



THE UNIVERSITY *of* NEW MEXICO

2017 CAMPAIGN FINANCE REPORT

PRINCIPAL AUTHORS:

LONNA RAE ATKESON

*PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, DIRECTOR CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF VOTING, ELECTIONS AND
DEMOCRACY, AND DIRECTOR INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO*

WENDY L. HANSEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE ASSISTANTS:

MUHAMMAD ADNAN SHAHID

MORGAN ROSE OCCHINO

JACOB ALTIK

ALEX N. ADAMS

FINANCIAL SUPPORT:

THORNBURG FOUNDATION

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
Executive Summary	5
New Mexico Public Financing Contests.....	5
New Mexico Voter Attitudes Toward Public Financing 2016	6
Chapter 1. A Look at New Mexico Public Financing Contests.....	9
1.1 Background on Public Financing in New Mexico	9
Table 1.1. Percent of Candidates Using the Public Financing Option in New Mexico	11
Table 1.2. State Appellate Court Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Court	11
1.2 Pre and Post Public Financing	11
Table 1.3. Candidates for City or State Office in New Mexico, 2000 to 2016.....	12
Table 1.4. Attributes of Candidates in Pre and Post the Availability of Public Financing.....	14
Table 1.5. Percentage of Candidates Winning and Losing Pre and Post the Availability of Public Financing.....	15
1.3 Public Regulations Commission.....	15
Table 1.6. PRC Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Election	15
Table 1.7. Attributes of Candidates in Public Regulation Commission Elections Who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing.....	17
Table 1.8. Percentage of PRC Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing .	17
1.4 Judicial Contests	18
Table 1.9. State Appellate Court Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Court	19
Table 1.10. Attributes of Candidates in State Judicial Elections who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing	19
Table 1.11. Percentage of State Judicial Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing.....	21
1.5 Municipal Contests	21
Table 1.12. Municipal Candidates Using Public Financing by Municipality	21
Table 1.13. Attributes of Candidates in Local Elections who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing	23
Table 1.14. Percentage of Local Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing	23
Appendix 1.1 Data Collection Challenges in New Mexico	25

Chapter 2. Attitudes toward Public Financing by New Mexico Voters.....	28
2.1 Voter Attitudes Toward Public Financing	28
2.2 Support for Public Financing	28
Figure 2.1. Support for Public Financing.....	29
Figure 2.2 % Support for Campaign Finance by Party and Ideology	30
Figure 2.3. % Support for Campaign Finance by Sex and Ethnicity	30
Figure 2.4. % Support for Campaign Finance by Age and Education	31
2.3 Voter Attitudes Toward Money as Speech.....	31
Figure 2.5. % Agreement/Disagreement that "Groups Spending Money Independently of a Candidates Campaign is a Form of Free speech and Therefore Cannot be Regulated"	32
Figure 2.6. Money is Free Speech by Party and Ideology	33
Figure 2.7. Money is Free Speech by Age and Education	33
2.4 Who Would Public Financing Help	34
Figure 2.8. Agreement/Disagreement with "Public financing would allow people like me to run for office" and "I would support public financing even if some of the funding might go to candidates I dislike"	34
Figure 2.9. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Party	35
Figure 2.10. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Education	36
Figure 2.11. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Ethnicity.....	37
2.5 Voter's Perception of Candidate Responsiveness	37
Figure 2.12. Are NM's Elected Officials More Responsive to Campaign Donors or Voters?	38
Figure 2.13. Agreement/Disagreement with Public Financing Allows Candidates to Spend More Time Talking to Voters than Donors	39
Figure 2.14. Who are NM Elected Officials More Responsive to, by Party and Ideology	40
Figure 2.15. Who are NM Elected Officials More Responsive to, by Age	40
2.6 Who Pays Attention to Public Financed Candidates?.....	41
Figure 2.16. Agreement/Disagreement with I Pay Attention to whether a Candidate is Publicly or Privately Financed	41
Figure 2.17. I pay Attention to Publicly versus Privately Financed Candidates by Ideology and Party	42

2.7 Preferences for Public Finance Programs	42
Figure 2.18. What Type of Public Financing Program do you Prefer?	43
2.8 Campaign Finance Limits on Independent Expenditure Campaigns	43
Table 2.1. Summary of Voter Response to, “Individuals, corporations, unions, and interest groups can donate unlimited money to groups that advertise for or against candidates or issues that favor one side or the other. For each individual or group below, please choose which policy statement you agree with most”	44
Table 2.2. Attitudes Toward Donation Limits and Disclosure Laws for Independent Expenditure Campaigns by Ideology	45
Table 2.3. Attitudes Toward Donation Limits and Disclosure Laws for Independent Expenditure Campaigns by Party	45
2.9 Ethics Commission	46
Figure 2.19. Agreement/Disagreement with the Establishment of an Ethics Commission	46
Appendix 2.1 Survey Methodology	47
Appendix 2.2 Selected Frequency Report	48
Chapter 3. Conclusion	58

Executive Summary

New Mexico Public Financing Contests

- Since the inception of a public financing option in New Mexico there have been 202 opportunities for candidates for these state and local offices to participate in the program and 54% of the time candidates (109) chose to do so.
- At the municipal level, 90 candidates have been eligible for funding and 57% (51) of them have accepted public financing.
- In judicial contests just over ½ of the 33 judicial candidates at both the local and state levels and about ½ of the Public Regulation Commission (PRC) candidates, including both primary and general elections, have accepted public funding.
- It appears that public financing has not had a significant impact on ethnic diversity of the candidate pool. Before public financing becomes available, 63% of candidates are white, compared to 62% after.
- In contrast, gender diversity is enhanced significantly after public financing is made available, with the percentage of female candidates rising from about 25% to 36%. By office type, the candidate pool for PRC elections exhibits the most significant rise of female candidates (from about 16% to 37%).
- There is a shift in the age of candidates after public financing is made available to a greater pool of older candidates. Specifically, the 60+ age group increases from about 22% to 35%, while the 18-39 age group drops from 22% to 13%.
- The availability of public funding leads to a significant growth of non-incumbent participation in the elections of New Mexico, from 70% to 81% after public financing becomes available.
- With regard to political party, we find that about the same percentage of candidates are Democrat, Republican and third party.
- The average vote shares for all candidates, except municipal, declines slightly under public financing. In general, this is a sign of an equalizing effect of public funding on candidates.
- For the PRC specifically, we find that candidates participate in public financing regardless of party, incumbency, opposition, or gender. We also find that candidates win and lose at about the same rate regardless of whether they participate in public financing or not. Whites, and older candidates for the PRC appear to participate more frequently in public financing as compared to non-whites and younger candidates.
- For judicial contests specifically, we find that over half of judicial candidates overall, and over two-thirds of competitors to the appointed judges take public financing, suggesting that candidates see public financing as a viable means of funding their election campaigns. Male and white candidates are more likely to accept public financing. Republicans accept public financing at a significantly higher rate than Democrats, even though they are appointed at about equal rates.
- For municipal candidates, we find that nearly three in five candidates in local contests accept public financing suggesting that candidates see public financing as a viable means of funding their election campaigns. This is true for both Democrats and Republicans, though Democrats appear to accept public financing more in these nonpartisan contests.

Importantly candidates who take public financing are more likely to win than to lose. We also find that non-whites are more likely to accept public financing.

- Collecting data over time for candidates in New Mexico's state and local elections is a challenging endeavor because the data on candidates for these various offices are not easily accessible or not accessible at all.
- For example, at the municipal level in Albuquerque the names of qualifying candidates are provided, but records on contributions are not available; qualifying contributions for these candidates are only kept in hard copy and only for two years. Thus, information on which voters are qualifying publicly financed candidates is not available for comparison or scrutiny.
- Moreover, records on campaign finance for candidates for these offices are incomplete over time and the records found are inconsistent with campaign finance rules and regulations therefore we question the reliability and validity of these data when looking at information regarding donors.
- Records from Follow the Money (www.followthemoney.org) were filled with errors. For example, records for candidates who held previous offices such as Land Commissioner or State Senators were included with candidate profiles for PRC making these data neither reliable nor valid.
- Records from the Secretary of State are not easily digestible nor electronically friendly, which probably helps to explain the errors we find at the Follow the Money website.

New Mexico Voter Attitudes Toward Public Financing 2016

- We asked voters which statement they agree with most: 1) All state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing; 2) Some state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing but not others; 3) I do not agree with public financing. A majority of New Mexican voters (55%) agree that public financing should be available to all candidates running for elected and local office. An additional 15% support public financing for some state and local offices and nearly one-third of respondents do not support public financing at all.
- Our data show that both a majority of Democrats and Republicans as well as liberals and conservatives support public financing for at least some, if not all, public offices. By party, 83% of Democrats, 66% of Independents, and 54% of Republicans support public financing for all or some elected officials. By ideology, 93% of liberals support public financing for all or some elected officials, with 65% of moderates in support and 51% of conservatives.
- Women support public financing for all candidates at a slightly higher rate (58%) than men (51%), but overall differences by gender and race are relatively small. By age, those 18-35 years old support public financing for all elected officials at a rate of 70% compared to about 50% for older respondents. Those ages 36-65 are most likely (38%) to disagree with public financing. By education, those with a high school degree or less are most likely (50%) to oppose public financing, while those with post-college are most supportive (61%). More education has a consistent positive impact on attitudes towards public financing.
- We asked voters to agree or disagree with the following statement, "Groups spending

money independently of a candidate's campaign is a form of free speech and therefore cannot be limited by the government." Nearly two thirds (65%) of voters reject the Supreme Court's argument that money is speech for independent groups.

- Republicans and conservatives support the free speech frame more than Democrats and liberal and moderates and independents are in-between. However, and most importantly, a majority of all groups reject the notion that money is a form of free speech and therefore cannot be regulated. About 7 in 10 Democrats and 8 in 10 liberals disagree with the free speech frame, while just over ½ of Republicans and conservatives do.
- We find that younger and less educated voters are more likely to agree with contributions as a form of free speech than older, more educated voters. However, it is most important to note that a majority of all age and education groups reject the notion that money is free speech and therefore cannot be regulated.
- We also asked voters their level of agreement with the following two questions: (1) "I would support public financing even if some of the funding might go to candidates I dislike"; (2) Public Financing would allow people like me to run for office." We find nearly two-thirds of the public agrees with each statement.
- We asked New Mexico voters two questions related to campaign financing and their relationship to voters and donors. The first question asked, "Generally speaking do you think New Mexico's elected officials are more responsive to campaign donors or voters?" Respondents could choose voters, donors or both equally. The second question asked whether voters agree or disagree with the following statement, "Public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voters and less time talking to donors. A mere 7% of voters believe that elected leaders' top priority is voters, while 3 in 5 believe that their priority is donors, and another one-third believe that they are responsive to both. Yet, we also find that voters believe that public financing might help to shift that balance. Fully three-quarters of voters agree with the statement that public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voters than donors.
- Independent voters feel particularly left out of representation. Fully 8 in 10 independent voters feel that elected officials are more responsive to donors compared to 6 in 10 for Republicans and just over 1 in 2 for Democrats. Meanwhile we see a slightly different picture from looking at ideology with over 6 in 10 liberals and almost 7 in 10 conservatives indicating they believe that elected officials are more responsive to donors. Moderate voters are pretty evenly split between donors and both equally responses.
- We also asked voters to agree or disagree with the following statement, "I pay attention to whether a candidate is publicly or privately financed." Overall two-thirds of the voters agreed with this statement, while one-third disagreed. A look across ideology groups suggests that liberals are slightly more likely (72%) to say they pay attention, than moderates (62%) or conservatives (66%). But perhaps most interesting is partisanship, which shows that Independents are the most likely to say they pay attention (77%) compared to Democrats (68%) and Republicans (63%). The data also show that White/Anglo voters pay more attention (72%) to how the candidate is financed than Hispanics (60%), or voters of other races/ethnicities (55%).
- The two main types of public financing programs are clean elections programs and matching funds programs. We wanted to determine if voters had a preference for either type. Therefore, we asked, "What type of public financing program do you prefer? A program that caps candidate spending and provides a government grant to fund candidate

campaigns or a program that caps candidate spending and candidates receive partial funding through a government contribution matching program? Or do you prefer both equally, prefer neither or don't you know. The modal category was "don't know" (27%), and preferences are fairly evenly split indicating that, in general, the public is not well informed enough to determine which publicly financed program is best.

- To gauge voter attitudes towards this largely unregulated spending by potential individuals or groups we asked, "Individuals, corporations, unions, and interest groups can donate unlimited money to groups that advertise for or against candidates or issues that favor one side or the other. For each individual or group below, please choose which policy statement you agree with most." Policy statements cover both donation limits and disclosure options including (1) donating unlimited sums of money, (2) donation limits, (3), donating unlimited sums of money, but disclosure of donations is required, (4) donation limits should be in place and disclosure of donations is required. The data reveal that for unions, corporations, and interest groups, voters lean more towards limits and disclosure than they do for individuals. Specifically, a majority of the voters (69% to 73%) agreed that corporations, unions and interest groups can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose what they donate, while only 44% of the voters agreed to the same for individuals. About 15% of voters across the board agreed to unlimited donations with disclosure. Only about 5% of voters agreed to unlimited donations by corporations, unions and interest groups, compared to 19% for individual donors.
- New Mexican voters strongly support the creation of an ethics commission to oversee the administration of campaign finance laws with fully 4 out of 5 voters supporting this legislative action.

Chapter 1. A Look at New Mexico Public Financing Contests

1.1 Background on Public Financing in New Mexico

New Mexico is one of 13 states that have implemented some kind of a public financing system, with Albuquerque and Santa Fe among the few municipalities with such systems. At the state level, among the 22 states that elect judges to the State Supreme Court, New Mexico is one of only two states (along with West Virginia) that offer public financing for candidates. New Mexico also offers public financing for the Court of Appeals, and for Public Regulation Commissioners, who are elected in district-wide races. Albuquerque and Santa Fe both offer public financing systems for mayoral and city council candidates.

Albuquerque's public financing system was approved in 2005 and implemented in 2007, while Santa Fe's was approved in 2008 and implemented in 2012. Mayoral and City Council candidates have the option of using public financing. At the state level, public financing for Public Regulation Commissioners (PRCs) was adopted in 2003 and was extended to appellate judges (Court of Appeals and the State Supreme Court) in 2007.

In Albuquerque, mayoral candidates receive \$1 per Albuquerque registered voter, while city council candidates receive \$1 per registered voter in their districts. To qualify for public funds, each type of candidate must raise \$5 contributions from 1% of registered voters in the city or district where they are running for office. Seed money used to launch campaigns cannot exceed 10% of public funds received by candidates. Contributions for seed money are limited to \$100 per contributor and \$500 from the candidate. Albuquerque set up an Open and Ethical Elections Fund that is used to pay for public financing.

In Santa Fe, city council and municipal judge candidates are required to raise 150 \$5 contributions to qualify for \$15,000 in public funds. Qualifying mayoral candidates must collect 600 qualifying contributions of \$5 to receive \$60,000 in funds. Seed money for candidates is limited to \$100 per contributor up to 10% of public funds. In uncontested races, candidates receive 10% of the maximum amount.

The New Mexico Voter Action Act gives candidates for the PRC and appellate judgeships the option of using public financing for their campaigns. For these state offices, once a candidate declares intent to use public financing and files the Declaration of Intent with the Secretary of State, he/she becomes an applicant candidate. A candidate may collect seed money prior to the declaration of intent, but may not collect qualifying contributions before filing. Seed money is intended to assist the candidate in raising qualifying contributions. Amounts may not exceed \$100 per individual donors or PAC. Candidates can use up to \$5000 of their own for seed money. Applicants cannot collect seed money from corporations, associations, or labor organizations. An applicant cannot accept contributions other than seed money or qualifying contributions. During the designated qualifying period, participating candidates are required to collect \$5 contributions from eligible voters. To become a certified candidate and qualify for public funds, judicial candidates must collect qualifying contributions from 1/10 of 1% of state voters, while PRC candidates need 1/10 of 1% of voters in their districts. There is no maximum number of qualifying contributions for candidates seeking certification.

In primary elections, Public Regulation Commissioner candidates get \$0.25 for each voter of the candidate's party in the district where the candidate is running, and in general elections, Public Regulation Commissioner candidates get \$0.25 per registered voter in the district. For Appellate Judges, the amount is \$0.15 for each voter of the candidate's party in the state for the primary, and \$0.15 per registered voter statewide in the general election. In uncontested elections, candidates get 50% of the amounts for a contested election above. Certified candidates can accept up to 10% of the value of their public funds from a political party.

Public financing for all of these offices is an option, not a requirement, so some candidates choose to participate in the system, while other candidates do not. This variance in candidate choice will provide a means to compare candidates and donors in publicly versus privately funded campaigns within and between election races. Do the characteristics of candidates who choose public versus private funding systems differ and if so, how (gender, race/ethnicity, partisanship, qualifications, experience)? The variance in candidate choice will also allow for a comparison of competitive and non-competitive races and the demographic makeup of the districts of candidates who use and do not use public financing. In addition, since publicly funded campaigns generally have spending limits, while privately funded campaigns do not, comparisons of campaigns with unrestricted fundraising to those with limits, along with data on successful and unsuccessful campaigns, will be used to better understand the performance of candidates and the impact of public financing on election outcomes. While variance in candidate characteristics and their behaviors is important to understanding the impact of public financing systems, donor and voter behavior also need to be taken into account. Publicly available data on donors and voters will allow for a comparison of their characteristics for all types of publicly and privately funded campaigns. For example, how many small and medium sized donors (\$100 or less) give to publicly versus privately financed campaigns? And what role do PACs and other interest groups play in these varied elections. Finally, public financing systems may affect voter behavior and voter attitudes towards candidates and elections more broadly. Comparisons of turnout, engagement, and how voters perceive elections for publicly versus privately funded candidates can also be explored.

In sum, the New Mexico public financing environment offers different types of offices (executive (Mayoral), legislative (councilor and commissioner), and judicial (appellate)) within different levels of government (local and state) to examine various aspects of public campaign financing, including its effectiveness in promoting greater representation and increased public confidence in elected leaders and institutions of government.

In this report we examine, individually, all of the offices in New Mexico that are eligible for public financing and compare the characteristics and attributes of candidates who participate or do not participate in public financing. We also compare the characteristics and attributes of candidates for public office before and after public financing became available in New Mexico.

Summary Candidate Data Information

Since the inception of a public financing option in New Mexico there have been 202 opportunities for candidates for these state and local offices to participate in the program and

54% of the time candidates (109) chose to do so. In Table 1.1, we break down the percentage of candidates who participate in public financing in each eligible office. At the municipal level, 90 candidates have been eligible for funding and 57% (51) of them have accepted public financing. However, that is not divided evenly across local offices. Although there have only been 11 mayoral candidates eligible for public financing, all but 3 of them (73%) have selected the public funding option, while 54% of City Council candidates did so. Just over ½ of the 33 judicial candidates at both the local and state levels and about ½ of the Public Regulation Commission (PRC) candidates, including both primary and general elections, have accepted public funding. Thus, generally we can conclude that candidates see public financing as a viable option for funding candidate election campaigns.

Table 1.1. Percent of Candidates Using the Public Financing Option in New Mexico

	All	Municipal (Councilor + Mayor)	City Council	Mayor	Judicial	PRC
Percent Public Funding	54%	57%	54.4%	72.7%	56.7	50.6
Percent Self Funded	46%	43%	45.6%	27.3%	43.3	49.4
N	202	90	79	11	33	79

When we look at the various types of court offices, see Table 1.2, we find that public funding is popular within all of them. In all cases, half or more of eligible candidates accept public funding. We also see that slightly more judicial candidates use public financing than those who do not. New Mexico Supreme Court and the New Mexico Court of Appeals candidates are roughly equally likely to use public financing, which is approximately half the time. Two of the three eligible municipal candidates in Santa Fe took public financing.

Table 1.2. State Appellate Court Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Court

	Court of Appeals	Supreme Court	Municipal (Santa Fe)
Public Funding (18)	54.6	50.0	66.7
Self Funded (15)	45.4	50.0	33.3
N (33)	22	8	3

We expand on each of these races below. We begin by comparing the characteristics and attributes of candidates before and after the inceptions of public financing.

1.2 Pre and Post Public Financing

This section describes the analysis we did on public financing usage in New Mexico before and after public financing became available in New Mexico. Public financing has been available by state government for eligible candidates running for a position on the Public Regulatory

Commission since 2006 and for the appellate courts since 2008. New Mexico also has two cities, Santa Fe (since 2012) and Albuquerque (since 2007) that have the public financing option for city councilor, mayor and municipal judge candidates (Santa Fe only).

Candidate Data Information

A total of 388 candidates ran for city or state public offices between 2000 and 2016. The data consist of 186 candidates who ran before public financing became available and 202 who ran under the public financing option. Of the 202 candidates 54% (109), chose the public financing option. In Table 1.3, we break down the percentage of candidates by type of city or state office. At the municipal level, 183 candidates ran for office, 152 for city council, 31 for mayor. A total of 94 candidates ran for a judgeship or a judicial retention. And 111 candidates competed for the PRC.

Table 1.3. Candidates for City or State Office in New Mexico, 2000 to 2016

Category (n)	All	Municipal (Councilor + Mayor)	City Council	Mayor	Judicial	PRC
Pre-Public Funding (186)	48%	50.8%	48.0%	64.5%	64.9%	28.8%
Option for Public Funding (202)	52%	49.2%	52.0%	35.5%	35.1%	71.2%
N	388	183	152	31	94	111

Data

All the data were assembled from a variety of public sources including city and state government web sites, such as the New Mexico Secretary of State and Offices of the City Clerk in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, along with newspaper and internet searches by candidate. The data include elections from 2000 through 2016, but varies by the type of office. The data on Public Regulatory Commissioner and Appellate Court Judge elections begin in 2000, with elections being held every other year through 2016. Data on Albuquerque City Council and Mayoral elections begin in 2001, occurring every other year for City Council ending in 2015 and every four years for Mayor ending in 2013. Data on Santa Fe City Council elections begin in 2006 with elections held every other year through 2016. Data on Santa Fe Mayoral elections begin in 2006 and are held every four years through 2014. And data on Santa Fe Municipal Judge elections begin in 2008 and are held every four years going through 2016. The stating dates vary in order to include a relatively equal number of elections before and after the adoption of the public finance option, which varies by office type as indicated above.

Candidate Attributes and the Impact of Public Financing on City and State Elections in New Mexico, 2000 to 2016

Table 1.4 provides summary statistics of the candidates before and after public funding became available, split by different characteristics. The characteristics we considered here are: gender, age, whether or not the candidate is white, and the partisanship of the candidate. The results suggest that some of the characteristics of the candidate pool were affected by public financing.

When exploring effects of public funding on the ethnic diversity of candidates in New Mexico elections, we find that the percentage of whites and nonwhites does not change significantly before and after public financing is made available. Before public financing becomes available, 63% of candidates are white, compared to 62% after. Thus, it appears that public financing has not had a significant impact on ethnic diversity of the candidate pool.

In contrast, gender diversity is enhanced significantly¹ after public financing is made available, with the percentage of female candidates rising from about 25% to 36%. By office type, the candidate pool for PRC elections exhibits the most significant rise of female candidates (from about 16% to 37%).

Interestingly, there is a shift in age of candidates after public financing is made available to a greater pool of older candidates.² Specifically, the 60+ age group increases from about 22% to 35%, while the 18-39 age group drops from 22% to 13%. Such a change in favor of senior candidates, however, is not necessarily a good thing, for it shows that public funding is helping the group that might have had certain advantages in the first place, such as more political connections. By office type, the most significant change in age of candidates occurs in city council elections after public financing is made available, and regionally, in Albuquerque elections. In both cases, the 60+ group's surge coincides with the 18-39 group's fall.

The availability of public funding leads to a significant growth of non-incumbent participation in the elections of New Mexico, from 70% to 81% after public financing becomes available.³

With regard to political party, we find that about the same percentage of candidates are Democrat, Republican and third party. There is some literature to suggest that more third party candidates are likely to run when public financing is available, but we find no support for this conclusion in New Mexico.

¹ The p-value for the chi square test is .027.

² The p-value for the chi square test is .007.

³ The p-value for the chi square test is .018.

Table 1.4. Attributes of Candidates in Pre and Post the Availability of Public Financing

Category (n)	Before Public Funding	After Public Funding
Non-White (144)	36.6	37.6
White (244)	63.4	62.4
Male (269)	74.7	64.4
Female (119)	25.3	35.6
Age 18-39 (66)	21.5	12.9
Age 40-59 (211)	56.5	52.5
Age 60+ (111)	22.0	34.7
Non incumbent (294)	70.4	80.7
Incumbent (94)	29.6	19.3
Unopposed (66)	15.9	20.3
Opposed (293) ⁴	84.1	79.7
Democrat (262)	66.2	68.8
Republican (113)	29.0	29.2
Third Party (13)	4.8	2.0

Pre and Post Public Funding and Winning and Losing

We explore the changes that occur in the vote shares after public funding is made available in Table 1.5. While the average vote shares for all candidates, except municipal, declines slightly under public financing average vote shares are significantly lower in PRC and Appellate Court races in both the primaries and the general election after public funding is available, a sign of an equalizing effect of public funding on candidates. This effect is much stronger in the primaries where the average vote share falls drastically from 69% to 53%, illustrating that the availability of public funding makes the primaries in New Mexico much closer contests.

⁴ 29 cases of retention are not included because judges running for retention are not eligible for public funding.

Table 1.5. Percentage of Candidates Winning and Losing Pre and Post the Availability of Public Financing

	Pre Public Funding	Option for Public Funding
Average Vote (Municipal)	34.0	48.2
Average Vote (PRC and Appellate)	65.7	55.5
Average Vote (All Candidates)	49.7	52.3
Average Vote (Primary)	68.6	52.9
Average Vote (General)	64.0	60.0

Pre and Post Public Financing Conclusion

In summary, we find that the availability of public funding facilitates the diversity of election candidates of New Mexico in some limited ways. A higher percentage of female and non-incumbent candidates join the election after public funding is made available, but no significant change occurs to the share ethnic minority, third-party or opposed candidates. Further, the 60+ group of candidates grows while the 18-39 group of candidates decrease after public funding is made an option, which may be an unintended consequence. On the other hand, public funding does make elections of New Mexico tighter contests, as is shown in the drop in the average vote shares for non-municipal contests after public funding becomes available.

1.3 Public Regulations Commission

This section describes the characteristics and attributes of candidates who participate or do not participate in public financing in state Public Regulatory Commission (PRC) primary and general elections. Public financing has been available for eligible candidates for the PRC since 2006. The New Mexico PRC consists of five commissioners elected in district-wide races in partisan elections. Commissioners serve staggered four-year terms. Because each Commissioner represents larger districts, we argue that PRC elections provide the best insights as to how legislative candidates might use public financing.

Candidate Information for Public Regulation Commission

Table 1.6 shows the breakdown for public versus private funding for the primary versus general elections for PRC candidates. About half of primary and general election candidates take public financing. Public Regulation Commission (PRC) candidates, including both primary and general elections, have accepted public funding. Thus generally we can conclude that candidates see public financing as a viable option for funding candidate election campaigns.

Table 1.6. PRC Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Election

Category (number of candidates)	Primary	General
Public Funding (40)	52.8	46.2
Self Funded (39)	47.2	53.8
Total (79)	53	26

Candidate Attributes and the Choice of Public Financing for Public Regulation Commission (PRC) Elections

Table 1.7 provides summary statistics of the candidates who received public financing and those who do not, split by different characteristics. The characteristics we considered here are: gender, age, whether or not the candidate is white, whether or not the candidate is the incumbent, whether or not the candidate is opposed, and the partisanship of the candidate.

In terms of demographic characteristics, we find that whites are more likely to use public financing than non-whites. 56% of whites versus 38% of the non-whites accepted public financing.⁵ In terms of gender, women and men take public financing about half the time. Candidates who are 60 years of age or over accepted public financing about three-quarters of the time while younger candidates, age 40-59, accepted it only one-third of the time, and those age 18-39 accepted it half the time.⁶

Structural factors could also be important. For example, incumbents may be more likely to take public funding because they already have name recognition. Or incumbents may be less likely to take public funding because they have a proven network in the community that can support their candidacy. Our data suggest that incumbents are no more likely to take it than non incumbents, with both types of candidates taking public financing about half the time. Candidates who are unopposed may be motivated to accept public funding because they do not have to bear the costs of a competitive contest. There is some descriptive support for this conclusion, but the difference is not large with 60% of unopposed candidates and only about half of candidates facing competition accepting public financing.

In terms of partisanship, in PRC elections Republicans and Democrats use public financing at about the same rate, with just over half of each parties' candidates participating in public financing. Only one of the three third-Party candidates, 33.3%, used public funding.

⁵ The p-value for the chi-square test is .123

⁶ The p-value for the chi square test is .001.

Table 1.7. Attributes of Candidates in Public Regulation Commission Elections Who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing

Category (number of candidates)	No Public Funding (39)	Public Funding (40)
Non-White (24)	62.5	37.5
White (55)	43.6	56.4
Male (50)	50.0	50.0
Female (29)	48.3	51.7
Age 18-39 (6)	50.0	50.0
Age 40-59 (43)	67.4	32.6
Age 60+ (30)	23.3	76.7
Non incumbent (65)	49.2	50.8
Incumbent (14)	50.0	50.0
Unopposed (15)	40.0	60.0
Opposed (64)	51.6	48.4
Democrat (PRC) (51)	49.0	51.0
Republican (PRC) (25)	48.0	52.0
Third Party (PRC) (3)	66.7	33.3

Public Funding and Winning and Losing Public Regulation Commission

Perhaps the most important attribute of an election, especially for candidates, is the relationship between public financing and winning or losing. Table 1.8 reports the percentages that win and lose, along with vote shares. We find that candidates are about equally likely to win or lose whether or not they use public funding. The average vote share is about the same for both self and publicly funded candidates in both the primary and the general election.

Table 1.8. Percentage of PRC Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing

	No Public Funding (39)	Public Funding (40)
Won	51.3	45.0
Lost	48.7	55.0
Average Vote (all candidates)	48.1	49.2
Average Vote (Primary)	41.3	45.2
Average Vote (General)	61.2	58.7

Conclusion Public Regulation Commission

In summary, our results clearly show that many candidates participate in public financing regardless of party, incumbency, opposition, or gender. We also find that candidates win and lose at about the same rate regardless of whether they participate in public financing or not. Given that the PRC is the legislative body that has public financing that is most similar to New Mexico legislative races, we argue that extending public finance to legislative campaigns would provide similar outcomes on usage. Therefore, we would expect that public financing in the state legislature would be used by both Democrats and Republicans, incumbents and non incumbents, those that face opposition and those that do not, and both men and women candidates and that those candidates would win and lose at about the same rate. Our data suggest a few differences. Whites, and older candidates appear to participate more frequently in public financing as compared to non-whites and younger candidates.

1.4 Judicial Contests

This section describes the characteristics and attributes of candidates who participate or do not participate in public financing in contests for judicial offices. Two types of judicial contests have a public funding option, state appellate courts and municipal courts. At the state level, the appellate courts (both the Court of Appeals and the Supreme Court) have allowed eligible candidates to participate in a public financing program since 2008. At the municipal level, only Santa Fe allows public financing for judges, which began in 2012.

The New Mexico Court system is a hybrid system of selection that includes appointment, partisan elections, and retention elections. When a vacancy in the court emerges, the appropriate nominating commission makes appointment recommendations to the governor who then makes the appointment. In the next statewide election, however, a partisan election is held for the judgeship and the winner of that contest is elected to the seat. In future elections, judges compete in a retention contest that simply asks voters whether they support or oppose their retention. Judges who receive at least 57% of supporting votes are retained. Retention races are not eligible for public financing, only the initial partisan contests are eligible for public financing.

Candidate Information Judicial Contests

When we look at the various types of court offices, shown in Table 1.9, we find that public funding is popular within all of them. In all cases, half or more of eligible candidates accept public funding. We also see that slightly more judicial candidates use public financing than those who do not. New Mexico Supreme Court and the New Mexico Court of Appeals candidates are roughly equally likely to use public financing, which is approximately half the time. Two of the three eligible municipal candidates in Santa Fe took public financing.

Table 1.9. State Appellate Court Candidates Using Public Financing by Type of Court

	Court of Appeals	Supreme Court	Municipal (Santa Fe)
Public Funding (18)	54.6	50.0	66.7
Self Funded (15)	45.4	50.0	33.3
N (33)	22	8	3

Candidate Attributes and the Choice of Public Financing for Judicial Elections

Since public financing became available, only 3 of the 33 cases of judicial candidates running for election have been municipal judge candidates, so we focus here on only the 30 state appellate court candidates. In our analysis of statewide judicial races, we include factors such as gender, ethnicity, age, partisanship, whether or not the appointed candidates are opposed, and the type of election (primary or general).

Table 1.10 shows the percentages of those who accepted and did not accept public financing across various candidate attributes.

Table 1.10. Attributes of Candidates in State Judicial Elections who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing

Category (n)	No Public Funding 14 candidates	Public Funding 16 candidates
Non-White (15)	53.3	46.7
White (15)	40.0	60.0
Male (21)	42.9	57.1
Female (9)	55.6	44.4
Age 18-39 (2)	100.0	0.0
Age 40-59 (17)	41.2	58.8
Age 60+ (11)	45.5	54.5
Unopposed (15)	42.9	57.1
Opposed (15)	50.0	50.0
Democrat (19)	63.2	36.8
Republican (11)	18.2	81.8
Primary (15)	40.0	60.0
General (15)	53.3	46.7
Appointed Judge (17)	58.8	41.2
Competitor to Appointed Judge (13)	30.8	69.2

We find at the state level, at least for judicial elections, that public financing does not seem to be

important to having a more diverse pool of candidates: whites (60%) are more likely than non-whites (47%), and males (57%) are more likely than females (44%) to accept public financing.

The differences between men and women and whites and non-whites are small, suggesting that by gender and ethnicity judicial candidates accept public financing at about the same rate. In term of age group, only two candidates fall in the 18-39 age group. However, this is not surprising given that the experience necessary to be a judge is quite substantial and therefore we would not expect people early in their legal career to be seeking a position on one of the appellate courts. The difference between the groups age 40-59 and age 60+ is minimal and suggests that both older and younger judicial candidates take public financing at about the same rate. Candidates that are unopposed are only slightly more likely to take public financing than those opposed.

In contrast, we see a huge gap in public funding choice across party lines: only 37% of Democrats took public financing while 82% of Republicans did.⁷ That contradicts our intuition, and what we found in relation to municipal elections in Albuquerque. Given broader support among Democrats for public funding, we would expect greater support for its use among Democratic candidates, however, that is not what we see here. This difference between the parties holds for both primary and general elections, with all five of the Republican primary candidates accepting public funding. In addition, whether or not a candidate was appointed to the court seems to affect the choice of public financing. In particular, appointed judges are less likely to accept public financing than their competitors. Only 41% of appointed judges choose to take public financing, while 59% of competitors do.⁸

Public Funding and Winning and Losing Judicial Contest

In terms of state judicial elections, public funding appears not to have a significant impact on the results of elections. Candidates are about equally likely to win or lose regardless of whether or not they accept public financing. Accordingly, the candidate's share of votes in his or her race does not differ much with (74%) or without (73%) public financing (see Table 1.11). This is also true if we limit our analysis to candidates who had opposition, with those that did not accept public funding receiving about 52% of the vote and publicly funded candidates receiving about 48% of the vote.

⁷ The p value for the chi-square test is .017.

⁸ The p value for the chi-square test is .127.

Table 1.11. Percentage of State Judicial Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing

	No Public Funding 14 candidates	Public Funding 16 candidates
Won (22)	78.6	68.8
Lost (8)	21.4	31.2
Average votes won (all candidates)	72.6	73.9
Average Votes Won (Candidates with opposition, 16 candidates)	52.13	47.8

Conclusion Judicial Contests

In summary, we find some interesting facts about judicial candidates who take public financing and those who do not. First, we find that over half of judicial candidates overall, and over two-thirds of competitors to the appointed judges take public financing, suggesting that candidates see public financing as a viable means of funding their election campaigns. Male and white candidates are more likely to accept public financing. Republicans accept public financing at a significantly higher rate than Democrats, even though they are appointed at about equal rates.⁹

As time passes, more elections will allow us a larger set of candidates to examine whether or not some of the other smaller differences we see here hold.

1.5 Municipal Contests

This section describes the characteristics and attributes of candidates who participate or do not participate in public financing in state and local elections, including city councilor and mayor. In New Mexico, two cities, Santa Fe and Albuquerque have a public finance option. Santa Fe's program started in 2012 and Albuquerque's started in 2007.

Interestingly, municipalities have the highest candidate usage with three in five candidates choosing the public option. This is true in both Santa Fe and Albuquerque (see Table 1.12).

Table 1.12. Municipal Candidates Using Public Financing by Municipality

	Albuquerque	Santa Fe
Public Funding (53)	62.5	61.3
Self Funded (30)	37.5	38.7
N (83)	52	31

Candidate Attributes and the Choice of Public Financing for Local Elections

When we consider the different characteristics of municipal candidates who accept or do not accept public financing including their gender, ethnicity, age, partisanship, whether or not they

⁹ Fifty-six percent of appointees were Democrats and 44% were Republicans.

are opposed or an incumbent we find that it sometimes matters and sometimes it does not. Table 1.13 shows the percentages of those who accepted and did not accept public financing across these variables.¹⁰

In terms of demographic characteristics we find that nonwhites are more likely than whites to accept public financing. 55% of whites accept public financing, while 71% of nonwhites do. Thus, it appears at the local level that public financing may help to create a more diverse ethnic pool of candidates.¹¹

There is a small difference between men and women, with men slightly more likely to accept public financing. We also see that middle age candidates (age 40-69) are the most likely to take public financing. However, given the small number of cases and rather small differences between categories, we do not see these differences as significant.

Structural factors could also be important. For example, incumbents may be more likely to take public funding because they already have name recognition. Or incumbents may be less likely to take public funding because they have a proven network in the community that can support their candidacy. Similarly, candidates that are unopposed may be more or less likely to accept public funding. In local elections, we find that incumbent candidates and candidates who face opposition are slightly more likely to accept public financing. But the differences are relatively small and not significant.

Although New Mexico local elections are nonpartisan, party politics and competition between Democrats and Republicans in Albuquerque has always been a relevant factor in these contests. In Santa Fe, this is not the case as it is a predominantly Democratic city with almost all local candidates registered as Democrats. Therefore, given the lack of variation in Santa Fe we focused our attention on Albuquerque and identified the party of each candidate to determine if there are partisan differences in public financing. Given that Democrats have been more supportive of public financing than Republicans, we expect that they are more likely to participate in public financing than Republicans. This appears to be the case as 70% of Democrats took public financing while only half of Republicans did.¹² While this difference is important and expected, we also think it is relevant that ½ of Republican candidates felt ideologically comfortable taking public money for their campaigns.

¹⁰ These differences in average scores are, however, not significantly different from one another based upon a chi-square test ($p < .05$) and therefore we should be cautious in implying that publicly funded candidates are significantly different from candidates who do not take public funding. Nevertheless we are working with the population of cases and not a sample and so these represent the true means.

¹¹ The p-value for the chi-square test is .15.

¹² The p-value for the chi-square test is .14.

Table 1.13. Attributes of Candidates in Local Elections who Accepted and Did Not Accept Public Financing

Category (n)	No Public Funding 32 candidates	Public Funding 51 candidates
Non-White (34)	29.4	70.6
White (49)	44.9	55.1
Male (54)	35.2	64.8
Female (29)	44.8	55.2
Age 18-39 (14)	50	50
Age 40-59 (42)	33.3	66.7
Age 60+ (26)	38.5	61.5
Non incumbent (59)	40.7	59.3
Incumbent (24)	33.3	66.7
Unopposed (11)	45.5	54.5
Opposed (72)	37.5	62.5
Democrat (ABQ) (32)	30.0	70.0
Republican (ABQ) (20)	50.0	50.0

Public Funding and Winning and Losing Municipal Contests

Perhaps the most important attribute of an election, especially for candidates, is the relationship between public financing and winning or losing. In Table 1.14 we find that candidates who take public financing, on average, are more likely to win than candidates who did not. Candidates who accept public financing win about 53% of the time, while those that did not win about 38% of contests.¹³ This relationship is also visible in the average vote totals, which show that publicly funded candidates receive on average 49% of the vote while non-publicly funded candidates receive 46% of the vote.

Table 1.14. Percentage of Local Candidates Winning and Losing by Public Financing

	No Public Funding 32 candidates	Public Funding 51 candidates
Won	37.5	52.9
Lost	62.5	47.1
Average votes won	45.7	48.6

¹³ The p-value for the chi square test is .17.

Conclusion Municipal Contests

In summary, we find there are some interesting and important differences between candidates who take public financing and those who do not at the local level. First, we find that nearly three in five candidates in local contests accept public financing suggesting that candidates see public financing as a viable means of funding their election campaigns. This is true for both Democrats and Republicans, though Democrats appear to accept public financing more. Importantly candidates who take public financing are more likely to win than to lose. Thus, for many candidates public financing is a viable option that, if anything, enhances their chances of winning. We also find that Democrats and non-whites are more likely to accept public financing. The fact that more non-whites accept public financing may suggest that we are getting a more diverse pool of candidates.

As time passes, more elections will allow us a larger set of candidates to examine whether or not some of the other smaller differences we see here hold.

Appendix 1.1 Data Collection Challenges in New Mexico

Candidate Data

Collecting data over time for candidates in New Mexico's state and local elections is a challenging endeavor. For this project, we wanted to collect information on all candidates running for public offices where public financing is an option. For New Mexico, this includes Appellate Court Justices and Public Regulation Commissioners at the state level and Councilors, Mayors and Municipal Judges at the city level. For each office that has public financing as an option for candidates, we wanted to compare the characteristics of candidates that ran for the offices before public financing was offered to candidates that ran for office under the public financing option. Since public financing began at different times for these various offices, this required a different start date for each type of candidate, going back in time as far as data were available. For the Public Regulation Commission (PRC) and Appellate Courts (Supreme Court and Court of Appeals), we were able to collect data on candidates from 2000 through 2016, with public financing beginning in 2006 for the PRC, 2008 for the Supreme Court, and 2010 for the Court of Appeals. We were able to identify candidates for Albuquerque City Council and Mayoral candidates back to 2001, with public financing beginning in 2007 for the city council offices and 2009 for the office of mayor. Data on Santa Fe Mayoral and City Council candidates are available from 2006 with public financing beginning in 2012 for the office of city council and in 2014 for the office of mayor. Data on Santa Fe Municipal Judge elections were identified beginning in 2008, with public financing available beginning in 2012.

Data on candidates for these various offices, however, are not easily accessible. The Albuquerque City Clerk's office maintains a website with some information on candidates available back to 2003, but it is difficult to locate and incomplete. For example, information identifying publicly financed candidates begins in 2009, even though public financing begins in 2007 for city councilors. Names of qualifying candidates are provided, but records on contributions are not available; qualifying contributions for these candidates are only kept in hard copy and only for two years. Thus, information on which voters are qualifying publicly financed candidates is not available for comparison or scrutiny. For example, we wanted to examine how public financing changed the Albuquerque city donor profile, but this made such an endeavor impossible.

Records on campaign finance for candidates for these offices are incomplete over time (with partial records back to 2003), difficult to navigate, and of questionable validity and quality. Candidates who take public financing are limited to seed money donations of \$100 or less, yet many of the candidates show records of receiving larger donations from individuals and companies, in the hundreds and even thousands of dollars. For example, the records for one candidate who qualified for and received public financing in two election cycles shows numerous campaign contributions that exceed the hundred dollar seed money limit. While the median donation for this candidate is \$100, the average contribution amount is \$168, with the largest donation exceeding \$1000. Dozens of individuals, and even some companies and groups, exceeded the \$100 limit on donations to this candidate. This phenomenon is widespread with data for most of the publicly financed candidates exhibiting similar patterns. We do not know if

this represents errors in the data or if the program was administered incorrectly, allowing both for publicly and privately financed candidates. Thus we question both the reliability and validity of these data.

In addition, additional information on both publicly and privately financed candidates, such as election results and vote margins has to be searched for separately. The city does not provide easily accessible data on past election outcomes. The city should consider making these types of historical data more accessible on their websites as downloadable PDFs.

Data on the Santa Fe City Clerk's website goes back to 2006 and is easier to find with seemingly better record keeping. Campaign contributions are recorded on scanned reports, and while these are not very user friendly for building a data set, they are at least available. The records also include qualifying contributions for each candidate since the inception of public financing (though Santa Fe has the advantage of public financing being launched later than in Albuquerque). Despite the better record keeping, some anomalies are still present in the data and historical records on elections outcomes are not always available.

The Office of the Secretary of State maintains records for most elections back to the 1990s on their website, but some of the older years only report records by county, not aggregated statewide results. The missing reports had to be obtained through a request to the office. While election results, such as the percentage of the vote for the winning and losing candidates, are largely accessible, information related to publicly financed candidates for the PRC and Appellate Courts is more challenging. Some financial disclosure records are available back to 2004 and can be downloaded and searched by individual candidates and because the Secretary of State's office provides a large "donation" to publicly financed candidates they can be readily identified.

Donor Data

Identifying sources and amounts of campaign contributions for privately and publicly financed candidates, and verifying their accuracy, has overall proved to be very challenging. Nationally recognized private organizations like Center for Responsive Politics (<https://www.opensecrets.org/>) and Follow the Money (<https://www.followthemoney.org>) provide a great public service in gathering vast amounts of campaign finance data, but these also have limitations. The Center for Responsive Politics focuses on money and candidates at the federal level. Follow the Money provides information at the federal level, but is also a valuable source of information for tracking campaign finance at the state and sometimes local level, but no data on municipal races are being collected for New Mexico. In addition, mistakes still exist in the statewide data making valid data analysis difficult. For example, two candidates, both of whom took public financing in the same year for a primary race for state Public Regulation Commissioner in New Mexico should have received identical state funding, yet one was recorded as receiving \$30,000 and the other receiving \$91,000. Very large omissions of this type in the data can have a significant impact on any analysis comparing election results. Because many records were only kept in paper copy, one of the documents was overlooked in data entry, an easy mistake to make with such a format. But problems with record keeping can have big consequences when making candidate comparisons and analyzing the impact of campaign finance, especially when the number of candidates is small.

Further, when we first accessed, the data from the Follow the Money site for state offices like the PRC were only available back to 2006, the year that public financing began, which prevented any comparison of donor behavior and characteristics pre and post the availability of the public finance option. Since our initial data collection, additional years have been added, but the data appear to be limited to only a few candidates and there are significant problems with the data. For example, if you search the office of Public Regulation Commissioner in New Mexico for all available years, the search returns data from 1996 through 2016, however it gives you years of data for individuals for other state offices, but lists them as PRC candidates. For example, Patrick Lyons has contributions for his candidacy for PRC from over 4000 donors for various years beginning in 1996. But Lyons was a New Mexico State Senator from 1992 through 2002 and New Mexico Commissioner of Public Lands from 2003 to 2010. He was first elected to the PRC in 2010. Without identifying and fixing the problems with each individual candidate for PRC, the downloadable data are unusable. More generally, the data problems we found with Follow the Money make the data highly suspect, and neither reliable or valid in its current form.

Finally, data are also available on the New Mexico Secretary of State website, but these are also very difficult to access and use in the way that the site is set up to search and download. For example, when we try to download all candidate transactions (https://www.cfis.state.nm.us/media/CFIS_Data_Download.aspx), the dropdown selections only offer years 2010 through 2017, or ALL. So it looks like data are only available beginning in 2010. If you select ALL, however, you actually get data entries as early as 2003 for candidates for all state offices. One major problem is, with this search and download method, the type of office is not identified. So again we would have to go through the file, which has over 500,000 entries, identifying each candidate for each office and the years they ran for each office. In addition, the data in the early available years appear not to be comprehensive. A better search method might be by candidate (<https://www.cfis.state.nm.us/media/CandidateMain.aspx>). This returns aggregate contributions, but to access individual donor information you have to search each individual candidate and then go into each quarterly report for each year and separately access the contributor information for each candidate--an impossible task. And lastly, there does not appear to be any donor information on seed money or qualifying contributions for candidates for state offices making it impossible to assess whether the program is being run accurately or to identify donors. For whatever reason, both the state and the city of Albuquerque have chosen to make qualifying contributions difficult to obtain and consequently lack transparency.

Chapter 2. Attitudes toward Public Financing by New Mexico Voters

2.1 Voter Attitudes Toward Public Financing

New Mexico is one of 13 states that have implemented some kind of a public financing system, with Albuquerque and Santa Fe among the few municipalities with such systems. At the state level, among the 22 states that elect judges to the State Supreme Court, New Mexico is one of only two states (along with West Virginia) that offer public financing for candidates. New Mexico also offers public financing for the Court of Appeals, and for Public Regulation Commissioners, who are elected in district-wide races. Albuquerque and Santa Fe both offer public financing systems for mayoral and city council candidates.

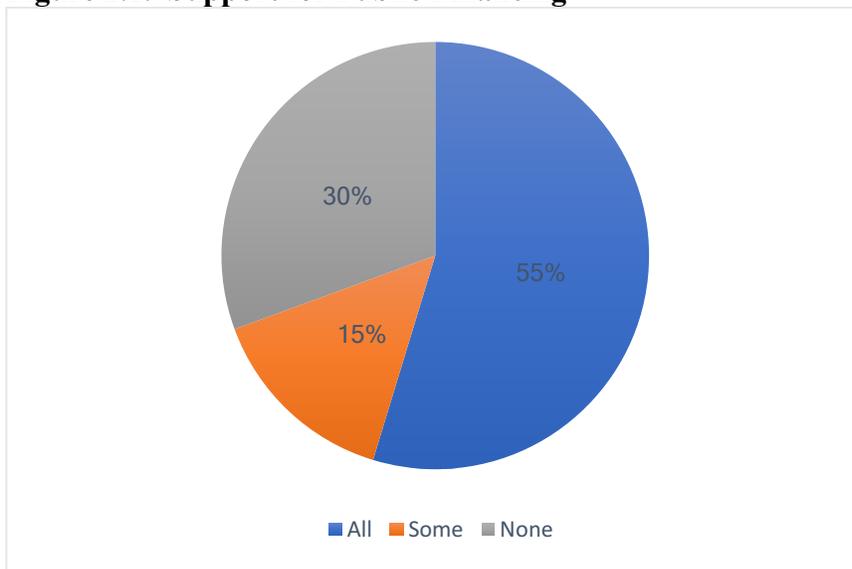
As part of our examination of public financing for the Thornburg Foundation, we did a post-election statewide survey of voters. Voters were selected randomly from the statewide voter registration file and sent a post card asking them to go to our website (vote2016.unm.edu) and take our survey.¹⁴ Voters were asked a series of questions about their experiences voting along with their attitudes toward a series of questions related to election reform, especially public financing. We have included in Appendix 2.2 a selected copy of the frequency report.

2.2 Support for Public Financing

To gauge general public support for public financing of elections in New Mexico, we asked voters which statement they agree with most: 1) All state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing; 2) Some state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing but not others; 3) I do not agree with public financing. Figure 2.1 shows that a majority of New Mexican voters (55%) agree that public financing should be available to all candidates running for elected and local office. An additional 15% support public financing for some state and local offices. But still nearly one-third of respondents do not support public financing at all.

¹⁴ See Appendix 2.1 for a statement of our survey methodology.

Figure 2.1. Support for Public Financing



We look more in-depth at those who support and do not support public financing by both partisanship and ideology and then by various demographics including gender, race, age, and education. Of course, partisanship and ideology are the most likely explanations for understanding preferences toward public financing. Democrats and Republicans had vastly different national platforms on policies toward campaign financing. The 2016 Republican Party Platform indicates that speech and money are synonymous and that, “we oppose any restriction or conditions that would discourage citizens from participating in the public square or limit their ability to promote their ideas.” Therefore they call for the repeal of the McCain Feingold spending limits on soft money donations to the political parties and for the raising or repealing of contribution limits.¹⁵ Democrats on the other hand, according to their platform support a Constitutional amendment to overturn the Supreme Court decision in both *Citizens United* and *Buckley v. Valeo* and support more disclosure and transparency of campaign finance data, as well as a small donor matching public financing system for federal elections.¹⁶ Given these stark partisan policy differences, we expect party and ideology to help explain much of the variation in opinion.

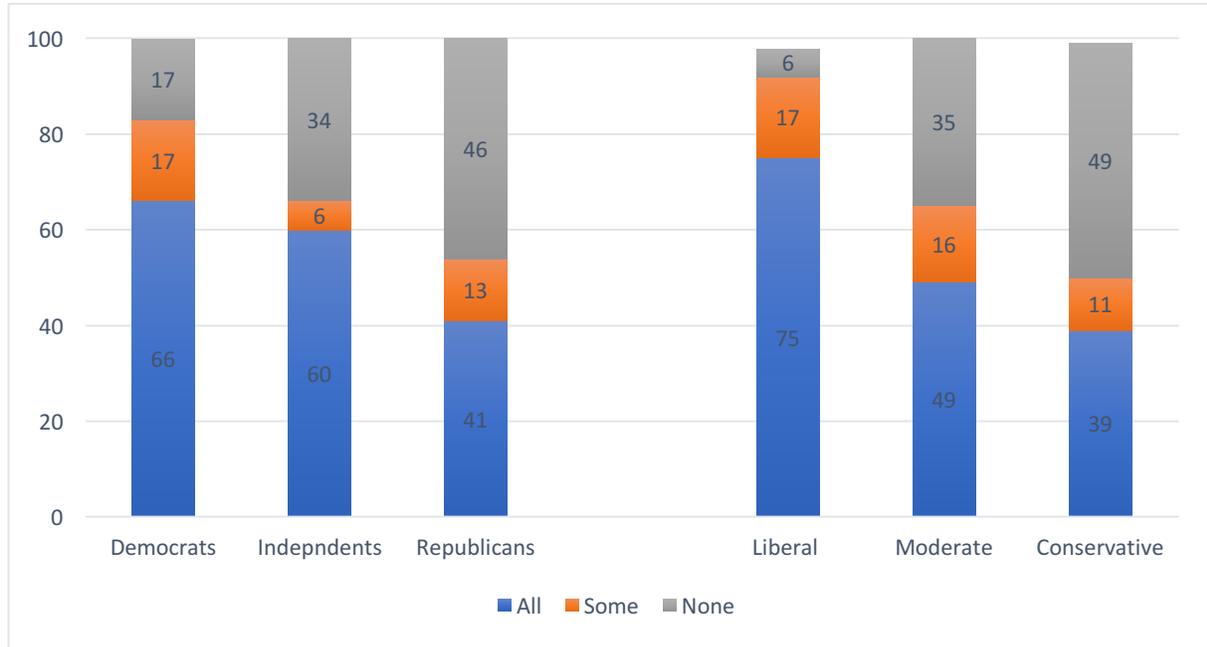
Figure 2.2 shows that both party and ideology are important factors in considering people’s attitudes toward public financing. Perhaps most important, our data suggest that both a majority of Democrats and Republicans as well as liberals and conservatives support public financing for at least some, if not all, public offices. By party, 83% of Democrats, 66% of Independents, and 54% of Republicans support public financing for all or some elected officials. By ideology, 93%

¹⁵ See the Republican Platform 2016 available at [https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT_12_FINAL\[1\]-ben_1468872234.pdf](https://prod-cdn-static.gop.com/media/documents/DRAFT_12_FINAL[1]-ben_1468872234.pdf), accessed on June 26, 2017.

¹⁶ See the Democratic Platform 2016 available at: http://s3.amazonaws.com/uploads.democrats.org/Downloads/2016_DNC_Platform.pdf, accessed on June 26, 2107.

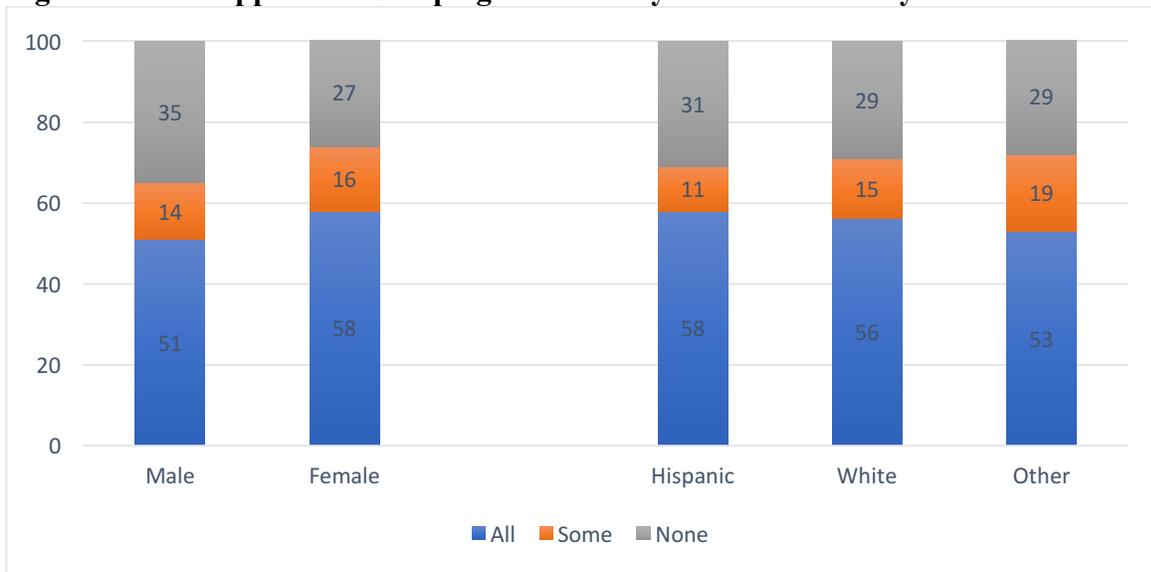
of liberals support public financing for all or some elected officials, with 65% of moderates in support and 51% of conservatives.

Figure 2.2 % Support for Campaign Finance by Party and Ideology



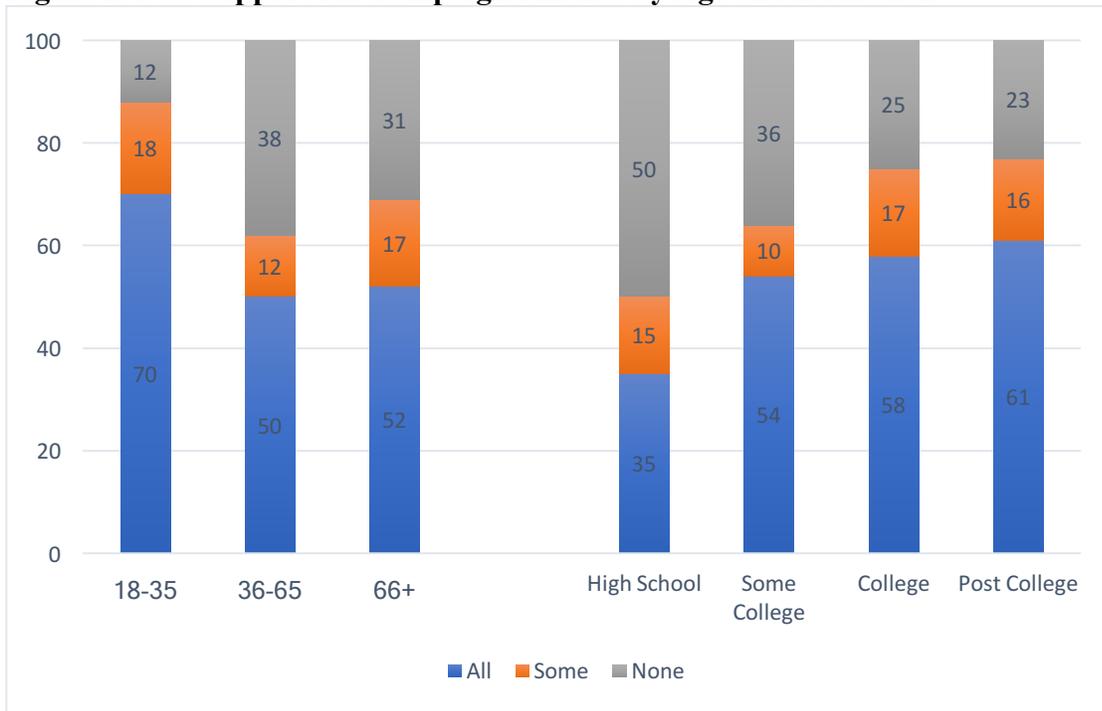
We see in Figure 2.3 that women support public financing for all candidates at a slightly higher rate (58%) than men (51%), but overall differences by gender and race are relatively small.

Figure 2.3. % Support for Campaign Finance by Sex and Ethnicity



On the other hand, differences in opinion on other dimensions are quite pronounced (Figure 2.4). By age, those 18-35 years old support public financing for all elected officials at a rate of 70% compared to about 50% for older respondents. Those ages 36-65 are most likely (38%) to disagree with public financing. By education, those with a high school degree or less are most likely (50%) to oppose public financing, while those with post-college are most supportive (61%). More education has a consistent positive impact on attitudes towards public financing.

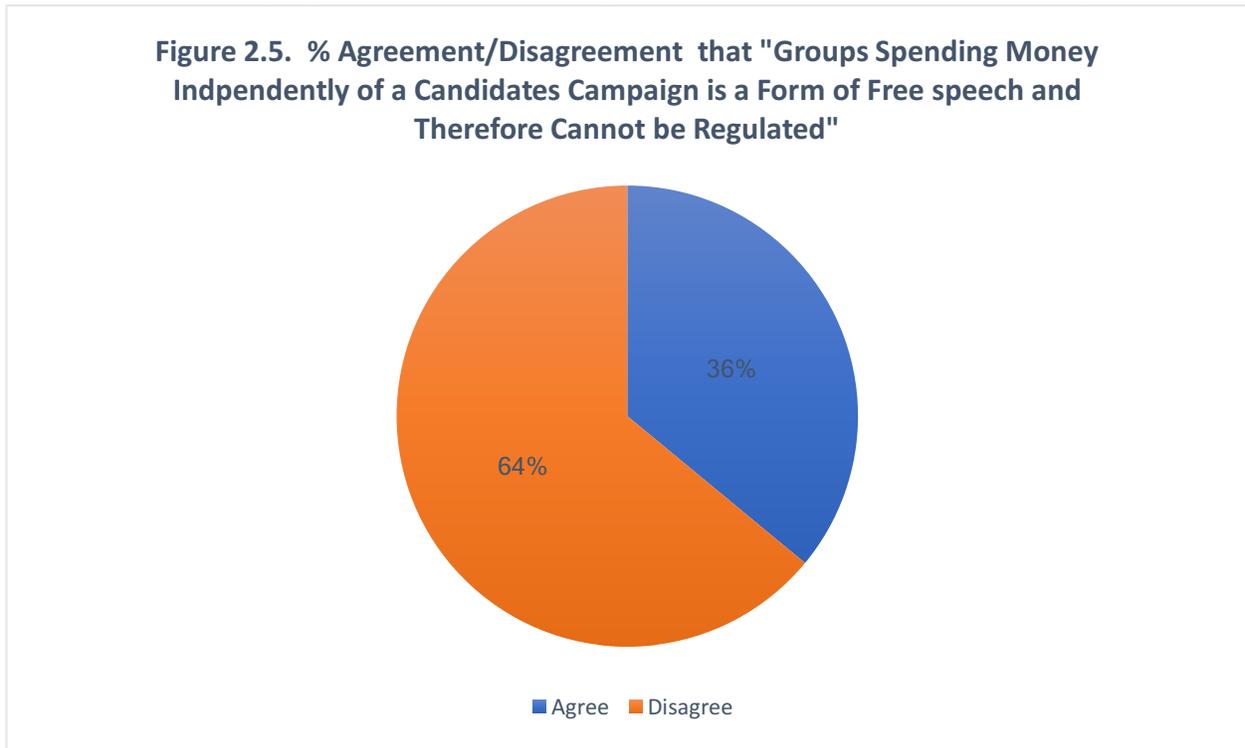
Figure 2.4. % Support for Campaign Finance by Age and Education



2.3 Voter Attitudes Toward Money as Speech

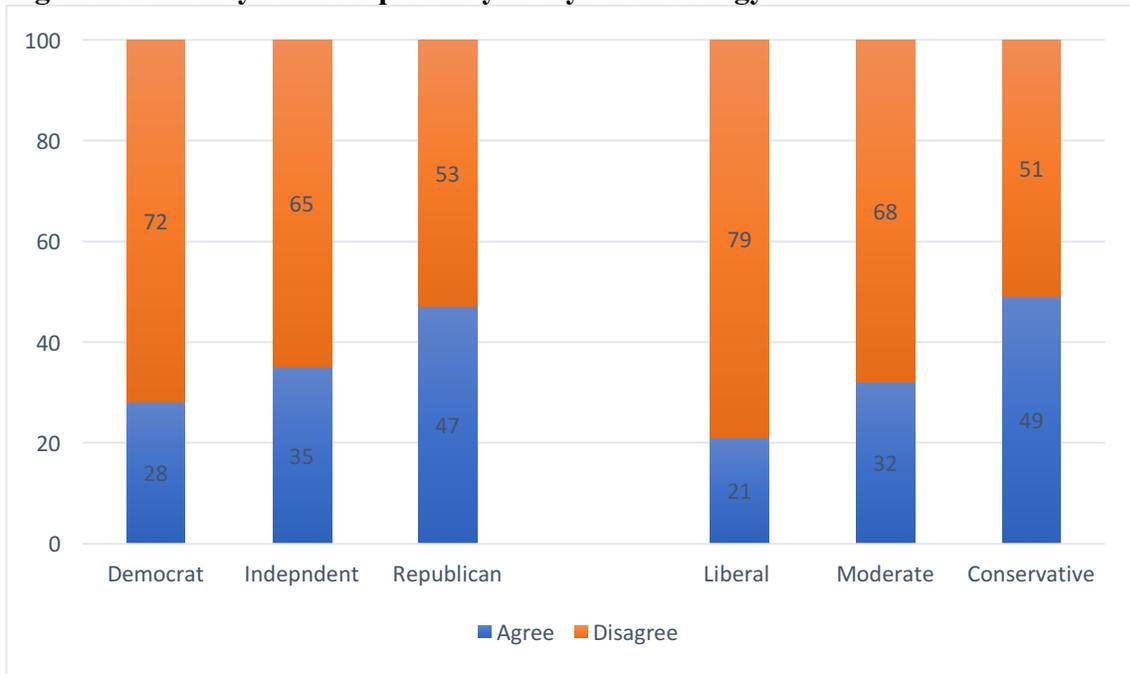
We provided voters with a series of statements on campaign finance reform and asked them to strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each one. The first question gauges voter support for the Supreme Court’s position, first developed in *Buckley v. Valeo* and expanded in *Citizens United*, that money is speech and asks, “Groups spending money independently of a candidate’s campaign is a form of free speech and therefore cannot be limited by the government.” For independent groups, Figure 2.5 shows that nearly two thirds (65%) of voters reject the Supreme Court’s argument that money is speech.

Figure 2.5. % Agreement/Disagreement that "Groups Spending Money Independently of a Candidate's Campaign is a Form of Free speech and Therefore Cannot be Regulated"



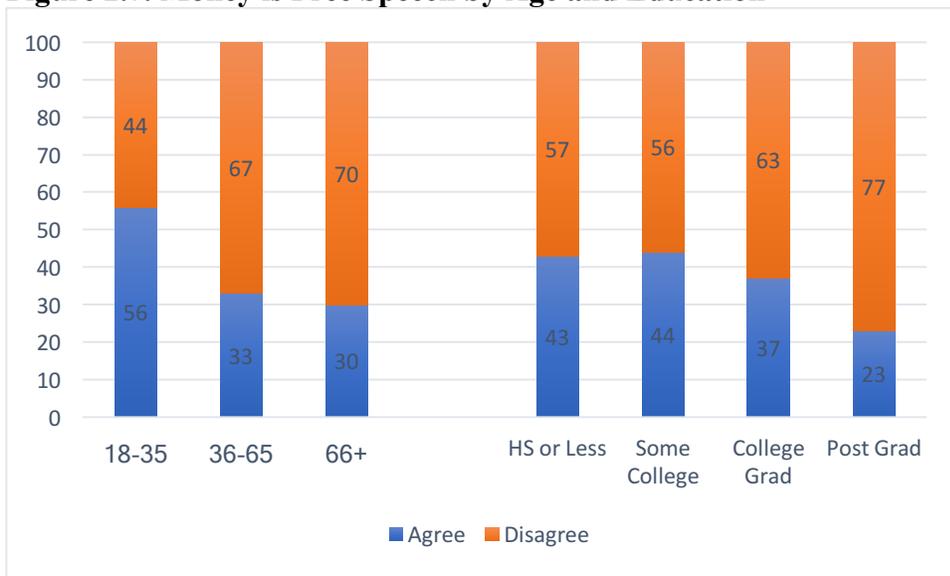
There are no interesting differences between whites and Hispanics and between men and women. Both groups support public financing at roughly the same rates that we see in Figure 2.5. However, we do find differences in partisanship and ideology (Figure 2.6), in ways consistent with our understanding of how these factors should work. Republicans and conservatives support the free speech frame more than Democrats and liberal and moderates and independents are in-between. However, and most importantly, a majority of all groups reject the notion that money is a form of free speech and therefore cannot be regulated. About 7 in 10 Democrats and 8 in 10 liberals disagree with the free speech frame, while just over ½ of Republicans and conservatives do.

Figure 2.6. Money is Free Speech by Party and Ideology



In addition, we find that younger and less educated voters are more likely to agree with the belief that contributions are a form of free speech than older, more educated voters. Figure 2.7 shows our results for both groups. However, once again, it is most important to note that a majority of all age and education groups reject the notion that money is free speech and therefore cannot be regulated.

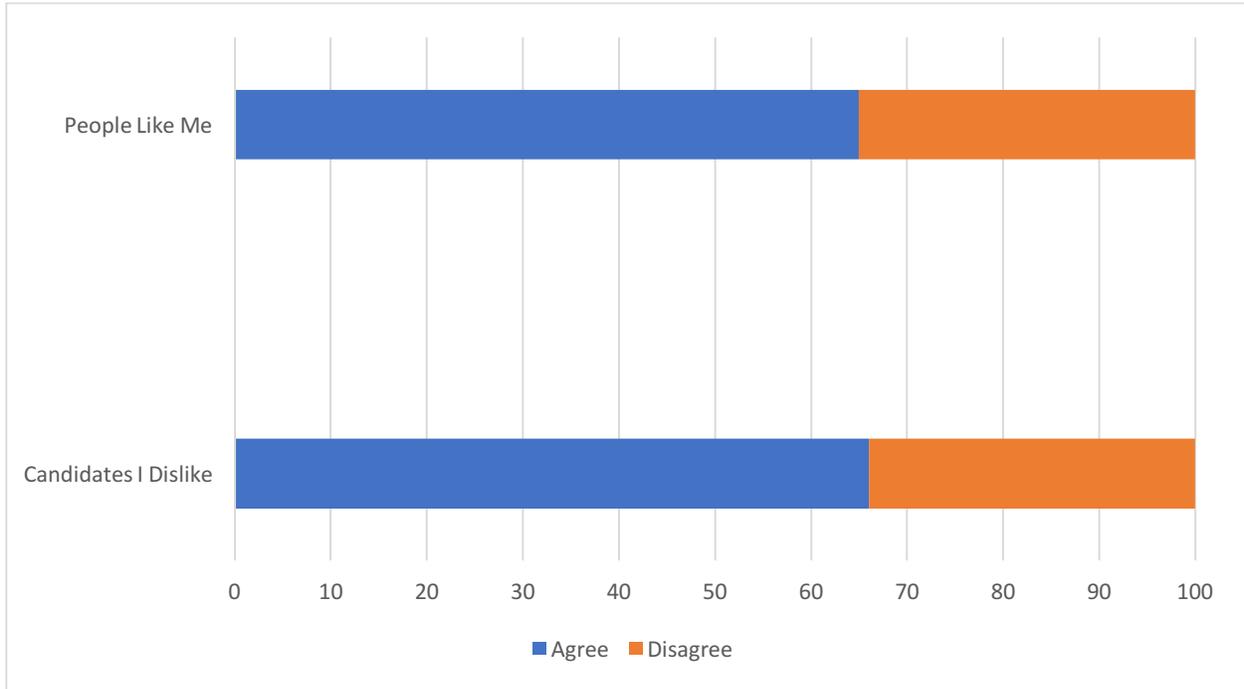
Figure 2.7. Money is Free Speech by Age and Education



2.4 Who Would Public Financing Help

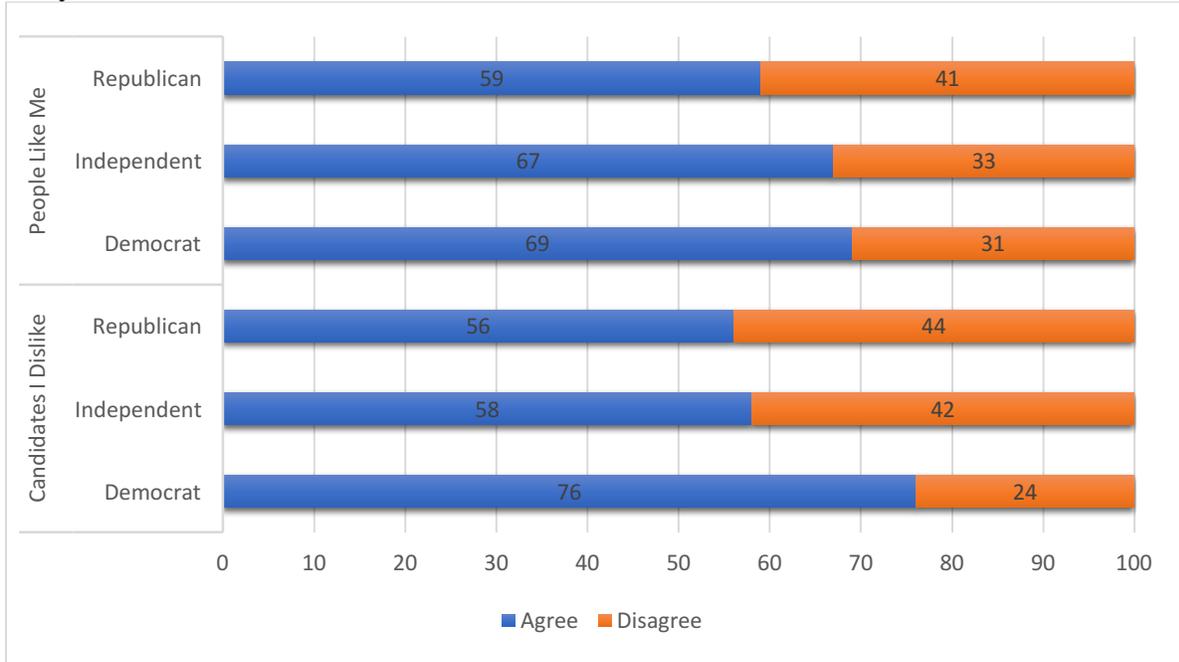
We also asked voters a series of questions to understand their depth of support for public financing and what kind of people it would more likely help? We asked their level of agreement with the following two questions (1) “I would support public financing even if some of the funding might go to candidates I dislike”; (2) Public Financing would allow people like me to run for office.” The results in Figure 2.8 show that nearly two-thirds of the public agrees with each statement. Even though voters recognize that funding would go to candidates they dislike, they still support public financing. One reason they perhaps support it is because it would allow people like them to run for office.

Figure 2.8. Agreement/Disagreement with "Public financing would allow people like me to run for office" and "I would support public financing even if some of the funding might go to candidates I dislike"



In Figure 2.9, we see once again that party structures attitudes, with Democrats more supportive of both statements than Republicans or independents, but a majority of all partisans support both statements. We find that if we examine ideology it is nearly identical to partisanship and so do not include the extra graph here.

Figure 2.9. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Party



We also find that there are no differences between men and women with agreement and disagreement roughly replicating Figure 2.8. However, we do find interesting differences between education and ethnicity groups. Those voters who have a high school degree or less (see Figure 2.10) are the least supportive of both statements with only about 1/2 of voters agreeing with each statement.

Figure 2.10. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Education

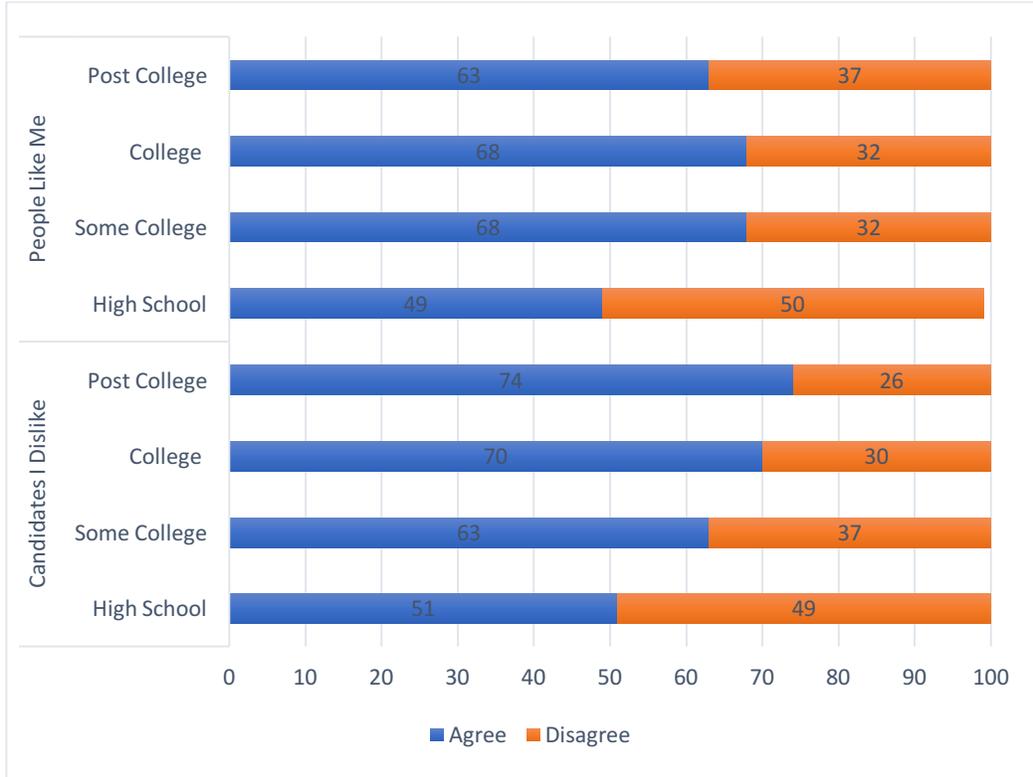
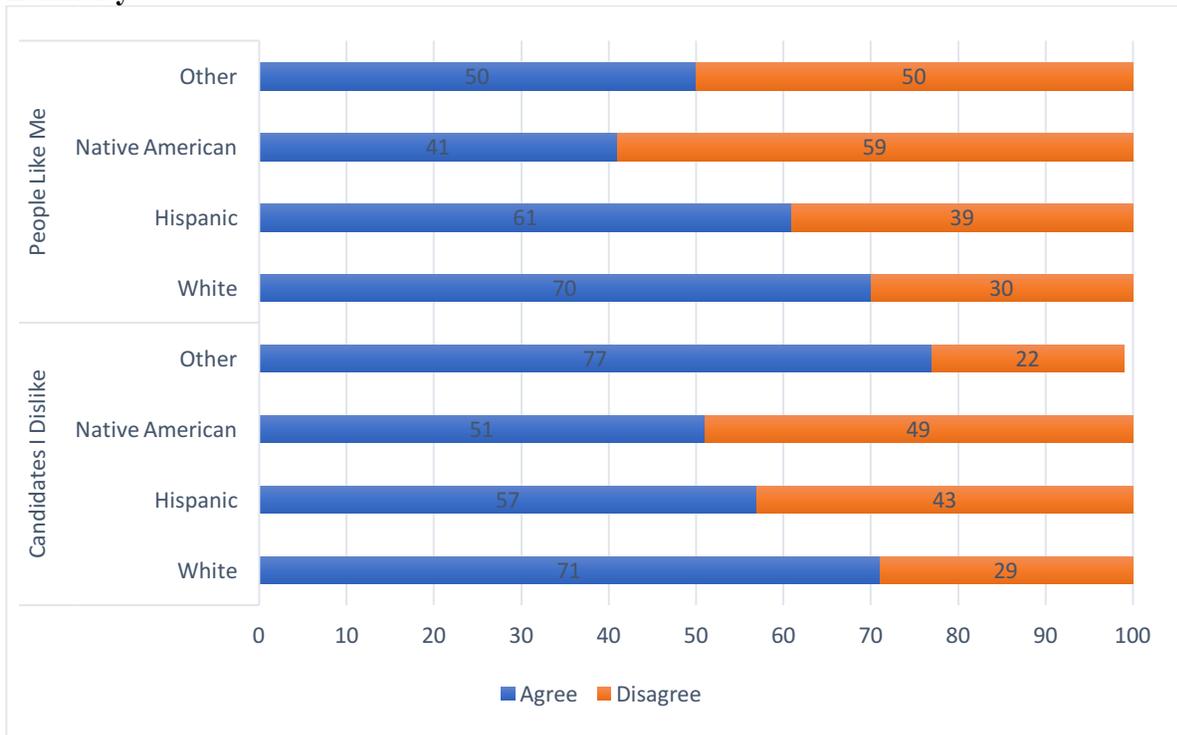


Figure 2.11 shows the same results for ethnicity and we find that 7 in 10 white voters agree that public financing will help people like me run for office. However, only 6 in 10 Hispanics feel the same way, only about 4 in 10 of Native Americans, and only 1 in 2 of others. Similarly, we find that 7 in 10 white voters agree that they would support public financing even if it goes to candidates they dislike, while nearly 6 in 10 Hispanics feel the same way and about 1 in 2 Native Americans.

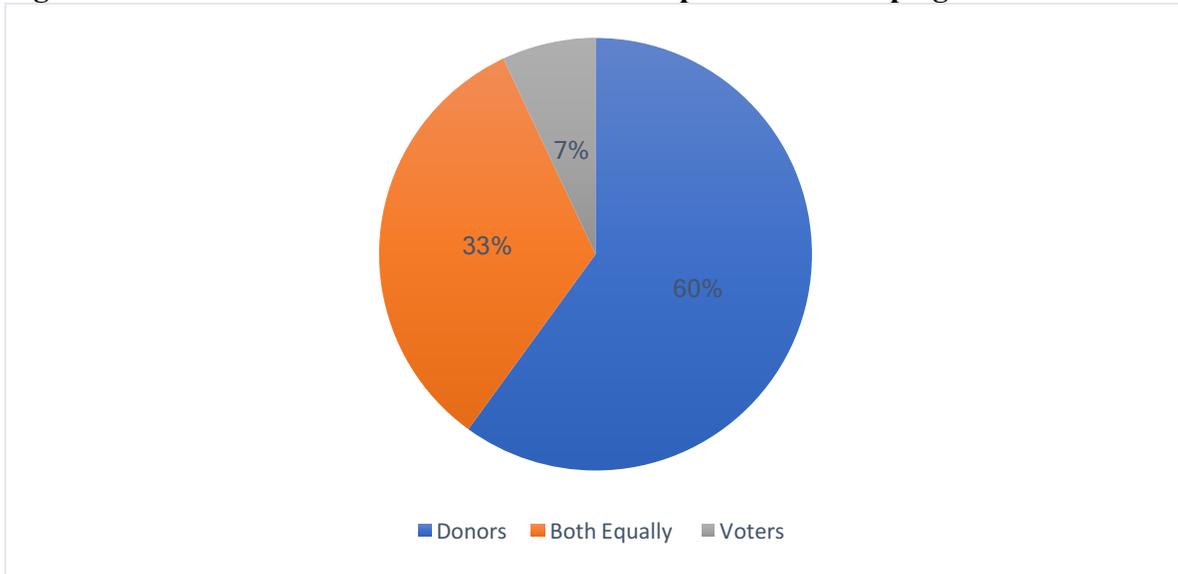
Figure 2.11. Agreement/Disagreement with People Like Me and Candidates I Dislike by Ethnicity



2.5 Voter’s Perception of Candidate Responsiveness

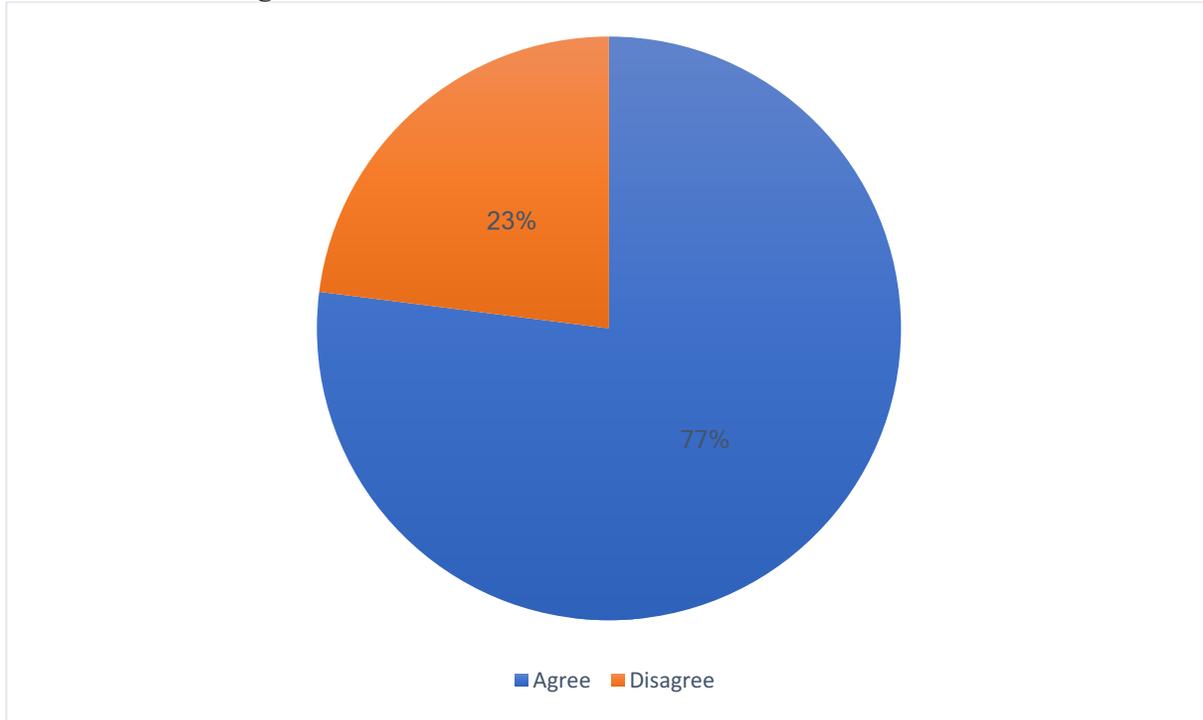
Part of the problem for voters is their belief that the private financing of campaigns leads politicians to care more about donors more than voters. We asked New Mexico voters two questions related to campaign financing and their relationship to voters and donors. The first question asked, “Generally speaking do you think New Mexico’s elected officials are more responsive to campaign donors or voters?” Respondents could choose voters, donors or both equally. The second question asked whether voters agree or disagree with the following statement, “Public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voters and less time talking to donors. Figures 2.12 and 2.13 show the results. A mere 7% of voters believe that elected leaders’ top priority is voters, while 3 in 5 believe that their priority is donors, and another one-third believe that they are responsive to both. While an argument could easily be made that factional interests represented by interest groups are an important component of representation, the fact that a majority of voters believe that donors are politician’s primary concern is troubling and suggests an electorate that is feeling inefficacious.

Figure 2.12. Are NM's Elected Officials More Responsive to Campaign Donors or Voters?



Of course, one reason voters might believe that elected officials are unresponsive is because of the large amount of time they must spend pursuing resources for their campaigns. Popular media shows, such as “Last Week Tonight” with John Oliver, have highlighted how much time politicians spend raising money to get reelected. We find that voters believe that public financing might help to shift that balance. Fully three-quarters of voters agree with the statement that public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voters than donors.

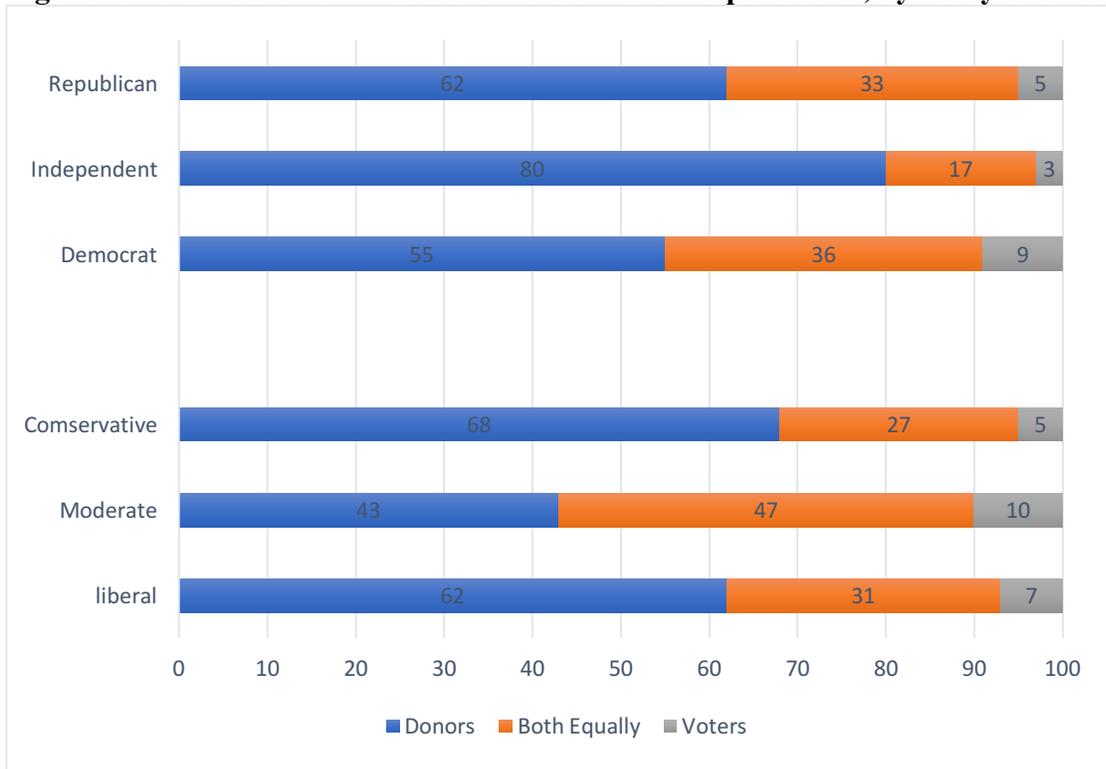
Figure 2.13. Agreement/Disagreement with Public Financing Allows Candidates to Spend More Time Talking to Voters than Donors



Given the overwhelming voter agreement with the statement that public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voter than donors, we do not examine any of the demographic and ideology dimensions because they show strong support for this statement across all subgroups. But an examination of our first question related to government responsiveness to voters versus donors does show some interesting subgroup differences, especially as it relates to party, ideology and age.

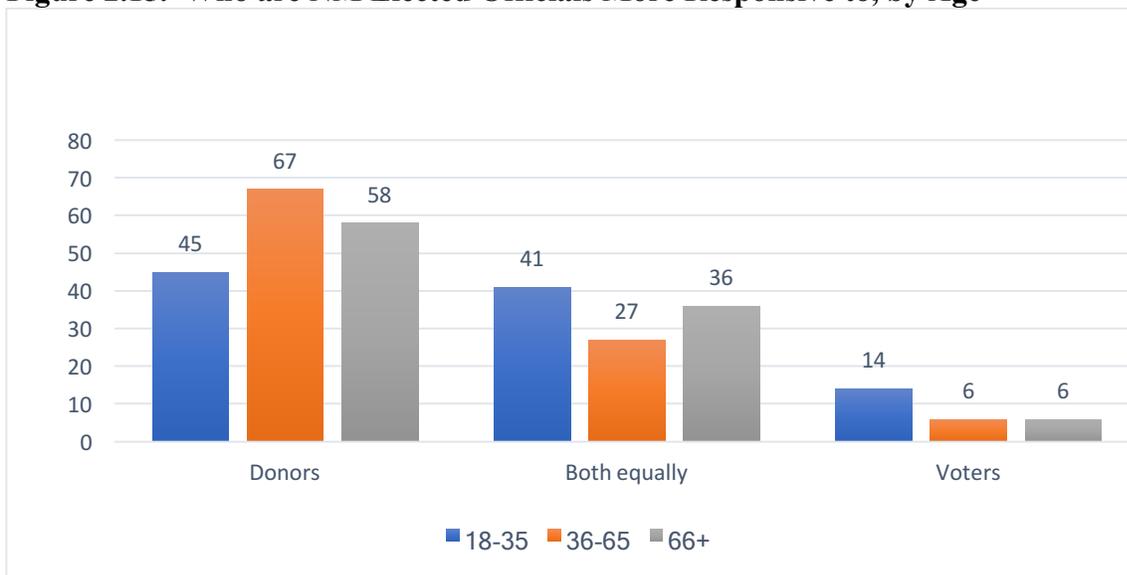
Independent voters feel particularly left out (Figure 2.14). Fully 8 in 10 independent voters feel that elected officials are more responsive to donors compare to 6 in 10 for Republicans and just over 1 in 2 for Democrats. Meanwhile we see a slightly different picture from looking at ideology with over 6 in 10 liberals and almost 7 in 10 conservatives indicating they believe that elected officials are more responsive to donors. Oddly, moderate voters are pretty evenly split on between donors and both equally.

Figure 2.14. Who are NM Elected Officials More Responsive to, by Party and Ideology



Age (Figure 2.15) also shows an interesting relationship with millennials indicating that they believe that elected officials are about equally likely to prioritize donors’ concerns, or voters and donors concerns equally. Non-millennials clearly see donors as elected officials primary concern.

Figure 2.15. Who are NM Elected Officials More Responsive to, by Age



2.6 Who Pays Attention to Public Financed Candidates?

We also asked voters to agree or disagree with the following statement, “I pay attention to whether a candidate is publicly or privately financed.” Overall, Figure 2.16 shows that two-thirds of the voters agreed with this statement, while one-third disagreed. A look across ideology groups, Figure 2.17, suggests that liberals are slightly more likely (72%) to say they pay attention, than moderates (62%) or conservatives (66%). But perhaps most interestingly is partisanship, also Figure 2.17, which shows that Independents are the most likely to say they pay attention (77%) compared to Democrats (68%) and Republicans (63%). This finding is consistent with the fact that nonpartisan voters were the most likely to feel that candidates were not responsive to them. The statistics also show that White/Anglo voters pay more attention (72%) to how the candidate is financed than Hispanics (60%), or voters of other races/ethnicities (55%). Gender, age and education show minor and uninteresting differences.

Figure 2.16. Agreement/Disagreement with I Pay Attention to whether a Candidate is Publicly or Privately Financed

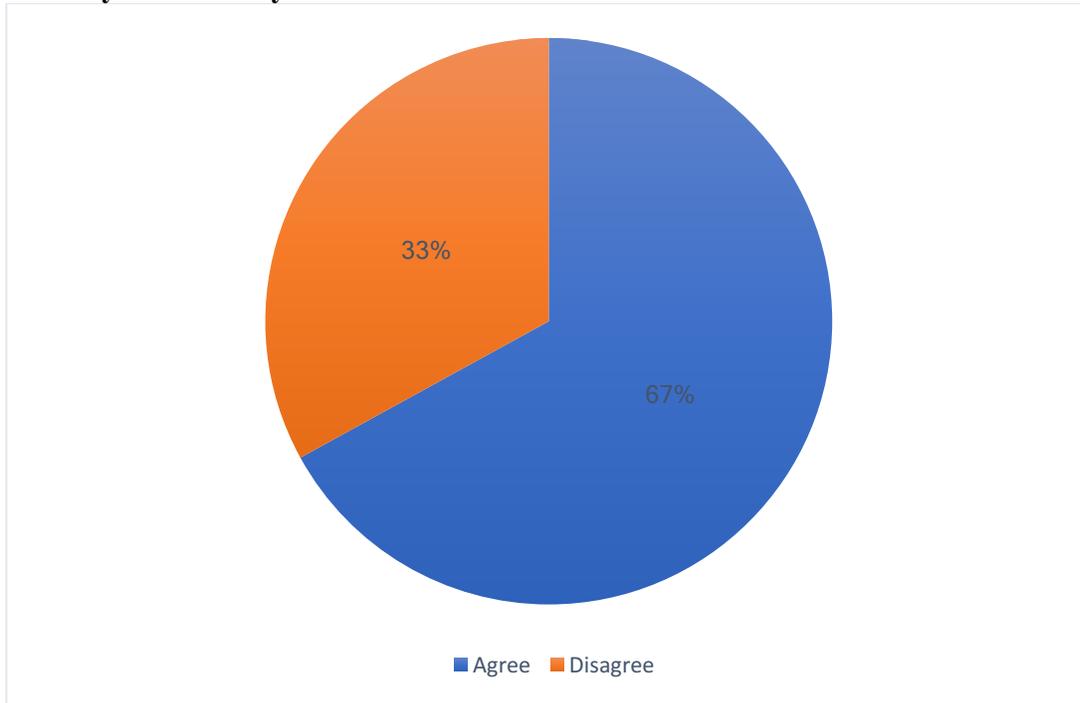
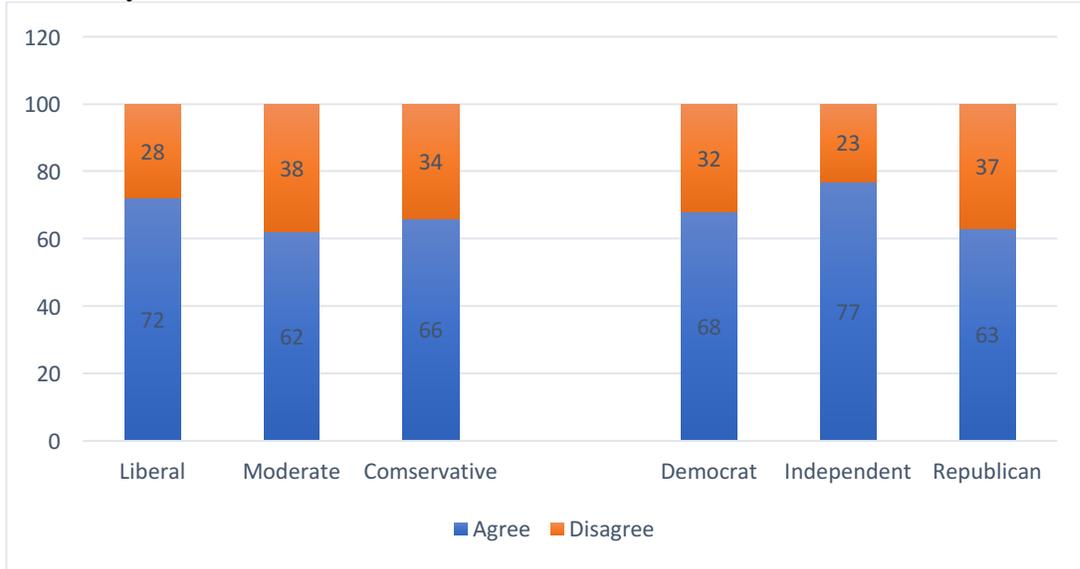


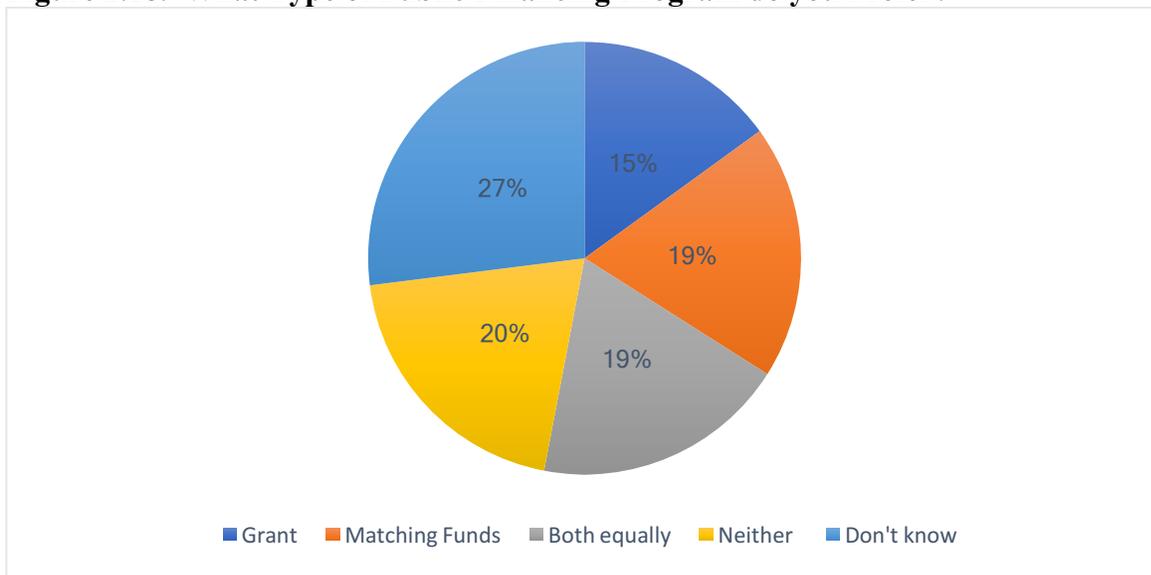
Figure 2.17. I pay Attention to Publicly versus Privately Financed Candidates by Ideology and Party



2.7 Preferences for Public Finance Programs

There are many different types of public financing programs at the state level. The two main types of programs are clean elections programs and matching funds programs. Clean election programs require candidates to seek very small qualifying contributions (for example \$5) from a number of registered voters in their district to demonstrate that the candidate has enough public support to receive public funding for his or her campaign. Once the candidate has met this threshold, the public funding entity provides the candidate with a sum of money equal to the expenditure limit for the election. Matching fund programs match candidate contributions up to a certain amount and limit spending. We wanted to determine if voters had a preference for either type. Therefore, we asked, “What type of public financing program do you prefer? A program that caps candidate spending and provides a government grant to fund candidate campaigns or a program that caps candidate spending and candidates receive partial funding through a government contribution matching program? Or do you prefer both equally, prefer neither or don’t you know? Figure 2.18 shows the results. The modal category was don’t know (27%) and preferences are fairly evenly split indicating that, in general, the public is not well informed enough to determine which publicly financed program is best.

Figure 2.18. What Type of Public Financing Program do you Prefer?



2.8 Campaign Finance Limits on Independent Expenditure Campaigns

The current campaign finance laws are complex and put limits on many types of candidate contributions at both the state and national levels. However, current law allows individuals, unions, corporations or interest groups to donate unlimited amounts of money to specific candidate independent expenditure groups that are set up to either support or harm a candidate's election. To gauge voter attitudes towards this largely unregulated spending by potential individuals or groups we asked, "Individuals, corporations, unions, and interest groups can donate unlimited money to groups that advertise for or against candidates or issues that favor one side or the other. For each individual or group below, please choose which policy statement you agree with most." Policy statements cover both donation limits and disclosure options including (1) donating unlimited sums of money, (2) donation limits, (3), donating unlimited sums of money, but disclosure of donations is required, (4) donation limits should be in place and disclosure of donations is required.

Table 2.1 summarizes the responses to the different policies. The statistics reveal that for unions, corporations, and interest groups, voters lean more towards limits and disclosure than they do for individuals. Specifically, a majority of the voters (69% to 73%) agreed that corporations, unions and interest groups can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose what they donate, while only 44% of the voters agreed to the same for individuals. About 15% of voters across the board agreed to unlimited donations with disclosure. Only about 5% of voters agreed to unlimited donations by corporations, unions and interest groups, compared to 19% for individual donors.

Table 2.1. Summary of Voter Response to, “Individuals, corporations, unions, and interest groups can donate unlimited money to groups that advertise for or against candidates or issues that favor one side or the other. For each individual or group below, please choose which policy statement you agree with most”

	Individuals	Unions	Corporations	Interest Groups
(1) Can donate unlimited sums of money	19.3%	5.0%	5.1%	4.4%
(2) Can be limited in the amount of money they donate	21.2%	11.4%	8.0%	8.8%
(3) Can donate unlimited sums of money but must disclose their donations	15.5%	14.8%	14.2%	14.4%
(4) Can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose their donations	44.0%	68.8%	72.7%	72.4%

In terms of ideology, Conservatives, more than Moderates and Liberals, support that all four groups be given the right to donate unlimited sums of money. Liberals and Moderates, on the other hand, support limited donations. If we tie the condition of disclosure with the limited and unlimited donations, then the data reveal that on average Liberals show more support for limited donations and disclosure, while Conservatives show more support more for unlimited donations and disclosure. In summary, Liberals are more in the favor of limited donations, either disclosed or not, while Conservatives favor unlimited donations whether disclosed or not.

Table 2.2. Attitudes Toward Donation Limits and Disclosure Laws for Independent Expenditure Campaigns by Ideology

		Liberal (%)	Moderate (%)	Conservative (%)
Unlimited Donations	Individuals	10.7	7.1	33.6
	Unions	1.0	5.7	8.5
	Corporations	1.1	7.9	7.6
	Interest Groups	1.1	3.4	8.0
Limited Donations	Individuals	25.5	24.3	14.3
	Unions	14.5	12.7	7.3
	Corporations	7.0	11.1	6.3
	Interest Groups	7.3	12.9	7.1
Unlimited Donations and Disclosure	Individuals	16.6	11.3	15.6
	Unions	13.4	14.7	15.8
	Corporations	7.4	13.2	20.4
	Interest Groups	9.1	14.8	19.6
Limited Donations and Disclosure	Individuals	47.2	57.3	36.5
	Unions	71.1	66.8	68.5
	Corporations	84.5	67.8	65.7
	Interest Groups	82.5	69.0	65.3

In terms of partisanship, Republicans' support for unlimited donations, disclosed or undisclosed, is stronger than Democrats and Independents, while Democrats show more support for limited donations, with Independents supporting limited donations along with disclosure.

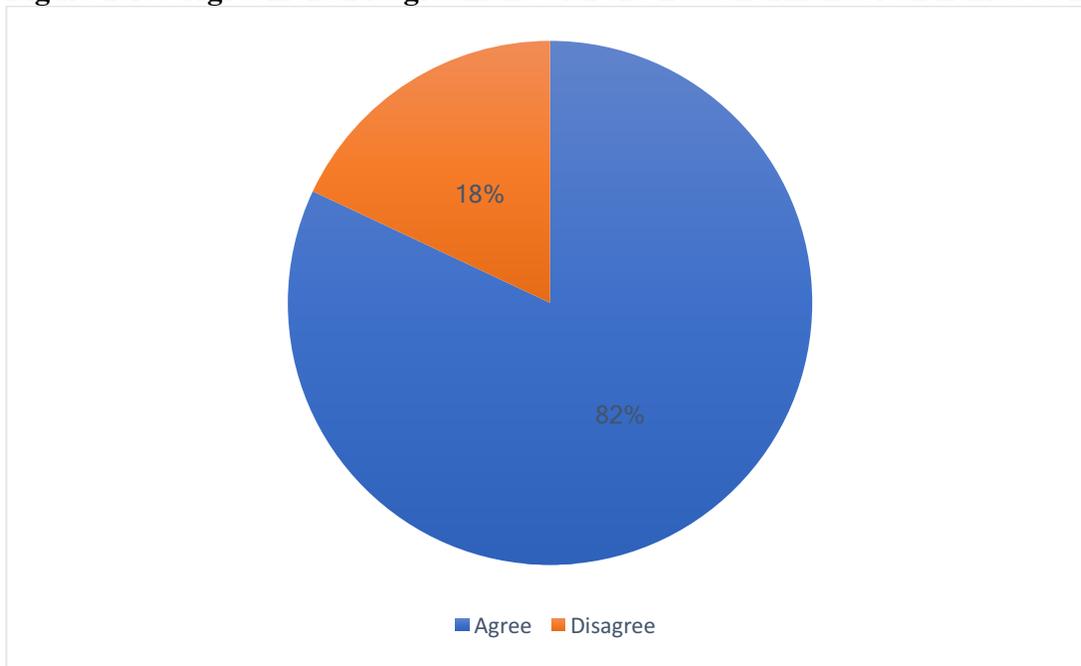
Table 2.3. Attitudes Toward Donation Limits and Disclosure Laws for Independent Expenditure Campaigns by Party

		Democrat (%)	Independent (%)	Republican (%)
Unlimited Donations	Individuals	12.6	12.2	29.6
	Unions	4.5	1.2	6.5
	Corporations	4.3	3.2	6.5
	Interest Groups	4.1	3.7	4.9
Limited Donations	Individuals	25.9	17.7	16.3
	Unions	16.0	6.3	7.1
	Corporations	9.8	6.6	6.1
	Interest Groups	10.9	5.5	7.0
Unlimited Donations and Disclosure	Individuals	16.1	10.2	16.0
	Unions	16.7	4.6	15.0
	Corporations	11.9	5.9	19.3
	Interest Groups	10.4	5.6	21.7
Limited Donations and Disclosure	Individuals	45.3	59.9	38.1
	Unions	62.7	87.9	71.3
	Corporations	74.0	84.3	68.1
	Interest Groups	74.6	85.2	66.4

2.9 Ethics Commission

We now turn to a consideration of whether New Mexico should create an ethics commission to oversee the administration of campaign finance laws. Figure 2.19 shows that there is broad support for this legislative action. Fully 4 out of 5 voters support the creation of such a commission. Given the overwhelming support for this measure, we would not expect to see many interesting differences across subgroups. Indeed all subgroups fully support establishing such a commission and there are small but uninteresting differences across age, ethnicity and education groups. For liberals nearly all of them (97%) support the establishment of such a commission, while about 8 out of 10 moderates, and 7 out of 10 conservatives do. We see a similar relationship with partisanship with 9 in 10 Democrats, 8 out of 10 independents and 7 out of 10 Republicans supporting the establishment of such a commission.

Figure 2.19. Agreement/Disagreement with the Establishment of an Ethics Commission



Appendix 2.1 Survey Methodology

The 2017 Campaign Finance Report was based on a random sample of 10,000 registered voters in New Mexico. The New Mexico Secretary of State's office provided the voter registration file on November 2nd, 2016. The sample was randomly split into three groups to experimentally test different sampling strategies. The first group was selected with the traditional method, simple random sampling. However, since we did not know who voted in our list of registered voters, this method is somewhat inefficient because this method will select the maximum number of non-voters. To correct for this inefficiency, we utilized two versions of a Probability Proportional to Size Sampling (PSS) method. This method uses information about individuals in the voter registration file (vote history, age, etc.) to create a probability of voting score, which is then used to increase the number of voters included in the sample.

Our survey used a mixed mode design. All 10,000 sample members were sent first class postcards on November 14th, 2016 requesting their participation in our survey. The postcard provided sample respondents with a URL (vote2016.unm.edu) that directed them to the survey. Sampled voters who did not respond were re-contacted two times with an additional postcard. The second postcard was sent November 29th and the third was sent December 7th.

A total of 6,823 of our 10,000 sample members voted. We received responses from 843, for response rate of 12.36% using Response Rate 2 (RR2) calculations, as defined by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR 2011). Disaggregating by our experimental conditions, the sample random sample had a response rate of 11.06% (229 out of 2,070 voters), and the two PSS samples had response rates of 12.76% (310/2,429) and 13.08% (304/2,324). It is important to note that this is the minimum response rate and includes all sample members who we tried to contact, regardless of whether we were able to contact them or not. The margin of error is plus or minus 3.0%.

Survey questions asked about their election experience (voter confidence, voting problems, method of voting, experience with poll workers, experience with the ballot, *etc.*), their attitudes toward possible election reforms including voter record purging, fraud, voter access, voter identification, enfranchising 16 and 17 year olds, same day registration, *etc.* as well as other political attitudes and behaviors including evaluations of the President, the congressional candidates and their local and state election administrators. They were also asked several questions related to the statewide contests (vote choice, candidate evaluation, candidate ideology, *etc.*) and a variety of demographic information.

Appendix 2.2 Selected Frequency Report

1. How interested were you in the 2016 election? (n=846)

Not at all interested	1.1%
Not too interested	2.2%
Somewhat interested	11.9%
Very interested	84.8%

2. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are: (n=843)

Very liberal	16.0%
Somewhat liberal	18.0%
Moderate	19.2%
Somewhat conservative	19.3%
Very Conservative	22.2%
Don't Know	5.3%

3. Generally speaking do you think of yourself as a: (n=833)

Strong Democrat	27.2%
Democrat-not so strong	12.3%
Independent-closer to Democrats	10.9%
Independent	5.7%
Independent-closer to Republicans	8.9%
Republican-not so strong	12.3%
Strong Republican	18.3%
Other	4.4%

4. We are interested in whether you strongly approve, approve, disapprove, or strongly disapprove of how the following are handling their jobs:

4a. President Barack Obama (n=824)

Strongly Approve	34.3%
Approve	24.7%
Disapprove	14.6%
Strongly Disapprove	26.4%

4b. Governor Susana Martinez (n=813)

Strongly Approve	7.0%
Approve	38.4%
Disapprove	30.9%
Strongly Disapprove	23.7%

4c. Senator Tom Udall (n=784)

Strongly Approve	23.5%
Approve	50.6%
Disapprove	17.8%
Strongly Disapprove	8.1%

4d. Senator Martin Heinrich (n=804)

Strongly approve	21.5%
Approve	49.2%
Disapprove	18.3%
Strongly Disapprove	11.0%

4e. The US Congress (n=804)

Strongly Approve	0.6%
Approve	23.0%
Disapprove	38.1%
Strongly Disapprove	38.3%

4f. Your US House Member (n=769)

Strongly Approve	9.9%
Approve	53.7%
Disapprove	23.5%
Strongly Disapprove	12.9%

4g. Your County Clerk (n=710)

Strongly Approve	17.2%
Approve	57.5%
Disapprove	18.2%
Strongly Disapprove	7.1%

4h. Secretary of State Brad Winter (n=682)

Strongly Approve	4.0%
Approve	66.0%
Disapprove	23.9%
Strongly Disapprove	6.1%

4i. NM State Legislature (n=765)

Strongly Approve	0.8%
Approve	46.7%
Disapprove	36.0%
Strongly Disapprove	16.4%

5. Thinking in political terms, please rate the ideology of the following political leaders or institutions:

5a. Hillary Clinton (n=803)

Very Liberal	43.2%
Somewhat Liberal	24.1%
Moderate	19.6%
Somewhat Conservative	3.9%
Very Conservative	1.2%
Don't know	8.0%

5b. Donald Trump (n=797)

Very Liberal	6.1%
Somewhat Liberal	2.9%
Moderate	8.6%

Somewhat Conservative	30.3%
Very Conservative	31.0%
Don't know	21.1%

5c. Mitt Romney (n=787)

Very Liberal	1.6%
Somewhat Liberal	4.2%
Moderate	12.0%
Somewhat Conservative	23.4%
Very Conservative	41.7%
Don't know	17.1%

5d. Martin Heinrich (n=773)

Very Liberal	18.9%
Somewhat Liberal	29.7%
Moderate	21.8%
Somewhat Conservative	5.2%
Very Conservative	1.3%
Don't know	23.1%

5e. Tom Udall (n=780)

Very Liberal	22.7%
Somewhat Liberal	30.8%
Moderate	21.7%
Somewhat Conservative	3.8%
Very Conservative	0.7%
Don't know	20.3%

5f. Barack Obama (n=797)

Very Liberal	46.2%
Somewhat Liberal	27.1%
Moderate	13.5%
Somewhat Conservative	4.5%
Very Conservative	2.7%
Don't know	6.0%

5g. Suzanna Martinez (n=796)

Very Liberal	2.5%
Somewhat Liberal	3.6%
Moderate	12.2%
Somewhat Conservative	37.3%
Very Conservative	33.9%
Don't know	10.5%

5h. Your member of Congress (n=772)

Very Liberal	11.0%
Somewhat Liberal	22.7%
Moderate	23.6%
Somewhat Conservative	9.6%
Very Conservative	10.1%
Don't know	23.0%

5i. Average Democratic Party Voter (n=792)

Very Liberal	24.0%
Somewhat Liberal	46.4%
Moderate	16.5%
Somewhat Conservative	3.1%
Very Conservative	0.4%
Don't know	9.6%

5j. Average Republican Party Voter (n=793)

Very Liberal	1.8%
Somewhat Liberal	2.1%
Moderate	8.1%
Somewhat Conservative	40.7%
Very Conservative	36.5%
Don't know	10.8%

6. We are interested in how people are getting along financially and about the national and state economies. Compared to a year ago how are each of the following doing?

6a. You are your family (n=803)

Much better	6.2%
Somewhat better	19.2%
Same	51.5%
Somewhat worse	19.3%
Much worse	3.8%

6b. National economy (n=792)

Much better	4.6%
Somewhat better	32.3%
Same	26.4%
Somewhat worse	24.9%
Much worse	11.8%

6c. State economy (n=789)

Much better	0.5%
Somewhat better	9.9%
Same	31.1%
Somewhat worse	34.3 %
Much worse	24.2%

7. Please indicate whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

7a. People like me don't have any say in what the government does (n=801)

Strongly agree	16.6%
Somewhat agree	41.5%
Somewhat disagree	31.1%
Strongly disagree	10.8%

7b. Public officials don't care much about what people like me think (n=797)

Strongly agree	22.7%
Somewhat agree	45.7%
Somewhat disagree	26.8%
Strongly disagree	4.8%

7c. I consider myself well qualified to participate in politics (n=799)

Strongly agree	8.1%
Somewhat agree	15.1%
Somewhat disagree	40.8%
Strongly disagree	36.0%

7d. American society hasn't dealt fairly with people from my ethnic background (n=777)

Strongly agree	32.6%
Somewhat agree	26.2%
Somewhat disagree	26.7%
Strongly disagree	14.5%

7e. After elections, elected representative accommodate citizen wishes (n=799)

Strongly agree	27.0%
Somewhat agree	47.7%
Somewhat disagree	23.1%
Strongly disagree	2.2%

7f. Once I know what needs to be done, I am good at planning how to do it (n=796)

Strongly agree	1.8%
Somewhat agree	5.7%
Somewhat disagree	46.2%
Strongly disagree	46.3%

8. How do you think we should elect the President: should it be the candidate who get the most votes in all 50 states, or the current electoral college system? (n=803)

The candidate who gets the most votes in all 50 states	59.2%
The current Electoral College system	40.8%

9. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding the administration of elections:

9a. Primary elections should be open to all voters, not just those registered as Democrat or Republican (n=801)

Strongly agree	47.3%
Somewhat agree	25.6%
Somewhat disagree	10.7%
Strongly disagree	16.4%

9b. Photo identification should be required of each voter at the polls (n=802)

Strongly agree	53.7%
----------------	-------

Somewhat agree	21.4%
Somewhat disagree	12.0%
Strongly disagree	12.9%

9c. Proof of citizenship should be required to register to vote (n=799)

Strongly agree	56.4%
Somewhat agree	20.6%
Somewhat disagree	12.0%
Strongly disagree	11.0%

9d. Eligible voters get mistakenly removed from the voter list during purges/clean-up (n=747)

Strongly agree	15.3%
Somewhat agree	40.0%
Somewhat disagree	34.1%
Strongly disagree	10.6%

9e. Eligible voters should be automatically registered to vote through their state DMV or other state agencies (n=793)

Strongly agree	36.4%
Somewhat agree	28.5%
Somewhat disagree	18.2%
Strongly disagree	16.9%

9f. Voters should be able to register on Election Day to vote (n=797)

Strongly agree	25.1%
Somewhat agree	19.9%
Somewhat disagree	22.9%
Strongly disagree	32.1%

9g. New Mexico should move to all mail elections (n=789)

Strongly agree	6.2%
Somewhat agree	11.0%
Somewhat disagree	25.7%
Strongly disagree	57.1%

10. New Mexico should pass legislation to support the national popular vote initiative, which would give New Mexico's Presidential electors to the candidate who won the most votes in the nation (n=786)

Strongly agree	32.4%
Somewhat agree	22.2%
Somewhat disagree	13.4%
Strongly disagree	32.0%

11. Individuals, corporations, unions, and interest groups can donate unlimited money to groups that advertise for or against candidates or issues that favor one side or the other. For each individual or group below, please choose which policy statement you agree with most

11a. Individuals (n=786)

Can donate unlimited sums of money	19.3%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate	21.2%
Can donate unlimited sums of money but must disclose their donations	15.5%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose their donations	44.0%

11b. Unions (n=778)

Can donate unlimited sums of money	5.0%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate	11.4%
Can donate unlimited sums of money but must disclose their donations	14.8%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose their donations	68.8%

11c. Corporations (n=779)

Can donate unlimited sums of money	5.1%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate	8.0%
Can donate unlimited sums of money but must disclose their donations	14.2%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose their donations	72.7%

11d. Interest Groups (n=777)

Can donate unlimited sums of money	4.4%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate	8.8%
Can donate unlimited sums of money but must disclose their donations	14.4%
Can be limited in the amount of money they donate and must disclose their donations	72.4%

12. Generally speaking do you think New Mexico's elected officials are more responsive to campaign donors or voters? (n=778)

Donors	60.3%
Both equally	32.8%
Voters	6.9%

13. Public financing provides a fixed amount of money to fund qualified candidate campaigns. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with the following statements regarding public financing

13a. I pay attention to whether a candidate is publicly or privately financed (n=765)

Strongly agree	18.8%
Agree	48.2%
Disagree	28.0%
Strongly disagree	5.0%

13b. I would support public financing even if some of the funding might go to candidates I don't agree with (n=763)

Strongly agree	13.4%
Agree	53.0%
Disagree	21.1%
Strongly disagree	12.5%

13c. Public financing would allow people like me to run for office (n=753)

Strongly agree	15.2%
Agree	49.8%
Disagree	26.7%
Strongly disagree	8.3%

13d. Groups spending money independently of a candidate's campaign is a form of free speech and therefore cannot be limited by the government (n=748)

Strongly agree	4.3%
Agree	31.6%
Disagree	43.6%
Strongly disagree	20.5%

13e. NM should create an ethics commission to oversee the administration of campaign finance laws (n=757)

Strongly agree	27.8%
Agree	54.2%
Disagree	14.3%
Strongly disagree	3.7%

13f. Public financing allows candidates to spend more time talking to voters and less time talking to donors (n=754)

Strongly agree	21.6%
Agree	55.3%
Disagree	18.1%
Strongly disagree	5.0%

14. Which type of public financing program do you prefer? (n=777)

A program that caps candidate spending and provides a government grant to fund candidate campaigns	14.9%
A program that caps candidate spending and candidates receive partial funding through a government contribution matching program	19.0%
Both equally	19.2%
Neither	19.8%
Don't know	27.1%

15. Which statement do you agree with more: (n=765)

All state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing	54.7%
Some state and local elected offices should be eligible to receive public financing but not others	14.7%
I do not agree with public financing	30.6%

16. [If some state and local... selected] Which elected offices do you think SHOULD be able to receive public financing – MARK ALL THAT APPLY? (n=201)

	No	Yes
Governor	69.7%	30.3%
City Councilors	83.8%	16.2%
Mayor	75.5%	24.3%
County Commissioners	82.4%	17.6%
Judicial offices	88.3%	11.7%
New Mexico Legislators	77.7%	22.3%
Sheriff	78.8%	21.2%
District Attorney	94.0%	6.0%
County Clerk	86.7%	13.3%
Secretary of State	81.2%	18.8%
Attorney General	80.0%	20.0%
Public Regulations Commissioners	85.0%	15.0%
Land Commissioners	85.5%	14.5%
Treasurer	87.3%	12.7%
Auditor	83.8%	16.2%

17. Have you given any money to a candidate or Political Action Committee (PAC) in the last 5 years?

17a. Candidate (n=790)

Yes	38.0%
No	62.0%

17b. Political action committee (n=1066)

Yes	14.0%
No	86.0%

18. Are you male or female? (n=791)

Male	46.0%
Female	54.0%

19. What is the highest grade of education you have completed? (n=796)

Less than a High School degree	1.9%
High School degree	8.8%
Some college	21.8%
Completed trade school/associates degree	13.0%
College degree	28.7%
Master's degree	17.1%
JD/MD/PhD	8.7%

20. What racial or ethnic group best describes you? (n=783)

Black/African American	2.4%
Native American/American Indian	4.6%
Hispanic/Latino	25.7%
Asian	0.8%
White/Anglo	61.5%
Other	5.0%

21. [If Hispanic/Latino] If you indicated Hispanic/Latino, would you describe your Hispanic/Latino origin as:
(n=129)

Mexican	30.7%
Spanish	56.2%
Puerto Rica	4.6%
Central American	0.0%
Something else	7.8%
Don't know	1.7%

22. What is your current marital status? (n=788)

Married	63.1%
Divorced	8.4%
Single	19.7%
Living with a partner	3.6%
Widowed	4.4%
Separated	0.7%

23. Current age of the voter in years: (n=773)

18-30	13.6%
31-45	18.8%
46-55	18.6%
56-65	22.0%
65+	27.0%

Chapter 3. Conclusion

One of the more challenging issues in relation to this project was putting together the campaign finance data. We spent literally hundreds of hours attempting to put together the data set on campaign finance as well as an examination of donor files, which ultimately we had to abandon because of the uncertain reliability and validity of the data that we collected. The problem is that the data are not easily accessible or transparent and we had to inquire to various offices at the city or state level to obtain the information needed. For example, just to identify which candidates at the state and local levels took public financing became more difficult as the election became more distant. In several cases, we used newspaper reports to identify publicly funded candidates and then took that record to the Secretary of State's office to gain confirmation. Until we provided the information it was difficult for the Secretary of State's office to identify the cases beyond 2012 when according to the law candidates could receive public funding for the PRC since 2006. At the local level in Albuquerque more recent records were somewhat cleaner, but data going back in time for publicly funded candidates suggests that the candidates received both public and private financing outside the limits of the law. We presume these are record errors and have asked the City for clarification, which they are working on.

In addition, we found it very difficult to use the donor data. Because these are essentially campaign self-reports, they do not necessarily match any other government records like the voter registration file. We attempted to merge donor information with voter registration and had a success rate of about 55%. Analysis appeared to show no systematic bias, but differences between first names, and addresses appeared to be the primary culprits for our moderate match rate.

Therefore, we encourage local and state governments to consider carefully how they maintain their records. Records are only valuable if they provide information that can be used by others. The more transparent and accessible the more they will be examined, which for these types of data is particularly important. Perhaps in consultation with academics or the Center for the Study of Voting, Elections and Democracy at the University of New Mexico data structures and information could be considered and advances in this area could be made.

In thinking about the larger conclusions of this report, it seems clear that all types of candidates will accept public financing. Therefore, its availability makes it an opportunity for all candidates and it appears that it has created a slightly more competitive electoral environment. Over time more cases will provide a clearer presentation of their overall impact. Therefore, future studies are necessary to confirm the patterns we see here.

With regard to the voting public, it seems clear that they are very concerned about the relationship between money and politics and see public financing as one possible solution to varying degrees. Perhaps most importantly they are interested in resolving the issue, but do not have a good sense of what would be the best method. Legislators and activists need to fill in the gaps.