

# Analysis of Candidates Qualifying Under Different Los Angeles Matching Funds Proposals

## *Councilmember Bonin amendment needed to stop the number of qualifying candidates from being slashed by over half*

### California Clean Money Campaign

Los Angeles City Council is considering a proposal by the Ethics Commission, as amended by a motion from Councilmembers David Ryu and Joe Buscaino, to strengthen Los Angeles's matching funds system in multiple ways<sup>1</sup>. The most consequential reform is to increase the matching rate to 6-to-1 in both the primary and general elections (up from 2-to-1 and 4-to-1, respectively) while lowering the maximum amount matched from \$250 for Council candidates and \$500 for citywide candidates to an amount equal to 1/7<sup>th</sup> the maximum contribution to candidates, i.e., \$115 for Council candidates and \$215 for citywide candidates in 2019. These changes would amplify the voices of small donors, making a \$115 donation from a Los Angeles city resident to a Council candidate worth as much as the largest allowed donation from special interests (\$800).

However, as currently written, the draft ordinance that passed Council on October 5th would cause the unintended negative effect of making it significantly harder for candidates to reach the aggregate contribution threshold required to qualify. An amendment proposed by Councilmember Mike Bonin, seconded by Councilmembers Paul Koretz and David Ryu, and supported by the California Clean Money Campaign and a broad coalition of public interest groups, would adjust the aggregate threshold so the ordinance doesn't require a greater number of maximum qualifying contributions than today's law.

California Clean Money Campaign analyzed publicly available contribution data on candidates who ran in Los Angeles city elections in 2013-2017 and applied for matching funds to determine how many met the aggregate qualifying threshold under (a) current law, (b) the Oct 5th draft ordinance, and (c) the Oct 5th draft ordinance with Councilmember Bonin's amendment.

#### **Key Findings from Comparing Oct 5th Draft to Current Law on 2013-2017 Candidates:**

- The number of Council candidates in 2013-2017 reaching the aggregate qualifying threshold of \$25,000 is slashed to less than half compared to current law, from 44 to only 20.<sup>2</sup>
- Qualifying female Council candidates are slashed by 73%, from 11 to only 3.<sup>3</sup>
- Qualifying candidates for citywide offices drop from 7 to only 5.<sup>4</sup>
- Reaching the aggregate threshold under the Oct 5th draft is so difficult that 3 City Council incumbents don't reach it with the contributions they raised in 2015 and 2017.
- Matching funds would be greatly delayed and therefore less useful, as 9 of 20 Council candidates (45%) reach the aggregate threshold less than 6 weeks before the election, and 5 reach it less than 2 weeks before.

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<sup>1</sup> Council file 12-1269-S5. Originally passed Council to be sent for drafting to City Attorney on Oct 5th.

<sup>2</sup> 55 Council candidates received matching funds in 2013-2017, most of them (29) in 2013, because in 2013 the first \$250 of all contributions (including from non-individuals and outside the city) counted toward the \$25,000 aggregate qualifying threshold, whereas current law counts only the first \$250 of contributions from individuals living in Los Angeles.

<sup>3</sup> 15 female Council candidates actually received matching funds from 2013-2017 because of easier qualification rules in 2013.

<sup>4</sup> 10 citywide candidates received matching funds in citywide races in 2013-2017, most of them (9) in 2013, because in 2013 the first \$500 of all contributions (including from non-individuals and from outside the city) counted towards the aggregate threshold.

### **Key Findings when Including Councilmember Bonin's Amendment on 2013-2017 Candidates:**

- 50 Council candidates reach the aggregate threshold, compared to only 20 under the Oct 5 draft.
- Over 5x as many female Council candidates qualify compared to the Oct 5 draft (16 instead of 3).
- The number of Council candidates reaching the aggregate threshold is similar to today (50 vs. 44 today), and 5 of the 6 additional qualifying candidates are women.
- 8 candidates for citywide offices reach the aggregate threshold, compared to only 5 under the Oct 5 draft and 7 under current law.<sup>5</sup>
- Total cost of matching funds program to the City likely lower than in the Ethics Commission 6-to-1 proposal.
- Aggregate threshold would automatically adjust with inflation along with the maximum qualifying contribution, unlike under the Oct 5th draft or current law.

Of course, had either set of new rules been in place in 2013-2017, some candidates might have focused more on raising small contributions from Los Angeles city residents, possibly leading to more Council candidates qualifying than the 20 in our analysis. But it's not clear how different the outcome would have been given that donations of \$100 or less from city residents also helped candidates qualify in 2013-2017 under the rules they actually ran under. Candidates who had greater challenges qualifying were likely seeking \$100 contributions already.

### **Qualifying under Oct 5th Draft Compared to Councilmember Bonin's Amendment**

Current law requires candidates to reach an aggregate threshold, using only qualifying contributions, of \$25,000 for races for City Council, \$75,000 for City Attorney and Controller, and \$150,000 for Mayor. Qualifying contributions must be from Los Angeles city residents, and the maximum amount that can be counted towards the aggregate threshold, and then matched, is \$250 for Council races and \$500 for citywide races. This means the threshold for Council races requires the equivalent of 100 of the max qualifying contribution (\$250); City Attorney and Controller, the equivalent of 150 max contribution (\$500); and the Mayor, the equivalent of 300 max contribution (\$500).

The Oct 5th draft lowers the maximum qualifying contribution for Council races in 2019 from \$250 to \$115 and for citywide races from \$500 to \$215 while it also increases the matching rate to 6-to-1. This reform is supported by the California Clean Money Campaign and a broad coalition of public interest groups to empower small donors.

However, by not also lowering the aggregate threshold to adjust for the lower max qualifying contributions, **the Oct 5th draft inadvertently requires more than twice as many max qualifying contributions as current law.** Unless amended, candidates for Council would need 219 max qualifying contributions instead of 100 (currently); City Attorney and Controller, 349 instead of 150; and Mayor, 698 instead of 300. This would make it substantially harder and slower for candidates to qualify than current law.

**Councilmember Bonin's amendment addresses this problem by explicitly defining the aggregate qualifying thresholds to be equal to the same number of max qualifying contributions required under today, i.e., 100 max qualifying contributions for Council races, 150 for Attorney and Controller, and 300 Mayor.**

This means that starting in 2019, the aggregate threshold would be \$11,500 for Council races (100 x \$115), \$32,250 for Attorney and Controller (150 x \$215), and \$64,500 for Mayor (300 x \$215). The amount would be adjusted for inflation.

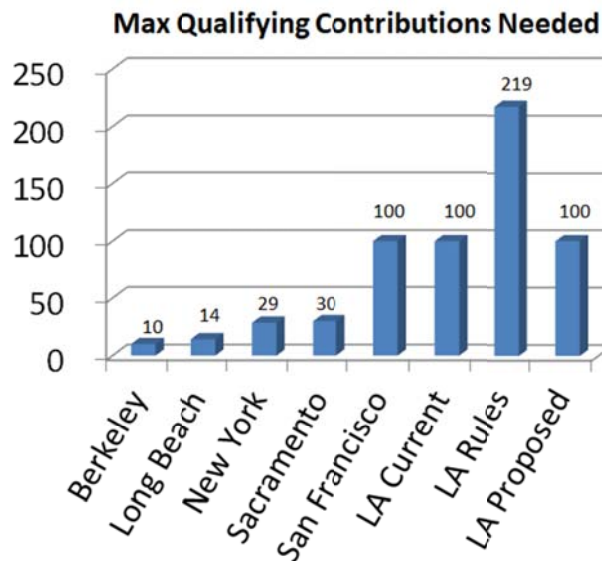
This (a) Lets candidates qualify using the same number of max qualifying contributions as now, (b) Doesn't make it harder for candidates to qualify than current law, (c) Doesn't slow down when candidates get matching funds, (d) Automatically adjusts for inflation as the max qualifying contribution adjusts for inflation.

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<sup>5</sup> 10 citywide candidates actually received matching funds in citywide races from 2013-2017, 9 in 2013..

**It's important to note that in other cities, the aggregate qualifying threshold for Council races is much lower than in Los Angeles.** In New York City it takes \$5,000 to qualify for Council races, in Sacramento it's \$7,500, and in San Francisco it's \$10,000, compared to \$25,000 in Los Angeles currently. Under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, Los Angeles's aggregate threshold would still be higher (\$11,500) yet much closer to other cities.

Under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, candidates in Los Angeles would still be required to gather more max qualifying contributions than in most other cities with public financing programs. The average number of max qualifying contributions required for Council races in Berkeley, Long Beach, New York City, Sacramento, and San Francisco is only 37, compared to 100 in Los Angeles currently and also under Councilmember Bonin's amendment. Yet without Councilmember Bonin's amendment, candidates would need nearly 6 times as many max qualifying contributions to qualify as the average of these other cities.



### Analysis of 2013-2017 Candidates for Reaching Aggregate Qualifying Thresholds

The California Clean Money Campaign performed an in-depth analysis of contributions received by all candidates for Los Angeles City Council, Controller, Attorney, and Mayor who received matching funds in 2013-2017. We downloaded contribution data from the Los Angeles City Ethics Commission website.<sup>6</sup>

Contributions on the Ethics Commission website do not specify whether they were qualifying contributions, but along with the amount they list the zip code of the contributor (although not the address) and whether they were an individual. Because some zip codes include addresses both inside and outside the city of Los Angeles, we deemed contributions from individuals in zip codes that are at least 25% within Los Angeles city limits as qualifying contributions. Then, from each qualifying contribution, we included only the amount up to the maximum for the race in which it was given (i.e., City Council, Attorney, Controller, Mayor) under the different options being considered.

Contributions from those who give less than \$100 total to a single candidate are not required to be itemized during reporting and on the City's website are combined under the totals for all un-itemized contributions. Because just under 50% of itemized contributions in 2013-2017 were from individuals living in Los Angeles City zip codes, we assumed that 50% of un-itemized contributions were too, and therefore deemed them as qualified.

Our calculations provide good estimates of which candidates who received matching funds in 2013-2017 would reach the aggregate qualifying threshold under the different options being considered. Estimates may be slightly high because, as explained, we included contributions from individuals in zip codes not entirely in the city of Los Angeles. Despite this theoretical possibility, our method correctly identifies which candidates from 2015-2017 reached the aggregate threshold under rules that counted only contributions from Los Angeles residents.

### Without Amendment: Drop from 44 to Only 20 2013-2017 Council Candidates that Qualify

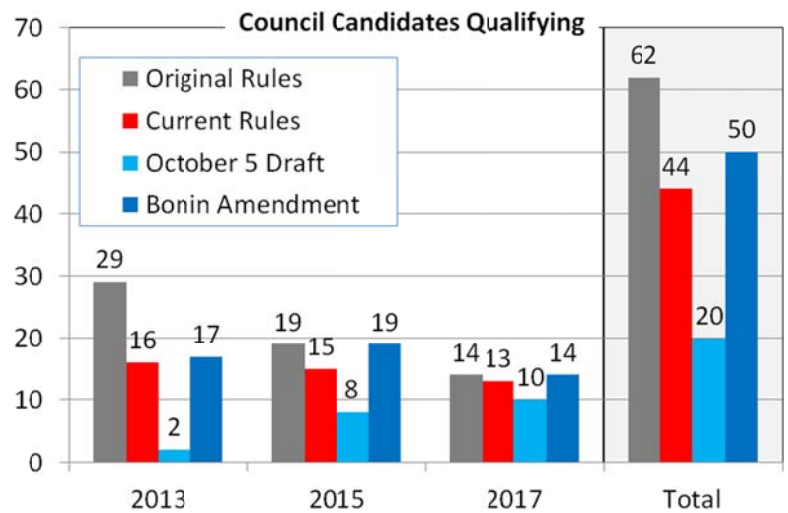
In real life, during 2013-2017, 55 City Council candidates received matching funds. 29 of those 55 qualified in 2013 when it was easier because at that time all contributions of \$250 or less counted, regardless of whether they were from individuals or organizations who were in the city of Los Angeles or not. Starting in 2015, only contributions from Los Angeles city residents counted while the aggregate qualifying threshold remained at \$25,000. So, although in 2013 29 Council candidates received matching funds, in 2015 only 14 did, and in 2017 only 12 did.

<sup>6</sup> <https://ethics.lacity.org/data/campaigns/contributions/>

The chart on the right compares what actually happened to our estimate of how many of the same Council candidates would qualified under the options being considered.

The chart shows that if the original rules that included contributions from donors who were not Los Angeles city residents had been in place in 2013-2017, a total of 62 candidates reach the threshold: 29 in 2013, 19 in 2015, and 14 in 2017.

If the current rules that count only contributions from Los Angeles city residents had been in place for 2013-2017, 44 candidates reach the threshold. Most of the decrease (compared to the original rules) is in 2013, from 29 to 16, likely because in 2013 it was easier to get more qualifying contributions because contributions from donors who were not Los Angeles city residents counted. In fact, producing a greater focus on Los Angeles city residents was a major goal of the reforms that went into effect in 2015.



**The chart shows that the Oct 5th Draft has a devastating effect on the number of candidates who reach the threshold, slashing it by more than half, to only 20 from 44 (currently).** This is because lowering the maximum amount of each contribution that counts dramatically reduces candidates’ total of qualifying contributions. Under the Oct 5th draft, in 2013-2017 the maximum qualifying contribution equals \$100 (1/7<sup>th</sup> the then-contribution limit of \$700)<sup>7</sup>, so it takes 250 max qualifying contributions to reach the aggregate threshold of \$25,000 – much more than 100 max qualifying contributions of \$250 required under the original and current rules. Thus only 20 candidates reach the \$25,000 threshold, less than one per each of the 23 Council races during that period. The appendix shows the details for each of the candidates.

However, with Councilmember Bonin’s amendment, 50 of the 2013-2017 Council candidates reach the threshold, an outcome much closer to under current law (44)<sup>8</sup>. This is substantially lower than the 62 who do so under the original rules, which alleviates any concerns that even more candidates would qualify than under the original rules. And it ensures that just over two candidates per race qualify, compared to less than one candidate (often an incumbent) under the Oct 5th draft. Finally, 5 of the 6 additional candidates who reach the threshold under Councilmember Bonin’s amendment (compared to current rules) are women, an important consideration for a Council in which women are dramatically underrepresented.

### Without Amendment: Drop From 7 to Only 5 Citywide Candidates that Qualify

In real life, during 2013-2017, 10 citywide candidates received matching funds (6 candidates for Mayor, 2 for Attorney, and 2 for Controller). 9 of the 10 candidates did so in 2013 but in 2017 only 1 did. In part this was because none of the incumbents who ran in 2017 applied for matching funds. But another likely cause is that in 2017 it was significantly harder to qualify because only contributions from Los Angeles city residents counted; whereas, in 2013 all contributions of \$500 or less counted.

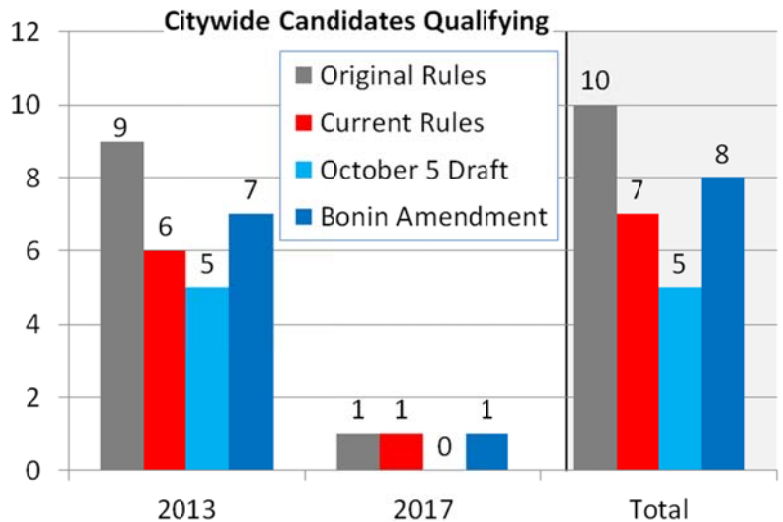
The chart on the next page shows our analysis of how many citywide candidates reach their aggregate qualifying threshold under the different options being considered.

<sup>7</sup> The Oct 5th draft rules change the maximum qualifying contribution for Council races from \$250 to 1/7th of the contribution limit for Council candidates. Because the contribution limits from 2013-2017 was \$700, the max qualifying contribution was \$100. In the 2019 election, the Council contribution limit will be \$800, so the max qualifying contribution will be \$115.

<sup>8</sup> The aggregate qualifying threshold for 2013-2017 using Councilmember Bonin’s amendment would have been \$10,000 (100 x \$100). See Appendix for details on individual candidates.

The chart shows that if the original rules that included contributions from donors who were not Los Angeles city residents had been in place in 2013-2017, a total of 10 candidates reach the threshold: 9 in 2013 and 1 in 2017. This estimate matches what actually happened.

If the current rules that count only contributions from Los Angeles city residents had been in place in 2013-2017, a total of 7 candidates reach the threshold. In other words, under the current rules, 3 citywide candidates who in real life qualified for matching funds in 2013 under the original rules (two candidates for Mayor and one for City Attorney) don't reach the threshold. We provide more detail on this below.



The Oct 5th draft lowers the maximum amount of an individual's contribution to citywide candidates that counts as a qualifying contribution from \$500 to one-seventh (1/7) of the contribution limit, which means \$215 in the 2019 election<sup>9</sup>. The Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft does so without also adjusting the aggregate qualifying thresholds. The chart illustrates the outcome. **The Oct 5th draft cuts the number of citywide candidates who reach threshold even further, to only 5 from 7 under current law** — which is fewer than one candidate per race. Even the contributions gathered by current Controller Ron Galperin, who qualified for matching funds in 2013, don't reach this proposed threshold. In fact, no citywide candidates who applied for matching funds in 2017 makes it.

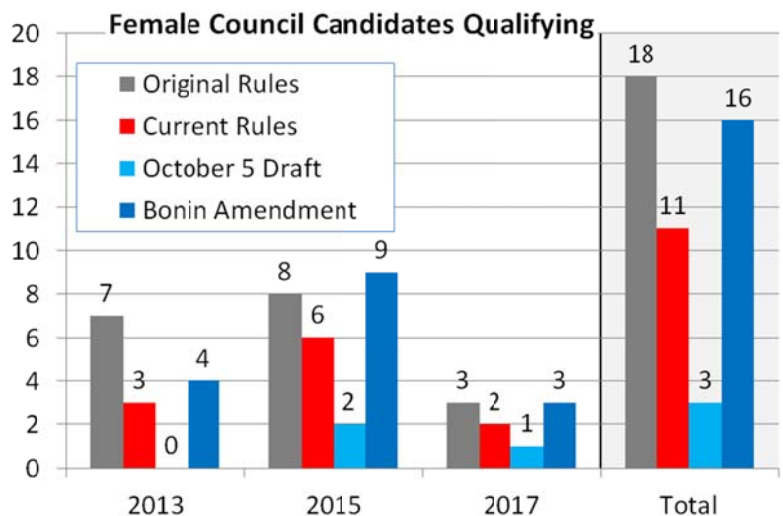
However, with Councilmember Bonin's amendment, 8 of the citywide candidates in 2013-2017 reach the aggregate threshold, an outcome much closer to under current law (7)<sup>10</sup>. This is fewer than the 10 predicted to reach threshold under the original rules, which should alleviate any concerns about too many candidates qualifying compared to the original rules. And still the amendment is very likely to ensure that at least more than one candidate per race will qualify, in contrast to than fewer than one produced by the Oct 5th draft.

### Without Amendment: Drop From 11 to a Mere 3 Female Council Candidates that Qualify

Women have historically been dramatically underrepresented on Los Angeles City Council. In the entire history of the city of Los Angeles, there have been only 18 female Councilmembers. In 2011-2016 there was only one female Councilmember out of 15 Councilmembers, and even now in 2018 there are only 2 females out of 15 Councilmembers, a mere 13%. Both were elected with the help of matching funds.

The chart to the right shows how female Council candidates from 2013-2017 would have fared under the options being considered.

In 2013-2017, 15 female Council candidates received matching funds. The estimate from our calculations matches this figure exactly. The chart shows that if the original rules that



<sup>9</sup> In 2013 the contribution limit for citywide candidates was \$1,300, so the max qualifying contribution for citywide candidates would have been \$185. In 2017 the contribution limit for citywide candidates was \$1,400, so the max qualifying contribution for city candidates would have been \$200. We used those numbers in our calculations for 2013 and 2017, respectively.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix for details on individual candidates.

included contributions not from Los Angeles city residents had been in place in 2013-2017, 18 female candidates reach the threshold. If the current rules that count only contributions from Los Angeles city residents had been in place for 2013-2017, 11 women reach the threshold. This significant decrease from 15 to 11 is due to the fact that 4 of the female candidates who qualified under the original rules (in our model and in real life) had too few contributions from Los Angeles city residents to reach threshold under the current rules.

**The chart vividly shows that the Oct 5th draft slashes the number of female candidates by a massive 73% — down to only 3 (out of 23 races). And none of the 3 who actually received matching funds in 2013 qualify under the Oct 5th draft.**

However, under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, 16 female candidates reach the aggregate qualifying threshold. This is 1 more than actually qualified during that time and only 2 fewer than we estimate qualify under the original rules. Most importantly, it means that under Councilmember Bonin's amendment more than 5 times as many women reach threshold than the mere 3 under the Oct 5th draft alone.

### **3 Council Incumbents Don't Reach the Aggregate Threshold in 2015 and 2017**

The Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft makes it so difficult to reach the aggregate qualifying threshold that 3 Council incumbents do not reach threshold with the contributions they raised in the 2015 and 2017 elections, despite having raised a total of \$139,000 to \$289,000.

As the following table shows, in real life, incumbent Councilmembers Paul Krekorian and Nury Martinez (2015) and Bob Blumenfield (2017) easily passed the \$25,000 aggregate threshold under current law that counted the first \$250 towards qualifying contributions. However, under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft which counts only the first \$115 none of these sitting Council members reach the threshold to receive matching funds.

	<b>Overall Contributions</b>	<b>Current Law Qualifying Contributions</b>	<b>Qualifying Contributions Oct 5<sup>th</sup> Draft</b>
Councilmember Nury Martinez 2015 (CD 6)	\$288,971	\$51,183	\$22,408
Paul Krekorian 2015 (CD 05)	\$139,907	\$29,429	\$13,804
Councilmember Bob Blumenfield 2017 (CD 3)	\$217,414	\$48,212	\$23,772

Because these Council incumbents come fairly close to satisfying the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft aggregate threshold, had those rules been in place in real life, these candidates most likely would have reached it by focusing more on contributions of \$100 or less from Los Angeles City residents. But the fact that 3 incumbent Councilmembers who raised large totals wouldn't have qualified under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft is yet another indication of how extraordinarily difficult it would be to qualify under it without Councilmember Bonin's amendment. In contrast, all 3 Council incumbents reach the threshold under Councilmember Bonin's amendment.

### **Without Amendment: Matching Funds are Seriously Delayed and Less Useful**

When candidates do qualify, the later that matching funds arrive the less useful they are. This is especially true now that nearly 60% of California voters vote absentee, many of them weeks before the election.

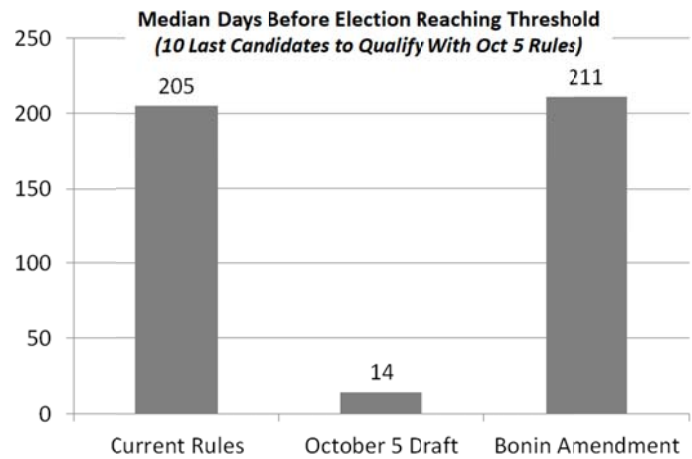
The Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft not only slashes by over half the Council candidates who reach the aggregate qualifying threshold, **it also causes major delays in the matching funds' arrival.**

Under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft, 9 of 20 Council candidates from 2013-2017 who reach threshold do so until 5-6 weeks before the election. 5 of those 9 only reach threshold less than 2 weeks before the election. And reaching the threshold doesn't mean that candidates immediately receive the matching funds. Arrival of the funds is delayed several days due to the necessary verification process by the Ethics Commission.



The chart to the right shows the dramatic negative impact of the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft on the qualifying date of the 10 candidates who qualify last. For comparison we show that under current law, they reach the threshold about 7 months before the election (median of 205 days), ensuring time to apply for, receive, and make good use of the matching funds.

But, under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft, half the candidates reach threshold only 14 days (median) before the primary, when there's barely enough time to apply for and receive the funds, much less use them to good effect. Under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, the timing is restored to about 7 months (median of 211 days), plenty of time to fully take advantage of matching funds.



**With Amendment: Cost is Less Than the Ethics Commission Proposal**

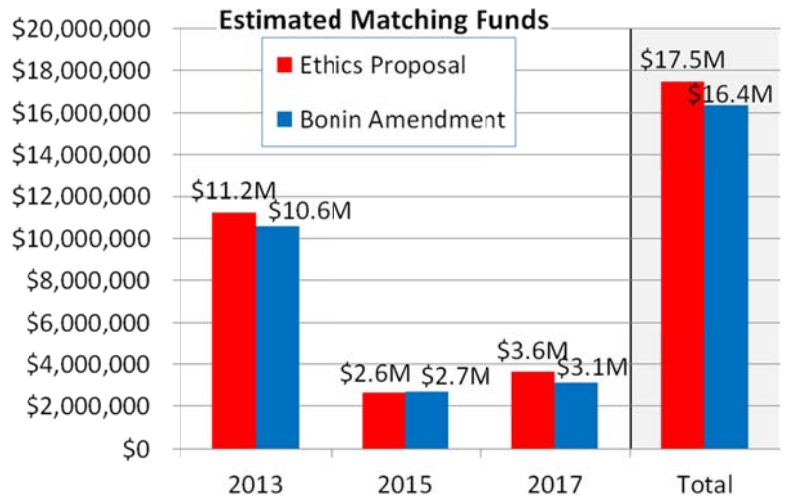
A potential concern with Councilmember Bonin's amendment is whether the increased number of qualifying candidates revealed by this analysis (50 candidates for 23 races in 2013-2017) would excessively increase the amount of matching funds that the matching funds trust fund would pay out. The answer to this question is found in the Ethics Commission proposal – which differs from the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft only by retaining the current law max for qualifying contributions—in which they explicitly analyzed the sustainability of the matching funds trust.

To make the comparison, we again turned to the real-life data from Council candidates in 2013-2017. We previously estimated that 44 candidates reach threshold under the current rules (see first table "Council Candidates Qualifying"). So first, assuming those candidates meet all other requirements and accept the funds, we calculated the total amount of matching funds across all candidates for each year. Next, we did the same thing for the 50 candidates who reach threshold under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, using its matching rules.

**The chart on the right illustrates that the total amount of matching funds required under Councilmember Bonin's amendment in 2013-2017 is less than in the Ethics Commission's proposal by about \$1.1 million.** The amount each candidate receives under the two options is shown in the appendix

The main cause of the difference is that although under Councilmember Bonin's amendment 6 more candidates qualify from 2013-2017, some of the candidates qualify for a lower amount.

This occurs because under the Ethics Commission proposal (like the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft) all candidates who qualify receive a minimum of \$150,000— 6 times the \$25,000 they had to raise in amounts up to \$250 per contribution to qualify. But under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, candidates can receive a minimum of \$69,000 in matching funds – 6x the \$11,500 aggregate threshold. For instance, we estimate that under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, 6 of the 14 Council candidates who would have qualified in 2017 get less than \$150,000 because only the first \$100 of each qualifying contribution counts towards the match (rather than the first \$250).



It's possible that the increase in matching funds under Councilmember Bonin's amendment will change candidates' strategy resulting in different contributions than in this analysis. For instance, a candidate might focus more on

gathering contributions of \$115 or less from Los Angeles city residents than the real-life candidates did in 2013-2017. That, in fact, is part of the goal of both the October 5<sup>th</sup> draft rules and as they would be amended with Councilmember Bonin's amendment. But most candidates were likely already seeking as many eligible donations as they could get, given that donations of \$100 or less were also matched from 2013-2017.

## Conclusions

The October 5th draft amendments to the matching funds system, using the Ethics Commission proposal as amended by a motion by Councilmembers David Ryu and Joe Buscaino, are important changes intended to strengthen the impact of small donors on Los Angeles city elections by increasing the matching funds rate from 6-to-1 while lowering the maximum amount that qualifies for matching funds from \$250 in Council race to one-seventh the contribution limit, meaning \$115 in the 2019 elections. It would make a \$115 contribution from a Los Angeles city resident worth as much as the maximum contribution from special interests (\$800).

However, it's crucial to avoid the unintended and negative consequence of making it significantly harder for candidates to qualify than current law. Our analysis of the contributions to candidates who received matching funds in 2013-2017 shows that the Oct 5th draft rules by themselves make it much harder to qualify by requiring significantly more than double the number of max qualifying contributions. This in turn cuts by more than 50% the number of Council candidates who reach the aggregate qualifying threshold from 44 to 20 (compared to currently) – which averages out to less than 1 qualifying candidate per race. Worse, it slashes the number of female qualifying candidates by 73%, from 11 to only 3.

However, our analysis also shows that Councilmember Bonin's amendment would fix this problem by defining the aggregate threshold so that the ordinance does not require more max qualifying contributions than under current law. Under Councilmember Bonin's amendment, 50 Council candidates from 2013-2017 reach the aggregate threshold, compared to only 20 under the Oct 5 draft. And over 5x as many female Council candidates qualify as under the Oct 5 draft, 16 instead of 3. The number of Council candidates reaching threshold is roughly comparable to current law (50 vs. 44 currently), and 5 of the 6 the additional qualifying candidates are women.

Nearly as important as making sure sufficient candidates qualify for matching funds is making sure the funds arrive in time to have an impact on the election. Our analysis shows that under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft without Councilmember Bonin's amendment, 9 of 20 (45%) Council candidates in 2013-2017 reaching threshold do so less than 6 weeks before the election, and 5 (25%) do so less than 2 weeks before. Councilmember Bonin's amendment addresses this problem because under it candidates reach the threshold about 7 months before the elections, similar to current law.

Finally, our analysis shows that when considering all the 2013-2017 Los Angeles candidates for Council, Attorney, Controller, and Mayor, Councilmember Bonin's amendment actually costs less than the Ethics Commission proposal for which they concluded *"The matching funds trust fund is projected to be able to sustain increased maximums, even at a higher match rate."*<sup>11</sup>

The Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft by itself -- as important as its individual amendments are -- would turn Los Angeles's matching funds system into a shadow of itself because it would be so much harder for candidates to qualify than current law. But the combination of the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft and Councilmember Bonin's amendment would give Los Angeles one of the best small donor matching funds systems in the country with a 6-to-1 match for small donations and an aggregate qualifying threshold that isn't harder or slower for candidates to qualify than current law.

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<sup>11</sup> P. 15 of "Review of Key Campaign Finance Laws", April 2018, <http://ethics.lacity.org/PDF/agenda/2018/April/20180424-Item4-CampaignFinanceReport.pdf>



## Appendix: Details of Calculations for 2013-2017 Candidates

Tables show qualifying contributions for different options from candidates who applied for matching funds from 2013-2017, along with the estimated amount of matching funds they would have received for each option.

For all three elections the max qualifying contribution for Council races under the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft and Councilmember Bonin's amendment would have been \$100 (1/7<sup>th</sup> of the max contribution in those years of \$700). For citywide races, the max qualifying contribution would have been \$185 in 2013 (1/7<sup>th</sup> the max contribution of \$1,300) and \$200 in 2017 (1/7<sup>th</sup> the max contribution of \$1,400).

For the three rows showing total aggregate contributions in different options, dark grey means the candidates would have qualified with the original rules (i.e. all contributions up to \$250/\$500 count as qualifying contributions), the current rules (only contributions from LA residents up to \$250/\$500 count), and the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft (only contributions from LA residents up to 1/7<sup>th</sup> the contribution limit count). Light grey means that the candidate would have qualified under Councilmember Bonin's amendment but not the Oct 5<sup>th</sup> draft without the amendment. White means they wouldn't have reached any of the thresholds in that column.

**Table 1. 2017 Council Candidates Applying for Matching Funds**

	Qualifying Contribs \$250 All	Qualifying Contribs \$250 City	Qualifying Contribs \$100 City	Matching Ethics Proposal	Matching Oct 5 Package	Matching Bonin Amend
Jesse Creed (CD 05)	\$182,374	\$115,377	\$63,823	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Mike Bonin (CD 11)	\$207,709	\$115,972	\$54,247	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Paul Koretz (CD 05)	\$213,553	\$121,344	\$55,518	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Mitch O'Farrell (CD 13)	\$191,483	\$99,709	\$47,525	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Curren Price, Jr. (CD 09)	\$228,358	\$87,608	\$40,605	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Monica Rodriguez (CD 07)	\$174,057	\$75,235	\$38,171	\$340,000	\$340,000	\$340,000
Josef Bray-Ali (CD 01)	\$56,149	\$39,549	\$26,515	\$340,000	\$309,877	\$309,877
Joe Buscaino (CD 15)	\$159,292	\$51,544	\$26,021	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Karo Torossian (CD 07)	\$117,297	\$57,137	\$27,114	\$340,000	\$316,660	\$316,660
Gil Cedillo (CD 01)	\$166,470	\$59,985	\$27,135	\$340,000	\$340,000	\$340,000
Bob Blumenfield (CD 03)	\$98,764	\$47,112	\$23,272	\$151,000		\$139,632
Mark Ryavec (CD 11)	\$36,371	\$32,436	\$18,286	\$151,000		\$109,713
Sylvie Shain (CD 13)	\$29,685	\$22,523	\$14,867	\$151,000		\$89,199
Monica Ratliff (CD 07)	\$33,560	\$17,958	\$11,374			\$68,246
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$2,719,000</b>	<b>\$2,212,537</b>	<b>\$2,619,328</b>

**Table 2. 2017 Citywide Candidates Applying for Matching Funds**

	Qualifying Contribs \$500 All	Qualifying Contribs \$200 City	Qualifying Contribs \$200 City	Matching Contribs Ethics	Matching Oct 5 Package	Matching Bonin Amend
Michael Schwartz (Mayor)	\$237,275	\$153,737	\$82,412	\$897,216		\$494,474
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$897,216</b>	<b>\$0</b>	<b>\$494,474</b>

**Table 3. 2015 Council Candidates Applying for Matching Funds**

	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$250 All</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$250 City</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$100 City</b>	<b>Matching Ethics Proposal</b>	<b>Matching Oct 5 Package</b>	<b>Matching Bonin Amend</b>
Jose Huizar (CD 14)	\$361,175	\$136,538	\$59,363	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Carolyn Ramsay (CD 04)	\$162,571	\$122,456	\$59,540	\$340,000	\$340,000	\$340,000
David E. Ryu (CD 04)	\$231,834	\$95,295	\$48,374	\$340,000	\$340,000	\$340,000
Marqueece Harris-Dawson (CD 08)	\$168,308	\$82,110	\$42,498	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Tomas O'Grady (CD 04)	\$52,045	\$43,560	\$27,835	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Wally Knox (CD 04)	\$102,472	\$62,764	\$29,729	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Teddy Davis (CD 04)	\$84,038	\$55,598	\$28,926	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Gloria Molina (CD 14)	\$122,781	\$53,509	\$26,672	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Joan Pelico (CD 04)	\$64,564	\$45,342	\$24,247	\$151,000		\$145,482
Steve Veres (CD 04)	\$130,789	\$48,544	\$22,469	\$151,000		\$134,817
Nury Martinez (CD 06)	\$119,471	\$50,608	\$22,208	\$151,000		\$133,248
Grace Yoo (CD 10)	\$64,369	\$34,447	\$19,273	\$151,000		\$115,638
Robert Cole (CD 08)	\$59,513	\$30,157	\$18,007	\$151,000		\$108,039
Bobbie Jean Anderson (CD 08)	\$41,826	\$21,943	\$14,868			\$89,208
Paul Krekorian (CD 02)	\$58,107	\$29,679	\$13,904	\$151,000		\$83,421
Cindy Montanez (CD 06)	\$48,055	\$26,207	\$13,488	\$151,000		\$80,928
Sheila Irani (CD 04)	\$23,427	\$19,111	\$11,676			\$70,056
Forescee Hogan-Rowles (CD 08)	\$40,042	\$17,288	\$10,738			\$64,431
Fred Mariscal (CD 04)	\$25,841	\$17,433	\$11,158			\$66,948
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$2,265,000</b>	<b>\$1,208,000</b>	<b>\$2,300,816</b>

**Table 4. 2013 Council Candidates Applying for Matching Funds**

	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$250 All</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$250 City</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$100 City</b>	<b>Matching Ethics Proposal</b>	<b>Matching Oct 5 Package</b>	<b>Matching Bonin Amend</b>
Mike Bonin (CD 11)	\$156,404	\$86,994	\$44,700	\$151,000	\$151,000	\$151,000
Jose Gardea (CD 01)	\$126,069	\$53,397	\$27,072	\$340,000	\$302,000	\$278,446
Terry Haraldson (CD 09)	\$125,061	\$42,742	\$22,440	\$151,000		\$134,637
Cindy Montanez (CD 06)	\$101,473	\$44,855	\$22,975	\$340,000		\$326,850
Gilbert Cedillo (CD 01)	\$143,588	\$40,582	\$20,257	\$340,000		\$254,178
Alexander Cruz De Ocampo (CD 13)	\$76,755	\$34,842	\$20,393	\$151,000		\$122,358
John Choi (CD 13)	\$106,472	\$38,189	\$19,939	\$340,000		\$285,906
Mitch O'Farrell (CD 13)	\$48,894	\$31,624	\$19,204	\$340,000		\$304,223
Matt Szabo (CD 13)	\$58,982	\$32,711	\$18,786	\$151,000		\$112,717
Nury Martinez (CD 06)	\$91,907	\$39,266	\$18,391	\$340,000		\$220,740
Ana Cubas (CD 09)	\$78,936	\$29,053	\$17,603	\$340,000		\$209,316
Bob Blumenfield (CD 03)	\$68,877	\$30,662	\$14,465	\$151,000		\$86,791
David Roberts (CD 09)	\$60,580	\$26,490	\$13,915	\$151,000		\$83,491
Joyce J. Pearson (CD 03)	\$47,244	\$21,836	\$13,401			\$80,404
Paul Koretz (CD 05)	\$56,326	\$28,641	\$13,011	\$80,266		\$78,063
Curren Price (CD 09)	\$73,794	\$25,772	\$12,402	\$340,000		\$186,262
Joe Buscaino (CD 15)	\$76,854	\$26,364	\$12,141	\$151,000		\$72,843
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$3,857,266</b>	<b>\$453,000</b>	<b>\$2,988,225</b>

**Table 5. 2013 Citywide Candidates Applying for Matching Funds**

	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$500 All</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$185 City</b>	<b>Qualifying Contribs \$185 City</b>	<b>Matching Contribs Ethics</b>	<b>Matching Oct 5 Package</b>	<b>Matching Bonin Amend</b>
Eric Garcetti (Mayor)	\$2,109,844	\$1,072,001	\$557,122	\$1,979,000	\$1,979,000	\$1,979,000
Wendy Greuel (Mayor)	\$2,072,122	\$1,082,788	\$536,104	\$1,979,000	\$1,979,000	\$1,979,000
Jan Perry (Mayor)	\$781,933	\$362,994	\$179,300	\$900,000	\$900,000	\$900,000
Kevin James (Mayor)	\$245,941	\$120,727	\$79,697			\$478,180
Mike Feuer (City Attorney)	\$449,845	\$276,287	\$138,326	\$877,000	\$877,000	\$877,000
Carmen Trutanich (City Attorney)	\$205,585	\$56,946	\$23,441			
Dennis Zine (City Controller)	\$396,280	\$198,861	\$100,196	\$765,000	\$635,391	\$635,391
Ron Galperin (City Controller)	\$144,034	\$107,787	\$57,472	\$858,000		\$730,700
<b>Total</b>				<b>\$7,358,000</b>	<b>\$6,370,391</b>	<b>\$7,579,271</b>