle Coalition (YES)	\$150,204
Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Funding - Failed	
Early Learning and Care Campaign Committee (YES) JOLT (NO)	\$139,931 \$170,092
All Committees	\$310,022

Charter Amendment 5 - Council Districts - Failed	Total Expenditures
Seattle Districts Now (YES)	\$102,163
Neighbors Against Gerrymandering (NO) One Seattle (NO)	\$17 \$51,536
All Committees	\$153,716
Proposition 1 - Fire Levy - Passed	
Seattle Fire & Emergency Response Levy (YES)	\$145,100

#### Table 7

## B. Expenditures of Candidates and Ballot Issues Not on Ballot

**Tables 8 and 9** show total expenditures to committees for candidates and ballot issues that did not appear on the 2003 election ballot.

Candidate	Expenditures
Rudi Bertschi	\$27,665
David Lawton	\$0
Dorli Rainey	\$588

Tak	ble	8
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Ballot Issue Committee	Expenditures
Citizens for Proportional Representation (2003) (YES on CA)	\$820
Seattle Ballot Watch (NO on I-80)	\$15,016
Yes For Seattle (YES on I-80)	\$25,479
1% For Renewables (YES on I-81)	\$611

Table 9

**Table 10** shows total expenditures for each category. This table only includes data from candidates and ballot issues that appeared on the 2003 ballot.

	Total Expenditures
Ballot Issues	\$759,042
Council	\$1,728,334

Tab	е	1	0
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Figure 101

# C. Types Of Expenditures

Each campaign itemized and described all expenditures of more than \$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

#### (continued)

## Types of Expenditures (continued)

- 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: Uniternized or insufficient information available to code appropriately
- Miscellaneous: Signature gathering, contributions to charities and other committees, transfers to new committee, fines & penalties

As in 1999 and 2001, 2003 City campaigns spent more than half their funds (53%) on some form of voter contact, i.e.. literature and mail, radio and tv, print ads, etc. One big change came in the category of TV and Radio. Historically, candidates have not devoted their resources to these media, particularly TV. However, in 2003 candidates spent 6% on TV and Radio, up from 0% in 2001 and 3% in 1999. The amount spent on literature and mail dropped comparably from 56% in 1999, to 59% in 2001 to 51% in 2003. See **Figure 103**.

The major difference in expenditures was the amount that campaigns directed towards fundraising Candidates for City office about a third less on fundraising in 2003 as they did in 2001. On average, campaigns spent \$0.07 for every dollar raised in 2003 vs. \$0.03 in 1999. See **Figure 103**.

**Figures 104 thru 128** show some differences in how 2003 City campaigns allocated their expenditures. The larger campaigns spent about 10% on operations while the campaigns that raised \$20,000 or less were more likely to spend 20%-40% on operations. This is a great improvement over 2001 when the smaller campaigns were consumed by operations spending as much as 50-80% on rent and supplies.



Figure 102

















Figure 108

Figure 109

**Candidates for City Council Position 3** 



Figure 110

Figure 111

**Candidates for City Council Position 5** 



Figure 112

Figure 113









Figure 115

**Candidates for City Council Position 7** 





# **Candidates for City Council Position 9**



Figure 121







# Ballot Issue Committees - Initiative 77 - Early Childhood Funding









Figure 128

## V. YEAR TO YEAR TRENDS

## A. Total Contributions Received

**Figure 129** compares the average amount of City Council contributions raised over the last six election cycles. The amounts used in the graph are calculated by dividing the total contributions raised by all Council campaigns on the ballot by the number of positions appearing on the ballot that year. This calculation is necessary because in 1993 and 2001, four Council positions were on the ballot, whereas five positions were on the ballot in 1995,  $1997^{\Delta}$  and 1999 and 2003.

Fundraising for Council positions jumped dramatically in 2003 to \$1.8 million. In 1995, Council campaigns raised \$718,000, in 1997 they raised \$839,000, and in 1999 Council campaigns raised a total of \$1,086,000. But in 2001, the council contribution receipts dipped back down to \$632,000.

Past experience shows that it is unusual to have such a jump in fundraising when there are no open seats on the ballot. One explanation may be the number of challengers who began fundraising early in 2003 and some in early 2002.

On average, almost \$360,000 was raised for each City Council position on the 2003 ballot, an increase of almost \$200,000 compared to 2001.

\$215,000 was raised 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. See **Figure 129**.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In 1997, Council Position 3 was on the ballot to fill the vacancy left by the incumbent, John Manning who resigned two years into his four-year term.





## B. Average Contribution To Campaigns and Number of Contributors

The average Council campaign contribution is a little over \$138, up from \$117 in 2001. This increase may be due to the increased contribution limit that went into effect in May 2002. The contribution limit was raised from \$600 to \$650. See **Figure 130**.

Historically, the average campaign contribution has increased following the December publication of this report because campaigns resolicit their existing contributor base to help retire debts. At the same time that total contributions increased, the number of contributors to 2003 Council campaigns more than doubled from more just over 5,100 in 2001 to 11,064 in 2003. See **Figure 131** 

Please note that averages for 1993 were calculated without using the number of contributors of \$25 or less in the equation. This will make the 1993 average contribution amounts higher than if the smaller contributions had been 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 2001. 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. In 2001, none of the committees formed to put an issue on the ballot made it to the ballot. See **Figure 132**.





Figure 131



Figure 132

#### AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION SIZE To Council Candidates

1993	\$84
1995	\$85
1997	\$94
1999	\$107
2001	\$115
2003	\$138

Table 11

#### NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS To Council Candidates

1993	4,946
1995	10,183
1997	9,382
1999	9,060
2001	5,174
2003	11,064

#### Table 12

#### AVERAGE CONTRIBUTION SIZE To Ballot Issue Committees

1995	\$452
1997	\$590

1998	\$1,563
1999	\$550
2001	\$671
2002	\$535
2003	\$622

Table 13

## 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, i.e., 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 contribution. 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 those election cycles.

The 1975-1987 information in the following charts and tables was compiled by the former Seattle Elections Administrator, Alan 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. In 1979 and 1981 the average number of contributors was greater.



Figure 133



Figure 134

#### 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 \$650 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.

## A. Top 20 Contributors to all Candidates

The following is a list of the top 20 contributors to all candidates for City Council appearing on the 2003 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 4 unions, 3 attorney/lobbyist/consultants, 4 corporations/business owners, and 7 developer/property management investors.

Int'l Brotherhood of Electrical Workers	
(IBEW) Local 77 PAC	
David Della (E)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
John Manning	650
Kollin Min	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Tom Rasmussen (E)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Mike Thompson	650
Total	5200

Washington State Council of County & City Employees (WSCCCE) PAC	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Tom Rasmussen (E)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3900

Vulcan Inc	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	400
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	400
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3400

Rollin Fatland Public Affairs Consultant	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	600
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Tom Rasmussen (E)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	350
Heidi Wills (I)	625
Total	4175

Judith Runstad	
Attorney, Foster Pepper & Shefelman	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	625
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Tom Rasmussen (E)	350
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	100
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3675

International Federation of Professional & Technical Engineers (IFPTE) Local 17 (PAC)	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3250

(continued)

H Jon Runstad Chairman & CEO, Wright Runstad & Co	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3250

Washington Association of Realtors PAC	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Robert Rosencrantz	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3250

Martin Jamie Durkan Jr Lobbyist/Business Consultant	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	500
Heidi Wills (I)	530.75
Total	2980.75

Bruce Lorig		
Lorig Associates LLC/Developer		
Jean Godden (E)	300	
Judy Nicastro (I)	650	
Margaret Pageler (I)	300	
Tom Rasmussen (E)	300	
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	625	
Heidi Wills (I)	650	
Total	2825	

Affordable Housing Council PAC (Building Industry Association of WA)		
Jim Compton (E/I)	200	
Jean Godden (E)	625	
Margaret Pageler (I)	650	
Robert Rosencrantz	650	
Heidi Wills (I)	500	
Total	2625	

Tomio Moriguchi CEO, Uwajimaya Inc	
Jim Compton (E/I)	550
David Della (E)	200
Jean Godden (E)	250
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	550
Tom Rasmussen (E)	150
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	250
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3250

Seattle Firefighters Union Voluntary Political Action Fund (PAC)	
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Tom Rasmussen (E)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	3250

Greg Maffei Chairman & CEO, 360networks inc		
Jim Compton (E/I)	650	
Judy Nicastro (I)	650	
Margaret Pageler (I)	650	
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650	
Heidi Wills (I)	650	
Total	3250	

Rental Housing Association (RF	IA) PAC
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Jean Godden (E)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Robert Rosencrantz	650
Heidi Wills (I)	250
Total	2850

Builders United in Legislative Development (BUILD) PAC		
(Associated General Contractors of WA)		
Jim Compton (E/I)	650	
Jean Godden (E)	600	
Margaret Pageler (I)	600	
Robert Rosencrantz	650	
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	300	
Total	2800	

(continued)

Managing Partner, Pine Street Group LLC		Adult Entertainment Business	Owner
Developer		Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Jim Compton (E/I)	650	Tom Rasmussen (E)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650	Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Margaret Pageler (I)	650	Heidi Wills (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650	Total	2600
Total	2600		

Pacific NW Regional Collabora (PNWRC) PAC	atory
Jim Compton (E/I)	650
Judy Nicastro (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	2600

Paul Brainerd	
<b>Retired/Philanthropist</b>	
Judy Nicastro (I)	625
Margaret Pageler (I)	650
Peter Steinbrueck (E/I)	650
Heidi Wills (I)	650
Total	2575

#### Table 1

## B. Top 20 Employers of Contributors to Candidates

The following is a list of the top 20 employers of contributors to 2003 candidate 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 more than \$100. The information provided on these reports was aggregated to create this table.

The amount of contributions coming from the category "Not Employed" has fluctuated widely over the years. In 1999, \$11,634 in contributions came from "Not Employed." However, in 2001, that figure leapt to \$284,187. One explanation for the increase may be 2001's three-way race for Mayor between three strong contenders. These candidates drew significant contributions from single income married couples.

		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
1.	Not Employed	\$91,677.96
2.	City of Seattle	\$32,465.74
3.	State of Washington	\$25,613.66
4.	Microsoft	\$11,230.00
5.	King County	\$10,345.00
6.	Preston Gates & Ellis	\$8,875.00
	LLP	
7.	Windermere Real	\$8,195.00
	Estate	
8.	Federal Government	\$7,837.50
9.	Foster Pepper &	\$7,250.00
	Shefelman PLLC	
10	Vulcan	\$6,740.00

## Top 20 Employers of Contributors Total Contributions

11. On the	<b>#</b> 4.005.00
11. Onvia	\$4,925.00
12. Wright Runstad	\$4,100.00
13. Rollin Fatland &	\$4,075.00
Associates	
14. Second Avenue	\$3,900.00
Partners	
15. Uwajimaya Inc	\$3,775.00
16. Perkins Coie LLP	\$3,700.00
17. Lorig & Associates	\$3,600.00
LLC	
18. Lease Crutcher Lewis	\$3,450.00
19. Port of Seattle	\$3,395.93
20. New Line Cinema	\$3,350.00



## 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