

Local Politics, Remote Money

For California legislators, seventy-eight percent
of campaign funds come from out-of-district

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Key Findings

◆ Campaign Funds Come Overwhelmingly from Out-of-District

It's election season, and California state legislators canvass their districts for votes. But 78% of the money that fuels their campaigns comes from out-of-district.

The legislator with the highest out-of-district amount was Assemblymember Cindy Montanez from California's 39th District, with 99% of campaign dollars coming from outside her district.

For twenty-five legislators, 90% or more of their funds came from afar, with contributions from within their own districts totaling less than 10% or less.

Campaign funds from outside of California totaled 10% of all contributions. The legislator with the highest percentage of out-of-state funds was Assemblymember Joe Canciamilla from the 11th District, who received 22% of funds from outside California.

For statistics about each legislator, see Table 1 below.

◆ Small Donors are Small Potatoes

Small contributions have gained in visibility in recent elections, with fundraising over the Internet generating buzz. In real-life campaigns, though, it is big money that matters. Contributions of \$1,000 or more made up 78% of funds raised.

Contributions of less than \$1,000 made up just 22% of funds raised. Contributions of less than \$1,000 from within legislators' districts made up just 10% of funds raised.

Small-donor statistics for each legislator are shown in Table 1.

Methodology

◆ Dates Examined

MAPLight.org examined the campaign contributions to each California Assemblymember and Senator currently in office, for the years before their last election.

For every Assemblymember, and for the 50% of Senators who were last elected in 2004, we examined contributions from January 1, 2003 through December 31, 2004.

For the other 50% of Senators, who were last elected in 2002, we examined contributions from September 26, 2001 (when current district lines were made law) through December 31, 2002.

Assemblymember Ted Lieu was elected in a special election in 2005 and is not included in this study.

◆ **Data Sources**

This study used contribution data from the Institute on Money in State Politics, a national nonpartisan, nonprofit organization dedicated to accurate and comprehensive research on campaign finance. The Institute on Money in State Politics collects its campaign contribution data from campaign contribution disclosure reports required of all candidates.

We determined if each contribution was in-district or out-of-district based on the contributor's ZIP code, which is part of the information candidates are required to disclose. To determine which ZIP codes are part of each Assembly and Senate district, we used ZIP code lists published by the California legislature at <http://www.sen.ca.gov/ftp/sen/senplan/Zip.htm>

◆ **In-District Determination**

ZIP code boundaries do not align with district boundaries; sometimes residents of one ZIP code live in several districts. In this study, we classified a contribution as in-district if that district included any part of the contributor's ZIP code.

For example, when examining contributions for Don Perata, who represents Senate District 9, we counted all contributions with ZIP code 94805 as in-district, even though only 48% of residents of 94805 are in Senate District 9.

Our numbers thus overestimate in-district contributions. If we had been able to exactly identify districts by street address, rather than by ZIP code, these revised figures would show even more funds coming from out-of-district.

◆ **Data Analysis Details**

Prior to our analysis, we removed contributions from these special categories: (1) political parties; (2) other candidates; and (3) self-contributions from the candidate. We removed these items to gain a more accurate picture of contributions from individuals and businesses, which made up 79% of total funds raised.

To see if the exclusion of these special categories affected our overall results, we repeated our analysis with the above three categories included. Self-contributions from the candidate were counted as in-district, while contributions from parties and other candidates were counted as out-of-district. The overall results differed little: 81% of funds came from out-of-district (compared with 78%), and 8% of funds came from out-of-state (compared with 10%).

Table 1 shows results for each candidate. This table is available to download in Excel format at <http://www.maplight.org/docs/district1.xls>

About MAPLight.org

MAPLight.org, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization based in Berkeley, California, illuminates the connection between money and politics. MAPLight.org shines a light on campaign contributions and related legislative outcomes, which leads to a more informed public and election reform. On October 17 the organization launched a groundbreaking public database of the money and votes in California politics at www.maplight.org.

Table 1 - sorted by out-of-district contributions

This table is available to download in Excel format at <http://www.maplight.org/docs/district1.xls>

For more details see Notes at end of table.

Name	District	Party	Dates	House	Base	Out-of-District	Out-of-State	In-District	\$1000+	< \$1000	< \$1000 In-District
TOTAL FOR ALL LEGISLATORS:					\$ 72,595,877	77.7%	9.6%	22.3%	78.3%	21.7%	9.6%
Montanez, Cindy	39	D	03-04	Asm	539,699	98.8%	21.2%	1.2%	92.8%	7.2%	0.2%
Lieber, Sally	22	D	03-04	Asm	219,309	98.2%	6.5%	1.8%	79.5%	20.5%	4.0%
Calderon, Ron	58	D	03-04	Asm	918,971	97.5%	17.3%	2.5%	90.9%	9.1%	0.3%
Chavez, Ed	57	D	03-04	Asm	526,804	97.2%	14.8%	2.8%	91.9%	8.1%	0.2%
Levine, Lloyd	40	D	03-04	Asm	344,921	96.9%	11.8%	3.1%	82.6%	17.4%	1.4%
Bermudez, Rudy	56	D	03-04	Asm	543,003	96.8%	15.9%	3.2%	89.0%	11.0%	0.4%
Horton, Jerome	51	D	03-04	Asm	712,979	96.1%	16.5%	3.9%	94.8%	5.2%	0.3%
Negrete-Mcleod, Gloria	61	D	03-04	Asm	735,671	95.4%	14.2%	4.6%	86.9%	13.1%	1.6%
Vincent, Edward	25	D	03-04	Sen	188,283	95.4%	13.9%	4.6%	92.9%	7.1%	0.5%
Escutia, Martha	30	D	01-02	Sen	486,623	95.3%	10.6%	4.7%	85.3%	14.7%	2.3%
Dymally, Mervyn	52	D	03-04	Asm	509,789	95.2%	5.7%	4.8%	69.2%	30.8%	1.6%
Frommer, Dario	43	D	03-04	Asm	1,795,207	95.0%	13.4%	5.0%	89.6%	10.4%	0.8%
Nunez, Fabian	46	D	03-04	Asm	1,449,221	94.7%	17.0%	5.3%	92.7%	7.3%	0.6%
Oropeza, Jenny	55	D	03-04	Asm	375,940	94.1%	12.0%	5.9%	86.3%	13.7%	3.2%
Cohn, Rebecca	24	D	03-04	Asm	648,716	93.8%	17.1%	6.2%	83.0%	17.0%	3.7%
Haynes, Ray	66	R	03-04	Asm	207,550	93.1%	15.1%	6.9%	83.0%	17.0%	2.0%
Nation, Joe	6	D	03-04	Asm	503,431	92.9%	20.6%	7.1%	85.1%	14.9%	4.3%
Alarcon, Richard	20	D	01-02	Sen	473,279	92.7%	6.9%	7.3%	83.6%	16.4%	3.5%
Vargas, Juan	79	D	03-04	Asm	1,046,630	92.3%	19.6%	7.7%	84.8%	15.2%	2.0%
Figueroa, Liz	10	D	01-02	Sen	379,590	92.1%	10.4%	7.9%	90.1%	9.9%	3.7%
Parra, Nicole	30	D	03-04	Asm	694,165	92.0%	9.0%	8.0%	85.7%	14.3%	3.1%
Canciamilla, Joe	11	D	03-04	Asm	590,771	90.9%	22.4%	9.1%	87.5%	12.5%	3.5%
Matthews, Barbara	17	D	03-04	Asm	843,793	90.3%	9.7%	9.7%	78.5%	21.5%	6.2%
Bogh, Russ	65	R	03-04	Asm	883,844	90.1%	10.6%	9.9%	85.4%	14.6%	3.3%
Umberg, Tom	69	D	03-04	Asm	963,257	90.0%	2.5%	10.0%	80.9%	19.1%	2.7%
Romero, Gloria	24	D	01-02	Sen	368,920	89.9%	7.4%	10.1%	86.6%	13.4%	5.2%
Plescia, George	75	R	03-04	Asm	554,909	89.4%	17.1%	10.6%	88.4%	11.6%	1.2%
Horton, Shirley	78	R	03-04	Asm	984,155	88.9%	9.7%	11.1%	85.9%	14.1%	3.9%

Name	District	Party	Date	House	Base	Out-of-District	Out-of-State	In-District	\$1000+	< \$1000	< \$1000 In-District
Bowen, Debra	28	D	01-02	Sen	175,680	88.8%	8.9%	11.2%	86.8%	13.2%	5.5%
Karnette, Betty	54	D	03-04	Asm	722,934	88.4%	5.0%	11.6%	85.3%	14.7%	6.1%
Richman, Keith	38	R	03-04	Asm	671,359	88.1%	16.7%	11.9%	77.4%	22.6%	7.3%
Ducheny, Denise	40	D	01-02	Sen	484,825	87.7%	5.0%	12.3%	76.7%	23.3%	5.3%
Yee, Leland	12	D	03-04	Asm	729,856	87.4%	6.7%	12.6%	69.7%	30.3%	8.6%
Ridley-Thomas, Mark	48	D	03-04	Asm	610,649	86.5%	11.3%	13.5%	85.8%	14.2%	1.6%
Mountjoy, Dennis	59	R	03-04	Asm	170,231	86.5%	12.0%	13.5%	75.8%	24.2%	10.6%
Klehs, Johan	18	D	03-04	Asm	661,602	86.3%	8.0%	13.7%	77.6%	22.4%	6.1%
Morrow, Bill	38	R	01-02	Sen	258,452	86.2%	15.1%	13.8%	78.7%	21.3%	8.8%
Machado, Mike	5	D	03-04	Sen	1,755,724	86.0%	13.9%	14.0%	86.1%	13.9%	6.3%
Ackerman, Dick	33	R	03-04	Sen	904,941	85.9%	21.9%	14.1%	84.1%	15.9%	8.5%
Baca, Joe	62	D	03-04	Asm	568,639	85.4%	12.0%	14.6%	80.9%	19.1%	4.2%
Dunn, Joseph	34	D	01-02	Sen	707,634	84.1%	4.7%	15.9%	80.8%	19.2%	5.6%
Goldberg, Jackie	45	D	03-04	Asm	316,560	84.1%	5.9%	15.9%	78.8%	21.2%	6.2%
Liu, Carol	44	D	03-04	Asm	423,302	83.9%	7.3%	16.1%	71.9%	28.1%	9.9%
Emmerson, Bill	63	R	03-04	Asm	563,537	83.7%	3.4%	16.3%	60.9%	39.1%	6.6%
McCarthy, Kevin	32	R	03-04	Asm	1,301,267	83.2%	16.7%	16.8%	88.8%	11.2%	5.5%
Runner, Sharon	36	R	03-04	Asm	372,242	82.3%	8.5%	17.7%	82.4%	17.6%	7.5%
Spitzer, Todd	71	R	03-04	Asm	876,947	82.2%	10.2%	17.8%	80.7%	19.3%	5.0%
Berg, Patty	1	D	03-04	Asm	297,794	81.9%	6.3%	18.1%	77.5%	22.5%	9.2%
Scott, Jack	21	D	03-04	Sen	423,248	81.8%	11.3%	18.2%	82.7%	17.3%	6.1%
Leslie, Robert	4	R	03-04	Asm	434,542	81.6%	14.2%	18.4%	88.7%	11.3%	3.2%
De La Torre, Hector	50	D	03-04	Asm	571,950	81.6%	4.0%	18.4%	78.6%	21.4%	6.9%
Wyland, Mark	74	R	03-04	Asm	438,777	81.4%	9.5%	18.6%	76.4%	23.6%	9.3%
La Suer, Jay	77	R	03-04	Asm	254,289	81.2%	6.8%	18.8%	76.7%	23.3%	9.8%
Harman, Tom	35	R	03-04	Sen	322,573	80.7%	10.5%	19.3%	83.5%	16.5%	5.2%
Daucher, Lynn	72	R	03-04	Asm	468,893	80.6%	8.2%	19.4%	55.9%	44.1%	16.3%
Torrico, Alberto	20	D	03-04	Asm	574,824	80.4%	5.9%	19.6%	76.1%	23.9%	9.3%
Coto, Joe	23	D	03-04	Asm	605,828	80.3%	5.0%	19.7%	77.1%	22.9%	10.3%
Cox, Dave	1	R	03-04	Sen	689,393	80.2%	18.2%	19.8%	81.6%	18.4%	11.1%
Battin, James	37	R	03-04	Sen	673,879	79.1%	6.6%	20.9%	94.8%	5.2%	1.4%
Aanestad, Sam	4	R	01-02	Sen	518,427	78.7%	6.4%	21.3%	67.4%	32.6%	11.7%
Soto, Nell	32	D	01-02	Sen	507,055	78.5%	8.3%	21.5%	81.1%	18.9%	5.2%
Bass, Karen	47	D	03-04	Asm	766,829	78.3%	2.8%	21.7%	63.9%	36.1%	16.0%

Name	District	Party	Date	House	Base	Out-of-District	Out-of-State	In-District	\$1000+	< \$1000	< \$1000 In-District
Wolk, Lois	8	D	03-04	Asm	451,753	77.8%	10.2%	22.2%	65.6%	34.4%	19.5%
Maze, Bill	34	R	03-04	Asm	335,458	77.6%	11.4%	22.4%	69.0%	31.0%	13.5%
Salinas, Simon	28	D	03-04	Asm	324,090	77.5%	5.7%	22.5%	70.5%	29.5%	12.2%
Margett, Bob	29	R	03-04	Sen	439,228	77.4%	10.0%	22.6%	65.4%	34.6%	16.1%
Keene, Rick	3	R	03-04	Asm	786,056	77.2%	13.9%	22.8%	76.7%	23.3%	12.4%
Garcia, Bonnie	80	R	03-04	Asm	1,038,624	77.0%	8.7%	23.0%	86.8%	13.2%	4.6%
Lowenthal, Alan	27	D	03-04	Sen	504,910	76.8%	6.9%	23.2%	80.5%	19.5%	8.0%
Strickland, Audra	37	R	03-04	Asm	684,628	76.7%	14.6%	23.3%	71.6%	28.4%	11.8%
Florez, Dean	16	D	01-02	Sen	660,916	76.0%	7.7%	24.0%	78.8%	21.2%	8.1%
Chan, Wilma	16	D	03-04	Asm	187,074	75.5%	2.2%	24.5%	78.4%	21.6%	11.3%
Ruskin, Ira	21	D	03-04	Asm	771,230	75.5%	3.1%	24.5%	73.4%	26.6%	17.2%
Cedillo, Gilbert	22	D	01-02	Sen	594,835	75.4%	10.1%	24.6%	89.5%	10.5%	2.5%
Cogdill, David	25	R	03-04	Asm	362,321	75.0%	8.4%	25.0%	72.5%	27.5%	10.7%
Saldana, Lori	76	D	03-04	Asm	442,499	74.5%	3.9%	25.5%	70.6%	29.4%	18.0%
Laird, John	27	D	03-04	Asm	481,684	74.4%	6.1%	25.6%	70.7%	29.3%	18.9%
Kortez, Paul	42	D	03-04	Asm	420,830	73.2%	5.5%	26.8%	71.8%	28.2%	13.0%
Arambula, Juan	31	D	03-04	Asm	893,067	72.9%	6.9%	27.1%	75.2%	24.8%	11.3%
Chu, Judy	49	D	03-04	Asm	1,054,369	72.6%	4.7%	27.4%	68.2%	31.8%	10.7%
Nava, Pedro	35	D	03-04	Asm	544,628	71.8%	4.0%	28.2%	71.0%	29.0%	18.4%
Murray, Kevin	26	D	01-02	Sen	314,567	71.3%	11.8%	28.7%	92.2%	7.8%	3.3%
Pavley, Fran	41	D	03-04	Asm	351,690	71.2%	4.4%	28.8%	67.9%	32.1%	17.9%
Benoit, John	64	R	03-04	Asm	521,928	71.0%	10.2%	29.0%	77.7%	22.3%	10.8%
Evans, Noreen	7	D	03-04	Asm	498,996	70.3%	1.7%	29.7%	69.5%	30.5%	20.9%
Hollingsworth, Dennis	36	R	01-02	Sen	461,679	70.1%	7.5%	29.9%	65.1%	34.9%	13.3%
Alquist, Elaine	13	D	03-04	Sen	771,714	69.4%	7.0%	30.6%	67.5%	32.5%	16.1%
Hancock, Loni	14	D	03-04	Asm	285,300	68.8%	6.0%	31.2%	80.9%	19.1%	10.9%
Houston, Guy	15	R	03-04	Asm	1,131,054	67.7%	7.6%	32.3%	80.3%	19.7%	8.0%
Aghazarian, Greg	26	R	03-04	Asm	603,461	67.3%	8.0%	32.7%	76.1%	23.9%	10.4%
Nakanishi, Alan	10	R	03-04	Asm	663,339	67.2%	7.6%	32.8%	74.3%	25.7%	9.8%
Chesbro, Wesley	2	D	01-02	Sen	522,005	66.3%	7.9%	33.7%	70.5%	29.5%	24.6%
Torlakson, Tom	7	D	03-04	Sen	477,247	65.9%	7.5%	34.1%	69.5%	30.5%	18.8%
Migden, Carole	3	D	03-04	Sen	576,349	65.6%	6.3%	34.4%	80.5%	19.5%	10.9%
McClintock, Tom	19	R	03-04	Sen	957,993	65.5%	5.4%	34.5%	51.3%	48.7%	25.6%
Speier, Jackie	8	D	01-02	Sen	305,041	65.2%	7.0%	34.8%	80.9%	19.1%	10.0%
Mullin, Gene	19	D	03-04	Asm	310,570	64.6%	4.1%	35.4%	78.0%	22.0%	11.3%

Name	District	Party	Date	House	Base	Out-of-District	Out-of-State	In-District	\$1000+	< \$1000	< \$1000 In-District
Walters, Marian	73	R	03-04	Asm	665,152	63.8%	2.8%	36.2%	74.9%	25.1%	12.8%
Dutton, Robert	31	R	03-04	Sen	577,687	63.3%	7.0%	36.7%	80.2%	19.8%	8.3%
Huff, Bob	60	R	03-04	Asm	459,473	62.2%	1.9%	37.8%	57.9%	42.1%	25.2%
Kuehl, Sheila	23	D	03-04	Sen	864,884	61.9%	5.5%	38.1%	78.8%	21.2%	12.5%
Simitian, S. Joseph	11	D	03-04	Sen	1,553,148	61.4%	8.1%	38.6%	68.7%	31.3%	19.0%
Perata, Don	9	D	01-02	Sen	905,860	61.0%	6.8%	39.0%	96.7%	3.3%	2.8%
Tran, Van	68	R	03-04	Asm	775,852	60.7%	6.2%	39.3%	71.0%	29.0%	12.4%
La Malfa, Doug	2	R	03-04	Asm	559,424	60.2%	8.5%	39.8%	72.4%	27.6%	17.6%
Kehoe, Christine	39	D	03-04	Sen	1,108,174	59.8%	7.7%	40.2%	66.1%	33.9%	26.0%
Villines, Michael N.	29	R	03-04	Asm	537,254	59.7%	6.5%	40.3%	62.5%	37.5%	21.1%
Leno, Mark	13	D	03-04	Asm	864,049	58.4%	8.6%	41.6%	78.1%	21.9%	12.8%
Maldonado, Abel	15	R	03-04	Sen	1,503,516	58.0%	6.7%	42.0%	71.7%	28.3%	19.3%
Runner, George	17	R	03-04	Sen	365,267	57.4%	5.6%	42.6%	87.0%	13.0%	7.0%
Poochigan, Charles	14	R	01-02	Sen	696,632	55.1%	12.4%	44.9%	63.9%	36.1%	26.1%
DeVore, Chuck	70	R	03-04	Asm	274,621	54.8%	9.3%	45.2%	51.5%	48.5%	32.9%
Niello, Roger	5	R	03-04	Asm	573,889	54.3%	5.4%	45.7%	64.5%	35.5%	20.8%
Blakeslee, Sam	33	R	03-04	Asm	398,494	53.2%	9.0%	46.8%	70.7%	29.3%	21.4%
Ashburn, Roy	18	R	01-02	Sen	355,916	47.2%	7.6%	52.8%	78.1%	21.9%	13.8%
Jones, Dave	9	D	03-04	Asm	754,397	46.8%	8.4%	53.2%	69.3%	30.7%	18.0%
Denham, Jeff	12	R	01-02	Sen	495,747	44.3%	4.0%	55.7%	71.9%	28.1%	21.7%
Ortiz, Deborah	6	D	01-02	Sen	261,202	36.7%	10.1%	63.3%	80.1%	19.9%	14.4%

Notes on Table 1. For additional details, please see the Methodology section above.

Dates: The dates of contributions analyzed. “03-04” means Jan. 1, 2003 through Dec. 31, 2004. “01-02” means Sept. 26, 2001 through Dec. 31, 2002.

Base: Total contributions excluding those from political parties, other candidates, and self-contributions from the candidate. This is the base number for all the percentages in the same row.

Out-of-District: The percent of contributions from outside the legislator’s district.

Out-of-State: The percent of contributions from outside California. These contributions are also counted as Out-of-District.

In-District: The percent of contributions from within the legislator’s district.

\$1,000+: The percent of funds raised in contributions of \$1,000 or more.

< \$1,000: The percent of funds raised in contributions of less than \$1,000.

< \$1,000 In-District: The percent of funds raised in contributions of less than \$1,000 from within the legislator’s district.

This table is available to download in Excel format at <http://www.maplight.org/docs/district1.xls>