



Big Money in Baltimore's 2020 Elections

**A look at who funded the race for Mayor and
how that could change in 2024**

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The authors bear any responsibility for factual errors.

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| EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Big money - the large donations that come from corporations, PACs, and wealthy individuals - dominate current Baltimore politics. Due to the high cost of campaigning, people who want to run for office need to raise as much money as possible, as quickly as possible. As a result, the people and corporations that can write big checks are in the driver's seat. These big money donors influence which candidates can afford to run for office, what issues make it onto the agenda, and often who ends up winning elections. And many times, the interests of wealthy donors don't represent the interests of people who don't have the same access to big money, which often can include people of color, women, young people, and immigrants.

Fortunately, in 2020, Baltimore City finalized the Fair Election Fund with goals to reduce the influence of large and corporate donors, reduce the impact of wealth as a determinant for running for office, increase engagement in the political process, promote accountability among elected officials, and strengthen public control of local government.¹ The new program will be in effect for the 2024 elections for Mayor, Council President, Comptroller, and City Council.

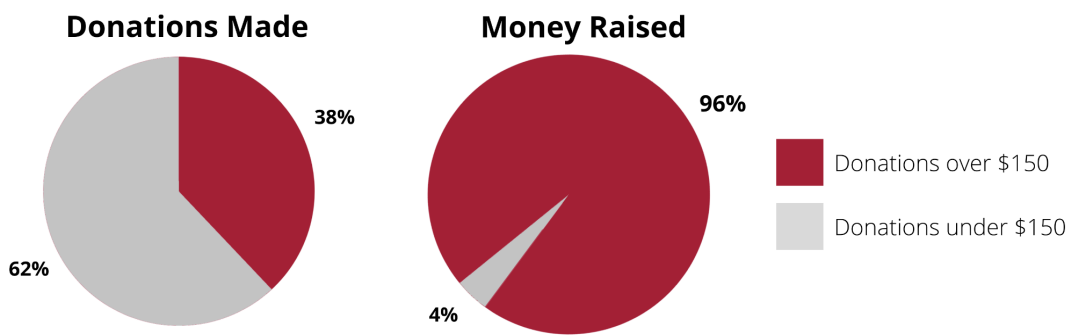
This report looks at the 2020 mayoral race and documents the scope of the problem that a fully funded and functional Fair Election Fund would address, underscoring the importance of the program. We find that big money donors dominated Baltimore City's most recent mayoral elections. Even worse, most of the big money donors who contributed to Baltimore City mayoral campaigns weren't residents of Baltimore City. This dangerous dynamic diminishes the voices of Baltimoreans in their own elections, discourages civic participation and could have long lasting impacts on public policy.

This report analyzes the contributions received and expenditures made by Baltimore City's mayoral candidates during the 2020 elections. Our review of the data shows that:

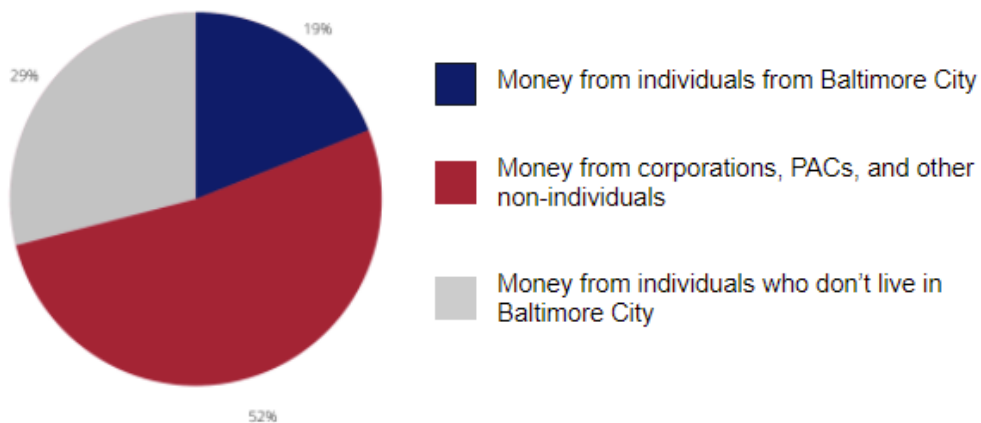
¹ Council Bill 19-0403, 23 Jan. 2020, "Fair Election Fund - Establishment and Administration," Section 11-3: Findings, *City of Baltimore*, <https://baltimore.legistar.com/LegislationDetail.aspx?ID=3994414&GUID=AE392449-874F-43A0-ADDC-A1C4FE47EC8B&FullText=1>.

1. Access to wealth is generally a prerequisite to running a competitive mayoral campaign. On average, competitive candidates spent over one million dollars each over the course of the election.²

2. Large contributions, which most people cannot afford to make, play an outsized role in Baltimore’s elections for mayor. Contributions of \$150 or more made up 96% of the money raised in the mayoral election, despite only representing just over a third of contributions made in the mayoral race.



3. Campaign contributors are not representative of the people living in Baltimore. More than 80% of the money contributed to Baltimore’s mayoral race came from entities that aren’t people living in Baltimore, such as corporations, PACs, or out-of-city or out-of-state donors.



² This average only includes candidates who received over 2,000 votes during the primary election, as well as Bob Wallace, an independent candidate who received over 20% of the vote during the general election. See the Methodology section for details.

The small donor public campaign financing program that will be in effect in 2024 can help address these issues.

These programs provide candidates for office with limited matching funds if they agree to only accept contributions from small donors and meet qualifying thresholds for money raised and donors reached. Montgomery County used a similar small donor program in 2018, and found that it increased small donor participation, reduced the influence of large donors, and enabled candidates to run for and win office without having to rely on large and corporate donors.³

Baltimore City passed legislation to implement a Fair Election Fund, and it was signed by the Mayor in January 2020.⁴ Now it is up to the current Mayor and Baltimore City Council to establish the City's Fair Election Commission and allocate funding to the Fair Election Fund.

³ Emily Scarr and Joe Ready, September 2019, "Fair Elections in Montgomery County: 2018 Matching Program Encourages and Empowers Small Donors," *Maryland PIRG Foundation*, <https://marylandpirg.org/reports/mdp/fair-elections-montgomery-county-0>.

⁴ Council Bill 19-0403, *City of Baltimore*.

| INTRODUCTION

Since the Supreme Court's misguided decisions in the *Citizens United vs. FEC* and *McCutcheon vs. FEC* cases, the influence of big money in politics - large donations that come from political action committees (PACs), corporations, and wealthy individuals - has become an increasingly pressing issue for our democracy.⁵

The 2014 *McCutcheon* decision in particular, which struck down aggregate limits on the amount of money individuals could make to political campaigns, had significant consequences for campaign financing in Maryland and throughout the country.⁶ Prior to the decision, donors could contribute an aggregate maximum of \$24,000 to candidates, political parties, and/or PACs across Maryland.⁷ After the decision, donors could make large contributions to as many candidates and groups as they wanted.⁸ One possible effect is a dramatic increase in the amount of influence big donors had on elections in Maryland.

Since fundraising is an important part of running any successful campaign, access to money can end up functioning as a filter that blocks out candidates that do not have personal wealth or connections to large donors. This magnifies the influence of the few people who can afford to give large contributions. When big money determines who is able to run for office, everyone else is left out of the process. That's not how our democracy should work.

⁵ For a discussion of the impacts of the *Citizens United* and *McCutcheon* cases respectively, see Lau, Tim, 12 December 2019, "Citizen United Explained," *Brennan Center*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/research-reports/citizens-united-explained> and Weiner, Daniel, 9 April 2014, "McCutcheon's Anti-Circumvention Folly," *Brennan Center*, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/mccutcheons-anti-circumvention-folly>.

⁶ Federal Election Commission, 15 April 2014, "McCutcheon v. FEC: Supreme Court finds aggregate biennial limits unconstitutional," <https://www.fec.gov/updates/mccutcheon-v-fec-supreme-court-finds-aggregate-biennial-limits-unconstitutional/>.

⁷ Jared DeMarinis, Director of the Division of Candidacy and Campaign Finance, *Maryland State Board of Elections*, personal communication, 3 February 2020.

⁸ Luke Broadwater, 11 April 2014, "State won't enforce \$10,000 limit on campaign contributions," *Baltimore Sun*, <https://www.baltimoresun.com/politics/bs-md-campaign-contributions-20140411-story.html>.

As candidates consider fundraising for an election, relationships with big donors can influence their decisions about what policies to promote, support, and ultimately vote for if elected. A report by democracy think tank Demos found that large donors had different views on a host of other issues when compared to non-donors.⁹ As a result, elected officials may make decisions on vital issues that benefit the big donors that they need to maintain strong relationships with to win reelection instead of their constituents.

Baltimore City voters should be the ones that shape Baltimore's elections and the priorities of Baltimore's elected officials. But large political contributions to mayoral candidates often come from entities that aren't eligible to vote in Baltimore's elections, namely out-of-city and state residents, corporations, and PACs. As a result, candidates running for office have a financial incentive to spend time courting these potential donors instead of speaking directly with, and building support from their constituents.

Fortunately, small donor public campaign financing programs can help address these problems. These programs empower voters and reduce the influence of large and corporate donors by providing limited matching funds for small donations to candidates who do not accept large and corporate contributions. In 2018, Baltimore City voters supported Question H by more than a 3 to 1 margin, authorizing the City Council to create the Fair Election Fund, a small donor public campaign financing program for all city-level races.¹⁰ Former Mayor Jack Young signed legislation to implement the Fair Election Fund in January 2020.¹¹ Now, Mayor Brandon Scott, Council President Nick Mosby, and the Baltimore City Council are responsible for finalizing the Fair Election Commission and allocating funding for the program so it can operate in 2024 as planned.

⁹ Sean McElwee, Brian Schaffner, and Jesse Rhodes, 8 December 2016, "Whose Voice, Whose Choice? The Distorting Influence of the Political Donor Class in Our Big-Money Elections," *Demos*, <https://www.demos.org/research/whose-voice-whose-choice-distorting-influence-political-donor-class-or-big-money>.

¹⁰ Baltimore City Board of Elections, "Official Results: November 6, 2018," https://boe.baltimorecity.gov/sites/default/files/Official%20Results_0.pdf.

¹¹ Council Bill 19-0403, *City of Baltimore*.

| BALTIMORE CITY'S 2020 MAYORAL ELECTIONS

This report examined the contributions made to candidates in Baltimore City's 2020 mayoral race and found that big money had a disproportionately large influence on the election.

The data show that candidates for mayor need access to significant amounts of money in order to run a competitive campaign. The report found that the vast majority of money for mayoral candidates came from large contributions that most Baltimoreans can't afford to make. Finally, the report found that the vast majority of money in Baltimore's mayoral race came from out-of-city and out-of-state donors, PACs, or corporations. The end result was an election where big money donors, many of whom were not even eligible to vote in the election, had an outsized role in the election.

1) Access to money is a prerequisite to running a competitive mayoral campaign

Running for mayor in Baltimore is extremely costly. **On average, each competitive candidate spent over a million dollars during their campaign.**¹² The high cost to run a competitive campaign for mayor gives an advantage to large and out of district donors, as candidates work to raise significant sums of money as quickly as possible. It's more efficient for candidates to fundraise from 10 donors who can contribute \$2,500 each than 2,500 different donors who can only contribute \$10 each. And with aggregate campaign limits struck down, large donors are able to increase their donor participation in elections at all levels of government.

The importance of big money can filter out strong mayoral candidates who don't have relationships with big money donors, which is likely to impact groups who traditionally don't have access to wealth, such as women, young people, immigrants, and low income candidates. According to Demos, these impacts are especially acute for candidates of color.¹³ A campaign financing system that reduces the importance of access to big money can open the door for more women to run for offices, as well as other candidates that are representative of their community's racial and socio-economic diversity.

A small donor program like the Fair Election Fund will give candidates for office a viable option to finance their campaigns with small donor support from Baltimore City residents instead of large donors, potentially increasing the diversity of candidates that run for office.

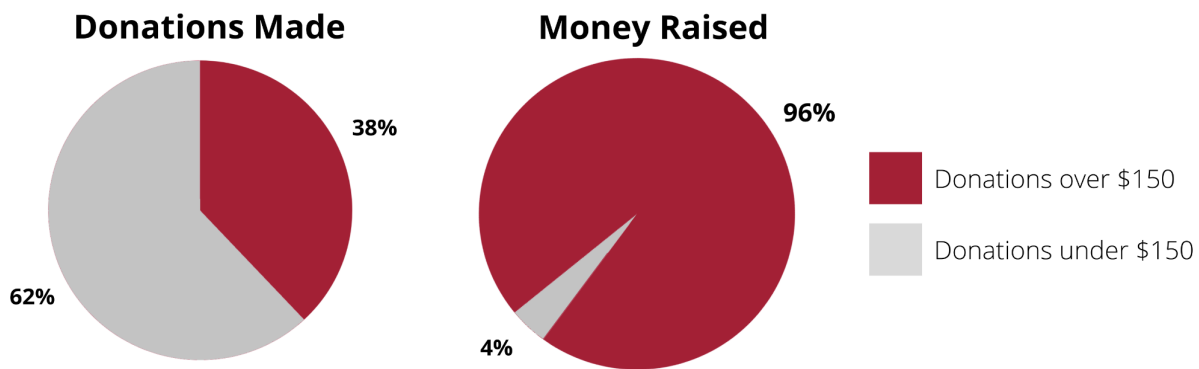
¹² As previously noted, this average only includes candidates who received over 2,000 votes during their primary election and Bob Wallace.

¹³ Adam Lioz, 23 July 2015, "Stacked Deck: How the Racial Bias in Our Big Money Political System Undermines Our Democracy and Our Economy," *Demos*, <https://www.demos.org/research/stacked-deck-how-racial-bias-our-big-money-political-system-undermines-our-democracy-and>.

2) Large contributions, which most people cannot afford to make, play an outsized role in Baltimore's elections

Big money contributions dominated Baltimore's elections for mayor. In 2020, the average contribution made to a mayoral campaign was \$844,¹⁴ which is well over the weekly per capita income of \$601 in Baltimore City.¹⁵ A small class of wealthy donors that can make large contributions is the primary financial driver in these elections.

While small donors outnumbered large donors numerically, they played a small role in terms of overall fundraising dollars. **Contributions of over \$150 made up over 96% of the money raised in mayoral elections, despite representing only just over a third of donations made in the mayoral race.** People who can only afford small contributions do not currently have a significant voice in these elections.



Candidates for Mayor have a big financial incentive to focus their time on wealthy donors instead of speaking with and fundraising from their constituents, who by and large cannot afford thousand-dollar contributions. Candidates can raise a lot of money quickly by hosting high dollar fundraisers with wealthy donors, while those who seek to fund their campaigns primarily from small donations from Baltimore City residents would struggle to remain financially competitive.

¹⁴ This average is a mean that includes all contribution types that were included in this data set. See the Methodology section for details. The average individual contribution was \$455.51.

¹⁵ United States Census Bureau, "QuickFacts: Baltimore City, Maryland; United States," <https://www.census.gov/quickfacts/fact/table/baltimorecitymaryland.US/INC910219>. The weekly per capita income was calculated by dividing the annual per capita income, which is \$31,271, by 52.

As a result, candidates may end up building relationships with and could end up paying more attention to the interests and concerns of wealthy donors. If they are elected, this can have impacts or perceived impacts on policy making. And big donors often have different views on a wide variety of issues than non-donors, including legislation about clean energy, health care, and financial regulation.¹⁶ The end result is a democratic process that over-represents the interests of big money compared to ordinary constituents.

A public campaign financing system that incentivizes fundraising from small donors, like the Fair Election Fund, enables candidates to prioritize raising small dollar donations from their constituents and still run a financially competitive campaign with candidates who choose to accept big money.

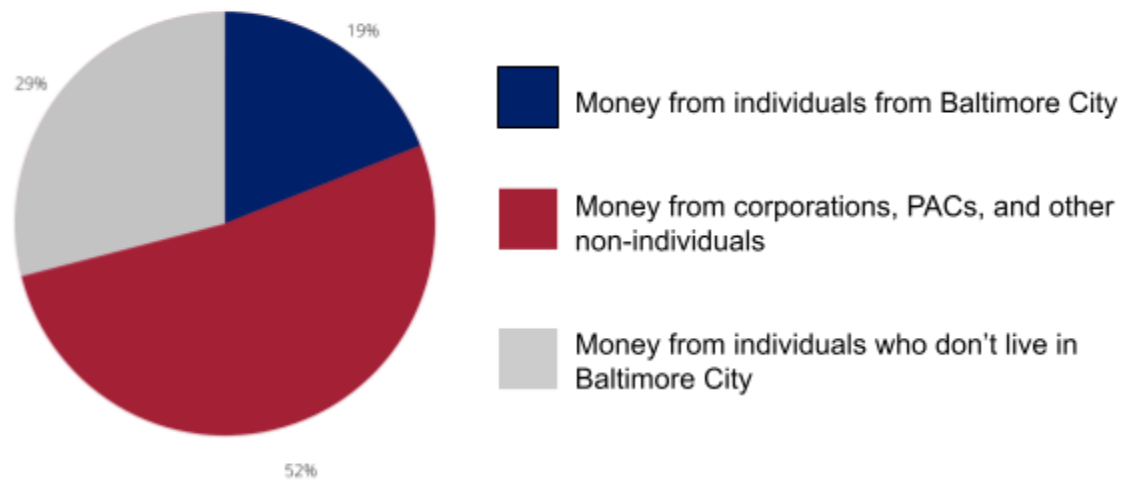
¹⁶ McElwee, Schaffner, and Rhodes, "Whose Voice, Whose Choice?"

3) Campaign contributions are not representative of Baltimore residents

The vast majority of money in Baltimore’s 2020 mayoral election came from entities that were not eligible to vote in Baltimore City elections.

Less than one fifth (19 percent) of the money in the mayoral race came from Baltimore individuals.¹⁷ 81 percent came from others, including:

- 52 percent from non-individuals, such as PACs and corporations;
- 29 percent from individuals that don’t live in Baltimore.



Ultimately, less than 1% of Baltimore residents contributed to the 2020 mayoral race.¹⁸ Among that 1%, a Demos report showed that in recent years, the individuals who do donate to Baltimore City campaigns are disproportionately white, male, and wealthy compared to all City residents.¹⁹

Fundamentally, Baltimore City voters should be the people who have the most say in which candidate ends up representing them and Baltimore City’s elections for mayor

¹⁷ An individual is defined as an entity that made a contribution or loans categorized as “Individual” in the Maryland Campaign Reporting Information System. A Baltimore individual is an individual that resides either in Baltimore City or in a zip code that includes both Baltimore City and Baltimore County. See the Methodology section for details.

¹⁸ Baltimore’s population is 593,400, and 4,886 Baltimore City individuals contributed to elections. “2020 Census data shows increase in Maryland’s population,” 26 April 2021, *WBAL TV*, <https://www.wbaltv.com/article/2020-census-data-maryland-population/36256805>.

¹⁹ Laura Williamson, 6 March 2019, “Big Money in the Charm City,” *Demos*, <https://www.demos.org/research/big-money-charm-city>.

should be funded by Baltimore City voters. The Fair Election Fund program only matches small dollar contributions from Baltimore City residents, so candidates for office have an incentive to raise money from their constituents.²⁰ Candidates who participate in the program are likely to spend more time speaking with Baltimoreans, increasing the percentage of contributions coming from Baltimore City residents as well as the number of Baltimore residents donating to elections.

Since the program amplifies small donations by matching them through a public fund, it also provides Baltimore City residents with an incentive to contribute by increasing the value of their contributions. In Montgomery County, candidates who participated in the Fair Elections program had nearly twice as many donations from Montgomery County residents as those who did not.²¹ It's possible that some of the over 99% of Baltimoreans don't donate because they aren't being asked or they don't feel compelled to donate. And, if candidates are spending their time courting large donors, they have less time to ask everyday voters for a small donation.

Similarly, in a very expensive campaign, voters may not see how their small contribution could make a meaningful difference, and therefore choose to not contribute. The program should increase the role of Baltimore City donors in campaign financing by providing candidates with a stronger incentive to reach out to small dollar donors and by increasing the monetary value of small donor contributions from Baltimore City residents.

²⁰ Council Bill 19-0403, "11-1. Definitions," *City of Baltimore*.

²¹ Scarr and Ready, "Fair Elections in Montgomery County."

| SOLUTION: THE FAIR ELECTION FUND

The data highlights three major problems caused by the current campaign financing system in Baltimore’s mayoral elections: candidates need access to wealth in order to successfully run for mayor; big money contributions, and the entities that make them, fund an outsized portions of the campaigns; and too much of the money does not come from Baltimore City voters. The Fair Election program, if fully funded and implemented, can address these issues.

The Fair Election Fund is a small donor public campaign financing program that would cover the mayor, council president, comptroller, and city councilmember races in Baltimore City. Participating candidates can opt in to the program and commit to rejecting contributions from PACs and corporations. They also cannot take over \$150 from any single individual. In return, the small dollar contributions these candidates do receive will be matched by a public fund.

Matching funds are tiered, so smaller contributions receive a higher match. In the mayoral race, a \$25 dollar contribution from a Baltimore City resident would be matched at a 9:1 rate, totalling \$225 from the fund and \$25 from the contribution for a sum of \$250. A \$75 contribution would be matched at a 9:1 rate for the first \$25 and a 5:1 rate for the next \$50, for a total of \$550. A \$150 dollar contribution would be matched at a 9:1 rate for the first \$25, a 5:1 rate for the next \$50, and a 2:1 rate for the last \$75, for a total of \$775.²²

The following chart lays out the mechanics of the program for a mayoral candidate:²³

Threshold to qualify for small donor matching program for Mayor	
Number of donations	500
Amount of donations	\$40,000
Qualifying Boost	\$200,000

²² Council Bill 19-0403, “11-17, Distribution of Public Contribution,” *City of Baltimore*.

²³ Council Bill 19-0403, *City of Baltimore*.

*Must forgo contributions greater than \$150 and only accept contributions from individuals (no money from corporations, unions, PACs, etc.). Multiple contributions from one person cannot exceed \$150.

Match ratio	
First \$25	\$9 for each dollar
Second \$50	\$5 for each dollar
Third \$75	\$2 for each dollar
Match Cap	\$1,500,000
<p>*Only contributions from Baltimore City residents are matched. *Once the cap is reached, candidates can continue to raise donations from individuals of \$150 or less but will not receive any matching funds. Multiple contributions from one person cannot exceed \$150. *In addition, a candidate may loan or contribute up to a total of \$6,000 to their own campaign from themselves or their spouse.</p>	

The Fair Election Fund will help reduce the influence of big money donors in Baltimore’s elections. Since donations are capped at \$150 and receive a match from the fund, candidates for Mayor can focus on speaking with Baltimore City residents and building support in communities while still running a financially competitive campaign.

This program enables candidates who want to raise money from their communities - whether on principle or because they don’t have access to big money - to remain competitive without having to rely on large donors. Since the program matches smaller donations at a higher rate, it ensures that small donations of \$10 or \$25 become more valuable to candidates who are trying to fundraise and win elections. Adding value to these small dollar contributions, which are much more affordable for Baltimoreans, allows more people to meaningfully participate in the electoral process. Additionally, this match allows candidates using the program to remain financially competitive with traditionally funded candidates.

Finally, under this system, it is expected that Baltimore donors would play a larger role. By only matching donations from Baltimore City residents, the expectation is that mayoral candidates will spend more time speaking with and fundraising from these

people. Additionally, this program provides Baltimoreans with an incentive to contribute because it amplifies the value of their small dollar donations. Ultimately, the Fair Election Fund should increase the number of Baltimore City residents that donate to mayoral campaigns.

For example, here is a comparison between the average competitive candidate in the Baltimore 2020 mayoral election with a hypothetical candidate that uses the Fair Election Fund in 2024.

Average Competitive Candidate in 2020²⁴

Raised \$1,091,716 with an overall average contribution of \$931 from 1,189 contributions. 1,037 of those came from individuals, giving an average contribution of \$515. Of the 1,037 contributions from individuals, 594 of these contributions came from Baltimore City residents and less than one-fifth (19.5%) of the money raised came from these individuals living in Baltimore City.

Hypothetical Fair Elections Candidate in 2024²⁵

Raises \$1,037,500. \$175,000 comes from 2,000 contributions, including 1,500 Baltimore City residents and 500 non-residents. The non-residents donate an average of \$100 each, totalling \$50,000. 500 City residents donate \$25, 500 additional residents donate \$75, and a final group of 500 residents donate \$150 each. The candidate also receives a \$200,000 boost and \$662,500 in matching funds for the small donations from City residents. The candidate accepts no money from corporations, PACs, or other non-individuals.

This example shows that the Fair Election Fund can help resolve the effects of the problems illustrated by the data from the 2020 election. The hypothetical candidate is able to run a financially competitive campaign without large or corporate donors, fundraising solely from donations from individuals who contributed \$150 or less. Additionally, the hypothetical candidate would receive nearly three times as many contributions from Baltimore City residents as the traditionally funded candidates,

²⁴ This average only includes candidates who received over 2,000 votes during their primary election and Bob Wallace.

²⁵ These numbers represent what a hypothetical candidate for the 2024 mayoral elections would need in order to run a financially competitive campaign with the top candidates in the 2020 race.

because the program creates a financial incentive for candidates to prioritize fundraising from Baltimore City residents.

While this scenario is hypothetical, a similar scenario played out in Montgomery County in 2018, their first election using a small donor public campaign financing system. Participating candidates were able to run competitive and successful campaigns without accepting any contributions from large or corporate donors.²⁶ Additionally, the stats show that participating candidates received more contributions from individual donors and ran competitive campaigns that could win elections.²⁷

The Fair Election Fund can reduce the influence of big money in politics and empower Baltimore City residents.

²⁶ Scarr and Ready, "Fair Elections in Montgomery County."

²⁷ Scarr and Ready, "Fair Elections in Montgomery County," p. 6.

| CONCLUSION

The 2020 Baltimore City mayoral election was an expensive race fueled primarily by donors who are not eligible to vote in Baltimore City elections and donors giving contributions much larger than most Baltimore residents could afford to make. These dynamics meant that wealthy donors had an outsized role in financing the election, making up the vast majority of money contributed.

However, a small donor public campaign financing program can shift this narrative, reducing the influence of big money in Baltimore City politics, enabling candidates to run for office based on support from their communities, and empowering Baltimore City residents in the democratic process.

| METHODOLOGY

Data on candidates' loans/contributions received and expenditures was obtained from the Maryland Campaign Reporting Information system (<https://campaignfinance.maryland.gov/>). This data included the category/type and location of each loan/contribution and expenditure.

This report examined the 2020 election cycle in Baltimore City. Loans/contributions and expenditures from 1/1/2019 and onward were accounted for in the data in order to include as much relevant data as possible while excluding any possible data from the 2018 elections. This includes contributions that reported a different office type than "Mayoral."

The data was then downloaded for each candidate and deduplicated to remove contributions that matched exactly across the board, as these contributions likely had been reported more than once. Some candidates were excluded because their candidate committee could not be located, including: Will Bauer (aka Lou Catelli), Michael Douglas Jensen, and Frederick Ware-Newsome.

Then, the data was sorted by candidate committee and each category of contribution/loan and expenditure. For each category, the number of contributions/loans or expenditures was calculated, the amount of money was summed, and then the amount of money was divided by the number of contributions/loans to calculate the average contribution/loan or expenditure for each candidate committee and category.

All in-kind contributions were excluded from the data. Contributions from labor organizations and non-profit organizations were included in the analysis, but were not counted as large donations as these contributions can be aggregations of many small contributions. Bank interest payments, refunds/rebates, and transfers were included.

"Competitive mayoral candidates" was defined to include candidates that received over 2,000 votes in the Republican or Democratic mayoral primary election as well as candidates that received over 20% of the vote during the general election. Competitive

candidates were Bob Wallace, Brandon Scott, Sheila Dixon, Mary Miller, Thiru Vignarajah, Bernard "Jack" Young, T. J. Smith, and Carlmichael Cannady.

To calculate the average expenditures of competitive candidates, the expenses of these candidates were added up and divided by the number of candidates.

The average contribution to a candidate was determined by summing the contributions made and dividing by the number of contributions. The average individual contribution to a candidate was determined by summing the contributions made by individuals and dividing by the number of contributions. An individual was defined as an entity that made a contribution or loans categorized as "Individual" in the Maryland Campaign Reporting Information System.

The percentage of contributions that were over \$150 was determined by summing the number of contributions over this amount and dividing that by the number of total contributions. The percentage of money made up by these types of contributions was determined by summing up the total amount of money contributed from donations over \$150 and dividing it by the total amount of money contributed. As mentioned previously, all contributions from labor unions and non profit organizations were not counted as contributions over \$150.

A contribution was determined to be from Baltimore City if the contributor address is located in Baltimore, and out-of-city otherwise. This includes contributions that included Baltimore in the address and had a Baltimore City zip code (212xx), but did not have Maryland in the contributor address. In these cases, it is likely that the contributor either did not include the state they reside in when entering their address, or they mistyped the state that they reside in to something other than Maryland. Each of these addresses were independently checked and marked as contributions from Baltimore City or out-of-state, depending on the zip code. Addresses with Baltimore City zip codes were manually marked as Baltimore City contributions.

An exception was made for Baltimore County addresses that were out of city limits, but included Baltimore in the address. The zipcodes 21241, 21250, 21252, 21282, 21284, and 21285 are exclusively located in Baltimore County. Accordingly, even though

addresses in these zip codes include Baltimore in the address, they were counted as out-of-city contributions. Zip codes that included a mixture of Baltimore City and Baltimore County addresses were included as contributions from Baltimore City. The net result is that the number of contributions from Baltimore City residents is likely slightly lower than presented in the report.

The percentage of contributions made by individuals in Baltimore City was determined by summing up the number of contributions made by individuals residing in Baltimore City (as determined above) and divided by the total number of contributions. Similar calculations were done for: out-of-state entities, which were determined if the contributor address had a non-Maryland state; out-of-city entities, which were determined if the contributor address was located in Maryland, but outside of Baltimore City; and non-individual entities, which were determined by summing up all contributions that were not made by an individual as described in the Maryland Campaign Reporting Information System.

Contributions without addresses were counted as out of city and out of state for the purposes of this analysis, and represent less than \$4,000 in total spending. Additionally, some contributions included a city of residence (Baltimore) but did not include any state. These were marked as Baltimore City resident, but out-of-state, contributions.

The averages for the “Traditional Candidate” under the “Conclusion” section were calculated by summing up the individual contributions, the money raised from individuals, the individual contributions from Baltimore City residents, the money raised from Baltimore City residents, and the non-individual contributions for candidates that received over 2,000 votes in their primary. The included candidates were the same as the candidates included when calculating the average amount spent on a mayoral race. Then, these sums were divided by the number of candidates to get an average.

The matching fund amount for the hypothetical candidate was calculated using the matching rates outlined in Baltimore City Council Bill 19-0403. The hypothetical candidate received 500 \$25 donations from Baltimore City residents, which were

matched 9 to 1 for a total of \$112,500 in matches. The hypothetical candidate also received 500 \$75 donations from City residents, which were matched 9 to 1 for the first \$25 and 5 to 1 for the next \$50 for a total of \$237,500 in matching funds. Finally, in this scenario the hypothetical candidate received 500 \$150 donations, which were matched 9 to 1 for the first \$25, 5 to 1 for the next \$50, and 2 to 1 for the last \$75 for a total of \$312,500. The grand total of matching funds received is \$662,500.

The total amount raised, \$1,037,500, was calculated by summing three quantities. The first was the amount fundraised from donors, which was \$50,000 from 500 out-of-district donors contributing \$100 each, \$12,500 from 500 Baltimore City donors contributing \$25 each, \$37,500 from 500 Baltimore City donors contributing \$75 each, and \$75,000 from 500 Baltimore City donors contributing \$150 each. The second was the \$200,000 boost that the candidate would receive from the public fund by qualifying for the matching program. The third was the \$662,500 received in matching funds, which was calculated above.

APPENDIX

Table 1: Total Contribution Breakdown

Contributor Type	Number of Contributions	Total Amount Raised ²⁸	Average Donation Size	Percentage of Donations from Group	Percentage of Money from Group
Total	10,995	\$9,280,377	\$844.05	100%	100%
Individuals	9,987	\$4,436,624	\$444.24	90.83%	47.81%
Individuals, \$150 or less	6,781	\$333,472	\$49.18	61.67%	3.59%
Individuals, Baltimore City residents	4,886	\$1,721,186	\$352.27	44.44%	18.55%
Non-Individuals	1,008	\$4,843,753	\$4,805.31	9.17%	52.19%

Table 2: Contribution Breakdown by Location

Contributor Location	Number of Contributions	Total Amount Raised	Average Donation Size	Percentage of Donations	Percentage of Money
Total	10,995	\$9,280,377	\$844.05	100%	100%
Maryland	8,184	\$7,874,189	\$962.14	74.43%	84.85%
Baltimore City²⁹	5,431	\$5,577,265	\$1,026.93	49.40%	60.10%
In Maryland, Out of Baltimore City	2,807	\$2,301,566	\$819.94	25.53%	24.80%
Out Of State	2811	\$1,406,188	\$500.25	25.57%	15.15%

²⁸ All entries in this column in Table 1 and Table 2 are rounded to the nearest dollar.

²⁹ The “Baltimore City” and the “In Maryland, Out of Baltimore City” numbers do not sum up to the total of the Maryland row because some Baltimore County donors live in zip codes that overlap between Baltimore City and Baltimore County. Additionally, some Baltimore City donors did not include a state in their contribution address. See Methodology section for details.

