Small Donors and Large Donors in State Elections

Michael J. Malbin

Campaign Finance Institute and University at Albany, SUNY

Purchasing Power: Money, Politics and Inequality Institute for Social and Policy Studies Yale University May 6, 2013

Donors to Gubernatorial and Legislative Races in 2010 by State as Percentage of Voting Age Population

Only shows states that had both legislative and gubernatorial races;

ME and AZ excluded.

FOR NEXT TWO SLIDES

SEE HANDOUT

Median States:

2010: PA at 1.31%

2006: OR at 1.57%

2010			2006			
	Percentage VAP			Percentage VAP		
State	Participating 2010	2010 rank	State	Participating 2006	2006 rank	
VT	5.86	1	RI	5.44	1	
RI	5.03	2	VT	4.33	2	
н	4.23	3	MN	4.11	3	
MA	3.51	4	AK	3.66	4	
MN	3.09	5	SD	3.55	5	
SD	2.85	6	MA	3.17	6	
AK	2.53	7	HI	3.00	7	
СТ	2.26	8	IA	2.37	8	
WI	2.15	9	WI	2.28	9	
IA	1.98	10	MD	2.21	10	
WY	1.82	11	WY	2.09	11	
MD	1.79	12	СТ	1.95	12	
ID	1.78	13	NM	1.70	13	
OR	1.77	14	AR	1.62	14	
NM	1.69	15	ID	1.62	15	
NH	1.56	16	OR	1.57	16	
CO	1.51	17	NE	1.57	17	
PA	1.31	18	CO	1.41	18	
AR	1.23	19	OK	1.39	19	
ОК	1.06	20	KS	1.28	20	
KS	1.04	21	MI	1.24	21	
AL	1.01	22	PA	1.23	22	
TN	0.89	23	NH	1.22	23	
OH	0.87	24	GA	1.19	24	
MI	0.86	25	IL	1.00	25	
GA	0.84	26	SC	0.98	26	
SC	0.82	27	OH	0.92	27	
ТΧ	0.82	28	AL	0.79	28	
IL	0.75	29	FL	0.78	29	
NE	0.7	30	TN	0.67	30	
NV	0.57	31	NV	0.65	31	
NY	0.53	32	CA	0.56	32	
UT	0.51	33	NY	0.49	33	
CA	0.32	34				
FL	0.22	35				

SOURCES OF FUNDS FOR CANDIDATES

SEE HANDOUT FOR READABLE COPY

Jurisdictions: (inc. States w Gub'l in 2010.)	% from Indivs. Who Gave Aggr	egates per	Cand. of	% from Or	ganizations	Total
	\$1-\$250	\$251-\$999	\$1,000 +	Non-Pty	Party	
FL	1%	1%	60%	26%	12%	100%
IL .	4%	3%	13%	50%	30%	100%
NV	5%	7%	23%	61%	4%	100%
NY State (w 2012 leg've in brackets)	6% (8%)	5% (6%)	31% (19%)	47% (57%)	11% (10%)	100%
РА	6%	8%	26%	48%	12%	100%
CA	7%	3%	54%	30%	6%	100%
OR	7%	5%	15%	65%	5%	100%
TN	7%	16%	53%	19%	4%	100%
ОН	8%	6%	36%	22%	29%	100%
NM	9%	11%	34%	43%	4%	100%
U.S. House of Reps, 2010*	10%	12%	38%	34%	6%*	100%
sc	10%	18%	34%	37%	2%	100%
ок	10%	19%	44%	28%	1%	100%
RI	10%	18%	44%	27%	1%	100%
WY	12%	28%	38%	17%	4%	100%
МІ	12%	11%	21%	30%	26%	100%
AR	12%	20%	30%	35%	4%	100%
Romney 2012*	12%	22%	66%			100%
NYC: 2009 Non-participants	14%	17%	67%	3%	0%	100%
КЅ	14%	15%	20%	49%	2%	100%
SD	14%	17%	42%	23%	4%	100%
MD	16%	27%	27%	38%	2%	100%
ID	16%	14%	25%	43%	2%	100%
н	16%	16%	47%	21%	1%	100%
U.S. Senate, 2010*	19%	8%	38%	13%	22%*	100%
NE	19%	5%	32%	44%	1%	100%
АК	21%	32%	28%	14%	7%	100%
Obama, 2012*	28%	34%	39%			100%
МА	30%	43%	6%	7%	14%	100%
VT	30%	24%	30%	13%	3%	100%
GA	32%	12%	26%	28%	2%	100%
со	32%	27%	22%	16%	3%	100%
WI	34%	22%	34%	9%	2%	100%
NYC: 2009 Participants – pvt \$ only	38%	17%	32%	11%	1%	100%
NH	41%	18%	24%	16%	1%	100%
MN	57%	10%	14%	10%	8%	100%
NYC: 2009 Pvt \$ + Matching	63%	15%	17%	4%	0%	100%
Median state:	12%					

New York State 2010 Actual



What if ... 6:1 Matching Funds, First \$175, Same Donors as 2010



What if ... Matching Stimulates Enough New \$50 Donors so NYS Participation Rate is up 1% to = Median State



Not just more donors. Different in kind.

Joint study: CFI and BCJ

Compared NYC Council with NYS Assembly Districts in NYC.

Same Donor Pool, roughly same size districts, roughly same amount of money.

Plotted each donor, compared census block groups.

NY State Assembly 2010 (donors over \$1000)



NY City Council 2009 (donors over \$1000)



NY State Assembly 2010 (donors under \$175)



NY City Council 2009 (donors under \$175)



NYS Assembly 2010, \$175 or Less

(Bedford-Stuyvesant and Surrounding Communities In Brooklyn)



NY City Council 2009, \$175 or Less

(Bedford-Stuyvesant and Surrounding Communities In Brooklyn)



Characteristics of the block groups		Block Groups with Donors Whose Contributions to a Candidate Aggregate To		
	\$1-175	\$176-\$999	\$1000 or more	
Median Household Income 1999, CBGs w donors (Entire city	: \$38,293)	1		
City Council	\$43,754	<mark>\$</mark> 58,551	\$70,798	
Assembly	\$49,973	\$57,452	\$66,255	
Poverty % in CBGs with donors (Entire city: 21%)				
City Council	19%	13%	11%	
Assembly	16%	13%	12%	
Non-white % in CBGs with donors (Entire city: 55%)			·	
City Council	54%	35%	25%	
Assembly	39%	30%	21%	
Education: % not completing high school (Entire city: 28%)			•	
City Council	26%	18%	14%	
Assembly	22%	18%	14%	
Education: % with Bachelor's degree or beyond (Entire city: 2	?7%)			
City Council	30%	44%	52%	
Assembly	36%	43%	51%	

The Cost of a Public Matching Fund System for New York State Elections

Includes the Four-Year cost for all Statewide and Legislative Candidates, 2010-2012

All candidates assumed to receive public funds up to the maximum allowed for one contested election, usually the general election. In addition, for primary elections:	Same Donors as 2010- 2012, Lower Contribution Limit	Same Donors Plus Each Candidate Doubles the Amount of Small Donor Money Raised
Assume higher public funding cap only for those who actually had two contests		
Total Four-Year Public Funding Cost	\$104,269,894	\$132,446,554
Average per year per capita	\$1.34	\$1.70
Treat every 2010-12 general election candidate as if in a contested primary		
Total Four-Year Public Funding Cost	\$120,928,616	\$162,373,570
Average per year per capita	\$1.55	\$2.08