

# 2011 Election Report

February 21, 2012



## **About the Seattle Ethics and Elections Commission**

The Commission is a seven-member, citizen body that interprets, administers and enforces the Seattle Elections Code, Ethics Code, Election Pamphlet Code and Whistleblower Protection Code. Three members are appointed by the Mayor; three are appointed by the City Council and the seventh is appointed by the other six. All seven are confirmed by the City Council. The term of office for a commissioner is three years.

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## **Biennial Report on Election Financing**

The SEEC, following the biennial elections for municipal officeholders, publishes a report showing the money raised and spent promoting or opposing candidates and ballot issues.

Charts showing the contributions to, and expenditures by, candidate and ballot issue committees are also available on the Commission's web site: [www.seattle.gov/elections](http://www.seattle.gov/elections). Visitors to the web site can access to up-to-date figures on:

- the total dollar value of contributions to each and every campaign committee, together with charts breaking down the data by the type of contributor, the size of the contribution, and the area from which the contribution was reported;
- the total number of contributors to each and every campaign committee, together with charts breaking down the data by the type of contributor, the size of the contribution, and the area from which the contribution was reported;
- the total value of expenditures made by each and every campaign committee;

Visitors to the web site can also get a list of every contributor to every campaign, and can search the Commission's database by name – for example, “John Doe” – or by employer – for example, “City of Seattle.”

This report does not include all of the charts and graphs already available on the web site. Instead, this report provides some information placing the financing of the 2011 election season in historical context, and provides some information that is not readily accessible at our web site.

*This report covers all disclosed activity from the beginning of the 2011 election cycle, May 1, 2008, through December 12, 2011.*

## **Summary of 2011 Contributions**

**Tables 1 and 2** on the following pages list the total amount of contributions received by each City candidate and ballot issue committee organized into four categories:

- 1) contributions and loans from the candidate;
- 2) miscellaneous receipts, such as proceeds from t-shirt sales or transfers from a previous committee for the same office;
- 3) uncoded receipts, which are small contributions of \$25 or less that campaigns are not required to itemize; and
- 4) contributions from individuals (excluding the candidate) and groups.

The tables also detail the number of contributors, other than the candidate, to each campaign and the average size of the contribution from those contributors.

**Table 1**

|                               | Total Contributions | Candidate         | Misc/Prev. Campaign | Uncoded          | Individuals & Groups |             |                  |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------|------------------|
|                               |                     |                   |                     |                  | Amount               | No.         | Average          |
| <b>Council Pos. 1</b>         |                     |                   |                     |                  |                      |             |                  |
| Maurice Classen               | \$125,199           | \$45,217          | \$ -                | \$5,230          | \$74,752             | 292         | \$ 273.91        |
| Bobby Forch                   | \$102,084           | \$15,828          | \$ 14               | \$7,389          | \$78,853             | 256         | \$ 336.88        |
| Jean Godden (E)               | \$261,870           | \$20,536          | \$ 52               | \$10,443         | \$230,839            | 676         | \$ 356.93        |
| Michael Taylor-Judd           | \$24,496            | \$8,025           | \$ -                | \$2,920          | \$13,551             | 44          | \$ 374.34        |
| <b>All Committees</b>         | <b>\$513,649</b>    | <b>\$89,606</b>   | <b>\$ 66</b>        | <b>\$25,982</b>  | <b>\$397,995</b>     | <b>1268</b> | <b>\$ 334.37</b> |
| <b>Council Pos. 3</b>         |                     |                   |                     |                  |                      |             |                  |
| Bruce Harrell (E)             | \$ 284,199          | \$ 6,884          | \$ -                | \$ 14,482        | \$ 262,833           | 1163        | \$ 238.45        |
| Brad Meacham                  | \$ 59,468           | \$ 514            | \$ -                | \$ 5,207         | \$ 53,747            | 323         | \$ 182.52        |
| <b>All Committees</b>         | <b>\$343,667</b>    | <b>\$7,398</b>    | <b>\$ -</b>         | <b>\$19,689</b>  | <b>\$316,580</b>     | <b>1486</b> | <b>\$ 226.29</b> |
| <b>Council Pos. 5</b>         |                     |                   |                     |                  |                      |             |                  |
| Dale L. Pusey                 | \$ 1,236            | \$ 1,236          | \$ -                | \$ -             | \$ -                 | 0           | \$ -             |
| Tom Rasmussen (E)             | \$ 312,130          | \$ 1,286          | \$ 104,526          | \$ 13,955        | \$ 192,363           | 1001        | \$ 206.11        |
| <b>All Committees</b>         | <b>\$313,366</b>    | <b>\$2,522</b>    | <b>\$ 104,526</b>   | <b>\$13,955</b>  | <b>\$192,463</b>     | <b>1001</b> | <b>\$ 218.17</b> |
| <b>Council Pos. 7</b>         |                     |                   |                     |                  |                      |             |                  |
| Tim Burgess (E)               | \$ 253,864          | \$ 3,843          | \$ 444              | \$ 12,685        | \$ 236,892           | 1025        | \$ 243.49        |
| David Schraer                 | \$ 3,084            | \$ 1,849          | \$ -                | \$ 515           | \$ 720               | 23          | \$ 53.70         |
| <b>All Committees</b>         | <b>\$256,948</b>    | <b>\$5,692</b>    | <b>\$ 444</b>       | <b>\$13,200</b>  | <b>\$237,612</b>     | <b>1048</b> | <b>\$ 226.73</b> |
| <b>Council Pos. 9</b>         |                     |                   |                     |                  |                      |             |                  |
| Sally Clark (E)               | \$ 243,260          | \$ -              | \$ 84,706           | \$ 9,476         | \$ 149,078           | 728         | \$ 217.79        |
| Dian Ferguson                 | \$ 70,051           | \$ 39,845         | \$ 2,535            | \$ 2,143         | \$ 25,528            | 136         | \$ 203.46        |
| Fathi Karshie                 | \$ 2,380            | \$ 1,000          |                     | \$ 80            | \$ 1,300             | 10          | \$ 138.00        |
| <b>All Committees</b>         | <b>\$315,691</b>    | <b>\$40,845</b>   | <b>\$ 87,241</b>    | <b>\$11,699</b>  | <b>\$175,906</b>     | <b>874</b>  | <b>\$ 214.65</b> |
| <b>All Council Committees</b> | <b>\$ 1,762,815</b> | <b>\$ 148,584</b> | <b>\$ 192,278</b>   | <b>\$ 86,240</b> | <b>\$1,335,713</b>   | <b>6426</b> | <b>\$ 221.28</b> |

**Table 2**

|   | Total Contributions | Misc./ Previous Campaign | Uncoded          | Individuals and Groups |            |                    |
|---|---------------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------|--------------------|
|   |                     |                          |                  | Amount                 | No.        | Average            |
| <b>Referendum 1 - Section 6 of CB 117101 (Viaduct Replacement) PRIMARY ELECTION</b> |                     |                          |                  |                        |            |                    |
| Let's Move Forward  | \$ 491,785          | \$ -                     | \$ 6,077         | \$ 485,708             | 354        | \$ 1,389.22        |
| Protect Seattle Now   | \$ 99,731           | \$ -                     | \$ 8,472         | \$ 91,259              | 439        | \$ 227.18          |
| <b>All Referendum 1 Committees</b>  | <b>\$ 591,516</b>   | <b>\$ -</b>              | <b>\$ 14,549</b> | <b>\$ 576,967</b>      | <b>793</b> | <b>\$ 1,616.40</b> |
| <b>Families &amp; Education Levy GENERAL ELECTION</b>                               |                     |                          |                  |                        |            |                    |
| Families Yes  | \$ 290,376          | \$ -                     | \$ 845           | \$ 289,531             | 135        | \$ 2,150.93        |
| <b>All Ballot Issue Committees<sup>1</sup></b>                                      | <b>\$ 881,892</b>   | <b>\$ -</b>              | <b>\$ 15,394</b> | <b>\$ 866,498</b>      | <b>928</b> | <b>\$ 950.31</b>   |

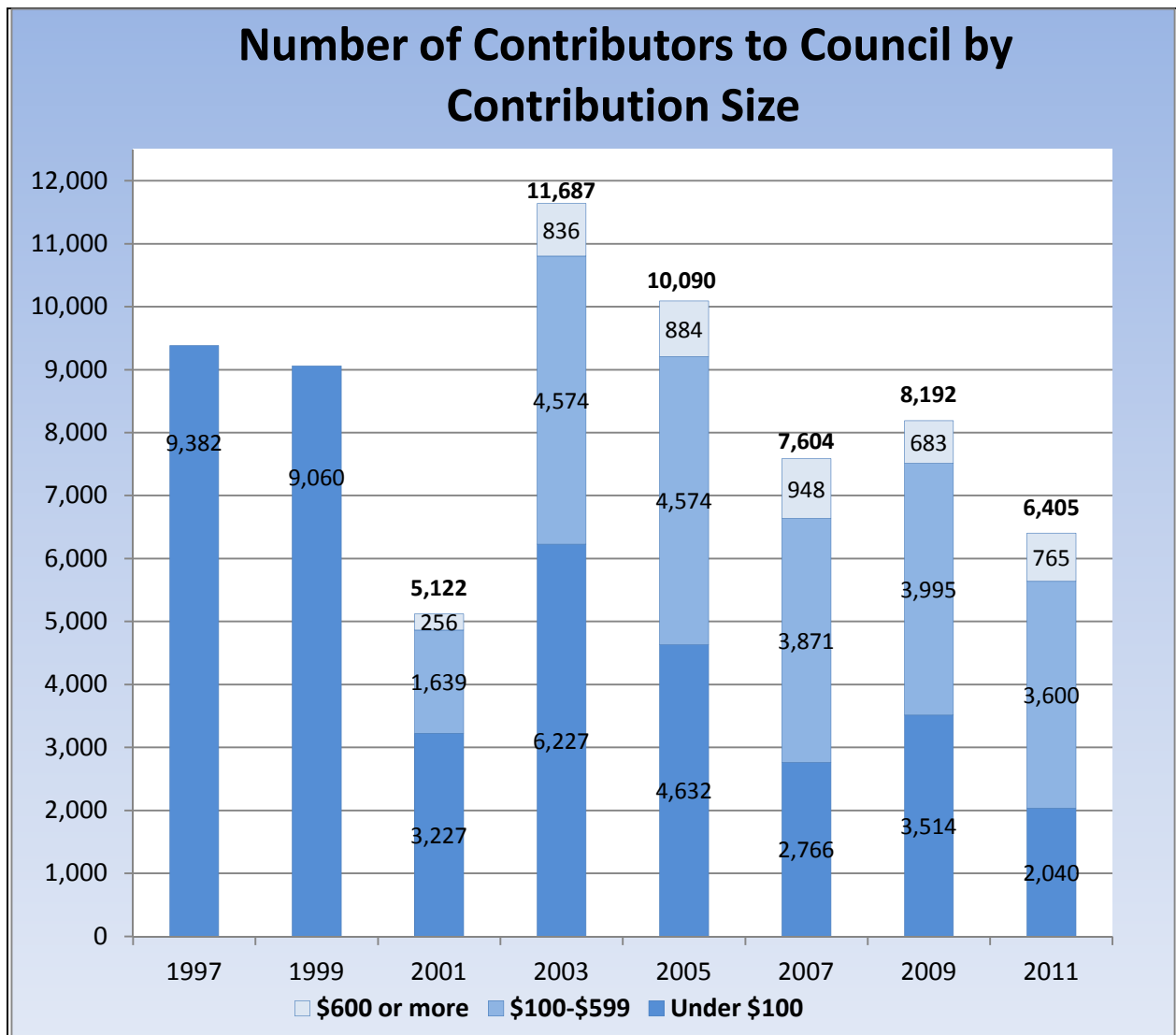
<sup>1</sup> The committees that organized to support or oppose the Vehicle License Fee are not included in this chart because that was not a City of Seattle election, but instead a Seattle Transportation Benefit District election. These committees nevertheless volunteered to report to the SEEC as well as to the State Public Disclosure Commission, and the Commission is grateful to the committees for agreeing to do so. Data about these committees is available on the Commission's web site: [www.seattle.gov/elections](http://www.seattle.gov/elections).

## The 2011 City Council Contests in Context

### 1. The number of contributors to City Council campaigns sank.

After rising in 2009 for the first time in several election cycles, in 2011 the number of contributors<sup>2</sup> dropped to its lowest level since 2001. As of December 12, 2011, there were 6,405 contributors, compared with 7,604 in 2007 and 8,192 in 2009.

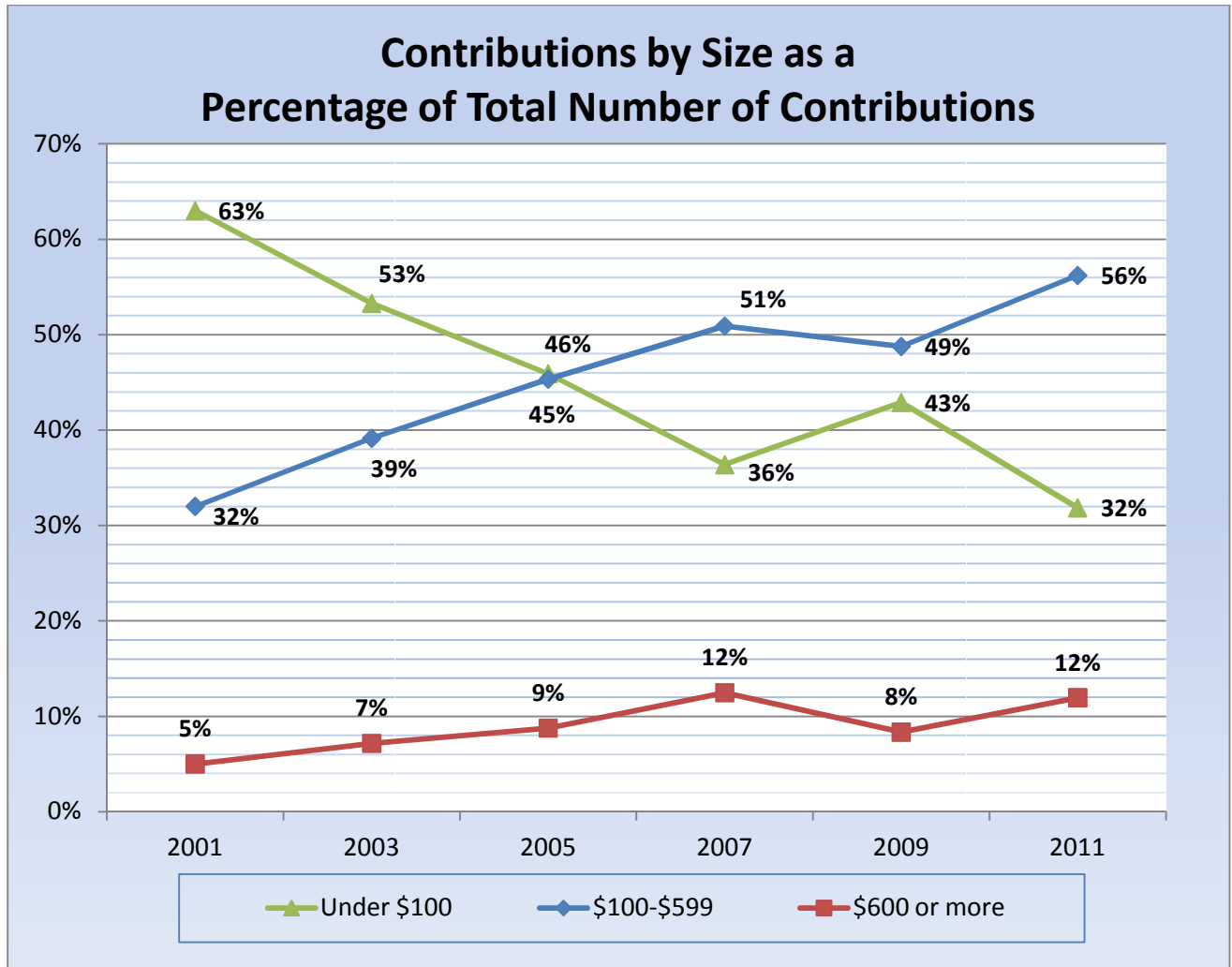
Continuing weakness in the economy is one potential explanation for the drop in the number of contributors. One other potential explanation: fewer candidates competed for the five Council seats than at any time since 1995, when the Commission began issuing election reports. Thirteen candidates filed for election this year. Only 2005 saw fewer Council candidates – twelve – and only four positions were on the ballot that year.



<sup>2</sup> This number factors out individual contributors who made more than one contribution to a single campaign, but counts as two contributors one individual who gave to two campaigns, as three contributors one individual who gave to three campaigns, and so on.

**2. The number of small contributions sank to its lowest level since the Commission began tracking contributions by size**

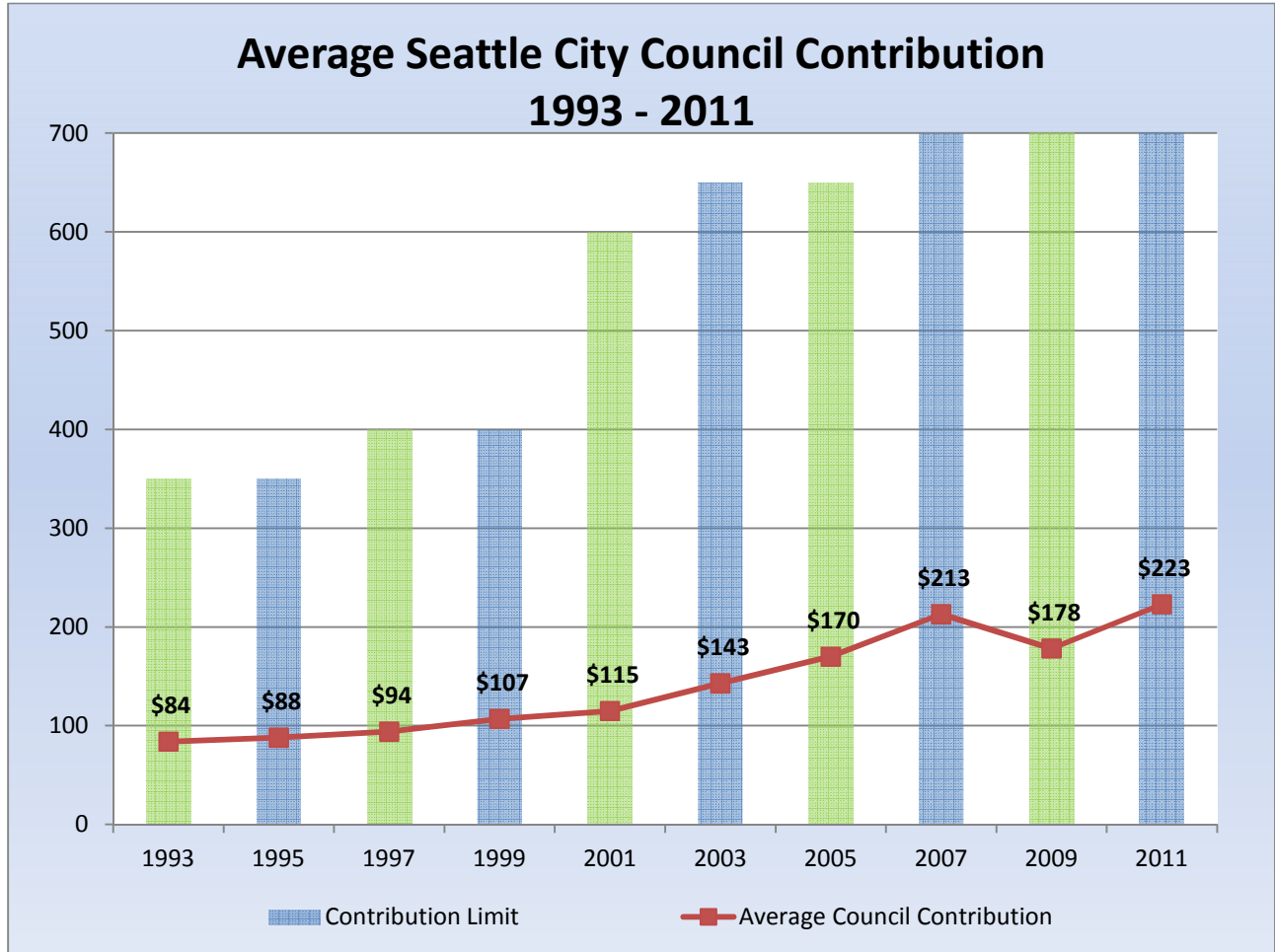
After bouncing back in 2009, the number of small contributions sank to a new low, off 42 percent from 2009, and off 26 percent from the 2007 election cycle. As the graph below shows, in 2001 roughly two-thirds of contributions came from people who contributed less than \$100. Ten years later, just one-third of the contributions came from people who contributed less than \$100.



**3. The average value of contributions to City Council campaigns rose to a new high.**

The average value of contributions to City Council campaigns surged to a new high this year after dropping in 2009.

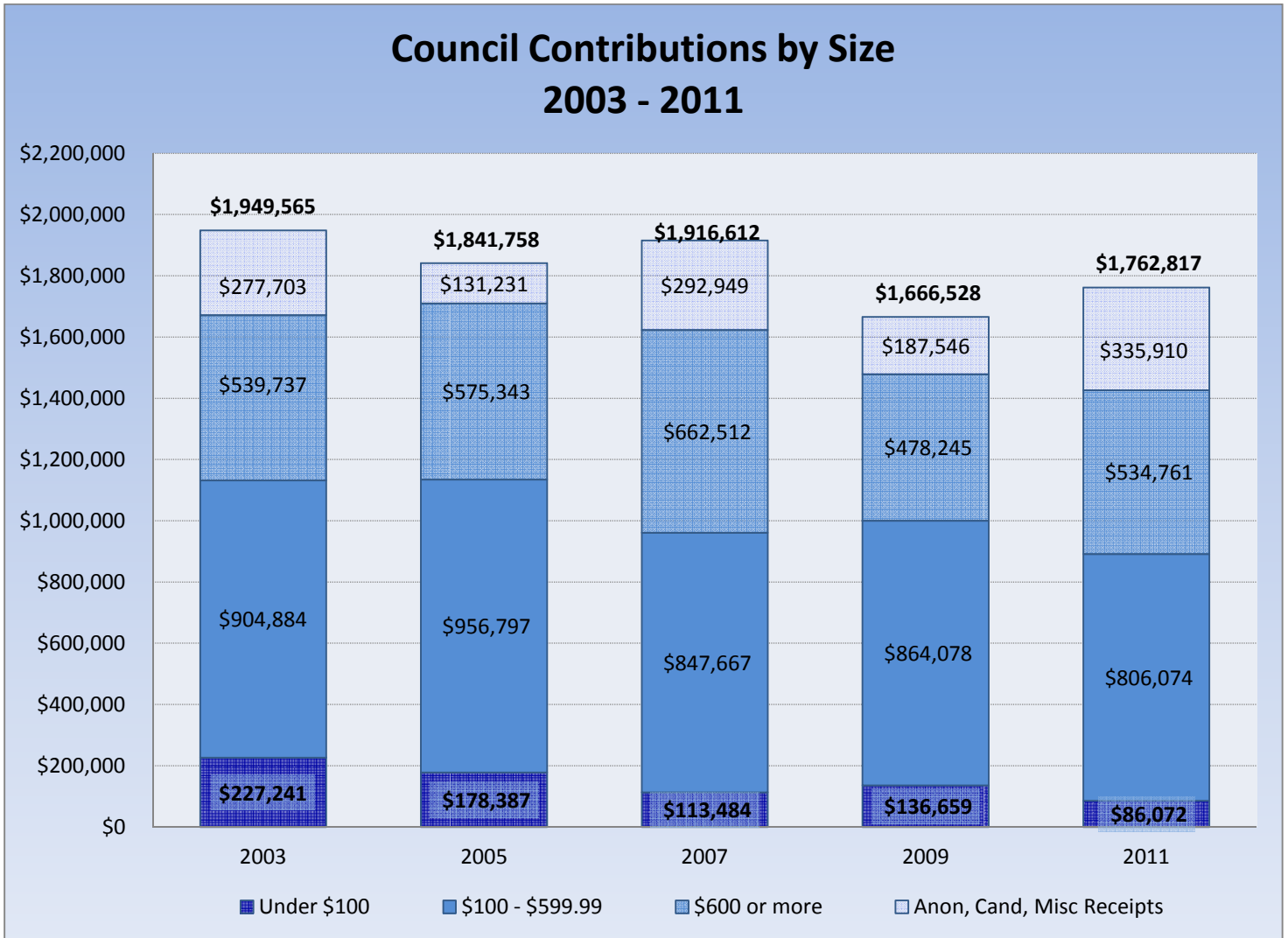
The average contribution to Council campaigns was up a full 25 percent from 2009, although it was up less than five percent from 2007, before the Great Recession took hold.





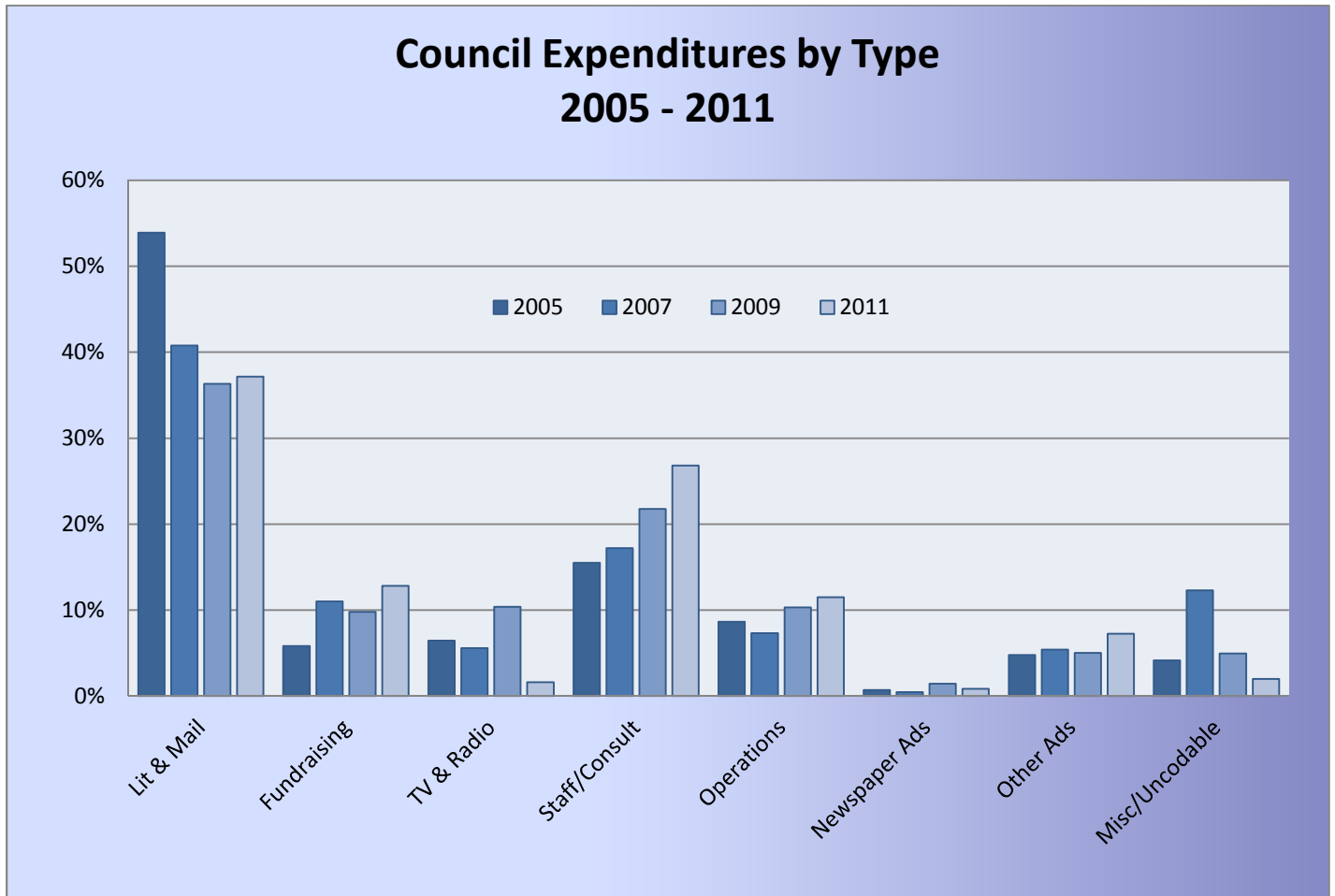
#### 4. Total Council Campaign Fundraising.

Total Council contributions rebounded slightly from 2009, but were still lower than they were in the 2003, 2005 and 2007 cycles. Five candidates exceeded the \$200,000 threshold, with one exceeding the \$300,000 threshold.



**5. Money spent on television and radio advertising declined markedly.**

Campaigns spent just two percent of their funds on television and radio advertising in 2011, down from ten percent in 2009 and six percent in 2007. Spending on staff and consultants consumed 27 percent of campaign spending in 2011, up from 22 percent in the 2009 cycle, and 17 percent in the 2007 cycle.



**6. Other notable features of the 2011 election cycle**

**a. Independent expenditures fell off a cliff.**

The flood of independent spending anticipated in the wake of the Supreme Court’s *Citizens United* ruling failed to materialize in Seattle City Council races. After skyrocketing more than tenfold in the span of four election cycles – from \$20,804 in 2003 to \$288,197 in 2009 – there were *no* independent expenditures reported in 2011.

**b. Transfers from prior campaigns reached a new high, as did the amount of unexpended funds remaining at the end of the campaign.**

Two candidates began the 2011 election cycle with significant funds on hand left over from their 2007 campaigns, and four of the five Councilmembers elected in 2011 had in excess of \$60,000 left unspent and unobligated after Election Day. The following chart shows all of the 2011 candidates who transferred funds from a prior campaign or had a balance in excess of \$10,000 as of November 30, 2011.

| <b>Candidate</b> | <b>Transferred from prior campaign</b> | <b>Balance available as of November 30, 2011</b> |
|------------------|--|--|
| Bruce Harrell    | \$0                                    | \$64,404   |
| Tom Rasmussen    | \$101,866                              | \$144,025  |
| Tim Burgess      | \$444                                  | \$77,838   |
| Sally Clark      | \$84,706                               | \$85,424   |
| <b>Total</b>     | <b>\$187,016</b>                       | <b>\$371,961</b>                                 |

## Top 20 Contributors to all 2011 Council Candidates

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>Matt Griffin<br/>Managing Partner<br/>Pine Street LLC</b> | <b>\$4,200</b> |
| Tim Burgess  | 700            |
| Sally Clark  | 700            |
| Maurice Classen  | 700            |
| Jean Godden  | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell  | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen  | 700            |

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>Pacific NW<br/>Regional Council<br/>of Carpenters</b> | <b>\$4,200</b> |
| Tim Burgess  | 700            |
| Sally Clark  | 700            |
| Bobby Forch  | 700            |
| Jean Godden  | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell  | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen  | 700            |

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <b>James C. Mueller<br/>JC Mueller LLC<br/>RE Developer</b> | <b>\$3,950</b> |
| Tim Burgess   | 700            |
| Sally Clark   | 700            |
| Bobby Forch   | 500            |
| Jean Godden   | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell   | 500            |
| Brad Meacham  | 350            |
| Tom Rasmussen   | 500            |

|                            |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| <b>NUCOR PAC of<br/>WA</b> | <b>\$3,900</b> |
| Tim Burgess                | 700            |
| Sally Clark                | 700            |
| Bobby Forch                | 350            |
| Jean Godden                | 500            |
| Bruce Harrell              | 700            |
| Brad Meacham               | 250            |
| Tom Rasmussen              | 700            |

|  |                |
|--|----------------|
| <b>HOD Carriers and<br/>General Laborers<br/>Union Local 242</b> | <b>\$3,800</b> |
| Tim Burgess  | 500            |
| Sally Clark  | 700            |
| Bobby Forch  | 500            |
| Jean Godden  | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell  | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen  | 700            |

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <b>Builders United In<br/>Legislative<br/>Development<br/>BUILD</b> | <b>\$3,750</b> |
| Tim Burgess   | 700            |
| Sally Clark   | 250            |
| Maurice Classen   | 700            |
| Jean Godden   | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell   | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen   | 700            |

|                                     |                |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>John C. Blackman<br/>Retired</b> | <b>\$3,650</b> |
| Tim Burgess                         | 700            |
| Sally Clark                         | 550            |
| Maurice Classen                     | 500            |
| Bobby Forch                         | 250            |
| Jean Godden                         | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell                       | 250            |
| Tom Rasmussen                       | 700            |

The following twelve contributors each contributed \$700 to each of the five incumbents, for a total of \$3,500.

|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| <b>Amalgamated Transit<br/>Union</b>  | <b>\$3,500</b> |
| <b>Robert B. Burkheimer<br/>Burkheimer Mgmt.<br/>Co.<br/>Real Estate<br/>Investment</b> |                |
| <b>Cleanscapes Inc</b>  |                |
| <b>Consumer Fireworks<br/>Safety Assn PAC</b>   |                |
| <b>Intl Fed. of Prof. &amp;<br/>Tech Engineers Local<br/>17 PAC</b>                     |                |
| <b>Muckleshoot Indian<br/>Tribe</b>   |                |
| <b>David Sabey/Sabey<br/>Corporation</b>  |                |
| <b>SEIU Healthcare 775<br/>NW</b>   |                |
| <b>The Seattle Mariners</b>   |                |
| <b>UA Plumbers and<br/>Pipefitters Local 32</b>   |                |
| <b>Vulcan, Inc</b>  |                |
| <b>WA Association. of<br/>Realtors PAC</b>  |                |
| Tim Burgess   | 700            |
| Sally Clark   | 700            |
| Jean Godden   | 700            |
| Bruce Harrell   | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen   | 700            |

|                                  |                |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| <b>Paul Brainerd<br/>Retired</b> | <b>\$3,450</b> |
| Tim Burgess                      | 700            |
| Sally Clark                      | 700            |
| Jean Godden                      | 650            |
| Bruce Harrell                    | 700            |
| Tom Rasmussen                    | 700            |

## Top 20 Employers of Contributors to City Council Candidates

The chart below shows the aggregate of contributions from contributors who list the entity named below as their employer. Contributions from the employer, if any, are not included in these totals.

### 2011 Top 20 Employers of Contributors

|   |               |
|---|---------------|
| 1. Not Employed   | \$ 172,074.96 |
| 2. City of Seattle                                      | \$ 75,778.10  |
| 3. State of Washington                                  | \$ 21,076.90  |
| 4. Microsoft  | \$ 11,980.00  |
| 5. King County  | \$ 10,395.94  |
| 6. Foster Pepper PLLC                                   | \$ 8,500.00   |
| 7. Wright Runstad                                       | \$ 6,700.00   |
| 8. Goodman Real Estate                                  | \$ 6,300.00   |
| 9. Perkins Coie LLP                                     | \$ 6,225.00   |
| 10. The Boeing Company                                  | \$ 6,015.00   |
| 11. Vulcan NW   | \$ 5,700.00   |
| 12. Pine Street Development LLC                         | \$ 5,679.00   |
| 13. Federal Government                                  | \$ 5,252.50   |
| 14. GMINC/Gogerty Marriott Inc.                         | \$ 5,150.00   |
| 15. Polygon NW  | \$ 5,100.00   |
| 16. Starbucks Coffee Co                                 | \$ 4,800.00   |
| 17. Carwash Enterprises Inc.                            | \$ 4,400.00   |
| 17. Nitze Stagen & Co                                   | \$ 4,400.00   |
| 19. K&L Gates   | \$ 4,275.00   |
| 20. McCullough Hill                                     | \$ 4,200.00   |
| 20. Urban Visions / Gregory Broderick Smith Real Estate | \$ 4,200.00   |

## 2011 City Office and Ballot Issue Vote Returns

Compiled from reports prepared by King County Elections

<http://your.kingcounty.gov/elections/elections/201108/results.aspx>

This year's report shows the turnout per race in addition to the total City turnout.

| <b>Primary Vote Returns, August 16, 2011</b> |                          |                |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                          | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| <b>138,108</b>                               | <b>379,450</b>           | <b>36.40%</b>  |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 1</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| <b>122,795</b>                                | <b>379,450</b>           | <b>32%</b>     |
| Michael Taylor-Judd                           | 15,599                   | 12.70%         |
| Maurice Classen                               | 21,188                   | 17.25%         |
| Jean Godden                                   | 53,216                   | 43.34%         |
| Bobby Forch                                   | 32,027                   | 26.08%         |
| Write-in                                      | 765                      | 0.62%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 9</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| <b>117,655</b>                                | <b>379,450</b>           | <b>31%</b>     |
| Fathie Karshie                                | 5,678                    | 4.83%          |
| Sally J. Clark                                | 84,955                   | 72.21%         |
| Dian Ferguson                                 | 25,798                   | 21.93%         |
| Write-in                                      | 1,224                    | 1.04%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Referendum 1 (Viaduct)</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                                   | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| <b>135,268</b>  | <b>379,450</b>           | <b>36%</b>     |
| Approved  | 78,767                   | 58.23%         |
| Rejected  | 56,501                   | 41.77%         |

Fewer than three candidates filed to run for positions 3, 5 and 7, so there was no primary for those seats. Candidates for positions 3, 5, and 7 appeared on the November ballot only.

| <b>General Election Vote Returns<br/>November 8, 2011</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                                       | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| <b>197,524</b>  | <b>373,630</b>           | <b>52.87%</b>  |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 1</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 166,884                                       | 373,630                  | 45%            |
| Jean Godden                                   | 84,124                   | 50.41%         |
| Bobby Forch                                   | 82,060                   | 49.17%         |
| Write-in                                      | 700                      | 0.42%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 7</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 158,322                                       | 373,630                  | 42%            |
| David Schraer                                 | 26,758                   | 16.90%         |
| Tim Burgess                                   | 130,674                  | 82.54%         |
| Write-in                                      | 890                      | 0.56%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 3</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 158,853                                       | 373,630                  | 43%            |
| Brad Meacham                                  | 61,138                   | 38.49%         |
| Bruce Harrell                                 | 96,978                   | 61.05%         |
| Write-in                                      | 737                      | 0.46%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 9</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 158,147                                       | 373,630                  | 42%            |
| Sally J. Clark                                | 102,620                  | 64.89%         |
| Dian Ferguson                                 | 54,296                   | 34.33%         |
| Write-in                                      | 1,231                    | 0.78%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Council Position No. 5</b> |                          |                |
|---|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>                           | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 156,408                                       | 373,630                  | 42%            |
| Dale L. Pusey                                 | 42,452                   | 27.14%         |
| Tom Rasmussen                                 | 112,808                  | 72.12%         |
| Write-in                                      | 1,148                    | 0.73%          |

| <b>City of Seattle Proposition 1 Families and Education Levy</b> |                          |                |
|--|--------------------------|----------------|
| <u>Ballots Cast</u>  | <u>Registered Voters</u> | <u>Turnout</u> |
| 189,025  | 373,630                  | 51%            |
| LEVY, YES  | 120,854                  | 63.94%         |
| LEVY, NO   | 68,171                   | 36.06%         |