



# Money in Politics Research Action Project

917 SW Oak St. #402, Portland, OR 97205 • (503) 283-1922 • Fax (503) 283-1877  
[miprap@oregonfollowthemoney.org](mailto:miprap@oregonfollowthemoney.org) • [www.oregonfollowthemoney.org](http://www.oregonfollowthemoney.org)

## Portland City Council Contribution History and Major Trends Second Edition<sup>1</sup>

**Executive Summary - pages 1 - 2**

**Money in Politics Research and Portland Election History Overview - pages 3 - 5**

**Total Contributions by Elections - pages 5 - 7**

**"Little Guy" Contributions and Average Itemized Contributions - pages 7 - 11**

**Campaign Contributions by Economic and Special Interests - pages 11- 13**

**The Geography of Giving: Zip Code Analysis of Campaign Contributions - pages 14 - 18**

**Appendix A - includes charts 9 - 13**

### Executive Summary

Three major trends are indicated in this initial "big picture" analysis of historical contributions to Portland City Council members and recently retired Commissioner Charlie Hales.

One is that election year campaign fundraising is dominated by contributions larger than the "little guy" donations of \$50 or less. A parallel trend is a typical increase in the size of the average itemized contribution from a council member's first race to subsequent races.

### **Trends in Size of Average Itemized Contribution**

	<b>Francesconi</b>	<b>Hales</b>	<b>Katz</b>	<b>Saltzman</b>	<b>Sten</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> election year	\$261	\$240	\$399	\$600	\$297
last election year	\$423	\$768	\$815	\$487	\$745
% increase	62%	220%	104%	-19%	151%

The typical increase does not hold true for Commissioner Saltzman because his average itemized contribution figures are affected by personal loans made to his first campaign.

Asked to comment on this increase, the current council member with the most dramatic average contribution increase, Commissioner Erik Sten, said, "Fundraising got much easier after my initial campaigns. I was a long shot early in 1996 and my fundraising included more of those valued but hard-won \$50 contributions. Once in office the money comes easier and in bigger checks." The decline in competition from Sten's first races in 1996 to his re-election runs in 1998

<sup>1</sup> This 4/12/04 report expands on the first edition released on 4/5/04. An additional sector analysis chart 9 is added in response to reporter questions. The geography of giving section is expanded and now reflects allocating P.O. Box zip codes by their geographic location in Portland.

and 2002 also contributed to these shifts in who gave and in what amounts. Those who can give more are more likely to not forget less visible races.

See the full discussion on pages 5 to 11 and Charts 1 to 8.

A second trend is domination of the business sector, particularly the real estate industry, in campaign fundraising. The top two contributing sectors for each recent council winner are noted below.

See the full discussion on pages 11 to 13 and in Charts 9 to 12 in Appendix A.

<b>Council Member</b>	<b>Top contributing sector</b>	<b>% of total fundraising from top sector</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> highest contributing sector</b>	<b>% of total fundraising from 2<sup>nd</sup> highest sector</b>
Francesconi	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	25.2%	General Business	15.9%
Hales	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	30.9%	Construction	17.7%
Katz	General Business	23.4%	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	18.8%
Leonard	Labor	41.5%	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	15.1%
Saltzman	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	30.2%	General Business	12.5%
Sten	Financial/ Insurance/Real Estate	27.9%	General Business	17.1%

A third trend is domination of downtown and westside zip codes in terms of overall campaign contributions and the size of the typical donation. Contributions from only ten Portland zip codes comprised 56.4 percent of total fundraising to City Council Winners since 1992. Only two of those top contributing zip codes were east of the Willamette River. The geographic origin of the remaining 43.6 percent is noted below.

- 56.4 percent from ten Portland zip codes
- 43.6 percent from outside the top ten zips as follows:
  - 21.1 percent comes from other Portland zip code areas,
  - 13.2 percent comes from Oregon outside of Portland,
  - 5.2 percent comes from outside of Oregon,
  - 4 percent cannot be identified by geographic location.

Contributions from North and Northeast Portland also average out to be smaller than average contributions from downtown or west of the river.

See the full discussion that begins on page 14 and Charts 15 to 17.

## **Money In Politics Research and Portland Election History Overview**

MiPRAP recently secured funding for expanding our "follow the money" research beyond our historical focus on state level campaign contributions and lobbying spending and into Portland city races. We have received requests for Portland data over the years and we are pleased to now have the resources to analyze campaign contributions in Oregon's largest city. This is our initial review of the historical contribution data. We anticipate additional analysis. We also welcome questions from the press and interested citizens about Portland campaign contributions.

### **Phase 1: Historical Data**

The first phase of MiPRAP's Portland research was to go back in time with a focus on recent City Council winners: Mayor Vera Katz, Jim Francesconi (Commissioner Position #1), Erik Sten (Commissioner Position #2), Dan Saltzman (Commissioner Position #3), and Randy Leonard (Commissioner Position #4). Contribution data for Randy Leonard's predecessor, Charlie Hales, is also included.

During an election year each candidate files six reports, three during the primary and three during the general election. Three disclosure reports are also required during special elections. During interim years, only a September Supplemental report is required.

All city offices (mayor, auditor, and four commissioner positions) are elected in non-partisan and citywide races. May primary races are runoffs for the November general election, with the top two vote recipients in May running against each other in November. If the primary winner receives over 50 percent of the vote he or she has effectively won, appearing as the only candidate on the general election ballot. Disclosure reports are filed with the city elections officer, who is required to retain these records for six years. However, many Portland reports have been retained longer, enabling MiPRAP to go back to 1992 in building our historical database.<sup>1</sup>

Mayor Vera Katz was elected in 1992, beating Earl Blumenauer that November. Katz ran again in 1996 and 2000. In both of those elections the Mayor had relatively minimal opposition and received over 50 percent of the vote in the primary.

Charlie Hales was elected Commissioner (Position #4) in 1992, beating Chuck Dimond that November. In 1996, Hales faced Paul McCoy in the primary but won over 50 percent of the vote. In 2000, Ted Piccolo presented more of a challenge in the primary, but Hales still won over 50 percent of the votes.

Jim Francesconi was elected Commissioner (Position #1) in 1996. His major primary opponents were Gail Shibley and Erik Sten. Francesconi and Shibley were the top vote getters and went on to the November general election, which Francesconi won. Francesconi ran again in 2000 with minimal opposition and won over 50 percent of the vote in that year's primary. Francesconi is currently running for Mayor.

---

<sup>1</sup> The only exceptions are the 1992 primary election reports for Mayor Vera Katz and the 1993 September Supplemental report for Commissioner Charlie Hales, which are no longer available.

Dan Saltzman was elected Commissioner (Position #3) in 1998. His major primary opponent was Tanya Collier, and whom Saltzman defeated in the general. Saltzman ran again in 2002 and won over 50 percent of the vote in that year's primary.

Both Erik Sten and Randy Leonard were elected to fill City Council vacancies in 1996 and 2002 respectively. Due to the timing of the vacancies, special elections were held in September that served as the primary followed by a November general election. The campaign contribution and expenditure disclosure reports that are required for special elections mirror those required for primary or general elections.

In 1996, Earl Blumenauer resigned to run for Congress. That vacancy resulted in a September special election for Commissioner Position #2, followed by a general election runoff between Erik Sten and Chuck Duffy who were the top vote recipients earlier that fall. Erik Sten won the November race. (As noted above Erik Sten first ran, unsuccessfully, during the May 1996 primary for Commissioner Position #1. This is why Sten's 1996 disclosure reports are for a May primary, the September special, and November general elections.) Sten ran again with minimal opposition in 1998 and won that year's primary with over 50 percent of the vote, a feat he repeated in 2002.

In 2002, Charlie Hales resigned and left a vacancy for Commissioner Position #4. A September special election preceded a runoff general election race between top vote getters Randy Leonard and Serena Cruz. Randy Leonard won that November race and is running for re-election this year.

#### Phase 2: 2004 and Beyond

The second phase of MiPRAP's research focuses on the 2004 election, when we will build a database of campaign contributions to all city candidates. The first disclosure report is due on April 12, 2004.

There are 23 candidates for Mayor. The major candidates in the mayor's race are Jim Francesconi, Tom Potter, James Posey, and Phil Busse. Of the remaining nineteen, there are five whose contribution data will also be included in the database if they raise or spend enough money to be required to file disclosure reports. They are R. Jerry Adams, Peter Nilsson, Jeffrey Rempfer, Brad Taylor, and Jeff Taylor. An additional 14 candidates for Mayor have either filed "certificate" paper work indicating that they won't raise or spend more than \$2,000, or have indicated they won't even need to form a political committee because they don't plan on spending more than \$300.

The open race for Commission Position #1, vacated by Francesconi, has two major contenders, Nick Fish and Sam Adams. Contributions to two other candidates, Jason Newell and Brian Smith will also be included in the database if they raise or spend enough money to be required to file disclosure reports. An additional three candidates for the position have filed "certificate" paper work indicating that they won't raise or spend more than \$2,000 or have indicated they won't even need to form a political committee because they don't plan on spending more than \$300.

Randy Leonard is running again in Position #4 and faces Jim Whittenburg, and six neighborhood activists, Frank Dixon, Leonard Gard, Mark Lakeman, Paul Leistner, Bonny McKnight, and Scott Stephens. All candidates raising or spending \$2,000 or more will be included in the MiPRAP database. An additional 3 candidates have filed "certificate" paperwork indicating that they will not raise or spend more than \$2,000 or have indicated they won't even need to form a political committee because they don't plan on spending more than \$300.

Database Development Methodology

Because electronic reporting is not mandatory at the city level, entering all the campaign contribution into a database is a labor-intensive process. The data entry step for phase 1, historical contributions to City Council winners took 160 hours. The data entry step for phase 2 is expected to take approximately 75 hours for each reporting period.

The next step in compiling the contribution database is to code each donor based on the occupation and employer data provided in the disclosure report. This economic and interest coding process follows the method used at the federal level by the Center for Responsive Politics. This is the same coding procedure that MiPRAP and the National Institute for Money in State Politics follow for coding state level contributions.

This coding process relies on employer and occupation information provided by the contributor and, especially absent that information, MiPRAP's investigation, which is heavily dependent upon Internet searches. This coding process is time consuming and sometimes limited in terms of what information is available so we welcome suggestions for refining interest codes from close observers of Portland politics with additional information about contributors.

**Total Contributions By Election**

The charts below confirm the what is implied in the history of City Council races outlined above: The initial races of recent city council winners are more competitive than subsequent elections, which do not require as much fundraising. (Election years for each candidate are in **bold**.)

**Chart 1: Total Contributions to Mayor Vera Katz**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>1992</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$412,231</b>
1993	September Supplemental	\$95,126
1994	September Supplemental	\$37,020
1995	September Supplemental	\$14,450
<b>1996</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$111,125</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$1,250</b>
1997	September Supplemental	\$0
1998	September Supplemental	\$200
1999	September Supplemental	\$0
<b>2000</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$125,566</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$2,025</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$798,992</b>

(1992 data is only for general election since primary reports are no longer available.)

**Chart 2: Total Contributions to Commissioner Jim Francesconi**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>1996</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$209,524</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$204,653</b>
1997	September Supplemental	\$52,098
1998	September Supplemental	\$5,725
1999	September Supplemental	\$93,887
<b>2000</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$78,950</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$4,000</b>
2001	September Supplemental	\$250
2002	September Supplemental	\$17,850
2003	September Supplemental	\$341,291
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>1,008,228</b>

**Chart 3: Total Contributions to Commissioner Charlie Hales**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>1992</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$137,662</b>
<b>1992</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$132,812</b>
1994	September Supplemental	\$1,178
1995	September Supplemental	\$500
<b>1996</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$71,637</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$3,050</b>
1997	September Supplemental	\$9,180
1998	September Supplemental	\$10,550
1999	September Supplemental	\$14,725
<b>2000</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$286,325</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$1,225</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$668,844</b>

(1993 Sept. Supp. report no longer available.)

**Chart 4: Total Contributions to Commissioner Randy Leonard**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>2002</b>	<b>September Special</b>	<b>\$178,053</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$276,389</b>
2003	September Supplemental	\$63,829
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$518,270</b>

**Chart 5: Total Contributions to Commissioner Dan Saltzman**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>1998</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$283,123</b>
<b>1998</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$324,874</b>
1999	September Supplemental	\$51,432
2000	September Supplemental	\$0
2001	September Supplemental	\$50,700
<b>2002</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$76,773</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$750</b>
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$787,652</b>

**Chart 6: Total Contributions to Commissioner Eric Sten**

Year	Election/Report	Total Contributions
<b>1996</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$89,088</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>September Special</b>	<b>\$104,099</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$103,944</b>
1997	September Supplemental	\$28,089
<b>1998</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$66,495</b>
<b>1998</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$4,150</b>
1999	September Supplemental	\$150
2000	September Supplemental	\$200
2001	September Supplemental	\$0
<b>2002</b>	<b>Primary</b>	<b>\$120,978</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>General</b>	<b>\$500</b>
2003	September Supplemental	\$5,000
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$522,693</b>

Itemized contributor data for each of these elections and interim year reports are available from MiPRAP.

### **"Little Guy" Contributions and Average Itemized Contributions**

A consistent trend in campaign contributions to Portland city council winners is that only a small portion of campaign fundraising comes from "little guy" donors, particularly during election years. These are donations of \$50 or less for which itemization is not required (and typically not provided) in disclosure reports. Instead, campaigns report aggregated totals without specifying the number of small donors or providing contributor names. (These are often listed as "small donor" or "miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less" label.)

Although candidates often talk of grassroots support, the bulk of campaign dollars come in itemized contributions greater than \$50. (See the column at the far right in chart 7.) This was especially true in the last three elections, 1998, 2000, and 2002, with large donor fundraising comprising 97.1 to 97.7 percent of total fundraising by council winners. Larger dollar contributions still dominated in 1992 and 1996 but the trend was slightly less dramatic. The change in 1992 is presumably due to a relatively strong grassroots fundraising emphasis by new candidates that year, Vera Katz and Earl Blumenauer. For example, the Katz campaign held a fundraising auction that generated many small in-kind contributions of auction items. This grassroots fundraising emphasis by Mayor Katz continued during her first term and is reflected in 1994 data in Chart 7 that reflects largely a September Supplemental report filed by Katz. Also in 1994 Commissioner's Hales interim year fundraising only came in contributions of \$50 or less.

There was an important difference in the 1996 election environment that affects evaluation of "little guy" fundraising as a percentage of total fundraising that year as well as the size of the average itemized contributions. Ballot measure 9, adopted in 1994, put in place for the 1996 elections contribution limits of \$100 per donor per election. These limits only applied to contributions to state races. However, although the limits didn't apply to city elections, it seems

likely that changes in how campaigns were required to report contributions in 1996 combined with the public's perception of the fundraising limit to account for a decline in the average contribution for city races that year. (The measure 9 limits were overturned in early 1997.)

The size of the average itemized contribution during election years (in bold in chart 7) has generally increased over time (the decline in 1996 probably reflects the explanation noted above). Campaign funding is increasingly dominated by those who can make larger and larger contributions, as indicated by higher average campaign contributions. Candidates whose strengths lie in community experience and grassroots leadership will have an uphill battle in this campaign environment where those who can make increasingly large contributions are growing more important to financing city council elections.

Analysis of average itemized contributions during interim years when only September Supplemental reports are required must be viewed cautiously, since the number of contributions is much lower than during election years and only a few large or small donations will skew averages. For example, review of Commissioner Hales interim year fundraising (Chart 8) reveals that in 1994 all his contributions were \$50 or less followed by a year when only one \$500 contribution came in. This means that one interim year (1994) was dominated by small donors and another interim year (1995) was dominated by one major donor. Overall, though the trend is for an increase in the average itemized contributions during interim years. This indicates that those donors who don't forget that contributions can be made between elections, are also typically contributors in a position to make larger campaign gifts.

Chart 8 summarizes "little guy" contribution trends and average itemized contributions by city council member for election years (in bold) and interim years. A typical trend is a decrease in the percentage of total contributions that comes as gifts of \$50 or less between a council winner's first campaign compared to subsequent elections. A parallel trend is the frequent increase in the size of the average itemized contribution between a council member's first and subsequent elections. For example, during Jim Francesconi's first elections (primary and general) in 1996 his average itemized contribution was \$261. This average increased by 62 percent to \$423 in 2000. A growing reliance on larger donations is also revealed by the \$782 average itemized contribution calculated for his fundraising reports on his 2003 September Supplemental. The percentage of Francesconi's total contributions that came from "little guy" donations declined from 6.8 percent in 1996 to 5.1 percent in 2000 and to 0.4 percent of his 2003 September Supplemental contribution.

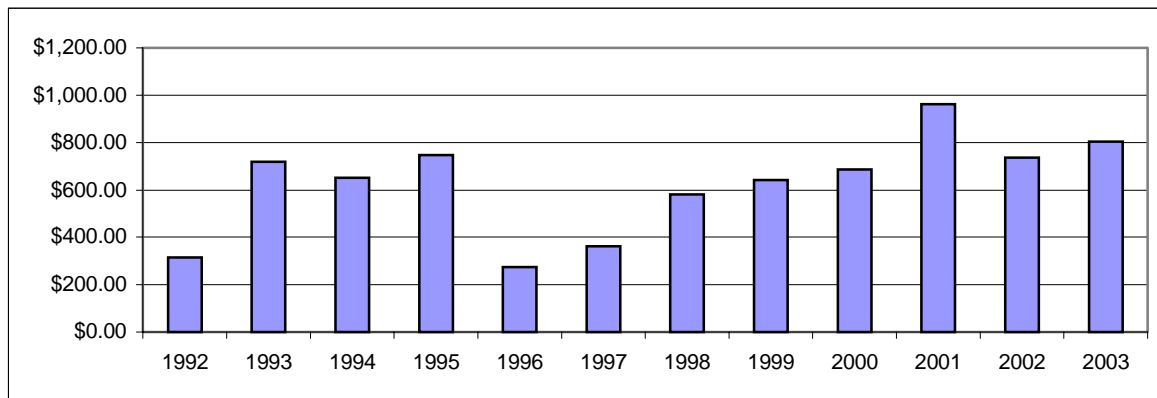
The decline in the competitive nature of Francesconi's subsequent elections also contributed to changes in his "little guy" and average itemized contributions. His 1996 contests involved viable opponents with fundraising capacity. As an incumbent, his opposition in 2000 was relatively minor. He ran a less vigorous campaign that was less likely to generate interest among "little guy" donors. At the same time, politically savvy contributors who were in a position to write bigger checks didn't forget this race.



**Chart 7: Average Itemized Contributions and "Little Guy" Contribution Trends  
Analysis of Aggregate Data of Portland City Council Winners Since 1992<sup>1</sup>**

Year (Election Years in Bold)	Total Contributions	Number of Itemized Contributions >\$50	Total of Itemized Contributions >\$50	Average Itemized Contribution <sup>2</sup>	Miscellaneous Contributions of \$50 or less as % of Total Contributions	Itemized Contributions >\$50 as % of Total Contributions
<b>1992</b>	<b>\$682,705</b>	<b>1983</b>	<b>\$625,775</b>	<b>\$316</b>	<b>8.3%</b>	<b>91.7%</b>
1993	\$95,126	132	\$94,916	\$719	0.2%	99.8%
1994 <sup>3</sup>	\$38,198	35	\$22,742	\$650	40.5%	59.5%
1995	\$14,950	20	\$14,950	\$748	0.0%	100.0%
<b>1996<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>\$898,369</b>	<b>2968</b>	<b>\$813,710</b>	<b>\$274</b>	<b>9.4%</b>	<b>90.6%</b>
1997	\$89,367	234	\$84,662	\$362	5.3%	94.7%
<b>1998</b>	<b>\$695,117</b>	<b>1171</b>	<b>\$679,161</b>	<b>\$580</b>	<b>2.3%</b>	<b>97.7%</b>
1999	\$160,194	244	\$156,827	\$643	2.1%	97.9%
<b>2000</b>	<b>\$498,291</b>	<b>709</b>	<b>\$486,386</b>	<b>\$686</b>	<b>2.4%</b>	<b>97.6%</b>
2001	\$50,950	53	\$50,900	\$960	0.1%	99.9%
<b>2002</b>	<b>\$671,293</b>	<b>885</b>	<b>\$651,799</b>	<b>\$737</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>97.1%</b>
2003	\$410,120	509	\$408,840	\$803	0.3%	99.7%
<b>Totals since 1992</b>	<b>\$4,304,680</b>	<b>8943</b>	<b>\$4,091,666</b>			

**Graph 1: Average Itemized Contribution over Time**



<sup>1</sup> Includes: Mayor Vera Katz and Commissioners Jim Francesconi, Charlie Hales, Randy Leonard, Dan Saltzman and Erik Sten

<sup>2</sup> Methodology: Campaigns are allowed to report contributions from donors who give \$50 or less in an election as one aggregated contribution without revealing the identities of the donors or even the number of donors. Some campaigns choose to report each contribution, at least some of the time. To ensure consistency we have taken contributions of \$50 or less from a single contributor in an election out of the calculation of itemized contribution averages.

<sup>3</sup> These contributions are largely from Mayor Vera Katz' September Supplemental report. She appears to have raised a lot of money through a small donor fundraiser. Also all of Commissioner Hales 1994 contributions were \$50 or less.

<sup>4</sup> Measure 9, later struck down by the courts, limited contributions to \$100 per donor. It also created a different system of reporting contributions. While the limit did not apply to city elections, we believe that the changes in contribution reporting and the public's perception of the fundraising limit account for this dip in the average contribution during the 1996 election.

**Chart 8: Average Itemized Contribution to City Council Members by Election and Interim Report Years and "Little Guy" Contribution Trends**

Portland City Council Member	Report/Election Year* (bold)	Total Contributions	Number of Itemized Contributions >\$50	Total of Itemized Contributions >\$50	Average Itemized Contribution	Miscellaneous Contributions of \$50 or less as % of Total Contributions	Itemized Contributions >\$50 as % of Total Contributions
FRANCESCONI, JIM, FOR MAYOR/FRIENDS OF	<b>1996</b>	<b>\$414,177</b>	<b>1480</b>	<b>\$385,944</b>	<b>\$261</b>	<b>6.8%</b>	<b>93.2%</b>
	1997	\$52,098	166	\$47,523	\$286	8.8%	91.2%
	1998	\$5,725	5	\$5,650	\$1,130	1.3%	98.7%
	1999	\$93,887	138	\$91,852	\$666	2.2%	97.8%
	<b>2000</b>	<b>\$82,950</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>\$78,720</b>	<b>\$423</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>94.9%</b>
	2001	\$250	1	\$200	\$200	20.0%	80.0%
	2002	\$17,850	11	\$17,850	\$1,623	0.0%	100.0%
	2003	\$341,291	435	\$340,061	\$782	0.4%	99.6%
HALES, FRIENDS OF CHARLIE	<b>1992</b>	<b>\$270,475</b>	<b>1039</b>	<b>\$249,104</b>	<b>\$240</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>92.1%</b>
	1994	\$1,178	0	0	0	100%	0%
	1995	\$500	1	\$500	\$500	0.0%	100.0%
	<b>1996</b>	<b>\$74,687</b>	<b>274</b>	<b>\$66,882</b>	<b>\$244</b>	<b>10.5%</b>	<b>89.5%</b>
	1997	\$9,180	26	\$9,130	\$351	0.5%	99.5%
	1998	\$10,550	42	\$9,325	\$222	11.6%	88.4%
	1999	\$14,725	25	\$13,600	\$544	7.6%	92.4%
	<b>2000</b>	<b>\$287,550</b>	<b>367</b>	<b>\$281,950</b>	<b>\$768</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	<b>98.1%</b>
KATZ, FRIENDS OF VERA	<b>1992</b>	<b>\$412,231</b>	<b>945</b>	<b>\$376,656</b>	<b>\$399</b>	<b>8.6%</b>	<b>91.4%</b>
	1993	\$95,126	132	\$94,916	\$719	0.2%	99.8%
	1994	\$37,020	35	\$22,742	\$650	38.6%	61.4%
	1995	\$14,450	19	\$14,450	\$761	0.0%	100.0%
	<b>1996</b>	<b>\$112,375</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>\$97,950</b>	<b>\$297</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>87.2%</b>
	1998	\$200	1	\$200	\$200	0.0%	100.0%
	<b>2000</b>	<b>\$127,591</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>\$125,516</b>	<b>\$815</b>	<b>1.6%</b>	<b>98.4%</b>
LEONARD, FRIENDS OF RANDY	<b>2002</b>	<b>\$454,442</b>	<b>559</b>	<b>\$439,473</b>	<b>\$786</b>	<b>3.3%</b>	<b>96.7%</b>
	2003	\$63,829	73	\$63,779	\$874	0.1%	99.9%
SALTZMAN, FRIENDS OF DAN	<b>1998</b>	<b>\$607,997</b>	<b>995</b>	<b>\$596,961</b>	<b>\$600</b>	<b>1.8%</b>	<b>98.2%</b>
	1999	\$51,432	80	\$51,275	\$641	0.3%	99.7%
	2001	\$50,700	52	\$50,700	\$975	0.0%	100.0%
	<b>2002</b>	<b>\$77,523</b>	<b>156</b>	<b>\$75,988</b>	<b>\$487</b>	<b>2.0%</b>	<b>98.0%</b>
STEN, FRIENDS OF	<b>1996</b>	<b>\$297,130</b>	<b>883</b>	<b>\$261,934</b>	<b>\$297</b>	<b>11.8%</b>	<b>88.2%</b>
	1997	\$28,089	42	\$28,009	\$667	0.3%	99.7%
	<b>1998</b>	<b>\$70,645</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>\$68,025</b>	<b>\$527</b>	<b>3.7%</b>	<b>96.3%</b>
	1999	\$150	1	\$100	\$100	33.3%	66.7%
	2000	\$200	2	\$200	\$100	0.0%	100.0%
	<b>2002</b>	<b>\$121,478</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>\$118,488</b>	<b>\$745</b>	<b>2.5%</b>	<b>97.5%</b>
	2003	\$5,000	1	\$5,000	\$5,000	0.0%	100.0%

Candidates file six reports during election years and a "September Supplemental" report during non-election years. Odd years and even years not in bold represent September Supplemental Reports. Election years for each candidate are: **Francesconi**: 1996 and 2000; **Hales**: 1992, 1996 and 2000; **Katz**: 1992, 1996, and 2000 (1992 Primary reports are no longer available); **Leonard**: 2002 (both the Special and General Election); **Saltzman**: 1998, 2002; **Sten**: 1996, (includes 1996 Primary race for Position 1, Special and General Elections for Position 2), 1998, 2002

Erik Sten has run campaigns in 1996, 1998, and 2002. During his first campaign year, Sten got 11.8 percent of his campaign dollars in "little guy" donations of \$50 or less. This percentage declined to 3.8 percent in 1998 and to 2.8 percent in 2002. At the same time his average itemized contribution increased from \$297 in 1996 to \$527 in 1998, and \$745 in 2002. This is an increase of 151 percent in Sten's average itemized contribution from 1996 to 2002.

Asked to comment on this dramatic increase, Commissioner Sten said, "Fundraising got much easier after my initial campaigns. I was a long shot early in 1996 and my fundraising included more of those valued but hard-won \$50 contributions. Once in office the money comes easier and in bigger checks." The decline in competition from Sten's first races in 1996 to his re-election runs in 1998 and 2002 also contributed to these shifts in who gave and in what amounts. Those who can give more are more likely to not forget less visible races.

"Little guy" fundraising was a larger percentage of total dollars raised for the first 1992 races of Mayor Vera Katz and retired Commissioner Charlie Hales at 8.6 percent and 7.9 percent respectively. During their last election in 2000, their "little guy" dollars declined to 1.6 percent for Katz and 1.9 percent for Hales of the total fundraising for each. The parallel trend in an increase in the size of the average itemized contribution was seen in the Katz and Hales campaigns in 1992 and 2000. Hale's average itemized contribution went from \$240 to \$768 and Katz's average itemized donation went from \$399 to \$815. These changes represent a percent increase of 220 percent for Hales and 104 percent for Katz. The 1996 figures are anomalous, presumably due to the contribution limits in place for state races noted above. And, as with both Francesconi and Sten, the shift in competitiveness of the elections that occurred after Katz and Hales become incumbents contributed to the changes in these numbers.

Dan Saltzman's 1998 and 2002 campaigns show an opposite trend with essentially the same percentage (1.8 percent and 2 percent) of his campaign totals during each election year coming from "little guy" donors. His 2002 average itemized contribution was \$487, a decline from his 1998 average of \$600. This is presumably a reflection of his 1998 campaign against Tanya Collier being a much more competitive race than his 2002 election coupled with his ability to provide funds to his campaign. In 1998, he gave or loaned his campaign \$83,171. The lack of competition meant that he did not need to raise as much money, so the 2002 figures do not include large amount of self-financing that skewed his contributor average in 1998.

Because Randy Leonard has not yet completed two complete election cycles, we are not including a review of his "little guy" fundraising and average itemized contributions here. (The existing data only provide a comparison between his election year fundraising and the contributions reported on his 2003 September Supplemental report.)

### **Campaign Contributions by Economic and Special Interests**

Who is giving campaign contributions in terms of economic or special interests is revealed by coding each contributor based on employment and occupation provided or analysis of type of

business based on company name. The group breakdowns in charts 9 through 12 in Appendix A reflect coding protocol used at the national level and in other states.

Charts 9 and 10 focus on aggregated contributions by economic interest. (Chart 9 covers the entire period of our study; Chart 10 breaks out each election year for all city council winners who had races those years.) Business interests dominate contributions to city council winners:

- Finance/Insurance/Real Estate whose component of aggregated historical contributions range from 19.9 percent to 28.2 percent of total contributions. In 1992 contributions from this sector were only exceeded by General Business donations. In 2002 contributions from this sector were only exceeded by Labor donations, a reflection of strong union support for Randy Leonard.
- General Business contributions were the highest contributing sector in 1992 and second highest contributing sector in 1996 and 1998. In 2000, the second highest group making campaign contributions was the Construction sector, with General Business coming in a close third that cycle. General Business was the fourth highest contributing sector in 2002.

In 1998 the candidate/party sector contributions were higher than in previous years due to personal donations in the form of loans from Dan Saltzman to his campaign.

Chart 11 reviews the economic sector breakdown of campaign contributions reported on interim year September Supplemental reports. The Finance/Insurance/Real Estate and General Business sectors again typically comprise the largest portions of total contributions. The exceptions are in 1993, when Vera Katz received a major contribution from Portland 93, a committee that supported her and Earl Blumenauer and in 1994, when a continued grassroots fundraising emphasis by Katz and Charlie Hales resulted in small contributions comprising a major portion of total fundraising that year.

Chart 12 provides an economic interest breakdown of total contributions to each city council member and to retired Commissioner Charlie Hales. It should be no surprise that contributions from the Finance/Insurance/Real Estate sector is the largest donor group to Hales, comprising 30.9 percent of his total fundraising, as he came from the building development field. This is also the largest donor group to Sten (27.9 percent), Saltzman (30.2 percent), and Francesconi (25.2 percent). This sector represents the second highest portion of total fundraising by Katz (18.8 percent) and Leonard (15.1 percent). (See Chart 12.)

In each of charts 9-12 figures are provided with the group breakdown of campaign contributions to legislative winners in 2000. This provides an opportunity to contrast contribution patterns to winners of state legislative and city council races.

The largest contributor group to state legislative winners are donations from candidates and party PACs. That this sector is not a major player in City Council races is a reflection of the non-partisan nature of city races. When contributions from this group are relatively high in city races, it is due to self-financing and contributions from PACs of ally elected officials. Other differences in contributions from economic interest groups to state legislative winners as compared to city council winners is a reflection of differences in state versus city functions.

In general, state legislators and city councilors oversee different functions of government. The state is more likely, for example, to pass regulations affecting what level of staffing hospitals must provide than it is to decide how streets will be paved in a section of downtown Portland. Likewise, the City of Portland has a more important role in deciding how buildings are built than in policy decisions related to agriculture and timber.

For example, in 2000, businesses, PACs and individuals whose income derives from agriculture/timber gave 9.1 percent of the contributions to all legislative winners. (See Chart 9.) But for elections for City Council, this economic sector gave only between 1.2 and 5.8 percent of the funding in election years from 1992 to 2002. Health-care professionals, services, institutions and allied businesses made up 7.2 percent of the contributions to state legislative winners in 2000. In 1996, the year when the health care sector slice was the biggest of any it gave to City Council winners during the five election years in our study, they contributed 2.5 percent of the total. (In 2002, they bottomed out at only 0.6 percent of the total contributions.)

On the other hand, those involved in Finance, Insurance and Real Estate, gave only 7.9 percent of the whole to 2000 Legislative winners while, as noted earlier, this sector is a consistent top donor to city races.

The role of political action committees (PACs) also greatly differs between Legislative and City Council races. PACs are much more active on the state level, perhaps because their donors find it easier to give money to a PAC which in turns chooses which of 75+ legislative candidates to support than it is to research the candidates themselves. At the city level it is easier for an individual or business owner to review the relative handful of candidates in City Council races in any given year and make a decision about whom to support directly.

Charts 13 and 14 in Appendix A illustrate this point. In 2000, PACs accounted for 23 of the top 25 contributors to Legislative winners. For the period of our study, however, only five PACs make it into the top 25 contributors to City Council winners since 1992. (Chart 12.)

The scale of legislative contributions in this example is nearly five times that of city-level contributions, so one would be right to question what role that plays in who shows up in a top 25 list. To account for this, we ran an analysis based on the median contribution among the top 25 to city council members. Choosing the 25 donors to 2000 Legislative winners who most closely clustered around that amount of \$25,142, we find PACs account for only 11 of the top 25 PACs. This smaller number is still more than twice as many as to the City Council winners. (Chart 13.)

## **The Geography of Giving: Zip Code Analysis of Campaign Contributions**

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

This excerpt from an Oregonian story on March 24, 2004 about a shooting victim is the kind of incident that raises questions in people's minds about different Portland neighborhood receiving different levels of attention from city authorities.

To assess these perceptions from a money in politics perspective MiPRAP summarized the contributions received since 1992 to City Council winners by zip code. It should be noted that zip code areas are not equivalent in terms of population, but this analysis still gives a sense of the geography of giving to Portland city races.

Chart 15 identifies the top 10 contributing zip codes to City Council winners since 1992. The dollars coming from these top 10 zip codes comprise 56 percent of total contributions. The top three zip codes are downtown and presumably represent business contributions or personal contributions linked to business addresses and not contributions linked to a personal address. Another five zip code areas are also west of the Willamette. Two of these zip codes are border zones that encompass outer neighborhoods of Portland and portions of adjoining suburban communities. Two of the zip codes are east of the Willamette. Northeast zip codes 97232 and 97212 include the Irvington, Laurelhurst, and Alameda neighborhoods. They were the top eastside zip codes in terms of campaign fundraising, together making up only 6 percent of total fundraising.

If 56.4 percent of the contributions are coming from only ten zip code areas what is included in the "everywhere else" designation in Chart 15 and its accompanying graph 2? The "everywhere else" percentage of 43.6 percent breaks down as follows:

- 21.1 percent comes the remaining Portland zip code areas<sup>5</sup>. This includes P.O. Box zip codes and some border zip code areas that contain outer Portland neighborhoods and adjoining suburban communities.
- 13.2 percent comes from Oregon outside of any of the Portland full or border zip codes.
- 5.2 percent comes from outside of Oregon.
- 4 percent has no geographic attribution because either no address was provided or the dollars came in unitemized contributions of \$50 or less without any address noted.

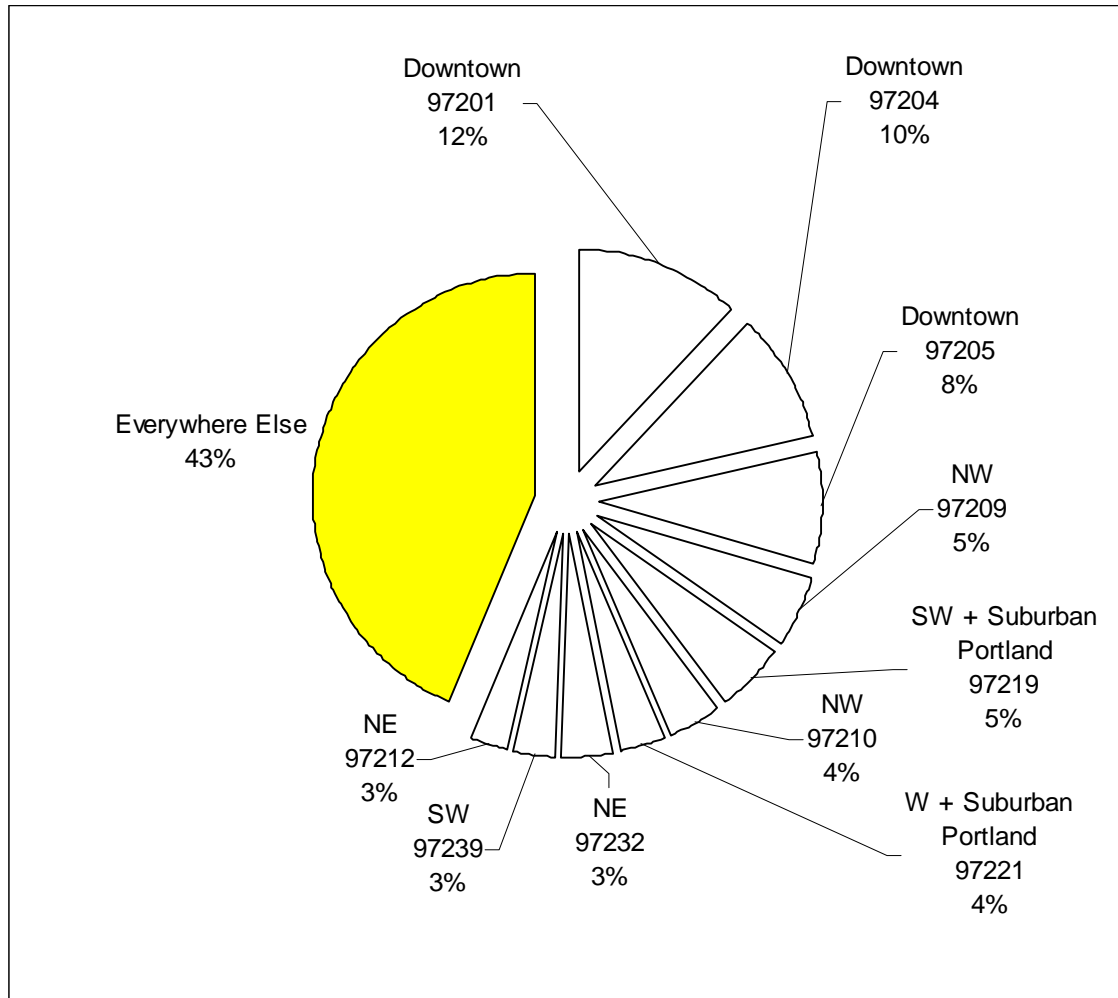
---

<sup>5</sup> This 21.1 percent figure represents \$909,085 of total contributions and is calculated by subtracting the \$2,429,168 in contributions from the top ten zip codes from the \$3,338,253 Portland contribution subtotal from Chart 16.

**Chart 15: Top 10 Contributing Zip Codes to Portland City Council Winners since 1992**

Zip Code	Section of Portland	Total Raised in Zip Code	Percentage of Total Raised
97201	Downtown	\$515,658	12.0%
97204	Downtown	\$410,594	9.5%
97205	Downtown	\$339,983	7.9%
97209	NW	\$233,197	5.4%
97219	SW Portland + Suburban	\$215,508	5.0%
97210	NW	\$160,520	3.7%
97221	W Portland + Suburban	\$150,913	3.5%
97232	NE	\$145,414	3.4%
97239	SW	\$141,400	3.3%
97212	NE	\$115,981	2.7%
Top 10 Subtotals		\$2,429,168	56.4%
Everywhere Else <sup>6</sup>		\$1,875,511	43.6%
<b>Grand Total</b>		<b>\$4,304,680</b>	

**Graph 2: Percentage of Contributions from Top 10 Contributing Zip Codes**



<sup>6</sup> Includes all contributions that did not come from addresses in any of the top 10 contributing zip codes.

Chart 16 breaks contributions into nine geographical categories<sup>7</sup> and includes Portland and "non-Portland" subtotals. Portland contributions comprise 77.6 percent of total contributions with the remaining 18.4 percent coming from outside of Portland or outside of Oregon, and a 4 percent that cannot be located because no address is provided.

Chart 16 identifies the zip codes in downtown, the five “quadrants” of the city, out of state contributors, and contributions for which no address can be identified. The right portion of Chart 16 identifies the zip codes included and notes the border and P.O. Box zip codes.

**Chart 16: Contributions Portland City Council Winners since 1992 by Geographic Area**

Geographical Area	Dollar Amount Raised from each Geographical Area and Percentage of Total		Info to the right outlines zip codes in each sector and dollars from PDX PO Boxes and Border Zip Codes	Amount Raised from Portland PO Boxes	Amount Raised From Border <sup>8</sup> Zip Codes	Zip Codes with Contributors in Each Geographical Area (P.O. Box Zip Codes in <i>italics</i> ; Border Zip Codes in <b>bold</b> , P.O. Box in Border Zip codes are in <b>bold and italics</b> )
	\$	%				
Downtown	\$1,368,710	31.8%		\$102,475		97201, 97204, 97205, 97207, 97240
SW PDX	\$520,320	12.1%		\$100	\$366,420	<b>97219, 97221</b> , 97239, 97258, 97280
NW PDX	\$542,193	12.6%		\$114,582	\$33,893	97208, 97209, 97210, 97228, <b>97229, 97231</b> , 97296
SE PDX	\$384,797	8.9%		\$69,765	\$26,972	97202, 97206, 97214, 97215, 97216, <b>97233, 97236</b> , 97242, <b>97266</b> , 97282, <b>97290</b> , 97292, 97293
NE PDX	\$456,177	10.6%		\$700	\$44,443	97211, 97212, 97213, 97218, 97220, <b>97230</b> , 97232, 97238, <b>97294</b>
North PDX	\$66,056	1.5%		\$2,350		97203, 97217, 97227, 97283
OR, not PDX	\$569,747	13.2%		Subtotal	\$289,972	\$471,728
Out of State	\$222,786	5.2%	%	7% of total	11% of total	
No Address	\$173,895	4.0%				
<b>PDX subtotal</b>	<b>\$3,338,253</b>	<b>77.6%</b> <sup>9</sup>				
<b>Not PDX subtotal</b>	<b>\$792,533</b>	<b>18.4%</b>				
<b>No Address subtotal</b>	<b>\$173,895</b>	<b>4.0%</b>				
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$4,304,680</b>					

<sup>7</sup> A tenth category is those contributions with no address that make up 4 percent of all of the contributions in the study. However, 79.5 percent of this group consists of untraceable miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less. The average of the remaining itemized contributions without addresses was \$380, not far from the overall average.

<sup>8</sup> Border zip codes include addresses in Portland and adjacent suburban communities.

<sup>9</sup> This 77.6% Portland contributions subtotal is comprised of 56.4% of the total contributions that comes from the top 10 zip codes plus the 21.1% that comes from the remaining Portland area zip codes.



**Graph 3: Percentages of Contributions by Geographic Area**

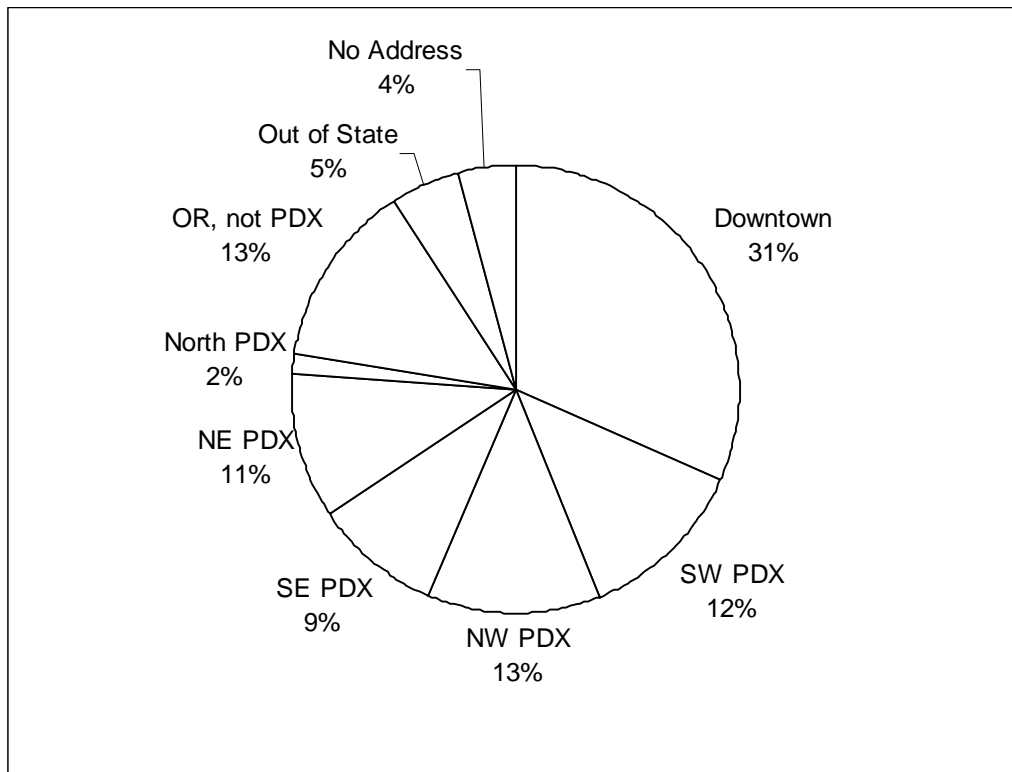


Chart 17 focuses on contributor averages by geographic areas.

The overall average<sup>10</sup> contribution in our study was \$392. Downtown Portland addresses lead sectors of the city with an average contribution of \$525, \$133 (or 34 percent) more than the overall average. However, Downtown Portland is significantly different from other sectors of the city because it is dominated by businesses, not residences.

For this analysis of whether there are differences in campaign contributions among the city's quadrants and how those differences might affect how services are delivered, a more accurate standard of comparison would be the average contribution from residents of city's quadrants, minus Downtown Portland. That average is \$330. By contrast, the average contribution from North Portland is \$230, \$100 lower than--or nearly one-third of--the residential average.

NE Portland contributors gave \$263 on average, or just over half the residential average. SE Portlanders gave \$349 on average, or about 106 percent of the residential average. Contributors for NW Portland averaged \$381, or about 15 percent more than residential average. And contributors from SW Portland gave an average gift of \$366, nearly 11 percent more than the residential average.

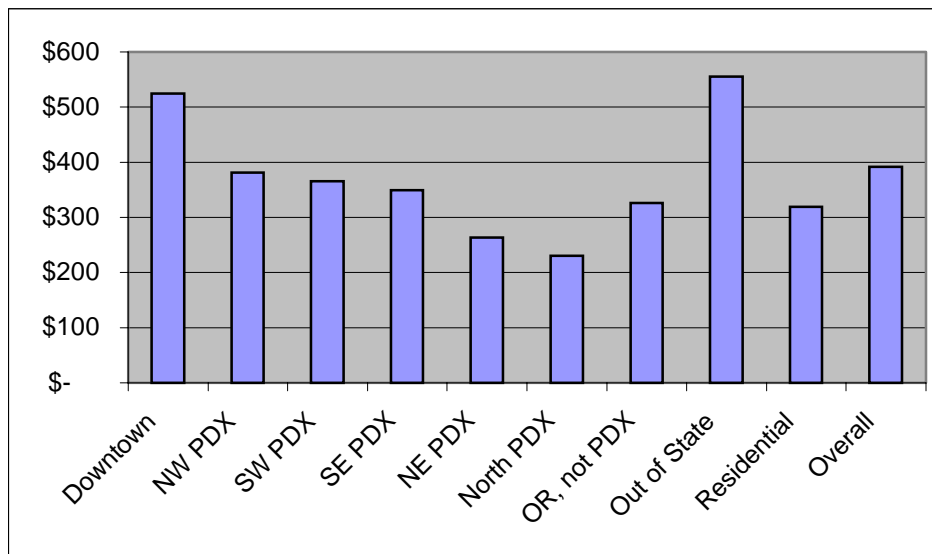
<sup>10</sup> We have derived averages in this section on the geography of giving in a slightly different way from the averages by candidate given earlier in this report. Since miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less are lumped together with contributions that lack an address, and an analysis across campaigns minimizes the differences in how campaigns report contributions, averages for geographical area include all contributions with an address in the geographical area, regardless of amount.

Oregonians outside of Portland gave an average of \$326—on par with the residential Portland average. And the relative handful of out-of-state contributors, who accounted for 5.2 percent of the total, gave \$556 on average; fully 68 percent more than the residential Portland average.

**Chart 17: Totals and Contributor Averages of Money Raised by Portland City Council Winners since 1992 by Geographic Area**

Geographical Area	Total \$ Raised	Number of Contributors	Average	Percentage of Total \$
Downtown	\$1,368,710	2608	\$ 525	31.8%
SW PDX	\$520,320	1423	\$ 366	12.1%
NW PDX	\$542,193	1422	\$ 381	12.6%
SE PDX	\$384,797	1101	\$ 349	8.9%
NE PDX	\$456,177	1732	\$ 263	10.6%
N PDX	\$66,056	287	\$ 230	1.5%
Oregon, not PDX	\$569,747	1747	\$ 326	13.2%
Out of State	\$222,786	401	\$ 556	5.2%
No Address <sup>11</sup>	\$173,895	267	N/A	4.0%
<b>Residential</b>	<b>\$1,969,542</b>	<b>5,965</b>	<b>\$ 330</b>	<b>45.8%</b>
<b>Overall</b>	<b>\$4,304,680</b>	<b>10,988</b>	<b>\$ 392</b>	

**Graph 4: Contributor Average by Geographic Area for Portland City Council Winners since 1992**



<sup>11</sup> About 80 percent of the contributions without an address consists of untraceable miscellaneous contributions of \$50 or less. The average of the remaining itemized contributions without addresses was \$380.

Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A

Chart 9: Economic Interest Totals and Percentages for Legislative and City Council Winners

Group	2000 Legislative Winners		City Council Winners					
			Election Year Reports		September Supplemental Reports		All Reports from 1992-2003	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Agriculture/Timber	\$941,886	9.1%	\$74,044	2.2%	\$32,630	3.7%	\$106,674	2.5%
Candidate/Party	\$2,235,651	21.6%	\$213,570	6.3%	\$56,746	6.4%	\$270,315	6.3%
Communications/ Electronics	\$318,908	3.1%	\$100,662	3.0%	\$35,729	4.0%	\$136,391	3.2%
Construction	\$502,603	4.9%	\$270,809	7.9%	\$82,250	9.2%	\$353,059	8.2%
Energy/ Natural Resources	\$453,746	4.4%	\$174,568	5.1%	\$57,570	6.4%	\$232,138	5.4%
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	\$817,307	7.9%	\$817,866	24.0%	\$255,090	28.6%	\$1,072,956	24.9%
General Business	\$1,703,163	16.5%	\$527,335	15.5%	\$148,368	16.6%	\$675,703	15.7%
Health	\$740,666	7.2%	\$61,881	1.8%	\$18,225	2.0%	\$80,106	1.9%
Ideology/Single Issue	\$232,565	2.2%	\$18,317	0.5%	\$5,140	0.6%	\$23,457	0.5%
Labor	\$974,363	9.4%	\$269,709	7.9%	\$11,650	1.3%	\$281,359	6.5%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$295,713	2.9%	\$182,608	5.4%	\$42,954	4.8%	\$225,562	5.2%
Other <sup>1</sup>	\$372,833	3.6%	\$309,287	9.1%	\$60,675	6.8%	\$369,962	8.6%
Small Contributions	\$242,598	2.3%	\$117,366	3.4%	\$20,843	2.3%	\$138,209	3.2%
Transport/Tourism	\$210,836	2.0%	\$126,628	3.7%	\$37,800	4.2%	\$164,428	3.8%
Unknown <sup>2</sup>	\$301,715	2.9%	\$146,601	4.3%	\$27,760	3.1%	\$174,361	4.1%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$10,344,553</b>		<b>\$3,411,250</b>		<b>\$893,430</b>		<b>\$4,304,680</b>	

Color Key: Largest Percentage  
2<sup>nd</sup> Largest Percentage  
3<sup>rd</sup> Largest Percentage

<sup>1</sup> Educators at public and private schools from day-care through graduate programs; social workers; artists; retirees, civil servants, tribal governments, clergy, non-profit sector workers, and members of the military.

<sup>2</sup> Contributors whose source of income could not be determined from the information provided.

Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A

Chart 10: Economic Interest Totals and Percentages by Election Years for 2000 Legislative Winners and Aggregated City Council Winners by Date

Group	2000 Legislative Winners		1992		1996		1998		2000		2002	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Agriculture/Timber	\$941,886	9.1%	\$14,787	2.2%	\$10,507	1.2%	\$10,000	1.4%	\$29,000	5.8%	\$10,850	1.6%
Candidate/Party	\$2,235,651	21.6%	\$15,337	2.2%	\$61,583	6.9%	\$93,316	13.4%	\$5,249	1.1%	\$38,085	5.7%
Communications/ Electronics	\$318,908	3.1%	\$29,498	4.3%	\$18,335	2.0%	\$18,802	2.7%	\$12,890	2.6%	\$21,187	3.2%
Construction	\$502,603	4.9%	\$44,318	6.5%	\$74,146	8.3%	\$42,115	6.1%	\$86,030	17.3%	\$26,000	3.9%
Energy/ Natural Resources	\$453,746	4.4%	\$30,974	4.5%	\$30,117	3.4%	\$41,347	5.9%	\$36,050	7.2%	\$38,700	5.8%
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	\$817,307	7.9%	\$138,741	20.3%	\$221,964	24.7%	\$194,293	28.0%	\$140,550	28.2%	\$133,419	19.9%
General Business	\$1,703,163	16.5%	\$166,426	24.4%	\$138,470	15.4%	\$95,988	13.8%	\$84,542	17.0%	\$47,820	7.1%
Health	\$740,666	7.2%	\$14,572	2.1%	\$22,699	2.5%	\$16,560	2.4%	\$4,600	0.9%	\$3,850	0.6%
Ideology/Single Issue	\$232,565	2.2%	\$8,325	1.2%	\$3,367	0.4%	\$1,015	0.1%	\$2,525	0.5%	\$8,100	1.2%
Labor	\$974,363	9.4%	\$22,900	3.4%	\$7,862	0.9%	\$15,300	2.2%	\$7,300	1.5%	\$216,347	32.2%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$295,713	2.9%	\$38,618	5.7%	\$82,670	9.2%	\$24,740	3.6%	\$19,190	3.9%	\$19,265	2.9%
Other <sup>3</sup>	\$372,833	3.6%	\$51,946	7.6%	\$95,884	10.7%	\$85,181	12.3%	\$21,260	4.3%	\$57,405	8.6%
Small Contributions	\$242,598	2.3%	\$30,824	4.5%	\$48,922	5.4%	\$13,332	1.9%	\$5,175	1.0%	\$19,114	2.8%
Transport/Tourism	\$210,836	2.0%	\$28,863	4.2%	\$30,505	3.4%	\$20,535	3.0%	\$28,800	5.8%	\$19,675	2.9%
Unknown <sup>4</sup>	\$301,715	2.9%	\$46,577	6.8%	\$51,338	5.7%	\$22,595	3.3%	\$15,130	3.0%	\$11,476	1.7%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$10,344,553</b>		<b>\$682,705</b>		<b>\$898,369</b>		<b>\$695,117</b>		<b>\$498,291</b>		<b>\$671,293</b>	

Color Key:   
Largest Percentage  
2<sup>nd</sup> Largest Percentage  
3<sup>rd</sup> Largest Percentage

<sup>3</sup> Educators at public and private schools from day-care through graduate programs; social workers; artists; retirees, civil servants, tribal governments, clergy, non-profit sector workers, and members of the military.

<sup>4</sup> Contributors whose source of income could not be determined from the information provided.

**Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A**

**Chart 11: Economic Interest Totals and Percentages by Non-Election Years for 2000 Legislative Winners and Aggregated City Council Winners by Date** (Includes September Supplemental Disclosure Reports Only)

Group	2000 Legislative Winners		1993		1994		1995		1997		1999		2001		2003	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Agriculture/Timber	\$941,886	9.1%	\$200	0.2%		0.0%		0.0%	\$450	0.5%	\$7,000	4.0%	\$3,500	6.9%	\$20,380	5.0%
Candidate/Party	\$2,235,651	21.6%	\$52,571	55.3%	\$625	1.6%		0.0%	\$50	0.1%		0.0%		0.0%	\$3,500	0.9%
Communication/ Electronics	\$318,908	3.1%	\$1,170	1.2%	\$2,000	5.2%	\$2,250	15.1%	\$1,959	2.2%	\$9,850	6.1%	\$2,500	4.9%	\$15,950	3.9%
Construction	\$502,603	4.9%	\$7,900	8.3%	\$2,000	5.2%	\$200	1.3%	\$8,650	9.7%	\$16,000	10.0%	\$5,000	9.8%	\$40,700	9.9%
Energy/Natural Resources	\$453,746	4.4%	\$1,900	2.0%	\$2,400	6.3%	\$2,000	13.4%	\$5,850	6.5%	\$13,100	8.2%	\$3,000	5.9%	\$26,700	6.5%
Finance/Insurance/ Real Estate	\$817,307	7.9%	\$13,175	13.9%	\$1,500	3.9%	\$3,750	25.1%	\$31,638	35.4%	\$56,492	35.3%	\$12,250	24.0%	\$125,185	30.5%
General Business	\$1,703,163	16.5%	\$5,350	5.6%	\$9,517	24.9%	\$4,250	28.4%	\$22,020	24.6%	\$22,750	14.2%	\$5,750	11.3%	\$72,821	17.8%
Health	\$740,666	7.2%	\$250	0.3%	\$500	1.3%		0.0%	\$1,000	1.1%	\$2,625	1.6%	\$5,000	9.8%	\$8,450	2.1%
Ideology/Single Issue	\$232,565	2.2%	\$100	0.1%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	\$25	0.0%
Labor	\$974,363	9.4%	\$3,000	3.2%	\$1,200	3.1%		0.0%	\$250	0.3%	\$4,700	2.9%		0.0%	\$2,500	0.6%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$295,713	2.9%	\$3,800	4.0%	\$1,500	3.9%		0.0%	\$5,900	6.6%	\$7,400	4.6%	\$1,400	2.7%	\$21,079	5.1%
Other <sup>5</sup>	\$372,833	3.6%	\$1,300	1.4%	\$25	0.1%		0.0%	\$4,505	5.0%	\$6,100	3.8%	\$6,850	13.4%	\$39,505	9.6%
Small Contributions	\$242,598	2.3%	\$100	0.1%	\$15,431	40.4%		0.0%	\$2,795	3.1%	\$2,517	1.6%		0.0%		0.0%
Transport/Tourism	\$210,836	2.0%	\$500	0.5%	\$1,000	2.6%	\$1,500	10.0%	\$2,100	2.3%	\$8,550	5.3%	\$2,250	4.4%	\$20,150	4.9%
Unknown <sup>6</sup>	\$301,715	2.9%	\$3,810	4.0%	\$500	1.3%	\$1,000	6.7%	\$2,200	2.5%	\$3,110	1.9%	\$3,450	6.8%	\$13,175	3.2%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>\$10,344,553</b>		<b>\$95,126</b>		<b>\$38,198</b>		<b>\$14,950</b>		<b>\$89,367</b>		<b>\$160,194</b>		<b>\$50,950</b>		<b>\$410,120</b>	

Color Key:      Largest Percentage  
     2<sup>nd</sup> Largest Percentage  
     3<sup>rd</sup> Largest Percentage

<sup>5</sup> Educators at public and private schools from day-care through graduate programs; social workers; artists; retirees, civil servants, tribal governments, clergy, non-profit sector workers, and members of the military.

<sup>6</sup> Contributors whose source of income could not be determined from the information provided.

Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A

Chart 12: A Comparison of Donations by Economic Interest to Portland City Council Winners and 2000 Legislative Winners.

Economic Interest	2000 Legislative Winners <sup>7</sup>		Jim Francesconi for Mayor/ Friends of <sup>8</sup>		Friends of Charlie Hales <sup>9</sup>		Friends of Vera Katz <sup>10</sup>		Friends of Randy Leonard <sup>11</sup>		Friends of Dan Saltzman <sup>12</sup>		Friends of Sten <sup>13</sup>	
	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%	\$	%
Agriculture/Timber	\$941,886	9.1%	\$36,087	3.6%	\$24,950	3.7%	\$19,287	2.4%	\$10,250	2.0%	\$11,400	1.4%	\$4,700	0.9%
Candidate/Party	\$2,235,651	21.6%	\$42,250	4.2%	\$25,955	3.9%	\$63,090	7.9%	\$29,398	5.7%	\$93,316	11.8%	\$16,306	3.1%
Communications/ Electronics	\$318,908	3.1%	\$31,770	3.2%	\$8,8100	1.3%	\$44,293	5.5%	\$5,000	1.0%	\$27,892	3.5%	\$18,626	3.6%
Construction	\$502,603	4.9%	\$77,372	7.7%	\$118,504	17.7%	\$35,363	4.4%	\$12,275	2.4%	\$49,440	6.3%	\$60,105	11.5%
Energy/Natural Resources	\$453,746	4.4%	\$46,868	4.6%	\$36,764	5.5%	\$42,725	5.3%	\$34,650	6.7%	\$47,327	6.0%	\$23,804	4.6%
Financial/Insurance/ Real Estate	\$817,307	7.9%	\$254,411	25.2%	\$206,526	30.9%	\$149,883	18.8%	\$78,261	15.1%	\$237,991	30.2%	\$145,885	27.9%
General Business	\$1,703,163	16.5%	\$160,296	15.9%	\$95,985	14.4%	\$187,099	23.4%	\$44,515	8.6%	\$98,483	12.5%	\$89,327	17.1%
Health	\$740,666	7.2%	\$29,449	2.9%	\$4,950	0.7%	\$16,167	2.0%	\$1,450	0.3%	\$24,860	3.2%	\$3,230	0.6%
Ideology/Single Issue	\$232,565	2.2%	\$10,148	1.0%	\$1,065	0.2%	\$7,525	0.9%	\$2,500	0.5%	\$1,600	0.2%	\$619	0.1%
Labor	\$974,363	9.4%	\$9,400	0.9%	\$3,012	0.5%	\$27,300	3.4%	\$214,847	41.5%	\$10,450	1.3%	\$16,350	3.1%
Lawyers & Lobbyists	\$295,713	2.9%	\$93,055	9.2%	\$29,758	4.4%	\$38,448	4.8%	\$7,104	1.4%	\$31,655	4.0%	\$25,543	4.9%
Other <sup>14</sup>	\$372,833	3.6%	\$101,259	10.0%	\$47,168	7.1%	\$45,323	5.7%	\$45,980	8.9%	\$88,546	11.2%	\$41,685	8.0%
Small Contributions	\$242,598	2.3%	\$20,336	2.0%	\$3,044	0.5%	\$49,524	6.2%	\$14,589	2.8%	\$12,404	1.6%	\$38,313	7.3%
Transport/Tourism	\$210,836	2.0%	\$56,153	5.6%	\$23,652	3.5%	\$33,163	4.2%	\$13,675	2.6%	\$27,635	3.5%	\$10,150	1.9%
Unknown <sup>15</sup>	\$301,715	2.9%	\$39,374	3.9%	\$38,701	5.8%	\$39,804	5.0%	\$3,776	0.7%	\$24,655	3.1%	\$28,051	5.4%
Totals	\$10,344,553		\$1,008,228		\$668,844		\$798,991		\$518,270		\$787,652		\$522,693	

Color Key: Largest Percentage 2<sup>nd</sup> Largest Percentage 3<sup>rd</sup> Largest Percentage

<sup>7</sup> All Oregon Legislative primary and general election winners for the 2000 Election.

<sup>8</sup> Contributions since 1996 Primary Election.

<sup>9</sup> Contributions since 1992 Primary Election, except for a 1993 September Supplemental report that is no longer available.

<sup>10</sup> Contributions since 1992 General Election; all 1992 Primary reports are no longer available.

<sup>11</sup> Contributions since 2002 September Special Election.

<sup>12</sup> Contributions since 1998 Primary Election.

<sup>13</sup> Contributions since 1996 Primary Election.

<sup>14</sup> Educators at public and private schools from day-care through graduate programs; social workers; artists; retirees, civil servants, tribal governments, clergy, non-profit sector workers, and members of the military.

<sup>15</sup> Contributors whose source of income could not be determined from the information provided.

Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A

Chart 13: Comparison of Top 25 Contributors to 2000 Legislative Winners and City Council Winners (PACS in Bold)

Top 25 Contributors to 2000 Legislative Winners		Top 25 Contributors to City Council Winners	
Contributor	Total Contributions	Contributor	Total Contributions
MAJORITY 2000	\$567,168	SALTZMAN, DAN R.	\$84,780
OR VICTORY PAC	\$397,500	<b>PORTLAND METRO FIRE FIGHTERS PAC</b>	\$73,050
OEA PIE PEOPLE FOR IMPROVEMENT OF EDUCATION	\$290,640	RB PAMPLIN CORP	\$66,500
OR FOREST INDUSTRIES COUNCIL PAC	\$252,450	AFSCME LOCAL 189	\$53,000
LEADERSHIP FUND	\$233,392	<b>PORTLAND 93</b>	\$52,471
FRIENDS OF GENE DERFLER	\$220,996	SALTZMAN, JACK	\$50,600
OR RESTAURANT ASSOC/OR PAC	\$186,270	DIRECT MARKETING SOLUTIONS	\$45,359
AOI CENTER FOR CITIZEN LEADERSHIP	\$179,850	FRANCESCONI, JIM	\$43,305
OR COMM OF AUTO RETAILERS/OR AUTO DEALERS ASSOC	\$152,242	SCHNITZER GROUP	\$39,000
FUTURE PAC	\$151,454	MARK, MELVIN J	\$32,250
OPEU CITIZEN ACTION BY PUBLIC EMPLOYEES CAPE	\$143,507	PAMPLIN, ROBERT	\$32,000
OR BEVERAGE PAC	\$136,323	<b>OREGON LABORERS' POLITICAL COMMITTEE</b>	\$29,500
OR REPUBLICAN PARTY	\$131,500	HALES, CHARLES	\$25,142
CREDIT UNION LEGISLATIVE ACTION FUND	\$118,418	CHILES, EARLE	\$25,000
OR HEALTH CARE ASSOC PAC	\$112,215	<b>KEEP PORTLAND SAFE PAC</b>	\$25,000
IBEW EDUCATION COMMITTEE	\$110,200	BOECKMAN ROAD LLC	\$25,000
OR SOFT DRINK PAC	\$99,100	FIRST HARRISON CO.	\$24,688
SENATE DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP FUND	\$98,674	COMMERCE CIRCLE LLC	\$24,688
OR GROCERY INDUSTRY ASSOC PAC	\$91,651	FRED MEYER	\$24,581
OR OPTOMETRIC PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNCIL	\$91,240	<b>NATURAL GAS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE</b>	\$21,350
OTLA PAC	\$90,916	PARKER, RICHARD	\$21,009
OR MEDICAL PAC	\$84,330	NOVACK, KENNETH	\$20,550
PLUMBERS & STEAMFITTERS LOCAL 290	\$83,506	CHAPMAN, MATT	\$19,750
OREGONIANS FOR AFFORDABLE HOUSING	\$82,975	WALSH, ROBERT	\$19,600
OR NURSES ASSOC PAC	\$80,150	WILLIAMS, HOMER	\$18,950

Portland City Council Contribution History: Appendix A

Chart 14: The 25 Contributors to 2000 Legislative Winners Most Closely Clustered Around the Median of City Council Top 25 Contributors (PACS in **Bold**)

Contributor	Total Contributions
WASTE MANAGEMENT INC	\$35,550
<b>CABLE OPERATORS PAC/COPAC</b>	\$34,960
LIBERTY NORTHWEST INSURANCE CO	\$33,825
<b>CITIZENS FOR LANE SHETTERLY</b>	\$33,550
SAFEWAY INC	\$30,575
<b>FRIENDS OF KAREN MINNIS</b>	\$29,209
FARMERS INSURANCE CO	\$27,850
<b>OR AMERICAN ELECTRONICS ASSOC/OR AEA</b>	\$27,605
AK MEDIA NORTHWEST	\$27,500
<b>HEALTH INSURANCE PAC</b>	\$27,100
SAFECO CORP	\$26,605
OR STATE FIREFIGHTERS COUNCIL	\$26,540
<b>COMM TO ELECT BOB JENSON</b>	\$25,350
<b>OR MANUFACTURED HOUSING ASSOC PAC</b>	\$24,810
PHILIP MORRIS	\$24,750
WITTCO SYSTEMS INC	\$24,250
PACIFICORP	\$24,088
<b>OR AFL-CIO COPE</b>	\$23,800
<b>MAJORITY 98</b>	\$23,500
BOISE CASCADE CORP	\$23,470
<b>OR FACULTIES PAC/OFPAC</b>	\$22,305
AT&T PAC NORTHWEST	\$21,850
MILLER BREWING CO	\$21,750
RD OFFUTT CO NW	\$21,500
<b>PROF ADJUSTERS INTERESTED IN DEMOCRACY/OR COLLECTORS ASSOC/PAIID PAC</b>	\$21,320