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STILL RUNNING BACKWARDS AND IN HIGH HEELS: FEMALE CANDIDATE FUNDRAISING  
PROCESS, PERCEPTION, AND CHALLENGES IN THE 50 STATES

By

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Still Running Backwards and in High Heels: Female Candidate Fundraising Process,  
Perception, and Challenges in the 50 States

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Well-positioned female candidates for state legislative office have been closing the gender fundraising gap since the 1990s. At both the congressional and state legislative level, numerous studies show that similarly-situated male and female candidates have equal campaign receipts. These studies are focused on the final outcome of candidate fundraising – total money received. A newer strain of research investigates the process of fundraising throughout the campaign. This more holistic approach considers the time that female candidates spend fundraising, the value of their campaign money, their interactions with different types of donors, and the gendered nature of donor networks. The observation that two people can reach the same place while walking very different paths, though pedestrian, is valuable here. Some female candidates report a fundraising challenge that quantitative, outcomes-focused studies do not observe. Beyond false perception of a gender-based fundraising

challenge, female candidates may follow divergent and sometimes more difficult pathways than those of their male counterparts.

My dissertation project strives to shed light on the difference between the perception of some female candidates that fundraising is a gendered challenge and the literature's focus on women's fundraising success. It helps close a research gap by conducting a mixed method, 50-state investigation of female state legislative campaign fundraising with a focus on primary elections, race/ ethnic differences between female legislators, and state-based women's donor groups. Each of these focal points are derived from burgeoning or understudied areas of research.

This project analyzes data from the 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State Legislative Survey, the 2008 Center for American Women and Politics Recruitment study, the Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections, as well as 120 original interviews. While these multiple sources of data are not directly comparable, they contribute to our understanding of the context-dependent and puzzling nature of campaign fundraising. This work helps clarify where and under what conditions women might rightly observe gender bias with regard to fundraising.

With regard to Chapter Three, the first empirical chapter of this work, I find that female candidates may indeed face more fundraising difficulties than their male counterparts during primary elections because individual donors are critical to this phase of campaigns and male donors make fewer donations and give lower average amounts to female candidates. Individual donor networks are gendered, a fact which is quite visible during primary elections because institutional donors tend to stay out. Two

key points summarize my investigation of gendered donor networks during primaries: 1) Republican, female primary candidates were over-reliant on donations from women. 2) Democratic, female primary candidates were over-reliant on donations from women as well - but not so much due to female donor affinity but because men were less likely to donate to their campaigns. That Republican, female primary candidates were over-reliant on female donors is a critical take-away. Especially with regard to primary money, female donors to Democratic women have received the bulk of the literature's consideration. The strong support of female Democrats for their fellow female Democrats is an oft-noted phenomenon in both congressional and state legislative campaign finance research. Yet, a specific look at primary elections suggest that female Republican donors are the more interesting story at the state legislative level. Similarly, the lack of support from Democratic male donors for Democratic women is notable. It was the Democratic Party's donor network that was most gendered, which is counter-intuitive given the Democratic Party's identity politics rhetoric and courting of female candidates.

With regard to Chapter Four, I find that average donation amounts are generally unimpacted by the candidate's race/ ethnicity- at least among winning female candidates. However, more research is needed into the experience of black women in particular. Individual donors in the Democratic Party, the party label under which the vast majority of black women run, give lower average donations to these women. This was true even when district competition and other controls were considered.

With regard to Chapter Five, as in congressional campaigns, women's donor groups can be financially important to the campaigns of Democratic women but miss significant opportunities to support women whose critical elections are the primary election – including many women of color. This phenomenon combined with the earlier finding that female donors are not particularly important to Democratic women during primaries likely contributes to the disappointment observed among many Democratic candidates. While the Democratic Party purports to support women and often uses identity politics to attract them, there is less gender-based support than many female candidates expected. Finally, party-affiliated women's donor groups are noticeable within the networks of Republican female candidates and could be a valuable source of campaign contributions for Republican women in the future. This is in conflict with the current state-level women's group literature, which assumes that Republican groups are non-existent. Advocates for women's increased representation might look toward Republican women's donor groups as a possible resource for identifying and supporting more women.

My dissertation thus complicates the literature on the limitations of the conclusion that female candidates have solved the fundraising problem. It also identifies areas where practitioners invested in parity might find opportunities to further strengthen female candidates' fundraising networks. This study contributes to advancing a deeper understanding of the state-legislative campaign fundraising process and illustrates the value of pairing large-N campaign finance studies with qualitative data from the field.

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## Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review

*As one of only eleven women in the [New York State] Senate, and the only female Senator from Queens, I understand how important it is for women to have representation in Albany...I proudly stand with my colleagues who believe it is time to pass a fair public finance system for those who seek office. In my last two primary elections, one of my opponents spent more than \$1 million against me. Campaign finance reform will help break down some of the barriers women face when running for office (New York State Senator Toby Ann Stavisky speaking at a press conference on March 5, 2014).*

On March 5, 2014, Democratic women elected to the New York State Senate and Assembly joined good government groups to urge Governor Cuomo to pass campaign finance reform. Democratic State Senate Leader Andrea Stewart-Cousins, State Senator Cecilia Tkaczyk, State Assemblywomen Linda Rosenthal, and State Assemblywoman Nily Rozic led a press conference filled with statements about the connection between gender and campaign finance. “Public funding for candidates is a proven mechanism for getting more women elected to office,” said Assemblywoman Nily Rozic. Followed by, “if we’re truly committed to leveling the playing field, public financing of campaigns has to be a top priority” (2014). State Senator Ruth Hassell-Thompson added, “Until New York State allows for a public financing system, we will continue to disenfranchise not only our voters, but many potential candidates, especially women and persons of color.” After the press conference, State Senator Andrea Stewart-Cousins and New York City Public Advocate Letitia James wrote to a local paper to explain that, “one clear, concrete and often overlooked benefit to comprehensive campaign finance reform is the likelihood that more women will be elected to office” (Lohud 2014).

While not all female elected officials support such statements, these comments

offer anecdotal evidence of an attitude sometimes observed by political scientists. A meaningful number of female elected officials are convinced that running for office is more difficult for women than it is for men (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013; Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, & Walsh 2009) and that campaign finance, specifically the high cost of campaigns, presents a special challenge to female candidates. For these women, it seems “clear” and “concrete” that campaign finance is a gendered issue.

Like those quoted above, most female politicians begin their careers at the state and local level. However, less is known about women and campaign finance in the 50 states than in Congress. With some notable exceptions (Barber et. al. 2016; Jenkins 2007; Mitchell & Monroe 2014), the gender and campaign finance literature is dominated by studies of female candidates for U.S. House and Senate (Burrell 2014; Green 2003; Palmer & Simon 2008; Pimlot 2007). This work identifies new data and conducts a new gender-conscious analysis of state legislative campaign finance. It helps close a research gap by conducting a mixed method, 50-state investigation of female state legislative campaign fundraising with a focus on primary elections, race/ ethnic differences among female legislators, and state-based women’s donor groups. Each of these focal points are derived from burgeoning or understudied areas of research. I account for party differences and compare the experience of women to that of men where data allows.

In addition to its congressional focus, much of the research on gender and campaign finance compares the aggregate receipts of female candidates to the aggregate receipts of male candidates. These studies are focused on the final outcome

of candidate fundraising – total money received. Such research finds no difference between similarly-competitive men and women (Hogan 2007; Lawless & Fox 2010). A newer strain of literature investigates the process of fundraising throughout the campaign. This more holistic approach considers the time that female candidates spend fundraising, the value of their campaign money, their interactions with different types of donors, and the gendered nature of donor networks. The observation that two people can reach the same place while walking different paths, though pedestrian, is valuable here. Comparable male and female candidates may raise the similar amounts by the end of a campaign but face vastly different fundraising challenges. With its focus on perception and campaign process, my work offers new insights to practitioners and scholars of women and politics. Like many studies of its kind, this endeavor was motivated by a normative concern for the small number of female officeholders.

### **Research Objectives**

This research has two central objectives: to better understand female candidates' perceptions of campaign fundraising (from primary to election day) and to paint a clearer picture of the mechanisms by which female candidates (and officeholders) reach their final fundraising number. It is in the process of fundraising that female candidates may experience bias – even if their fundraising totals equal that of their male colleagues in the end. This work has three empirical chapters, each with a different focus. The key questions of these chapters derive from the central objectives stated above and work collectively to piece together a puzzle of women's campaign fundraising experiences. As noted, in order to emphasize under-explored topics in women and politics research, I focus on primary election fundraising (Chapter Three),



the unique challenges experienced by women of color (Chapter Four), and the role of women's groups in the 50 states (Chapter Five). Detailed questions and hypotheses for the three empirical chapters are briefly described in Chapter Two. Then, these questions are restated and answered in the relevant substantive chapters.

I explore the fundraising experience of female state legislative candidates and state legislators from 1990 to 2016. The data sources utilized are reasonably comprehensive, though some important sources of funding are not considered due to data limitations.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, it is important to note that data sources are not directly comparable as not all data was collected during the same years. These limitations are reviewed in the methodology. What the data lacks in comparability it makes up for in the challenge it presents to the conventional wisdom that fundraising is gender-neutral. This is a context-dependent assertion. My work adds to a growing body of research that disputes the assumption that all gendered fundraising challenges have been resolved.

**Why fundraising?** Compared to other strains of research, the women and politics discipline has paid limited attention to fundraising as an explanation for women's underrepresentation. Particularly in its burgeoning years, the subfield often focused on the lack of female candidates. In other words, the problem of supply (Darcy & Choike 1986; Matland & King 2002, Seltzer et al. 1997). In fact, in the 1980s, some

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<sup>1</sup> While this study is an attempt to take a comprehensive look at the campaign environment, it does not capture every possible expenditure. The first challenge is presented by in-kind donations to campaigns, which can be difficult to discern from campaign finance filings. The second challenge deals with independent expenditures. Such expenditures have grown since the *Citizens United* decision in 2010 but were allowed in half of all states prior to *Citizens United*. The literature review of campaign finance laws addresses the failure to include independent expenditures; in-kinds are addressed by interview data where possible.

scholars believed that the percentage of women in office would eventually stabilize at the number of women who decided to run (Darcy & Choike 1986). Many women and politics researchers had (and have) a deep practical and philosophical concern for women's underrepresentation as officeholders. Having observed that a problematically small number of women ran for office, scholars and practitioners have also emphasized the importance of recruitment - which is why studies of recruitment are so numerous.

Early discussions of women's fundraising feared a gendered disadvantage and noted women's absence from wealthy feeder professions such law and business (Darcy, Welch, & Clarke 1994). Asking for money for oneself – rather than for a charity – was also thought to be a violation of femininity and gender norms, hindering women's campaigns. As Barbara Burrell noted in her discussion of women's congressional campaigns in the 1970s and 1980s,

*Women faced a greater burden...because they have lacked access to major types of contributors, they have lacked confidence in asking for money, and donors have discriminated against them (Burrell 2003, 74).*

Despite Burrell's concern, her later work, and the work of other scholars, eventually led the women and politics discipline to the near-consensus that the fundraising question had been solved. For example, Carole Jean Uhlaner and Kay Lehman Schlozman's 1986 study showed that similarly-situated women and men fundraised equally well. Later studies confirmed this result (Green 1998; Hogan 2007). Further, female candidates, especially Democratic candidates, started to benefit from new fundraising assets in the 1980s and 1990s. Most notably, EMILY's List - founded in 1985 – began bundling money and channeling it to women. EMILY stands for early money is like yeast and its

continued existence and power has received a great deal of credit for helping fund women's campaigns (Burrell 1994). Finally, the 1992 congressional elections sent a wave of women to Washington D.C. This momentous year for women in politics was seen as evidence of women's ability to be successful fundraisers and to run successful campaigns. Such consensus drove scholarly attention away from fundraising.

Yet, the existence of EMILY's List may actually illustrate the paradox of female candidate fundraising and EMILY's List is not alone. Many similar organizations (see the Center for American Women and Politics' Resource Map for examples), both partisan and nonpartisan, teach women how to ask for money, give money to women's campaigns, and match women to donor networks. All of these efforts have helped create and sustain the supposedly gender-neutral fundraising environment. They demonstrate the dedication of advocates to the cause of electing more women but also suggest their trepidation. In a truly gender-neutral fundraising environment there would be no need for EMILY's List or similar organizations. Certainly, recruitment is an important issue; even as of 2019 the supply of female candidates is low as fewer women than men opt to run for office. Yet, even a huge upsurge in female candidacies may not be enough. As more women do run for office, they will need to run in less woman-friendly districts (Palmer & Simon 2008). Kira Sanbonmatsu (2006) notes that it is hard to know how much support women candidates have overall since we only know how much support they have in the limited number of contexts in which they have actually run. Given this reality, the perception of some female elites that fundraising is different for female candidates, and a growing body of research suggesting that women still face

gendered challenges (Jenkins 2007; Lawless & Pearson 2008; Fulton 2012), scholars must continue to reexamine questions of campaign process, including questions related to fundraising.

**Why states?** Scholars and practitioners agree that money plays a significant role in most American elections. To win an election, candidates must fundraise, albeit to various degrees. Money could not be considered quintessential to elections in New Hampshire where the average candidate raised under \$2,000 in 2002 (Powell 2002). Oppositely, in California, money has been crucial to recent elections. In 2014, candidates raised one million dollars on average for state senate campaigns (Lagos 2015). Despite this wide variation, the cost of state legislative elections has grown overall with candidates in both more expensive and less expensive states attracting additional money. This prompted one campaign finance advocate to report that he was “panic stricken” (Stinson 2014) over the new high cost reality of state legislative campaigns. Advocacy groups such as Common Cause and the National Institute on Money in State Politics have also noted the growth in state legislative campaign costs (Stinson 2014). The increased cost of state legislative elections mirrors the trend in national elections; both have become progressively more expensive since the 1990s (Hogan 2000; Moncrief 1992). As state races become more expensive, female state legislative candidates – like all candidates – will need more money to be successful. Studies of campaign fundraising are particularly critical in the context of escalating costs.

States are arguably more interesting laboratories for the study of campaign finance. Yet, less is known about the fundraising process at the state-level than at the

national-level. Each state is a distinct environment with its own history, culture, political situation, and set of ever-changing campaign finance rules. While adding complexity, wide state variation also creates fertile ground for comparative analysis. Furthermore, some states boast campaign finance laws significantly less stringent than federal regulations so the opportunity to raise funds is greater for both men and women.<sup>2</sup>

It is also important to note that women get their start in the states.<sup>3</sup> Women are less likely than men to run for a congressional seat without having been elected at the state level (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). The states serve as a pipeline for women to higher office (Sanbonmatsu 2010). Women are unlikely to reach Congress, governor's mansions (Beyle 1999), or the presidency (see Mariana [2008] for a study of the gendered pipeline in five states) without being elected to state legislatures first.

The states are also notable for a lack of moneyed women's PACs. Female Democratic congressional candidates can now benefit from the bundling capacities of groups such as EMILY's List (Burrell 1994). EMILY's List helps level the fundraising playing field for Democratic congressional candidates. Without help from women's PACs, female candidates may face additional disadvantages in state legislative elections. Since women's PACs are not as influential at the state-level, scholars should not necessarily assume that women face a gender-neutral fundraising environment there.

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<sup>2</sup> A description of campaign finance laws and how this study accounts for their variation is included in Chapter Two as part of the study methodology.

<sup>3</sup> In *More Women Can Run: Gender and Pathways to the State Legislatures* (2013) Sue Carroll and Kira Sanbonmatsu note that states play a very important policy making role in modern federalism. They argue that "research on women state legislators has fallen out of fashion during the very era in which considerable responsibility for solving some of the country's most pressing domestic problems has shifted from the federal government to the states" (13). This point alone is reason enough to study women in state politics.

Findings of gender-neutrality are generally of congressional candidates, they are outcomes focused, and they depend on the existence of women's PACs. Bias in the fundraising process may be more obvious in the states because state legislative candidates lack the benefit of the moderating influence of women's PACs. This could be especially problematic for Democratic women's campaign fundraising.

Beyond the importance of state legislative officeholding to the larger goal of increasing women's representation, the growing importance of states in the United States federalist system has resulted in substantial policy control at the state level. Research shows that women elected to state legislatures are more likely than men to emphasize traditional women's issues such as healthcare, childcare, education, and the environment (Epstein & Reingold 2005; Reingold 1992). Traditional women's issues tend to be areas in which policy is shaped and implemented by state governments. As such, the presence of more women in office has the potential for notable policy impact.

### **Research Findings**

I find that female candidates: 1) Face a gendered fundraising challenge during primary elections. Individual donors are critical to this phase of campaigns, and their preferences do not appear to be entirely gender neutral. As expected, there are more male individual donors than female individual donors. This matters for women, because men give lower average amounts to female candidates. My research is preliminary but suggests that gender affinities on the part of individual primary donors amount to a structural disadvantage for female candidates. Another way to frame this finding is to say that male donors are underrepresented in the donor pools of women in both parties, which is related to the lower average donation amounts given to female

candidates. Despite the identity politics rhetoric of the Democratic Party, this result is just as significant within the Democratic donor pool. 2) Black, female general election winners receive lower average donations from individual donors. This disadvantage is specific to black women. As a whole, women of color do just as well or slightly better than their white counterparts with both individual donors. All women of color, including black women, receive equal or slightly higher average donation amounts from committee and party donors. This finding suggests many interesting areas for future research including an investigation of the fundraising of women of color during primary elections. Such an addition would help to better link Chapter Three and Chapter Four and would continue to fill gaps in extant campaign finance literature. 3) Women's donor groups can be important to the campaigns of Democratic women but miss significant opportunities to support women whose critical elections are the primary election – including many women of color. The fact that Democratic women do not receive more support from individual female donors or Democratic-leaning women's donor groups actually causes some disappointment among Democratic women. There is no "women's mafia" to financially support their campaigns based on gender alone. 4) Party-affiliated women's donor groups are noticeable within the networks of Republican female candidates. This finding is in direct conflict with the literature on state-level women's groups and could be a valuable source of campaign contributions for Republican women in the future. This is important knowledge for practitioners seeking to increase the number of women in elective office.

## **Review of the Literature**

The following pages provide a review of the literature on campaign finance, inclusive of the broader campaign finance literature but focused more closely on the literature that overlaps with women and politics research. This section addresses the successes and challenges associated with female candidate fundraising and gives special attention to the state literature, which is less robust than congressional research. Where possible, in-group differences among female candidates are noted.

**Women's fundraising successes in congress and the 50 states.** In 1986, Carole Jean Uhlaner and Kay Lehman Schlozman reported that congresswomen did indeed raise less money than congressmen on average. They offered two competing explanations for this reality: that donors were biased against women; that women lacked other characteristics that made fundraising easier, namely incumbency and prominent committee chairmanships. When controlling for incumbency and chairmanship status, Uhlaner and Schlozman eliminated gender bias as the explanation for women's lower campaign fundraising totals. Their piece was an important contribution to the research on gender and campaign finance and its findings became part of a larger body of work disputing the idea of a gender-specific fundraising disadvantage. While caveats to Uhlaner and Schlozman's findings are now more common, the congressional literature still generally agrees that fundraising is not a gendered challenge. For example, more than 20 years after Uhlaner and Schlozman's article was published, Pamela Fiber and Richard Fox summarized the women and politics fundraising literature as such:



*Based on general indicators, we see what appears to be a gender-neutral electoral environment...men and women perform similarly in terms of...fundraising (2005, 70).*

In other words, when the dependent variable is the total money raised during a campaign, sex is not a predictor when controlling for other factors. Similar studies of solely the United States House of Representatives, for example by Lefteris Anastasopoulos (2016), have also found no gender differences in campaign fundraising. In fact, as of 2019, there was nearly 40 years of congressional campaign finance research supporting gender-neutrality in campaign fundraising. This reality lead Danielle Thomsen and Michele Swers to note that, “scholarship rejects campaign finance as a cause of women’s underrepresentation in Congress because women raise as much money as men running in similar races” (2017, 449).

Methodologically, it is important to note the unit of analysis of most of women and politics research on campaign finance. The scholars used final fundraising totals or campaign aggregate receipts as their dependent variable. Most early studies of women and campaign finance utilized this dependent variable as well. However, aggregate receipts are not the only possible dependent variable in studies of female candidate fundraising. Later studies have analyzed aggregate receipts from specific types of donors, investigated average donation amounts, compared money raised to money spent, and/ or looked at the entire campaign process by investigating fundraising at different points in time. These latter studies are more granular and sometimes reach conclusions that do not support the idea of a gender-neutral playing field. Such studies

are discussed later in this literature review during the discussion of women's fundraising disadvantages.

In addition to the scholarly literature on the gender-neutral playing field, narratives of women's fundraising competency are common. Most political practitioners can name several powerful female fundraisers in Congress – those who fundraise both for themselves and their party (Burrell 2014). A few of these women actually raise far more than their male counterparts (Burrell 2014). While anecdotal, stories of strong female fundraisers offer additional support for the idea of a gender-neutral playing field, especially for female candidates for Congress.

State legislative research on women's fundraising has generally mirrored the congressional literature in two ways. Firstly, it largely uses aggregate campaign receipts as the dependent variable. Secondly, it generally finds that female candidates do not experience a gender-specific fundraising challenge. Gary Thompson, Robert Moncrief, and Keith Hamm (1998) authored one of the earliest multi-state studies of gender and campaign contributions. Their study - the "most comprehensive [of its time]" (Hogan 2007, 1093) - found that female candidates aggregate receipts were the same as male candidates, on average, in both the state assemblies and senates. The authors used the 1992 Year of the Woman to highlight women's success. During that year, female candidates raised more than men overall. Similarly, Robert Hogan found that male state and local candidates did not have a fundraising advantage compared to women (2007). Hogan's work analyzed 20 states during two elections cycles and touched on two different focal points of the state campaign finance literature: money raised, and money

spent. His data showed that, “women ha[d] a slight spending advantage in the majority of states” (2007, 1099) and that women's races tended to be the most expensive in the state when competitive. While it is outside the scope of my project, an analysis of money spent helps put fundraising totals in context. Even if women raise the same amount as similarly-situated men, they could still be disadvantaged if they need to spend more to win. Hogan found that having a woman involved in the race tended to drive up the cost of the race for both the female candidate and her challenger. Fundraising totals increased but the playfield was still level.

The high cost of competitive races that include a female challenger was also observed in a more-recent 50-state study (Barber, Butler, & Preece 2016). While more analysis is needed of the meaning of this trend for female candidates, overall, the fact that female candidates can survive an expensive electoral contest has been viewed as validation of their fundraising ability.<sup>4</sup>

The consensus around female candidate fundraising strength may seem like a deterrent to further study. Yet, more specified research sometimes reaches different conclusions, even when aggregate receipts are the unit of analysis. For example, when analyzing Democratic and Republican women separately, research shows that Republican women sometimes raise less than similarly-situated Republican men even when controlling for other variables commonly associated with fundraising totals

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<sup>4</sup> My own research focuses on money raised as opposed to money raised and spent because it emphasizes fundraising process not fundraising outcomes. While this may seem counterintuitive, it is necessary. Scholars have shown that women's campaigns are expensive and that women can raise and spend as much as men. The missing data is in the earlier stages of campaigns not the final stage. Still, later iterations of my research could include an analysis of final expenditures.

(Kitchens & Swers 2016; Thomsen & Swers 2017). Other studies offer caveats to the idea of a gender-neutral environment by changing the unit of analysis from the final fundraising number to another variable. While the success literature is clear and synthesizable because of its focus on campaign fundraising outcomes, the fundraising challenges literature is more varied. This review focuses primarily on the challenges literature in order to discuss its various nuances.

**Women's fundraising challenges in Congress and the 50 states.** A growing body of work disputes the accepted wisdom that fundraising, and candidate sex are unrelated (Barber et. al. 2016; Jenkins 2007; Thomsen & Swers 2017). Often, this research connects fundraising to other gendered challenges. Areas of significance include the ideological donor preferences of donors, inequalities in candidate quality, time, and effort, disparate sources of funding, and male donor bias. These topics address fundraising process not outcome and offer important caveats to the narrative of women's fundraising success. Overall, they find that ending at the same place does not mean walking the same path. As with the earlier literature, much of the research on fundraising challenges began with female congressional candidates and later expanded to the 50 states.

***Donor ideological preferences.*** Studies of female candidates for Congress clearly show that women can be prolific fundraisers. However, Danielle Thomsen and Michele Swers (2017) found that “campaign finance still impacts which women can run for office because candidates have to build their own donor networks” (449). The authors further noted that, “liberal female Democrats who demonstrate a commitment to women's

issues and conservative Republicans” (460) are mostly likely to do well with donors.

Women who cannot or who do not believe that they can build donor networks may not run at all. In this way, fundraising may present a gendered challenge prior to the declaration of candidacy. If donor preferences are more limited for women than for men, more potential female candidates will be discouraged. This study also highlights an important bias with regard to research on female candidate fundraising – the majority of the literature analyzes candidates that did run not those who may have been deterred due to fundraising concerns.

Thomsen also found that a rise in polarization presents unique fundraising challenges to Republican female congressional candidates because they are seen as poorer ideological fits for the party than male candidates (2015). Peter Bucchianeri adds that, “it is easy to understand a scenario in which party leaders and elites strategically allocate resources during a campaign cycle to the candidates who best align with their party ideology” (2018, 441). Utilizing the increasingly popular method of regression discontinuity design, he showed that Republican female candidates for Congress do not do as well with donors as their male counterparts.

***Inequalities in candidate quality, time, and effort.*** According to Kim Hoffman and her colleagues, in the entire decade of the 1980s, men without political experience won 30% of the congressional elections in which they were candidates. Zero women without experience won (Hoffman et. al. 2001). Similarly, Linda Witt and her colleagues (1994) found that female congressional candidates in the 1980s and early 1990s relied more heavily upon occupational qualifications and strong fundraising ability to prove

that they had the chops for a campaign. Though my study is not focused on winning elections, the research cited above is related to the gendered nature of the campaign fundraising process. To be valued enough to raise large sums of money, women had to be better prepared than their male counterparts. They needed to be of higher quality - a highly subjective construct, which is not always applied evenly to male and female candidates.<sup>5</sup> Utilizing data from 1984 through 2010, Kathryn Pearson and Eric McGhee also found that female congressional candidates needed to be better-prepared and better-financed than male congressional candidates in order to be considered good enough to hold office (2013). Similarly, Sarah Fulton found a quality gap in which female incumbents were better prepared than their male colleagues on average (2012). All of these high-quality women had to fundraise to win their seats. Yet, most campaign finance studies suffer from omitted variable bias because they do not account for candidate quality. Competitions in which 'low quality' male candidates and 'high quality' female candidates raise comparable amounts of money do not actually indicate a lack of gender-bias in the fundraising process. This is yet another argument for a focus on campaign process. Equal campaign finance outcomes for candidates of unequal quality is not a gender-neutral result. Based on her qualifications, the average congresswoman

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<sup>5</sup> The literature tends to use prior officeholding as a proxy for a candidate's exemplariness otherwise known as quality. If you've won an election once, there must be something good about you. Employment in an occupation that feeds into politics and connection to campaign money are also be used as components of quality. Suzanne Dovi (2007) provides a normative, gender-neutral framework for determining the virtues of a good representative including fairness, open-mindedness, trust building, and good gatekeeping. However, these traits have not been incorporated into later research and exactly how campaign funders understand candidate quality is highly dependent on the type of funder and their own goals and biases.

should out-raise the average congressman. While not focused on fundraising, Fulton aptly summarizes this argument in her work,

*Inferences that the electoral environment is gender-neutral because women "do as well as men" when they run rest on the assumption that men and women are qualitatively similar in terms of all of the characteristics that influence electoral outcomes except for one - gender. But, if men and women are distinct regarding characteristics that influence their electability - for instance, if women hold higher political quality than men but only perform at parity with men in the electoral arena - then this would be evidence of gender discrimination to the extent that women have to work harder than men to achieve similar electoral result (Fulton 2012, 304).*

In 2015, Rainbow Murray reaffirmed this idea when she found that “bias in favor of the status quo” (3) gives preferential treatment to characteristics associated with elite males. Murray suggested that elite preferences may favor men even if elites don’t view themselves as having gendered motivations. While Murray didn’t focus on campaign finance, the gendered implications for female candidate fundraising from other elites are worth further investigation.

The congressional research suggests that female candidates get less 'bang for their buck' because they need to work harder to be seen as competent, qualified, and credible (Green 1998, 2003). Women’s longer fundraising journey results in inequalities of time and effort during the campaign. For example, Ashley Baker's study of U.S. Senators found that, “the average size of individual donations to most female candidates continue[d] to be smaller than the average donation to male candidates” (2006, 20).<sup>6</sup> Female candidates may need to spend more time fundraising because

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<sup>6</sup> This study of average donation size is similar to my own study, which focuses on mean donations to female candidates. As such, there is precedent for my work.

collecting many small donations can be more time consuming than bringing in a few large donors.

Unfortunately, state legislative research has paid scant attention to the issue of women's qualifications and quality (Thompson, Moncrief & Hamm 1998). One exception is Michael Miller whose research found that, "women overcome the potential negative impact of gender stereotypes by emerging when they are stronger candidates than men" (2015, 1). While not explicitly focused on fundraising, Miller's findings are part of a growing body of state legislative research on the time and effort that female candidates put into campaigns. This work began with Shannon Jenkins' (2007) path-breaking investigation of candidate time. Jenkins analyzed female perceptions of the fundraising environment as well as time-spent fundraising. She asked, "are women more concerned about their ability to fund-raise [and] do such concerns translate into the utilization of more fundraising techniques?" (230). Jenkins' study utilized legislative surveys taken after the 1996 election in nine states. She found that female elected officials do tend to be more concerned with fundraising than their male counterparts. Additionally, while women did fundraise on par with men, they needed to "work harder to achieve this parity, replying on more techniques and hitting up more people and groups for money" (231). Women assembled more extensive fundraising operations and thought that a wider array of funders were important. In 2015, when Miller conducted his original survey of female candidates, he also found that, on average, women invested more time in their campaigns than men. However, he found that, "this difference [was] driven by the fact that women [were] more likely to forgo employment



during the election” (1). It is unclear whether or not needing time to fundraise was a part of women’s calculus when they decided not work. Miller’s survey asked candidates about fundraising time, but his data is not public. Miller’s future work and the work of others should address the possible continued connection between time spent fundraising and candidate sex.

***Disparate sources of funding and male donor bias.*** The congressional literature from the 1990s found that men and women attracted money from different sources (Dabelko & Herrnson 1997; Fox 1997). Much of this literature focused on what has been the clearest difference between men’s and women’s networks since 1992, the large influence of women’s PACs as donors to Democratic women, specifically EMILY’s List. Women’s PACs boost Democratic female candidates’ final campaign receipts and can make up for disadvantages with other donors. The role of women’s donor groups (especially EMILY’s List) as funders of women’s campaigns for the U.S. Senate and U.S. House of Representatives is much studied (Burrell 2006). Well-financed women’s donor groups such as EMILY’s List can greatly increase the fundraising totals of the female candidates that they support (Pimlott 2007). Beyond women’s PACs, disparate sources of campaign financing for female congressional candidates has also taken the form of women’s over-reliance on individual female donors. Women’s PACs are involved in this relationship as well since they often act as matchmakers by introducing candidates to new women or bundlers by collecting donations from women and passing them to candidates. Baker summarized the situation concisely stating,

*Female candidates as a whole depend particularly upon female donors for financial viability and win monetary support from men only as their odds*

*of election increase near to certainty (2006, 20).*

Michael Crespin and Janna Deitz (2010) similarly found that Congresswomen used PACs to connect to individual donors – both male and female. This sometimes resulted in a numerical advantage; women received more individual donations than men. However, when women did not have the support of women's PACs, their donor numbers suffered. This reality was understood to disadvantage Republican women, since the women's PAC infrastructure was (and still is) less robust for Republicans.

Beyond women's PACs, all individual donors may have a gender affinity bias that works to disadvantage women. Michele Swers and Danielle Thomsen note that female candidates for congressional office receive greater support from female donors and also less support from male donors (2014). This is problematic because the majority of high-dollar donors to political campaigns are men (McElwee, Schaffner, & Rhodes 2016). They also find that liberal Democratic women are the best able to build a donor network large enough to win campaigns (Thomsen & Swers 2017). This is because female candidates continue to rely on female donors more than male candidates and liberal Democrats generate the most affinity from female donors (Thomsen & Swers 2017).

The study of disparate sources, or gendered donor networks, has been burgeoning quickly within the field of state legislative research as well. Michael Barber, Daniel Butler, and Jessica Preece (2016) looked at fundraising by state legislative candidates in all 50 states from the early 1990s until 2010 and find that male donors gave more generously to male challengers and incumbents than to female candidate of any type. They asserted that women were not necessarily more reliant female donors.

In fact, individual women still don't contribute large sums to state races. Rather, men's failure to donate to female candidates skews women's campaign finance reports making it appear as if women were giving more to women. In fact, women gave equally to male and female candidates. Yet, men were far more likely to give to another man (Barber et. al 2016). The reason for men's unequal giving was unclear but likely involved network effects similar to those observed within male-dominated political party networks (Crowder-Meyer 2013; Sanbonmatsu 2006). While congressional campaigns receive more attention, gendered-donor networks are especially salient at the state-level. Organizational players are often less invested in state legislatures than in Congress, which boosts the importance of individual contributions.

Individual donor networks may also be especially important in state legislative primaries, since candidates rely mostly on individual donors during this phase of campaigns. Both political parties and institutional donors tend to stay out of primaries so candidates must do their own fundraising.

**Primary elections.** Primary and general election campaigns are completely different environments; findings from one phase of the campaign are not generalizable to the other. Michael Miller's recent study of congressional primaries is illustrative of this point. His findings are inconsistent with the conventional wisdom that Democratic women raise more than their Republican counterparts. In fact, Miller found that female Republican candidates raised more money than Democratic women on average (2016). This suggests that many of the well-known takeaways from studies of general elections might not be applicable to the primary phase of electoral contests.

Unfortunately, there are few comprehensive studies of campaign finance during primary elections. This phase of the campaign is an understudied area in both the women and politics subfield and the larger American politics discipline. Since data on primary elections is scarce, many researchers skip this stage of the campaign or lump it together with the general election findings. Especially at the state-level, data limitations are a challenge. However, primaries deserve much more attention, especially from the women and politics community. There are several reasons why the subfield's lack of primary research is problematic. Firstly, women are more likely than men to run in contested primaries because they are less likely to be incumbents. Women's best chances to win are open seat contests (Burrell 1994) but these elections are also the most likely to involve a primary because many candidates perceive a strategic opening when there is no incumbent to defeat (Matland & King 2002). Secondly, although general elections can be important, candidates set the stage during primaries by proving that they can attract donors and raise big money. This may be especially important for women in light of prior research showing that female candidates rely on strong fundraising to prove their viability (Pearson & McGhee 2013). Thirdly, prior research has shown that female incumbents are more likely to be primaried (Lawless & Pearson 2008). Barbara Palmer and Denise Simon similarly found that female Republican incumbents were more likely to face a primary challenger (2008). Fourthly, the lack of research on primary elections is problematic of epistemological reasons. Specifically, there is a lack of research clarity as studies sometimes fail to make any distinction between primary and general election money.

With regard to this lack of clarity, several disparate lines of inquiry dominate congressional research; some of this work uses the nebulous term “early money”. I briefly review some of the scholarly works on early money due to the confusion surrounding its definition. Sometimes early money is interchangeable with primary money; sometimes it is not. This lack of precision is confusing and skew research findings. Often a failure to acknowledge primary elections has been due to limitations caused by poor campaign finance reporting. However, as data becomes more readily available, campaigns finances studies should always disaggregate primary and general elections.

One example of the use of the term early money can be found in the work of Peter Francia. Francia (2001) studied early fundraising by non-incumbent female congressional candidates. He counted donations made soon after a candidate declared as early money, whether or not they had a primary. He found that female Democrats had a strong advantage with regard to early money because women's PACs were willing to give early, but they give mostly to Democrats. Women's PACs provide seed money that, was “particularly important to non-incumbents who need to establish credibility and improve name recognition with voters quickly” (2001, 8). He further noted that, “party committees often set targets for early fundraising and will withdraw party aid to those who fail to meet those targets (2001, 9). As such, early money was an important predictor of later fundraising capability. These findings are interesting. However, without knowing whether or not the early money was targeted to a primary or general election candidate, it is more difficult to extrapolate meaning from his research.

Earlier, Barbara Burrell (1994) studied the importance of women's PACs and found that they were responsible for much of the early money received by female congressional challengers, especially Democrats. Like Francia, her work did not focus on primaries specifically. Rather, Burrell chose not to separate primary and general election donations. Robert Biersack, Paul Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox (1993) similarly considered early money without making a distinction between the primary and general phase of the elections.<sup>7</sup>

Oppositely, Leal (2003), who did specifically study U.S. Senate primaries, used the term early money to describe how primary donations did not specifically benefit female candidates. The fact that Leal uses the term early money to mean primary money while other scholars use the term to mean any money given soon after a candidate declares is confusing. This complicates future research since one of the campaign finance literature's key terms – “early money” – does not have a clear meaning.

While, the Congressional research is more robust in its attempts to study money given at the beginning phases of campaigns, state legislative research has been more careful to distinguish primary and general election donations. Peverill Squire, who

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<sup>7</sup> The conclusions of these studies are less important to this work than understanding early money as a construct and how it is utilized in research. However, it is interesting to note some of the conclusions of the research reviewed above. Biersack and his colleagues found that early fundraising increased later receipt of money for male and female candidates equally. David Leal (2013) found that early money resulted in additional contributions in what he called the ‘normal’ (93) election period. He also found that money does not follow “experienced candidates or personal resources” (93). Jonathan Krasno and his colleagues (1994), who studied the U.S. House of Representatives, found that challengers’ chances of success improve when they raise money early; without early money they could not raise more because funders believed that they would never be viable opponents. These are interesting studies that could be replicated with a specific focus on primaries to clarify the findings.

conducted one of the rare state studies of challenger deterrence and primary donations (1991), found that challengers may use early campaign finance filings as a measure of incumbent strength.<sup>8</sup> While this study was not concerned with women's campaigns, it is at least parsimonious in its attempt to study primary money. Years later, Michael Miller (2016) studied primary elections as well as the impact of primary donations on female candidates. He found that Republican women outraised Democratic women during the primary phase of campaigns. This finding contradicts the conclusions of general election research, which highlights the importance of primary specific studies.

Unfortunately, Miller's study of primary elections is rare. Newer research that focuses on both campaign finance and women has generally not considered primary elections because, even as data on when a donation was given becomes more available, it is still difficult to acquire the data needed to implement proper controls when modeling the impact of gender on primary election donations. For example, it is much more difficult to control for competitiveness during primary elections than general elections; there is publicly available data for the latter. Primary fundraising among female state legislative candidates is an area of great research possibility.

**Women's fundraising and political parties in the 50 states.** Political parties generally stay out of primary elections. So, at least with regard to money, parties aren't generally thought of as major players during the earliest segments of campaigns. However, political parties are important to gender-focused campaign finance research.

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<sup>8</sup> Robert Hogan (2001b) wrote a similar piece that investigates campaign war chests and challenger emergence in the states. This analysis includes data from eight states. This piece stands out in the state literature: no similar 50-state comparison exists.

Firstly, women's experience with campaign fundraising varies by political party; the literature often analyzes donations to Republican and Democratic candidates separately for this reason. Secondly, the role of parties is extremely context dependent; there are states in which political parties still play an important role in making donations and facilitating connections to other donors, particularly during general election campaigns (which are discussed in Chapter Four).

Today, elected members exercise control over the party and the apparatus functions as a 'party-in-service' to candidates (Herrnson 2009). Candidates are free to pursue election assistance from other more recent political entities such as PACs but may need help from the party to win. Given the cost of modern campaigns, parties can be especially effective in providing services to offset the costs of state and local campaigns, which are less likely to attract national dollars. Further, the party can act as an in-kind donor or cost offsetting service provider meaning that it can be quite powerful where its organization is strong, and campaigns are expensive. Brian Brox describes how political parties are able to leverage their size and financial resources to help candidates of their choosing.

*Today parties [in the states and localities] make use of cheap and powerful technology, as well as greater financial resources, not only to provide services to candidates but also to exert independent influence on competitive races as well as engage in long-term party building' (Brox, 2013, 27).*

Brox envisions parties that work as a service organization for candidates. They use their longevity and familiarity with the campaign world to connect candidates to resources and provide discounted services. Similarly, Paul Herrnson's (2009) conceptualization of



the new party as an enduring multilayered coalition is a valuable tool for understanding the role of parties in modern elections and women's campaigns. The new party coalition is made up of actors that were not traditionally understood to be part of the party in organization. Herrnson included party-connected committees, leadership PACs, and allied interest groups. Together, this coalition, where strong, works together to maximize party strategy. Since this increasingly means allocating money, the new multilayered party can be a very important channeling organization for funds. However, the impact of this coalition on female candidate fundraising is extremely variant and difficult to predict. The quantitative portion of this research does not look specifically at donations from parties (except in Chapter Four). However, the interview data addresses the relevance of parties to the overall campaign fundraising experience of female candidates.

There is substantial women and politics research on party recruitment and encouragement of women. At the state and local level, this includes discussions of where parties actually matter and where they might be most likely to support female candidates with money and other resources (Carroll 1994; Crowder-Meyer 2013; Norrander & Wilcox 2005; Rozell 2008; Sanbonmatsu 2002, 2006). However, network homogeneity still negatively impacted women, who are less likely than men to be acquainted with states party elites. Melody Crowder-Meyer (2013) noted that party leaders who recruit from within the party rather than from external networks are less likely to recruit women – a finding that illustrates the continuing gender disparity within party leader networks. Broockman and his colleagues (2014) found that local party

leaders exhibit little bias against women specifically. Yet, Niven's four-state study of political actors revealed that women of both parties frequently felt discouraged by male actors who did not seem supportive and were sometimes openly hostile (1998).

Anthony Gierzynski (1992) noted that party thinking is very subjective and context-dependent. This is important since prior research shows that women running for state legislatures are more likely than men to describe party money as important to their race (Jenkins 2007). Women desire party support and feel more comfortable running for office when they know that they will have the financial backing and endorsement of the party (CAWP 2009).

The literature's focus on recruitment bias rather than donation bias is related to the belief that parties fund competitive women at the same rate as equally competitive men. For example, Michael Barber and his colleagues found that parties donated as much to women as to similarly-situated men (2014) in state legislative elections. Rebekah Herrick (1996) found that women received party dollars without bias in state legislative open-seat, general election races. While it may seem unnecessary to further investigate parties given these findings, parties act as gatekeepers to other donor and are often experts in the campaign process in their states. Therefore, they are worth including, especially during exploratory interviews, to help inform the direction of the study.

***Republican women and party financial support.*** Gender parity in officeholding cannot be achieved with Democratic women alone. Yet, evidence from congressional studies suggests that Republican women may face added fundraising challenges. For

example, Democratic women are better able to capitalize on support from women and party-networked donors (Thomsen & Swers 2017). Though women are more occasional donors than men (Burrell 2014), Democratic candidates benefit from a larger number of party-allied donors such as women's groups (Thomsen & Swers 2017). Democratic women are also more likely to be in leadership roles within the national Democratic Party. This is important; Barbara Burrell (2010) notes Democratic women's great propensity to give attention to women's fundraising while serving in leadership roles. For example, Burrell notes that,

*In the 107th Congress (2001-2) Congresswoman Nita Lowey of New York chaired the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and Senator Patty Murray chaired the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee. In 1999, Lowey had founded Women Lead, a fundraising subsidiary of the DCCC to target women donors and contributors to women candidates... In the 2001-2 elections cycle, that committee raised approximately \$25 million for women candidates (2010, 221).*

These high-profile Democratic examples illustrate the potential value of support from other women in the party. Yet, in a rare study of Republican primaries, Political Parity found that Republican female congressional candidates are more likely to have a primary challenger and lack the support from women's PACs that many Democratic women receive. Further, Republican congresswomen do not benefit from early money (Francia 2001) from women's PACs. Women's PACs and their role in state legislative elections are described at the end of this literature review and in Chapter Five.

Party strategic behavior in the 50 states tends to hurt minority and Republican women who are less likely to be viewed as winning candidates and who are known to be successful in a more limited number of districts (Sanbonmatsu 2006; Crowder-Meyer

2013).<sup>9</sup> Similarly, at the local level, a more-recent paper examines the influence of donors on women's representation. Specifically, "the extent to which party elites – including donors – coordinate and agree to pool resources in support of candidates who will represent overlapping agendas" (Crowder-Meyer & Cooperman 2017, 5). The paper concludes that Republican elite donors, who are part of the modern networked party, do not respond to gendered demands. They are less likely to donate specifically to female candidates in order to achieve their goals. Such differences in donor behavior may be especially important during the primary phase of elections when money from individual donors is most important. Institutional donors including parties tend to stay out of primaries while they wait for a best choice candidate to emerge.

**Women of color and the double disadvantage.** Chapter Four addresses another understudied area of women's fundraising, donations to women of color. Women of color may be considered doubly disadvantaged (Prestage 1977) because racial and gender stereotypes intersect to form a specific campaign experience for these women. Nonwhite women are more likely than their Caucasian counterparts to live in poverty – a socioeconomic reality that raises the bar to entry into a campaign world that is expensive and dominated by those in a narrow group of professional occupations. Women of color are also more likely to have encountered efforts to discourage their

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<sup>9</sup> Kira Sanbonmatsu asks, "Do the political parties know that 'women win?'" (2006). This question emphasizes the general lack of knowledge of elite perceptions of female candidate potential. Using the State Legislative Leader Survey (N = 429), which included data from 45 states in 2002, Sanbonmatsu found that party leaders believe that one sex has an electoral advantage. Many believe that men have an advantage. While others believe that women can have an advantage depending on outside factors. Again, data on women's interaction with parties at the recruitment phase (as well as with regard to fundraising) exhibits an incredible amount of variance.

candidacies, meaning they have surmounted higher hurdles to run for office (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, & Walsh 2009). Still, some disputes to the double disadvantage argument have arisen more recently (Bejarano 2013; Silva & Skulley 2018). For example, Christina Bejarano (2013) described some distinct electoral benefits for Latinas such as their ability to build coalitions across multiple identity categories and deep community organizing experience. The success of female candidates of color is also contrary to the double disadvantage narrative. In some contexts, women of color may actually have an advantage (Bejarao 2013). However, there is not yet research that indicates a distinct *fundraising* advantage for women of color.

A growing congressional literature details the campaign experiences of women of color, including work on voter stereotypes and media coverage of black and Latina congresswomen (Gershon 2013) and descriptive and substantive representation (Bedolla et. al. 2014; Hardy-Fanta et. al. 2006; Orey et. al. 2006). However, congressional studies of campaign finance do not typically consider race in their analysis. This is due to data limitations - most campaign finance data sets do not include a variable for the race of the candidate or elected official - and the problem of statistical significance. For example, there are not enough Asian American or Native American women in Congress to achieve statistical significance in all studies. The large concentration of women of color in the Democratic Party also complicates fundraising studies since party has an impact on where and when candidates of both sexes are likely to raise money. However, the congressional literature has shown that women's PACs can be extremely helpful to black women specifically (Gamble 2010). For example,

Katrina Gamble (2010) noted that congressional candidates Yvette Clarke (D-NY) and Donna Edwards (D-MD) both gained significant advantage against their black male competitors when they received support from the powerful PAC EMILY's List.

State legislative research includes work on the characteristics of states that support minority representation (Darcy et. al. 1997), the policy impact of the electing female legislators of color (Barrett 2001; Bratton and Haynie 1999; Smooth 2001) and the legislative experiences of women of color once elected (Barrett 2001). Recruitment studies are also prevalent. Kira Sanbonmatsu (2015) illustrates the important role that campaign trainings specifically for women of color can play in election of black, Latina, and Asian-Pacific Islander women to state legislative offices. She notes, "voters, donors, and party leaders are thought to react differently to women of color compared with other types of candidates, leading to unique campaign challenges" (150) that may be addressed in trainings that help recruit women. None of this research is fundraising-focused. It is likely that there are unique fundraising challenges too.

A growing proportion of the research on women of color in state legislatures concentrates on women of one particular race or ethnicity as opposed to all non-white women. Women of color is an essentializing term and as the number of non-white female candidates and officeholders increases, it is possible to conduct better specified research. The literature on black women in state legislatures is fast-accumulating and highlights the importance of black women to the overall increase in minority and female legislative representation. Wendy Smooth finds that the number of black women in office is growing at a faster rate than that of white women or black men - a fact which is

attributed to black women's higher levels of candidate quality when they do run (2014). In fact, both black women and Latinas are largely responsible for the officeholding gains of their respective groups over the past few decades (Hardy-Fanta 2006; Smooth 2006). Black women and Latinas have been more successful in winning state legislative elected office than white women and minority men (Junn & Brown 2008; Scola 2006). Similarly, Angela Frederick notes that,

*one of the most interesting dynamics in political representation today...[is that], by many accounts women of color have a better success record in seeking and winning elective office than both white women and minority men (Frederick 2013, 115).*

Life experiences help black women, as well as Latinas, to build a more confident narrative or identity performance (Frederick 2013) when they run for office. Frederick also notes that, “women must craft responses to questions of political ambition that make known their desire to be considered viable candidates without violating gender norms that call women to present themselves with selflessness and humility” (2013, 113). More accustomed to breaking norms of femininity, Frederick suggests that black women and Latinas may feel more comfortable expressing their desire to run as well as actually running. Black women’s involvement in political and social movements (Collins 2000) and longer tradition of religious and community leadership are credited with helping to build greater levels of political ambition and comfort with leadership (Smooth 2014). In fact, all women of color hold a larger proportion of the seats held by their respective racial/ethnic groups in the U.S. Congress and in state legislatures than the proportion held by white women (Garcia Bedolla, Tate, & Wong 2005; Hardy-Fanta et al. 2006; Scola 2006).

Given these realities, much of the literature on non-white women's candidacies has understandably focused on how they become candidates as opposed to the campaign process. Fundraising has not been a focal point partly because recent scholarship has emphasized the success of non-white female candidates. The recent literature is extremely valuable and can now be built upon with studies of candidate fundraising across different racial and ethnic groups. Just as all women's fundraising successes cannot be accepted as evidence of a gender-neutral fundraising environment, the electoral successes of women of color should not result in the neglect of research into challenges that take place during the campaign process.

With regard to black women, it is important to note that such legislators still tend to represent less affluent districts (CAWP & Higher Heights Leadership Fund 2015).<sup>10</sup> They may also have less access to wealthy donor networks, which makes fundraising more difficult. Additional research on how women of color experience the process of campaign fundraising may be even more valuable in light of their successes. As non-white women make additional electoral gains, more women of color will need to run outside the majority-minority districts that most currently represent (Hardy-Fanta et. al. 2006). Outside these districts, fundraising could be more complicated.

**Women's groups in the 50 states.** The final empirical chapter of this work is focused on women's PACs, as well as women's donor groups more broadly. At the national-level, women's fundraising success is often attributed to the influence of

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<sup>10</sup> However, the black community is not a monolith (Brown 2014). Class divides pervade the black community. Black elites have better access to fundraising dollars.



women's PACs such as EMILY's List. PACs bundle contributions to women's campaigns (Frederick 2004; Burrell 2006; Jenkins 2007). They also provide funding in the early stages of women's campaigns (Burrell 2010; Gierzynski 1993) and during primaries (Burrell 2010), activities that are viewed as especially important (Biersack, Herrnson, & Wilcox 1993). Christine Day and Charles Hadley (2005) describe women's PACs as a vital to women's candidacies, "bringing women into positions of power by mastering the political money game." Particularly for Democrats, women's PACs promote the appearance of a gender-neutral campaign environment by boosting campaign receipts. Yet, because they are viewed as a positive force for women, their role in the fundraising process is rarely questioned. In fact, the importance of PACs is perhaps the least disputed claim in the women and politics fundraising literature. As Sue Thomas notes, this emphasis can distort the literature's findings.

*The existence and success [of PACs such as] EMILY's List and WISH List has, to great extent, trained our gaze away from evidence that women still have a harder time raising money from traditional sources (Thomas 2005, 10).*

While Thomas' critique is troubling for the congressional fundraising literature, it is even more serious in the state context. Claims of women's PAC success are often wrongly attributed to the experience of women candidates in the states. This occurs despite, or perhaps because of, the lack of systematic study of state PACs.

There are many examples of state women's PACs, though most are progressive rather than conservative. The Center for American Women and Politics found 47 state-based women's PACs in 2014. While the congressional literature does not claim that women's PACs are sufficient to elect greater numbers women, this work does claim that

women's PACs are necessary – especially for Democrats. As such, it is necessary to investigate the donation patterns of women's PACs in the states to see if they give early money to candidates, if they bundle contributions to candidates, and if they provide a significant source of campaign funding for such candidates. State-level women's PACs are not known to provide the same assistance to women that they do at the national level. Proper placement of women's PACs within the state literature might help clarify some of the fundraising process in the states. At least, it should help differentiate state context from congressional context.<sup>11</sup>

Importantly, an increase in giving by state women's PACs would disadvantage Republican women. Most state women's PACs are liberal or Democratic (Political Parity 2012). Therefore, to the extent that women's PACs do help women get elected to state office Republican women will actually be further disadvantaged rather than empowered. In fact, research shows that the strength of women's groups in states does disproportionately benefit Democratic women, though this finding is not specific to women's PACs (Elder 2012). Given the dearth of Republican women in elective office, this is a valuable point for future study. A focus on women's PACs may help scholars better understand the campaign finance environment that female candidates face across the states.

As much as scholars of women and politics have touted the importance of women's PACs, they have also failed to ask questions about the capacity of these PACs

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<sup>11</sup> Since the datasets utilized include data on all donors, I will also look for donations from national women's PACs to state races. These national to state transfers are understudied and evidence about their existence is antidotal and usually discussed in the context of one or a small group of races.

to raise more money as the number of female candidates grows. Additionally, there is a lack of inquiry regarding what the prominence of women's PACs as funders of female candidates, especially Democratic candidates, says about the gendered nature of running for office.<sup>12</sup> Equal receipts do not necessarily equal a lack of procedural bias.

Further, state-level research provides no clearly delimited parameters by which to define a women's group. Most studies of women's groups focus on recruitment as these groups are often involved in asking women to run for office (Dittmar 2015). Democratic women's PACs and non-partisan women's groups that are nonprofits are especially prominent in this area. By default, these organizations may be among the most commonly understood as state women's groups. However, in addition to women's PACs, women's groups can play an important role in supporting women's candidacies both financially, with in-kind contributions, and otherwise.

### **Conclusion: The Intersection of Women and Politics Research and Campaign Finance**

This dissertation strives to shed light on the difference between the perception of some female candidates and the literature's focus on women's fundraising success. It helps close a research gap by conducting a mixed method, 50-state investigation of female state legislative campaign fundraising with a focus on primary elections, race/ethnic differences between female legislators, and state-based women's donor groups. This work helps clarify where and under what conditions women might rightly observe

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<sup>12</sup> Practically, for those who'd like to elect more women, women's PACs are a positive development. Theoretically, such PACs may be more problematic. The level playing field is partially dependent on entities that consider candidate sex to be one of the most important variables related to funding decisions. If such organizations disappeared, we do not know if other funders would fill the gaps in women's campaign budgets. If women do not receive support via the same pathways as men; this may provide preliminary evidence that the campaign environment is not gender-neutral.

gender bias with regard to fundraising. I thus expand the literature on the fundraising problem, which I argue has not been resolved. I also identify areas where practitioners invested in parity might find opportunities to strengthen Republican, female candidates' fundraising networks and support the many Democratic female candidates who already look to women's donor groups for financial assistance. This study contributes to advancing a deeper understanding of the state-legislative campaign fundraising process. Scholars who emphasize aggregate receipts find no fundraising bias. Alternatively, those who emphasize the process of fundraising - how much time it takes, which donors are mostly like to give, average donation size, and the primary - are more likely to find a gender-specific challenge. My research is situated within the latter body of work. I believe that such research is of great benefit to political science because currently, "the existence of the gender gap [in fundraising] depends on the measure one uses" (Barber, Butler, & Preece 2014, 2).

## Chapter Two: Data and Methods

There is a notable difference between the beliefs of some female elected officials about a gendered fundraising challenge and academic studies of campaign receipts, which highlight the strength of female candidate fundraising. These studies are predominately of congressional candidates and arguably too focused on perception as the sole reason for women's assertion of a fundraising challenge. For example, Jennifer Lawless and Richard Fox (2010) find that women are socialized to believe that fundraising is hard and that they will experience a fundraising bias, although they actually will not face gendered challenges. While such conclusions are important, they risk blaming the victim for women's underrepresentation and do not provide the full picture of women's experience. Further, these studies tend to focus on the final receipts as opposed to the campaign fundraising journey as a whole. Studies that take aggregate receipts as their unit of analysis typically find no fundraising bias. In fact, some of these studies have even "shifted the focus" (Burrell 2003, 82) to women's possible fundraising advantage.

Yet, disaggregation of the many complex and interconnected challenges described by female candidates throughout the campaign process is difficult. As Timothy Werner and Kenneth Mayer state, context is everything with regard to campaigns. While not writing specifically about fundraising, Werner and Mayer address how difficult it can be to isolate gender effects. They write,

*The effects of gender on campaigning...are contextual: they are difficult to detect, far from constant, and reflect a myriad of institutional, strategic, political, demographic, and campaign-specific factors* (Werner & Mayer 2007, 661).

This work attempts to better understand the campaign fundraising process by delving more deeply into some of its many nuances.

### **Research Questions and Plan of Substantive Chapters**

As noted in Chapter One, my research has two central objectives: to better understand female candidates' perceptions of campaign fundraising (from primary to election day) and to paint a clearer picture of the mechanisms by which female candidates reach their final fundraising numbers. This work has three empirical chapters. The key questions addressed within these chapters work collectively to piece together a puzzle of women's campaign fundraising experiences.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter Three, is a first-of-its-kind, multi-year, 50-state study of primary election donations from individual donors. Chapter Three asks several research questions. How much time do male and female candidates report spending on fundraising during primary elections? Do male and/ or female campaign donors exhibit a gender affinity bias when donating to primary election candidates? If so, does this impact the average number of donations received by male and female primary election candidates from same-sex and opposite-sex donors? Does a gender affinity bias impact the average amount of individual donations made to female candidates as compared to their male counterparts? If present, how does individual donor gender affinity bias impact the overall campaign experiences of female candidates?

Chapter Three was inspired by exploratory interviews. Data from 120 interview conversations suggested that women with competitive primaries viewed this portion of

the campaign as a source of great financial stress and trepidation. This is not necessarily unique to female candidates. Primary elections are a difficult time in which to fundraise due to a lack of party and institutional donor participation. Many candidates fear primaries, during which they must rely heavily on their personal donor networks. Yet, these realities combined with female candidate apprehension are an excellent justification for the study of individual primary donations. Men and women have different donor networks during general elections and that this can affect how much money they received from individuals (Barber et. al. 2016). To my knowledge, no 50-state legislative study has addressed the ways in which these realities impact primary campaign fundraising, despite the fact that individual donors are even more important during primary campaigns. Primary elections are understudied due to data limitations. We must better understand this phase of elections if we hope to understand female candidates' fundraising experience. Especially since women are more likely than their male colleagues to attract a primary challenger.

Finally, an analysis of a survey created by the Joint Project on Term Limits found that women with competitive primary elections were the most likely to state that female candidates spent more time fundraising than their male counterparts. While this survey is limited to one year, its data is valuable. Surveys have rarely asked candidates about fundraising time. While this data is entirely perceptual, it speaks to women's understanding of the campaign process.

Chapter Four asks how female candidates of color experience the process of fundraising during general elections. What fundraising challenges do women of color

perceive during their campaigns? How do the mean individual donations made to winning,<sup>1</sup> female candidates of color compare to their white female counterparts during general elections? Are the mean donations from individual donors, party donors, women's donor groups, and other committee donors made to winning, female candidates of color lower than the mean donations to their white female counterparts during general elections when controlling for competition, professionalization, and candidate status? This chapter is exploratory and compares white women to non-white women. All other chapters compare women to women as well as women to men. Data does not allow for comparisons to men in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five asks which groups count as women's donor groups in the 50 states. This question is necessary because prior research has not attempted to identify the full universe of state-level women's groups that make monetary donations to female candidates. Part of the contribution of this chapter is that it creates a comprehensive list of women's donor groups in the 50-states. Beyond CAWP's Resource Map, which includes a narrower range of organizations, such a list did not exist previously. The first question forms the basis of the second two questions of Chapter Five. How many women's donor groups exist in the 50 states? How are women's donor groups involved in state legislative elections if at all? The last question is important because women's donor groups, especially Democratic groups, are known to be fundraising powerhouses during congressional elections but are rarely studied at the state-level. Chapter Six

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<sup>1</sup> Data on state legislators of color was provided by the Center for American Women and Politics. Only winning candidates are included in the data provided. Therefore, this portion of the study is limited to general election winners.



summarizes the most interesting findings from the empirical chapters and makes suggestions for future research.

### **Introduction to Data Sources**

In designing this research project, the goal was to take a more comprehensive look at the campaign process than has been done by prior research. As such, I employed a mixed methods approach to the exploration of campaign finance. Most campaign finance studies are quantitative. This project is based on 120 original interviews conducted in four states, analysis of two surveys, quantitative analysis of the Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME), and the use of data on candidate race provided by the Center for American Women and Politics. The first survey, the 2008 Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) Recruitment Study helped provide context and rationale for the selection of states for interviews. The second survey, the 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits (JTPL) State Legislator Survey is discussed along with interview data and campaign finance data in Chapter Three and Chapter Four. Both Chapter Three and Chapter Four also utilize the DIME database; Chapter Four also incorporates CAWP's data on race. Chapter Five utilizes the DIME database as well as interview data. The following pages will describe each data source in detail as well as the methodologies utilized for this project.

**2008 Center for American Women and Politics Recruitment Study.** The following paragraphs detail my use of the CAWP recruitment study to inform the early phases of this dissertation project. The CAWP survey is described in more detail than other data sources because the selection of interview states was partially based upon CAWP's survey results.

CAWP is part of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey. The Center is a widely recognized repository for electoral statistics and original women and politics research. In 2008, CAWP conducted a mail, web, and phone, survey of elected officials across the United States. It was titled the Recruitment Studies and included mayors of large cities, state assembly members from all 50 states, and state senators from all 50 states<sup>2</sup>. The survey instrument was designed to replicate a 1981 CAWP study about gender and pathways to elective office. Like the 1981 study, the more recent survey focused on the gendered aspects of running for state senate, state assembly, and a mayoral seat. The survey data provides, “an unprecedented look at how women reach the legislatures” (Sanbonmatsu et. al. 2009).

CAWP’s 2008 survey of state senate and assembly members asked a total of 39 questions, some of which were multipart. If all multipart questions are counted separately, there are a total of 50 questions on the entire survey. Of these 50 questions, 4% or two questions, Question 33 and a 33a, ask about fundraising. While this number may seem low, it is actually notable for two reasons. Firstly, in the last fifteen years, the CAWP survey is the only major survey of state elected officials that uses a gender lens. Secondly, there is little survey data on state legislative fundraising that this contribution is significant despite its minimal focus on raising money. In fact, this survey represents some of the best large-N data on female candidate perceptions of fundraising collected in the past 50 years. “The 2008 CAWP Recruitment Study is the most comprehensive survey of state legislators’ routes to office ever conducted” (Sanbonmatsu et. al. 2009).

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<sup>2</sup> The exception being Nebraska, which was included but has a unicameral legislature.

CAWP's sample size included the entire population of female state senators (N=423) across all 50 states and the entire population of female state assembly members (N=1,314) across all 50 states. In addition to female senators and assembly members, CAWP surveyed a random sample of male state senators and assembly members from all 50 states.<sup>3</sup> The overall response rate was 36.5% of state legislative elected officials (senators and assembly members) (N=1,268). 561 of the total assembly member and state senate respondents were male and 707 of the total respondents were female.

CAWP found that 56% of women surveyed stated that it was harder for women than men to raise money.<sup>4</sup> When asked to explain this gendered difficulty in more detail,<sup>5</sup> “the single most important reason [was]... that women do not have the same networks as men. This response was offered by 41% of women state representatives who agreed that women have greater difficulty raising money” (Sanbonmatsu et. al. 2009, 23). CAWP’s results are described in detail here because they have interesting implications for this project. Chapter Three asks if there is a gender affinity bias among individual donors. Another way to ask this question is, are donor networks gendered? Female legislators seemed to be answering that question affirmatively when taking CAWP’s survey. Beyond its relevance to Chapter Three, female candidate responses to

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<sup>3</sup> These elected officials were selected in proportion to the number of women in the sample; they were stratified by state to maintain regional diversity. The combined total of male and female state senators and state assembly members included in the sample was N=3,528.

<sup>4</sup> 97.3% of survey respondents answered Question 33, which dealt with the issue of raising money.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly, 96.8% of respondents answered Question 33a, which delved deeper into women’s possible fundraising challenges.

the question of a perceived fundraising challenge had the potential to be further analyzed for the purpose of interview state selection.

To that end, I disaggregated the responses of female officeholders to the questions above. I found that women who lived in states with professionalized legislatures, the legislatures where running for office is the most expensive, were the most likely to believe that fundraising is more difficult for women. In other words, women perceived a gendered fundraising challenge where money mattered most. Oppositely, male legislators tended to believe that fundraising challenges were gender-neutral. This belief was not affected by legislative professionalization.

Table 1

*Fundraising is Harder for Women Than It Is for Men*

N = 707 female respondents

Least Professional	50% of women think fundraising is harder for women
Somewhat Professional	55% of women think fundraising is harder for women
Most Professional	70% of women think fundraising is harder for women

Source: 2008 CAWP Recruitment Study

The fact that such a large percentage of women in professionalized states, 70%, believed that fundraising was harder for women suggested that a focus on these states was appropriate for the interview phase of the project. As Peverill Squire and Gary Moncrief (2010) note, “many differences exist [between states] ...in some states...campaigns may indeed look a lot like congressional campaigns [with regard to money]” (69). In these states, money is quintessential to campaigns. By looking at these

states, this project examines the importance of money in the context where money is the most critical to women and their campaigns. As such, state cases were selected from the universe of professionalized states. The operationalization of the variable professionalization and the full method of state selection is described in the methodology section.

**2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State Legislator Survey.** In addition to the 2008 CAWP Recruitment Study and exploratory interviews, this project utilized the 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State (JPTL) Legislator Survey as a data source. As previously noted, this research has two central objectives: to better understand female candidate's perceptions of campaign fundraising from primary to election day. The JPTL State Legislator Survey conducted in 2002, provided details on female candidate perception, specifically, the challenge of campaign fundraising time. These details are presented in Chapter Three along with the discussion of primary campaign fundraising challenges.

The JPTL Survey (2002) was part of a larger study and was conducted by John Carey, Richard Niemi, Lynda Powell, and Gary Moncrief. The survey is part of a larger investigative project on the impact of term limits, which is a collaborative effort among the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Council of State Governments, the State Legislative Leaders Foundation, and the small group of legislative scholars previously listed. While the survey utilized here is the only survey instrument fielded in association with the project, continued data collection is occurring in the form of state case studies.

The 2002 survey of state legislators was designed to update and expand a 1995 survey by Carey, Niemi, and Powell (ICPSR 3021). Many of the questions were the same. State legislators were asked about their careers, bill sponsorship, and importance of information available to them, policy area specialization, and time they spent on legislative duties and tasks (NCSL 2015). The latter was most important for the purposes of this project because it included questions on time spent fundraising.

The survey's concern for fundraising was limited to the connection between raising money and term limits. Further, the instrument did not utilize a gendered lens either as applied to question design or question analysis. However, given the information that can be derived from several items, the Joint Project on Term Limits survey provided a wealth of data on how much time male and female elected officials spent fundraising during their campaigns. The analysis of this survey will be described in the methodology section below.

**DIME.** Quantitative data was derived from Adam Bonica's Database on Ideology, Money in Politics and Elections (DIME 2013). As the DIME codebook notes, "contribution records...[were] provided by the National Institute on Money in State Politics (NIMSP)" (Bonica 2016, 6). The DIME database provides comprehensive state legislative data on donor name, donor type (committee or individual) and donor gender, recipient type (including candidate status [incumbent, challenger, or open seat candidate] and the candidate's gender) the amount of each donation, and the type of race to which the donation was made (primary, general, or special). DIME is publicly available from Stanford's Social Science Data Collection. This is an online repository and

is the most-complete source of state legislative campaign finance data published to-date. The DIME consists of a group of spreadsheets; there is one for each campaign cycle from 1990 to 2014 (with additional years continually being added). The repository also contains a separate candidate database with details regarding every candidate that run for office between 1990 and 2014. By merging these sheets, I was able to utilize the wealth of data provided by DIME to investigate the process of female candidate fundraising, especially any challenges that women might face during the primary and when raising funds from distinct donor types including parties, women's donor groups, and individuals.

**Center for American Women and Politics data on women of color.** Chapter Four asks how female candidates of color experience the process of fundraising from primary to election day. Data on race/ ethnicity was derived from CAWP's women of color facts sheets for the election cycles from 2000 through 2010. CAWP's data provides a list of female African American, Latina, or Asian/ Pacific Islander state legislators. Race/ ethnic data on male state legislators was not included. Therefore, Chapter Four compares women to non-white women and does not include male legislators. Further, while most of this dissertation investigates all candidates (both winning and losing), Chapter Four is an investigation of donations to legislators during general elections. CAWP does not track the race/ ethnicity of losing candidates. To be included in Chapter Four's analysis of general elections, a candidate must have won their general election. Campaign financing is a long, arduous journey and interviews suggest that the paths of women of color diverge from their white peers. This chapter is useful despite data limitations sine

there is very little quantitative 50-state research on women of color and campaign finance.

As previously noted, in designing this research project, the goal was to take a more comprehensive look at the campaign process than has been done by prior research. As such, a mixed methods approach was employed. Data sources include: 120 original interviews conducted in four states, quantitative analysis of the Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME), a brief analysis of the 2008 Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) Recruitment Study that helped provide context and justification for the selection of states for interviews, and analysis of the 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State Legislator Survey. CAWP state legislator race data was also used to make comparisons between female legislators in Chapter Four. What follows explicates the methodologies used to examine these data sources.

### **Methodology**

The following section describes, in detail, the selection method utilized for choosing states for the purpose of conducting interviews. These exploratory interviews motivated the research questions posed throughout this work and informed the quantitative portion of this study. Quantitative methods are also described in some detail, with more detail included in the relevant chapter.

**State selection for interviews.** In *Case Study Research Design and Methods*

Robert Yin (2003) defines case study research as,

*an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin 2003, 13).*



In other words, case studies provide an in-depth picture of a set of occurrences in their real-world setting. While not providing the level of depth of true state case studies, the selection of states for the interview portion of this project was modeled after case study selection. This method is best for disaggregating a complex occurrence like fundraising, which is notoriously context dependent and difficult to generalize. Ground-level interaction with state actors is indispensable to full recognition of what occurs - or is perceived to occur - during the fundraising process. Each state is its own political environment. However, the collection of interview data in every state would be quite arduous. Case study methodology allows for the selection of states that can serve as a representative subset of all 50 states.

These states were selected using the least similar, microcosmic method with accounting for professionalization and competition as well as region, campaign finance laws, and women's groups. This strategy was employed immediately after an initial winnowing of states based on an examination of the Center for American Women and Politics 2008 Recruitment Study described below. The ultimate goal of most studies of donations to female candidates is to solve the puzzle of women's low representation. This case selection method is in line with that larger arc of women and politics research. The most effective settings in which to explore new topics related to women and campaign finance are the sites where additional data could help move women toward equal representation. In this case, that meant following the money to where the money matters most while considering other variables to capture contextual diversity.

***State legislative professionalization and state selection.*** Based on my analysis of CAWP survey data, a variable for state legislative professionalization was used to narrow the universe of potential interview states. Professionalization was calculated using the well-known Squire measure. According to Squire, “a state legislature’s professionalism score is based on its legislator pay, number of days in session, and staff per legislator, all compared to those characteristics in Congress” (Squire 2007, 224). The Squire measure ranges from zero to one. One is equivalent to the highest level of professionalization – the same level as Congress. James King describes this measure as such,

*Squire's (1992) technique... rests on the notion that Congress represents America's most professional legislature (Polsby 1975, 297). State legislative compensation, days in session, and number of staff members per legislator for each state are recalculated as of traits of proportions corresponding Congress and averaged to produce the index (King 2000, 329).*

The Squire measure is well suited for use with data that spans a long period of time, such as the data utilized in this project. The quantitative portion of this study contains data from 1990 to 2010. The interview portion includes candidates who were elected between 1990 and 2014. JPTL and CAWP survey data was gathered in 2002 and 2008 respectively but only one measure of professionalization is utilized throughout my project.<sup>6</sup> State Squire measures obviously can change over time, but most changes to professionalism levels occurred prior to 1970 and, therefore, do not impact the time period covered by this study King notes that professionalization leveled off in the early

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<sup>6</sup> While these data sources are not directly comparable, they paint a picture of campaign finance beginning in 1990. As such, it seemed valuable to note changes to professionalization from 1990 onward, a process which indicated relative stability.

1990s with most states remaining in the same rank each year. Further, recent measures of legislative professionalism exhibit a good deal of stability, especially at the poles. A sampling of calculations of the Squire measure highlight the stability of the metric and therefore its value for state selection. Table 2 shows the relative stability of the measure; as such, I use one metric of professionalism to select interview states.

Table 2

*State Professionalization Scores*

<b>State</b>	<b>1993-4 Rank</b>	<b>1993-4 Mean</b>	<b>2003 Rank</b>	<b>2003 Mean</b>	<b>2009 Rank</b>	<b>2009 Mean</b>
Alabama	43	.142	45	.078	45	.078
Alaska	4	.447	10	.249	12	.217
Arizona	18	.279	9	.256	8	.271
Arkansas	41	.152	42	.114	42	.110
California	1	.9	1	.675	2	.581
Colorado	20	.273	15	.227	16	.199
Connecticut	12	.315	16	.217	17	.196
Delaware	33	.193	28	.163	30	.159
Florida	9	.346	14	.229	15	.210
Georgia	44	.136	39	.127	38	.116
Hawaii	13	.315	12	.239	9	.262
Idaho	37	.166	29	.161	36	.120
Illinois	7	.382	8	.285	6	.281
Indiana	34	.19	41	.114	22	.174
Iowa	27	.238	22	.197	24	.167
Kansas	36	.178	31	.147	31	.140
Kentucky	38	.165	27	.163	33	.137
Louisiana	22	.247	36	.138	26	.163
Maine	40	.158	43	.104	43	.088
Maryland	21	.267	18	.212	19	.189
Massachusetts	10	.333	4	.444	7	.280
Michigan	3	0.503	5	.367	4	.461
Minnesota	25	0.245	23	.186	27	.162
Mississippi	29	0.215	38	.127	39	.115
Missouri	15	0.295	21	.198	18	.194
Montana	42	0.148	44	.089	44	.079
Nebraska	24	0.246	24	.182	25	.166

Nevada	31	0.198	32	.145	29	.159
New Hampshire	50	0.061	50	.003	50	.031
New Jersey	8	0.369	11	.247	11	.221
New Mexico	48	0.086	40	.115	40	.110
New York	2	0.655	2	.513	1	.606
North Carolina	16	0.281	13	.232	21	.180
North Dakota	46	0.102	49	.059	49	.049
Ohio	5	0.432	7	.345	5	.380
Oklahoma	17	0.281	19	.208	20	.181
Oregon	23	0.247	25	.176	23	.172
Pennsylvania	6	0.403	6	.356	3	.479
Rhode Island	32	0.194	30	.149	34	.134
South Carolina	30	0.208	33	.143	28	.161
South Dakota	45	0.108	46	.076	47	.068
Tennessee	35	0.182	37	.132	37	.118
Texas	28	0.226	20	.205	14	.210
Utah	47	0.101	47	.075	46	.072
Vermont	19	0.276	26	.174	32	.138
Virginia	26	0.243	34	.141	46	.077
Washington	14	0.296	17	.213	15	.209
West Virginia	39	0.163	35	.140	41	.109
Wisconsin	11	0.331	3	.513	3	.500
Wyoming	49	0.074	48	.062	48	.057

This table was adapted from: *Measuring State Legislative Professionalism: The Squire Index Revisited* (2007), *101 Chambers: Congress, State Legislatures, and the Future of Legislative Studies, State Legislatures Today: Politics Under the Domes* (2000), and *Changes in Professionalism in U.S. State Legislatures* (2000).

The table above illustrates the overall consistency of professionalization scores overtime. While some states have seen more variation than others, on the whole consistency is the story of state legislative professionalization. Professionalization is therefore a valuable case selection metric based on both its importance in the CAWP data described above and its reliability. Further, the same professionalization variable can be used during other portions of this study even though not all data sources span the same period of time.

The CAWP data illustrated in Table 1 shows that women from the top two third most professionalized states were more than 50% likely to think that fundraising was more difficult for women than for men. As such, all states in the top two thirds of professionalized states at some point during the time period sampled were included as potential cases study states. The bottom one third was dropped from consideration. This initial winnowing of states helped target states where money matters most and where women were likely to have opinions on the challenges that female candidates face with regard to fundraising. This was important since interviews were exploratory and intended to capture new data on women's campaign finance experience. The inclusion of all states that were considered very or somewhat professionalized during several points in time recognized the fact that potential interviewees would have been elected at various points in their state's professionalization history.

***Competition for seats within state legislatures and state selection.*** In addition to professionalization, states were winnowed from the pool of potential interview states based on their levels of district competition. Professionalized states also tend to be competitive, and frequent competition is a proven driver of costs (Hogan 2000; Moncrief 1998; Thompson, Cassie, & Jewell 1994; Jacobson 1997; Katz 1994). A focus on states that are both professionalized and competitive effectively eliminates those where studies of campaign finance are of the least consequence.

There are two popular methods by which to measure competition. First, chamber competition can be operationalized according to the Ranney Index, which ranges from zero to 100. Zero represents complete Republican control and 100

represents complete Democratic control. Less control by either party represents more competition. Many prior researchers have calculated the Ranney Index. For example, Sarah Morehouse and Malcolm Jewell (2003) ranked states from 1980 to 2000, and Thomas Holbrook and Raymond La Raja (2013) ranked states from 1948 to 2011. The Ranney Index is currently the most utilized measure of competition in state politics research, but it is not the most appropriate for this study. Instead, I used a newer measure created by Thomas Holbrook and Emily Van Dunk. Their method focuses not on the overall level of party competition in each state but on the number of competitive districts. It is most appropriate for exploratory research on individual candidate experiences with campaign finance. States with the most competitive districts are also the most likely to produce candidates with memorable campaign finance experiences; the relationship between district competition and cost is difficult to overstate. I utilized the Holbrook and VanDunk measures calculated by Shufeldt and Flavin (2012) from 1990 to 1999 and, as with professionalization, I eliminated states that were in the bottom one third during every year for which competition was measured. Table 3 lists states that were professionalized and competitive according to the Squire professionalization measure and the Holbrook and VanDunk competition measure.

Table 3

*Professionalized and Competitive States / States Included in Possible Interview Universe*

Alaska	Minnesota
California	Mississippi
Colorado	Nebraska
Connecticut	Nevada
Florida	New Jersey
Hawaii	New York
Idaho	North Carolina
Indiana	Ohio
Iowa	Oklahoma
Kansas	Oregon
Louisiana	South Carolina
Maryland	Vermont
Michigan	Washington

This method resulted in a state selection universe of twenty-six states that were professionalized and competitive enough to be included.

***Region and state selection.*** This final narrowing used the least similar method of case selection with special attention to regional diversity, which is of known importance to women in politics (Norrander & Wilcox 2013; Thomsen 2015). Firstly, women are less likely to run for office in some regions, especially the South. Secondly, regions like the South are home to more traditional gender roles (Brace, Sims-Butler, Arceneaux, & Johnson 2002). Therefore, voters tend to be less supportive of female candidates, which may also impact fundraising. Thirdly, cost varies by region since some areas of the country have more state legislative professionalization than others. I ultimately selected four interview states, each from a different region of the country.

***Campaign finance laws and state selection.*** Campaign finance laws constrain the fundraising environment for all candidates. It would be a major omission to study

campaign finance without at least being aware of the diversity of campaign finance laws throughout the states. States could have been categorized by campaign finance laws in several ways. A notable example is Hogan and Hamm's 2008 state campaign finance laws scale. While this is a good metric, I opted for Christopher Witko's (2005) 22-point scale, which is much like Hogan and Hamm's scale but with additional data points. It is the most detailed state campaign finance ranking scheme included in published work<sup>1</sup> and is publicly available for every year from 1992 through 2012. Witko's scale includes contribution limits like Hamm and Hogan's scale but also looks at transparency and public financing. I decided to divide case study states into three categories. Two are the same utilized by Witko: stringent, not stringent. I added a third, changing, to represent states that were considered both stringent and not stringent at some point during the ten years for which the measure is available.

State campaign finance laws have nearly as much consistency as professionalization with a few notable exceptions. As Christopher Kuleza and his colleagues note, "incrementalism is the norm" with regard to changes in campaign finance laws (2016, 143). In fact, "most states have similar stringency levels in 2012 compared to 1992. [Only] a handful of states have dramatically increased the stringency of their campaign finance laws" (143). Table 4 categorizes the twenty-six remaining states according to their campaign finance laws. States with a score of 1 through 11 on

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Witko's measure is described in detail in his 2005 article *Measuring the stringency of state campaign finance regulation* as well as the 2016 article *Reform interrupted? State innovation, court decisions, and the past and future of campaign finance reform in the states* (Kulesza, Witko, & Waltenburg 2016). As the later article notes, the measure utilizes many accuracy checks including phone interviews with campaign finance regulators in all 50 states.



Witko's scale were considered not stringent. States with a score of 12 through 22 were considered to have stringent campaign finance laws. States that bounced between these two categories were considered to have changing campaign finance laws.

Table 4

*Competitive and Professionalized States Categorized by Campaign Finance Laws*

	<b>Stringent Campaign Finance Laws<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>Changing Campaign Finance Laws</b>	<b>Not Stringent Campaign Finance Laws</b>
<b>States</b>	California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Hawaii, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Oklahoma,	Ohio, Washington	Alaska, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, Vermont

Upon completion of Table 4, Ohio and Washington were dropped as possible interview states so that all candidates interviewed from the same state would have experienced a similar environment with regard to campaign finance laws. Alaska and Hawaii were not included due to the difficulty of conducting interviews in these states.

***Women's groups and state case selection.*** Research has shown that the number of women's groups in a state is related to women serving in office. There are more women in office in states with more women's groups. To determine the number of

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<sup>2</sup> One important caveat regarding the stringency of campaign finance laws is the inability of the Witko measure to include independent expenditures. The recent Citizens United Supreme Court decision increased attention to outside spending. However, reporting requirements are lax or non-existent and current campaign finance databases do not include outside expenditures. This is a major data limitation. Still it is important to note that half of all states did not ban independent expenditures prior to Citizens United. In these states, outside spending may have always been a feature of elections and Citizens United did not cause a major change. For states impacted by this change, only two post-Citizens United years are included in the data set. Finally, research on state independent expenditures finds that they are more common for gubernatorial and judicial races than legislative races. However, additional research in this area is increasingly necessary.

women's groups in each potential interview state, I used a 2014 CAWP list of women's political action committees (PACs) in the 50 states. At the time, this was the most detailed and complete list of women's groups involved in campaign fundraising available at the state-level. The list utilized is located in the Appendix E.<sup>3</sup> CAWP has since created an online map of women's groups, which was utilized in the research conducted for Chapter Five. (This will be explained in Chapter Five's methodology section.)

Table 5

*Women's PACs in the States Categorized by State Campaign Finance Law Strength*

	<b>Stringent CF Laws; Many Women's Groups<sup>4</sup></b>	<b>Stringent CF Laws; Few Women's Groups</b>	<b>Not Stringent CF Laws; Many Women's Groups</b>	<b>Not Stringent CF Laws; Few Women's Groups</b>
<b>States</b>	California, Florida, Michigan, Minnesota	Colorado, Connecticut, Louisiana, North Carolina, Oklahoma,	New Jersey, New York	Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maryland, Mississippi, Nebraska, Nevada, Oregon, South Carolina, Vermont

This initial winning of states allowed for the selection of states that can serve as a representative subset of all 50 states. From the limited universe outlined in Table 5, states were selected using the least similar, microcosmic method with accounting for regional diversity. The inclusion of region was straightforward. States were divided into

<sup>3</sup> Though there were many data limitations associated with the inclusion of women's groups as a selection category for possible interview states, there is value in attempting to include such a category in state politics research. Women's groups are rarely a part of scholarship on women's campaigns for state legislative office. The lack of data on women's groups in the 50 states motivated the creation of a more comprehensive list of women's groups, which became part of Chapter Five.

<sup>4</sup> CAWP reported very few women's PACs working at the state legislative level across the states. Therefore, any state with two or more women's PACs was considered to have many and any state with less than two (including states with no women's PACs) was considered to have few.

five regions common in the literature: northeast, southeast, southwest, west, and mid-west.

The four states ultimately selected as interview states were North Carolina, Nevada, New York, and Michigan. The interview population included local party elites (local party chairs), women's group leaders (most of these had the title of founder or executive director), campaign managers, female elected officials (winning female state legislative candidates who were serving in elective office in 2016 when interviews were conducted), and losing female state legislative candidates (women that had lost a state legislative election in 2010, 2012, or 2014).

Local party elites and women's group leaders were identified online and were contacted if they were serving in their positions in 2016 when interviews were conducted. Elected officials (winning female candidates) were also identified online. All female elected officials serving in 2016 (when interviews were conducted) were considered part of the interview population. Most of these candidates were elected sometime between 1990 and 2014. (2014 was the last election year before interviews were conducted.) Losing female candidates were the most difficult to identify. Losing candidates were identified online by searching election results in each district in all four states during select years. Specifically, only losing candidates who lost in 2010, 2012, and 2014 were considered part of the interview population. This limitation was practical in nature. Firstly, it was very time consuming to look at election results for a myriad of state districts. Restricting this research to three cycles made it more manageable. Additionally, it was very difficult to find contact information for female candidates who

had lost a race more than six years ago. However, several candidates that had lost a race in recent election cycles still had contact information available online. If contact information could not be identified, losing candidates were dropped from the universe of possible interviewees.

These interview categories were selected based on the project's research questions. Winning and losing candidates provided data on their campaign fundraising experiences. Local party chairs are sometimes involved in fundraising for and have insight into the process of campaign fundraising in their districts. They also work with state legislative candidates and therefore were potential additional sources of information. The same was true of campaign managers who were often deeply involved with fundraising and sometimes have greater knowledge of this aspect of campaigns than the candidates themselves. Women's group leaders were specifically targeted to gather data on this oft-ignored area of state legislative campaign finance. Male candidates were not interviewed because interviews were exploratory and intended to capture women's perspective rather than compare women to men.

Though the number of women of color serving in legislative office was not used as part of the state selection criteria, I did make a special effort to interview female legislators, candidates, and party elites of color. Interviews with women of color were particularly useful to framing Chapter Four, which focuses on non-white women. Women of color were a limited part of my interview population. In order to make sure that their voices were heard, I over sampled them, which required extra outreach to this group of potential interviewees. Everyone in the interview population received a formal

email asking them to participate in a phone interview. Those who did not respond to this first inquiry also received a follow up email. Further, New York State legislators received an offer to conduct an in-person interview either in Albany or in their district if their district was located in New York City. I traveled to Albany for one day and conducted several interviews onsite. This additional outreach was possible in New York State due to my relatively close proximity to its capital. Such additional outreach was not possible in other states and New York's response rate is the highest as a result. While most in the interview population received no more than two contacts, women of color received a phone call to their office and an additional follow up if they did not respond to the first two inquiries.

Interviews were open-ended. the questions were intended to guide the discussion and can be found in the Appendix. Final response rates and the total number of interviews conducted are listed in Table 6. The number of interviewees that were people of color is noted in its own column.

Table 6

*Interview Response Rates*

	<b>Total Respondents</b>	<b>Respondents of Color<sup>a</sup></b>	<b>Response Rate</b>
<b>Michigan</b>	26	6	28%
<b>Nevada</b>	23	4	34%
<b>New York</b>	39	9	40%
<b>North Carolina</b>	32	9	31%
<b>TOTAL</b>	120	28	Average = 33%

<sup>a</sup> This is 23% of my interview sample. According to CAWP, women of color were 21.9% of all female state legislators in 2015. This percentage, while not representing a huge number of respondents, is a reasonable oversample of persons of color.

**Conclusion of interview methodology.** The 120 interviews conducted provided

snapshots of the process of female campaign fundraising. Fundraising numbers could have been observed solely from campaign finance filings, but interviews added a layer of detail that could not be derived from quantitative analysis. Interviews provided insight into how, when, and where gender-bias was and was not perceived to be a part of the campaign fundraising process.

While the interview portion of this project was not a 50-state undertaking, all other portions of this analysis are inclusive of all 50 states. The quantitative methods utilized in this work are not described in great detail below. More detailed descriptions of the quantitative methodologies utilized are contained within each substantive chapter. Interview data is dispersed throughout all three substantive chapters and interview methodologies are not described elsewhere. It was most logical to describe my interview methods here, whereas the quantitative methodologies are more appropriately described within the chapters because they vary greatly from chapter to chapter.

**JTPL surveys: chapters three and four.** JTPL data was used in both chapters three and four as part of the discussion of candidate perceptions of the campaign fundraising environment. The survey asked candidates how much time they spent fundraising, which was discussed with regard to primary election candidates in Chapter Three and candidates of color in Chapter Four.

Across both chapters, simple, bi-variate regression was utilized with attention to controls including: the presence of a primary and whether or not it was competitive, the presence of a general election and whether or not it was competitive, incumbency

status, the level of professionalization of the state, and the race/ ethnicity of the candidate. These controls are described in chapters three and four. Chapter Three also includes a control for the stringency of campaign finance laws.

**DIME: chapters three and four.** The DIME includes comprehensive information on the source and recipient of donations to state legislative candidates. At the time research was conducted, this data set included all election cycles from 1990 to 2010. The data is continuously updated to include later years – with some lag time. I used included information on the sex of donors and recipients to make comparisons between female and male candidates as well as male and female individual donors during primary elections in Chapter Three. I used this data to make comparisons between individual donations to female and male candidates during the primary in Chapter Three and white and non-white female legislators during the general elections in Chapter Four.

***Treatment of control variables within DIME.*** Controls for candidate status (open, challenger, incumbent), party, the presence of a primary, the stringency of state campaign finance laws, and district competition were included where possible. These controls were selected based on the state campaign finance's literature's most common battery of controls.

Candidate status is a well-known predictor of campaign costs. Open seat races are generally the most competitive and expensive as no candidate has an incumbent advantage and parties may view them as an opportunity to 'pick up' a seat. Generally, incumbents have an easier time raising money than challengers. Incumbents can usually match opponent spending dollar for dollar, while challengers struggle to keep up with

high spending incumbents (Hogan 2000). Challengers and incumbents also raise money from different sources. Parties are more likely to give to strategic challengers whereas PACs and corporations tend to donate to incumbents who support their policy agenda.<sup>5</sup> Typically, when assessing the gendered outcomes of campaign finance, female challengers or incumbents are compared to male challengers or incumbents in similarly-situated races or comparisons are made using a regression discontinuity design to eliminate confounding variables. I included controls for candidate status in chapters three and four.

Candidate party is generally included in campaign finance studies as candidates from the Democratic and Republican parties are known to have different fundraising networks. I employed a separate analysis of Democratic and Republican women in all three substantive chapters.

A good primary control must be capable of distinguishing between a truly competitive primary and a primary on-the-books (Boatright 2013), though the operationalization of this can be difficult (Boatright 2013). I created a variable for primary competitiveness in Chapter Three, which is a study of primaries. I also created a dummy variable for state campaign finance law stringency as this constrains donation amounts in some states.

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<sup>5</sup> For women, the sex of the incumbent is another predictor of costs. Races in which a woman challenges a male incumbent tend to be the most expensive types of state legislative races. Men who face women spend 7 cents more per eligible voter than candidates who face an opponent of the same gender (Hogan 2007). The high cost of competitive races that include a female state-level challenger was also observed in a 50-state study (Barber, Butler, & Preece) in 2014. Female challengers can, in certain contexts, generate extremely expensive state races. Since this work is focused on process rather than outcome, I do not discuss the total cost of campaigns.



Finally, party competition in district is important since more competitive seats typically cost more to obtain; comparing candidates from competitive and uncompetitive seats is too unspecified. Chapter Four controls for party competition in district using data from Klarner et. al.'s dataset of state legislative election results. This is not possible when studying primary election donations in Chapter Three due to data limitations.

There are many ways to conceptualize district competition. Holbrook and Van Dunk's (1993) measure of the competitiveness of individual elections is one of the most known methods. Holbrook and Van Dunk calculate the average margin of victory in districts and designate those within a certain vote spread as competitive. Other popular measures of competitive not associated with Holbrook and Van Dunk include party registration, fundraising as a proxy for competition (Windett 2015), and the prior vote share model (Grainger 2010; Huberty 2013; McGhee & Kogan 2011). Typically, any vote margin that is less than a 10-point spread, meaning 45% to 55% or tighter, is considered a competitive election. All forms of this data are much more readily available for general elections than for primaries. Since I use Klarner's dataset, I utilize the vote share method to control for district competition in Chapter Four.

Other relevant controls were not included due to data constraints. However, future research on this topic may consider factors such as public financing (Werner & Mayer 2007), term limits (Carroll & Jenkins 2005; Thompson & Moncrief 1993), the presence of multimember districts where women are more likely to be elected (Hogan 2001a; Moncrief & Thompson 1992; Rule 1990), political culture (Elzar 1984; Hogan

2001; McCormick-Higgins 2005), interest group activity (Thomas & Hrebenar 2004), candidate leadership position (Powell 2013), party in majority (Sanbonmatsu 2002), and chamber competition in the state, which is mostly operationalized using the Ranney Index developed Austin Ranney (Donovan, Smith, Osborn, & Mooney 2014). Women and politics scholars also sometimes consider the occupations of women in the state (Sanbonmatsu 2002), urbanization (Green 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2006), and region (Clemens 1997), which are known to impact female candidate's viability.

In both chapters three and four, donations are the unit of analysis. Women's donor groups are the unit of analysis for Chapter Five so different methods of analysis were utilized. Control variables are not included in the analysis in Chapter Five because this exploratory chapter is focused on identifying women's donor groups across the 50 states.

**DIME: chapter five.** DIME data was used to compile the most complete and up-to-date list of women's donor groups in all 50 states. Prior to this research, the only organization tracking women's groups in the U.S. states was the Center for American Women and Politics. CAWP began by publishing one-page lists of women's political action committees operating at the state level on a yearly basis. Then, CAWP transitioned to posting an interactive map, named the *Political Leadership Resource Map*, of such groups to their website. This map still exists and contains all women's groups that operate in each state. However, informal discussions with CAWP faculty and staff indicated that the completeness of these databases could not be determined.

Finding no other listing of such groups, I used DIME to create one. The method for doing so is described in Chapter Five.

Once women's groups were identified, I sought to better understand their involvement in state legislative elections by studying their donation patterns, which is explained in Chapter Five. This was exploratory research that provides a big picture analysis of women's donor groups in the states.

**Conclusion**

Quantitative state legislative campaign finance research has become more common since DIME made it possible to analyze itemized donation data from all 50 states without seeking out information from 50 different campaign finance boards. This is a great asset to the study of state legislative campaign finance. Together the three substantive chapters of this work use DIME and other previously unused data sources to address new and unanswered questions in state legislative campaign finance research.

### Chapter Three: Primary Elections

This chapter addresses several new questions related to primary election fundraising. Firstly, how much time do male and female state legislators believe they spend fundraising during primary elections? Secondly, what are the average dollar amounts of individual campaign donations to female and male candidates during primary elections? Thirdly, of whom are candidates' individual donor networks comprised? I investigate the sex of donors, in addition to donation amounts, to better understand the composition of individual donors in the state legislative primary donor pool as well as the potential for gender affinity bias on the part of individual donors. The issue of gendered donor networks is an interesting and emerging topic in campaign finance research. Donor networks matter because male donors generally give more frequently and in larger amounts than their female counterparts. From a candidate's perspective, it may therefore be more advantageous to have a male-dominated donor network. However, some male individual donors favor male candidates (Barber et. Al. 2016; Thomsen & Swers 2017).

While not a study of donor networks specifically, an earlier work by Michael Crespin and Janna Dietz (2010) found that women running for Congress actually raised more money in individual donations than their male counterparts. This success was driven by Democratic, female candidates who received a large number of donations under \$200. Due to their reliance on lower-dollar donations, female candidates needed to develop a larger network of contributors to raise as much or more than their male-counterparts. Looking at Crespin and Dietz's 2010 research in light of newer works on

donors' gender affinity and the importance of women's PACs to the donor networks of Democratic women, it seems likely that many of the small-dollar donors giving to Democratic women were women themselves. This suggests the possibility that an over-reliance of female candidates on female donors can impact the fundraising process in ways that might make fundraising seem more difficult to female candidates. Most of the research on the gendered nature of donor networks is general election congressional research. The behavior of men and women in the state legislative donor pool, especially during primary elections, is critical to expanding our understanding of the female candidate experience with the process of campaign fundraising.

I focus entirely on individual donations because institutional funders tend to stay out of primaries, which increases the importance of individual donors during this phase of elections. Congressional elections research is advantageous for fully understanding the significance of individual donors to primary candidates. It notes that individual donors are strategic and risk averse; they favor incumbents with whom they may already have a relationship and from whom they may want to extract policy benefits. Danielle Thomsen and Michele Swers (2017) succinctly explain the importance of understanding candidates' individual donor networks during congressional primaries. They state,

*[I]n the primary phase... political parties are reluctant to endorse, [and] candidates must build their own donor networks to demonstrate their viability... Yet, we know very little about the composition of candidates' donor networks and how they may vary based on the partisanship and gender of the candidate (450).*

I argue that these concerns are actually even more applicable to state legislative research. In the states, there is often less institutional donor interest in the first place. Interviews conducted for this project, and described in Chapter Two, also support a focus on individual primary donations within state politics research. Interviewees frequently stated that party groups and interest group donors tended to stay out of primaries due to fear of choosing the wrong candidate in an open seat contest or working against the incumbent. Even Democratic women's donor groups often reported staying out of primary elections. One women's donor group professional noted, "thus far we have stayed out. It is painful to do that but that's what we have done. Our donors have said well you know... let them sort it out in the primary." As strategic actors, women's donor groups typically opted to play it safe even when there was only one woman running in a given primary contest. State legislative elections are breeding grounds for gendered fundraising challenges. More research is needed; this chapter works toward filling the gap.

While it is tempting to suggest that average dollar amounts don't matter as long as aggregate receipts are the same, I assert, as per Crespin and Dietz, that the final number is not the full story. Gender-neutral outcomes are unlikely to feel gender-neutral if female candidates need to work harder to achieve the same result. While aggregate receipts are an important unit of campaign finance analysis, they are not the only possible metric by which to understand fundraising. My analysis of average donation amounts adds a new dimension to this body of work.

Firstly, I hypothesize that female legislators will report spending more time fundraising than their male counterparts. Secondly, I hypothesize that gendered donor networks will result in lower average individual donations to women and fewer donations to women from male donors. As a corollary point, I also hypothesize that women's lower average donation amounts will result from the fact that female candidates receive more donations from female donors who give lower amounts on average than male donors. Controls for party and candidate status (open, challenger, or incumbent) help isolate the effect of gender from important factors such as incumbency. I also control for the stringency of state campaign finance laws and professionalization. Still, there are many limits to the controls utilized in this analysis. They noted below where applicable.

As previously noted, this chapter includes findings from original interviews conducted in four states, which are referenced throughout this dissertation. These interviews were conducted before the quantitative analysis and helped inform this project's focal points – including the focus on primary elections.<sup>1</sup> The Joint Project on Term Limits (JPTL) survey and the Data Base on Money and Ideology in Politics (DIME) are also utilized in this chapter.

### **Self-Reported Time Spent Fundraising**

**2002 Joint Project on Term Limits (JPTL) State Legislator Survey.** The 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State (JPTL) Legislator Survey included male and female state

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<sup>1</sup> The case study methodology for the selection of interview states was described in detail in Chapter Two and is not reviewed below.

legislators serving in 2002.<sup>2</sup> While the survey's concern for fundraising was limited to the connection between raising money and term limits, and the originators were not concerned with gender specifically, it provides interesting data on perceived fundraising time.<sup>3</sup> Legislators were asked to rank the time they spent fundraising for themselves from 1-5 with five being a great deal of time. I conducted a simple comparison of male and female legislator's mean responses.

Then, I created a more specified model by including additional variables of importance to fundraising time. These included the presence of a primary election and its competitiveness, seat status, party, and state professionalization. The operationalization of these variables is briefly described here.

The JPTL survey asked candidates whether or not they had a primary as well as the percentage of the vote that they received in that primary.<sup>4</sup> I used these responses to

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<sup>2</sup> While the survey is dated and only includes data from one year, it is rare for surveys to contain a fundraising time question at all. As such, this is a rare resource in relation to my study. Further, the survey was well conducted. The investigators received 2,982 responses – a response rate of 40.1%. Respondents were unevenly distributed throughout the population, so data presented was weighted to correct for differential response rates. The 2002 survey does not describe this weighting as it uses the same methodology as the 1995 survey after which it was modeled.

<sup>3</sup> The survey included one three-part question about fundraising – Question Eighteen, Parts Eight, Nine, and Ten. This analysis focuses on Part Nine. Question Eighteen Part Eight asks, “how much time do you actually spend on campaigning and fundraising?” Respondents could answer along a five-point scale from hardly any to a great deal. This question elicited 2,928 valid responses and 54 missing responses. Unfortunately, this question was not especially parsimonious since the inclusion of the word campaigning as separate from fundraising infuses a lack of clarity into the results. As such, I decided to skip this question to more narrowly focus on fundraising. Question Eighteen Part Nine reads, “how much time do you actually spend on fundraising for yourself?” Questions Eighteen, Part Nine is operationalized as a five-point scale from hardly any to a great deal. The questions elicited 2,867 responses. Question Eighteen Part Ten reads, “how much time do you actually spend fundraising for your caucus?” This inquiry is important but outside the scope of this paper, which focuses on individual fundraising.

<sup>4</sup> The results are legislator recollections not state Board of Elections data. As such, this data is likely somewhat flawed but still a reasonable estimation.



create a new primary variable (0 = no primary, 1 = primary, 2 = competitive primary).<sup>5</sup> A competitive primary was any race where the winner received less than 60% of the vote – a generally accepted standard (Boatright 2013).<sup>6</sup> The survey also asked elected officials whether their second-place opponent was the incumbent or the challenger during their last election. From that question I inferred that the elected official answering the survey was either the challenger or the incumbent.<sup>7</sup> I used the party variable included in the dataset.<sup>8</sup> I added a variable for professionalization using the Squire measure previously calculated for the purpose of interview state selection.

While the Joint Project on Term Limits survey is dated, it is also unique. It provides a source of 50-state data on fundraising time perceptions. Findings from its analysis illustrate the need for more research on legislator (and candidate) perceptions of fundraising time and women's understandings of the fundraising process more broadly. While mean comparisons are simplistic and limited to one election cycle, they help foreground the later analysis of DIME data.

**JPTL Results.** Table 7 shows that male and female state legislators had similar perceptions of fundraising time. On the whole, there was no difference between the

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<sup>5</sup> The variable “primary” had 174 missing values. This is 5.8% of all variables in the data set. Also, the variable primary is based on legislator recollections not state Board of Elections data. As such, this data is likely somewhat flawed but still a reasonable estimation.

<sup>6</sup> The results are legislator recollections not state Board of Elections data. As such, this data is likely somewhat flawed but still a reasonable estimation.

<sup>7</sup> If the elected official answering the survey stated that their opponent was the challenger candidate, I coded them as incumbent. However, they could have been running in an open seat race (a race without an incumbent, which would mean that they were also a challenger) but I could not determine that from the data.

<sup>8</sup> Party was recorded in the survey and coded as 0 for third party, 1 for Democratic Party, and 2 for Republican Party. I dropped third party candidates.

perceptions of women and men. Women from professionalized states, the states in which campaigns are most expensive, reported spending more time fundraising than their male colleagues, though the difference was marginal.

Table 7

*Time Spent Fundraising from Hardly Any to a Great Deal (1-5), Professionalized States*

N = 2982

N respondents from professionalized and semi-professionalized states = 1,294

<b>TIME SPENT</b>	MEAN ALL MEN N = 2,230	MEAN ALL WOMEN N = 752	MEN FROM PROFESSIONALIZED STATES N= 952	WOMEN FROM PROFESSIONALIZED STATES N = 342
Fundraising for Yourself	2.8	2.8	2.9	3

Source: JPTL.

The JPTL survey did not distinguish between perceived fundraising time during primaries and perceived fundraising time during general elections, so Table 7 captures legislators' overall understandings of fundraising time. Greater differences between male and female legislators emerged when the analysis was restricted to legislators that reported running in a competitive primary election. Table 8 illustrates these differences.

Table 8

*Time Spent Fundraising from Hardly Any to a Great Deal (1-5), Competitive Primaries*

N = 625

<b>TIME SPENT</b>	MEN WITH COMPETITIVE PRIMARIES N = 501	WOMEN WITH COMPETITIVE PRIMARIES N = 124
Fundraising for Yourself	3.1	3.4

Source: JPTL.

The data in Table 8 suggests that the fundraising process that transpired during primary elections did impact legislator perceptions of fundraising overall. However, this difference was not statistically significant. Similarly, a regression analysis including controls for seat status, professionalization, the presence of a primary and its competitiveness, and party found that none of these variables had a significant impact on perceived fundraising time. The presence of a competitive primary resulted in the largest mean difference, though it was not statistically significant.

Since the JPTL survey included only one election cycle, the N for female legislators with competitive primaries was quite small (124), it is possible that the competitive primary variable would have been significant had the survey been multi-year and therefore inclusive of more cases. Further, unlike the CAWP study utilized to inform a focus on professionalized states for case study selection, this JPTL study did not ask female legislators to compare their perceived fundraising experiences to those of their male colleagues. It is possible that female legislators' understanding of fundraising time would differ if survey questions were specifically designed to ask about gendered fundraising challenges. It is also possible that significance would be achieved with more cases. Finally, since this survey did not include losing candidates, the perceptions of women who didn't win, obviously, are not captured. Losing candidates are very different from winning ones and fundraising is often a key early factor in determining who stays in a race. Replication of this survey with the inclusion of losing candidates would be fruitful. Still, it is interesting to note that the presence of a competitive primary resulted in some differences in the perceptions of male and female legislators.

Moving beyond the JPTL Survey, an analysis of DIME data allows for an investigation of my second hypothesis with regard to gendered donor networks and average donation amounts. DIME is a very different data source, which includes both winning and losing candidates and spans a much longer period of time than the JPTL survey. DIME allows for a comprehensive look at the giving patterns of individual donors during primary elections.

### **The Gendered Donor Networks of Male and Female Candidates**

The DIME portion of this analysis asks, what are the average dollar amounts of individual campaign donations to female candidates and male candidates during primary elections? I expect that gendered donor networks will result in lower average individual donations to women. Relatedly, I expect that women's lower average donation amounts will result from the fact that female candidates receive more donations from female donors who tend to give smaller amounts than male donors. In other words, I anticipate that individual male donors will make fewer donations to women thereby lowering the average donation made to female candidates.

**DIME data and methods.** DIME included information on the sex of donors and recipients, which was used to make comparisons of means between female and male candidate fundraising from male and female individual donors during primary elections. DIME is an incredible resource for the study of primaries because it includes a code for general, primary, or special elections that is associated with each individual donation. However, missing election type data did necessitate a significant amount of recoding based on donation date; 20% of the data for the election type variable was missing. Appendix F includes a bar graph for every state illustrating the nature of the

missingness. For the election cycles from 1990 through 1998, most states did not report election type data at all. Therefore, I dropped the earlier years in the dataset, which restricted the analysis to the 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, and 2010 election cycles. There was some missingness during the 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006 election cycles but an analysis confirmed that it was randomly distributed throughout the states as seen in Appendix F. The 2008 and 2010 election cycles contained a large amount of missing election type data.<sup>9</sup> In order to include 2008 and 2010 in the analysis, a code for primary, general, or special election was added based on the primary election date in each state for these two election cycles.<sup>10</sup> Once this recoding was complete, donations made to general and special elections were dropped.<sup>11</sup>

Utilizing this dataset, I ran simple t-tests to make mean comparisons between the individual donations made to female and male primary candidates by male and

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<sup>9</sup> The missingness for these years was confirmed by Dr. Bonica. The DIME data is limited by state reporting requirements.

<sup>10</sup> 8503 or less than 1% of donations did not have a date and could not be recoded.

<sup>11</sup> If a donation occurred on or before a state's primary, it was coded as P. If it occurred after, it was coded as G. I looked up special elections in each of the 50 states during those two cycles and coded special election donations with an S. Originally, I planned to drop all races without a female candidate in order to focus more closely on female candidate fundraising. Prior research has shown that the inclusion of a female candidate can change donor behavior (Fiber & Fox 2005). Further, there is some precedent for the exclusion of races that include only men when studying the fundraising activities of women (Fiber & Fox 2005). Recently, regression discontinuity design has gained popularity as a way to better account for the differences between races that do or do not include a female candidate (Broockman 2014; Fourinaies and Hall 2014). Male and female candidates tend to run in very different districts (Barber, Butler, and Preece 2016), a reality which can be controlled with regression discontinuity design. Unfortunately, such a model is difficult to replicate during primary elections because the necessary district-level data is less available. The exclusion of male-only races would have at least constrained the data set to more-similar electoral contests. However, I decided to leave all races in the data set since my interest is not solely in female candidates but the gender affinity bias of both male and female donors. The many tradeoffs associated with the methodology used in this chapter are discussed in methods section.

female donors as well as the number of donations received.<sup>12</sup> These numbers offer a preliminary snapshot of the primary fundraising process.

I then created more specified models using Ordinary Least Squared regression to further investigate candidate donor networks. I modeled Republicans and Democrats separately since they do not run against each other in primary elections and the fundraising environment for candidates in each of the two parties is different. Separate models for members of each party are common in studies of primaries. This method resulted in the dropping of donations to third party candidates, which were outside the scope of this research. The controls described below were added to both the Republican and Democratic models.

Firstly, controls for seat status (open seat, challenger, and incumbent) were included. Secondly, professionalization was included as a range from 0-1 with 1 being the most professional. This range was derived from the Squire measure of professionalization previously calculated for the selection of interview case study states. As outlined in Chapter Two, state professionalization is relatively consistent over time but not static. The professionalization variable utilized here is sensitive to election year, so that if a state's level of professionalization changed during the years in the data set this was accommodated within the model. Professionalization is a proxy for the cost of running in the state; the two are correlated with more professionalized states generally being more expensive places to run for office. The inclusion of professionalization begins

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<sup>12</sup> I grouped donations by district and created a dummy variable; races with a female candidate were coded 1. Those without were coded zero and dropped from this portion of the analysis. 6,851 primary donations had missing district data and were not included.

to address the methodological concern that gendered differences in donation amounts may actually be driven by differences in where men and women run (the type of district). For example, if men run in more expensive districts than women, the district not candidate sex could be driving donation amounts. Thirdly, controls for state campaign finance law stringency, which can shape donor behavior, were included. Christopher Witko's campaign finance stringency scale was adapted to fit the data. Witko's "index is comprised of 22 separate items; eight of these items assess a state's campaign finance disclosure and reporting requirements, seven items assess campaign spending limits and public financing provisions, and seven items assess campaign contribution limits" (2005, 297). Rather than using all 22 items in the scale, I selected the three items which were most likely to impact individual donations amounts. These are:

1. Disclosure laws – itemization of contributions over \$50<sup>13</sup>
2. Limits on donations to candidates from individual donors
3. Public financing of state legislative campaigns.

I followed the model of David Primo and Jeffrey Milyo's 2006 study of campaign finance laws and political efficacy and transformed the three items selected from the Witko scale into dichotomous variables. The use of dichotomous variables avoided multicollinearity between the items, which are related. Since state campaign finance laws change, I accounted for the election cycle in the coding. The Witko scale is based

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<sup>13</sup> This is actually a continuous variable since states have many different thresholds for reporting. Witko used the \$50 threshold because "\$50 is a relatively small amount, this cutoff effectively discriminates between states requiring more transactions disclosed and those requiring fewer (Witko 2005, 299). The DIME dataset includes donations as low as \$5.

on data that the author made public on Harvard Dataverse. That data is inclusive of the years 1992-2012. Fourthly, year dummy variables were included to control for features of particular election cycles that can impact fundraising. Finally, to address the issue of competitive primaries versus uncompetitive primaries in which candidates receive few donations, I include two additional regression models with only winning candidates – one model for Republicans and one for Democrats. Modeling only winners is one way to drop “bad” candidates whose low donations reflect the fact that they were a “lost cause”. This eliminates some of the noise that prevents the isolation of gender as a predictor of donations amounts. However, this method is the equivalent of using a hatchet instead of a scalpel. Dropping all losing candidates, also drops some excellent candidates who lost narrowly. A better method would be to control for district competitiveness as is commonly done in general election studies of campaign finance. The difficulty of creating this measure was previously discussed. However, a control for primary district competition will be included in my research after the dissertation.

As the above paragraph alludes, there are notable methodological limitations which will need to be addressed before publication - either by adding controls or changing the type of statistical analysis utilized. District-level variables as mentioned above and footnoted here are most needed to improve this analysis.<sup>14</sup> This is

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<sup>14</sup> DIME does not include many of the control variables that are standard in state legislative research (for example, chamber competition) or women and politics research (for example, urbanization and region). Further, district competition, which is key to state legislative studies of general election donations, is not a well operationalized variable with regard to primaries. While there are publicly available data bases of state legislative district competition during general elections (for example Klarner et. al.), no such data base exists for primaries. Further, exactly what constitutes a competitive primary district is not well explained by the existing literature. Are competitive primary districts simply the inverse of competitive general election districts? Yes, but this operationalization ignores districts in which both the primary and



exploratory research that is noteworthy for its attempt to focus fully on the impact of gender in state legislative primaries. 50-state primary election studies are rare because primaries are notoriously difficult to study. The methodology used here is, to a large extent, a work in progress.<sup>15</sup> Still, this analysis is a good jumping off point for future work. While these results are an exploratory overview, they are valuable because the state legislative campaign finance literature is so lacking in data on primary elections, especially as this data relates to female candidates. A final note, when I conducted this analysis, the DIME data set included all election cycles from 1990 to 2010. The data is continuously updated to include later years – with some lag time. It has since been updated to include data from 2012 and 2014. My future work will incorporate these later years.

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general election are competitive, and it ignores party differences. Safe general election districts are competitive primary election districts but only for one party. Much of the data needed to construct a reasonable primary district competition measure is not readily available at the state legislative level. Even the prior vote share model often employed in state legislative campaign finance studies of general elections (Grainger 2010; Huberty 2013; McGee & Kogan 2011) is difficult to replicate for primary elections due to data limitations. Jason Windett's has suggested the use of fundraising (2015) as a proxy for district competition and Robert Boatright's use of the number of primary donations as a method for distinguishing between real and "on-the-books" congressional primaries (2013) are potentially useful to future state legislative primary research using the DIME data. The challenging nature of defining district competition during primaries as well as the lack of state legislative data on the topic has kept scholars out of this line of research.

<sup>15</sup> Other controls likely necessary for publication but not mentioned in Footnote 14 include public financing (Werner & Mayer 2007), term limits (Carroll & Jenkins 2005; Thompson & Moncrief 1993), the presence of multimember districts where women are more likely to be elected (Hogan 2001a; Moncrief & Thompson 1992; Rule 1990), political culture (Elzar 1984; Hogan 2001; McCormick-Higgins 2005), interest group activity (Thomas & Hrebenar 2004), candidate leadership position (Powell 2013), party in majority (Sanbonmatsu 2002), and chamber competition in the state, which is mostly operationalized using the Ranney Index developed Austin Ranney (Donovan, Smith, Osborn, Mooney 2014). Women and politics scholars also consider the occupations of women in the state (Sanbonmatsu 2002), urbanization (Green 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2006), and region (Clemens 1997), which are known to impact female candidate viability.

**DIME Results.** 65,083 candidate observations were included in the DIME 2000-2010 primary elections data set that I created for this project. 62,045 candidates were either Republicans or Democrats and, therefore, were ultimately included in the analysis below. The remaining candidates ran under third party labels - a phenomenon more common in state legislatures than in Congress. Third party candidates were excluded to simplify the analysis, though future work might look at their donor pools specifically. The 62,045 observations discussed below are inclusive of repeat candidacies; many candidates ran for office during more than one election cycle. Across all years, 78% of major party candidates were men.

Individual donors made 435,078 donations to primary campaigns during the time period studied.<sup>16</sup> The majority of individual primary donations, 69%, were made by male donors. In other words, both the universe of state legislative candidates and the universe of individual donors were male-dominated. This is not surprising; it is a known reality of American politics.

Addressing the gendered nature of donor networks, overall, I found that male donors gave 78% of their donations to male candidates. Their giving to men was proportional to the number of male candidates in the dataset. Female donors gave only 58% of their donations to male candidates. Their giving to men was not proportional to the number of male candidates in the data set. As such, female primary donors had a gender affinity for female candidates; they opted to favor the candidacies of women.

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<sup>16</sup> Cases in which candidate gender could not be determined by the existing DIME codes or using R's gender auto-code program were dropped. 87% of all donations remained in the dataset after the removal of cases within incomplete gender data.

This is interesting but requires context, especially with regard to political party.

Unsurprisingly, as is the trend at the national level, more female candidates ran as Democrats than Republicans.

There were 30,684 observations of Republican candidates in the data set, including the repeat candidacies of those who ran during more than one cycle. There were 5,460 observations of female, Republican candidates. As such, 82% of candidates in the Republican universe were male candidates. Republican individual donors made 208,692 donations to campaigns during the time period studied. The majority of Republican, individual primary donations, 70%, were made by male donors. As expected, both the universe of Republican candidates and the universe of Republican, individual primary donors were male-dominated.

There were 31,361 observations of Democratic candidates in the data set, including the repeat candidacies of those who ran during more than one cycle. There were 8,459 observations of female Democratic candidates. As such, 73% of candidates in the Democratic universe were male candidates. Democratic individual donors made 222,883 donations to campaigns during the time period studied. The majority of Democratic individual, primary donations, 63%, were made by male donors. Also as expected, both the universe of Democratic candidates and Democratic, individual primary donors were male-dominated, though less so than among Republicans. These numbers all confirm our existing knowledge of the characteristics of Republican and Democratic candidates and donors.

Addressing the gendered nature of donor networks by party, I found that male Republican donors gave 82% of their donations to male candidates. In other words, their giving to men was proportional to the number of male candidates in the Republican data set. I found that female, Republican donors gave 71% of their donations to male candidates. Republican female primary donors had a gender affinity for female candidates; they disproportionately gave to women.

Additionally, I found that male Democratic donors gave 80% of their donations to male candidates. This percentage is greater than the percentage of male candidates in the Democratic universe. I found that female, Democratic donors gave 66% of their donations to male candidates. This percentage is lower than the percentage of male candidates in the Republican universe. As such, both male and female Democratic primary donors had a gender affinity for candidates of their same sex. Notably, Republican female donors showed a greater affinity for female candidates than their Democratic counterparts. Also, notably, Democratic male donors showed a greater affinity for male candidates than their Republican counterparts.

As a whole, the data provided thus far gives a 10,000 foot view of donor networks. Since there are no controls utilized during the above analysis, it is impossible to say what strategic motivations, other than gender, might have informed the giving preferences observed. Perhaps it was simply district competition that shaped donor behavior. Still, it is important to note that across six campaign cycles and inclusive of all 50-states, individual donors exhibited gendered affinities. This merits additional investigation, especially since prior studies of state legislative general elections have

noted that female candidates are over-reliant on donations from women even when controlling for district-level factors (Barber et. Al. 2016). Further, my interview data suggests that the issue of donor networks weighed on the minds of at some female candidates. As one candidate observed,

*It's women's networks. It was really the small donors who I relied on to give me the opportunity to show that I could be competitive, that I was viable, and that I could win but again so much of it is what has always been... so a lot of it is...conditioning of the donors [to give to women].*

For this woman, the navigation of gendered donor networks was a reality of running for state legislative office.

Two key points summarize this preliminary investigation of gendered donor networks: 1) Republican, female primary candidates were over-reliant on donations from women. 2) Democratic, female primary candidates were over-reliant on donations from women as well - but so much due to female donor affinity but because men were less likely to donate to their campaigns.<sup>17</sup> The fact that Republican, female primary candidates were over-reliant on female donors is a critical take-away. Especially with regard to primary money, female donors to Democratic women have received the bulk of the literature's consideration. The strong support of female Democrats for their fellow female Democrats is an oft-noted phenomenon in both congressional and state legislative campaign finance research. Yet, a specific look at primary elections makes Republican women visible where they have previously been ignored. It is difficult to

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<sup>17</sup> These findings are actually contrary to much of recent reporting on Republican primary candidates for Congress. Such candidates are becoming rarer and often struggle to attract male primary donors unless they are perceived as very conservative. Here it is actually Democratic women that seem to be struggling with the male primary donor pool.

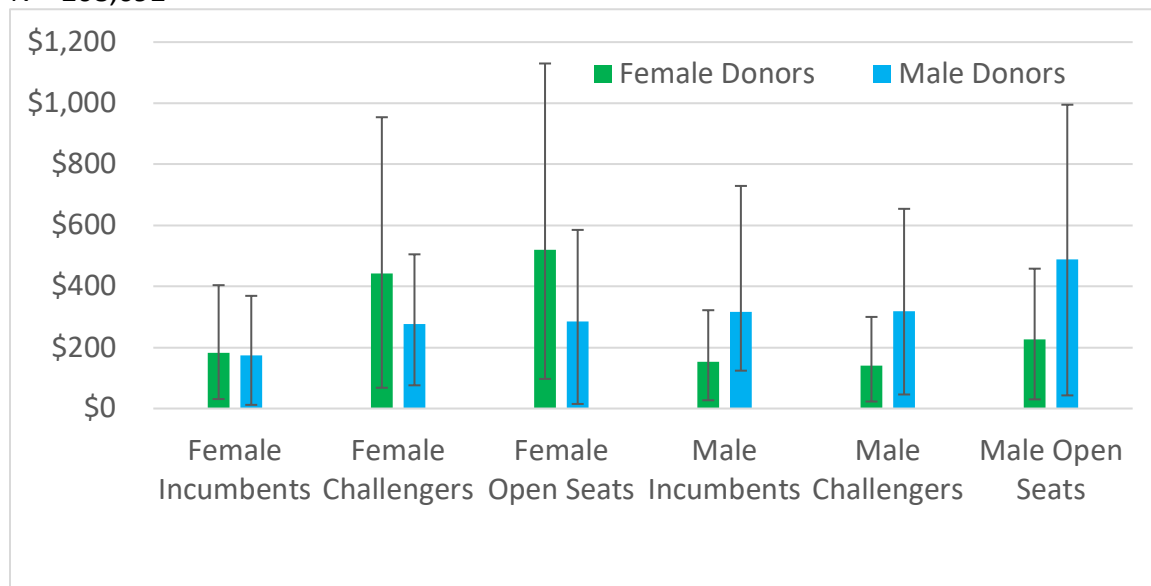
understand the value of female, Republican donors in general election studies because the vast majority of Republican donors and candidates are male and party trumps gender in general elections. It is during primary elections that the role of Republican female donors becomes apparent. Similarly, it is interesting to note the lack of support from Democratic male donors for Democratic women. In fact, it was the Democratic Party's donor network that was most notably gendered. This may seem counter-intuitive given the Democratic Party's identity politics rhetoric and courting of female candidates.

In addition to investigating donor networks, the DIME portion of this analysis was concerned with the average dollar amounts of individual campaign donations to female candidates and male candidates during primary elections. In this regard, I first conducted simple comparison of means testing. Without controls, both male and female donors exhibited some gender affinity bias in mean individual donation amounts as well. Men made higher donations to male candidates and women made higher donations to female candidates. This gender affinity was present for all candidate types – incumbent, open seat, and challenger. The following bar graphs illustrate the results of comparisons of means and include confidence intervals. The first bar graph shows average donation amounts within the universe of Republican donors. The second bar graph shows average donation amounts within the universe of Democratic donors.

Table 9

*Mean Individual Donations: Republican Primary Donors 2000-2010*

N = 208,692



Source: DIME

In every case other than that of female incumbents, the Table 9 bar graph indicates a gendered affinity on the part of both male and female donors. Donors gave larger average amounts to candidates of their same sex. Interestingly, female Republican interviewees sometimes spoke about donors' gendered affinities as a normal part of fundraising. One candidate noted,

*There weren't challenges out of the ordinary because I am a woman, but it is still a good old boy network. Male candidates still have an easier time raising money from a man. That was the case for me, but it wasn't out of the ordinary. It was just what every woman faces.*

Republican female candidates were less likely than their Democratic counterparts to believe that they should receive larger donations from women based on their sex while also being less likely to believe that a gender-neutral fundraising process could or should exist. This interesting mix of beliefs seemed to inculcate Republican candidates and

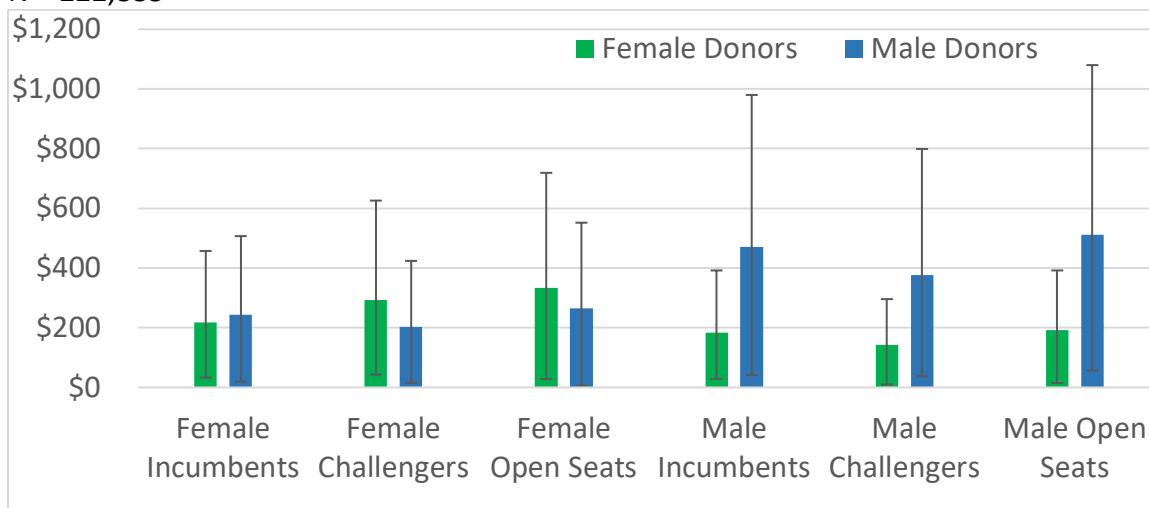
practitioners from being perturbed by gender affinity bias in the process of fundraising.

Democratic candidates had different expectations. Though Table 10 looks similar to Table 9, but female Democratic interviewees were more likely to have negative impressions of the fundraising process.

Table 10

*Mean Individual Donations: Democratic Primary Donors 2000-2010*

N = 222,883



Source: DIME

Across all candidate types, the Table 10 bar graph indicates a gendered affinity on the part of both male and female donors. Donors gave larger average amounts to candidates of their same sex. The suggestion of gender affinity bias in individual donor networks was supported by Democratic interviewees, who often noted their struggle to prove themselves to male donors during interviews. One campaign manager commented,

*There's definitely some sexism to the whole process...women having to prove themselves first to the establishment, which is pretty much all men. The ones with the money, the ones who can hand you the checks... most of those holding the purse...were men so that was a difficult thing...There was an old boy network around and she wasn't part of it.*



Similarly, a Democratic consultant noted,

*Another challenge is having the male audience take some of our female candidates seriously. If the female candidate is too feminine or not aggressive enough. Some of these old school male[s]...the women don't check the boxes for them.*

Democratic interviewees were more likely to discuss the gendered challenges of primary fundraising than their Republican peers. They typically did so in the context of disappointment. Democratic candidates often expected enough support from female individual donors to outweigh any challenges experienced in courting male donors. Such support did not always materialize. As one candidate with a competitive primary noted, “there is no women’s mafia”. Similarly, a campaign manager for a female Democratic candidate with a primary noted, “it’s very jarring to be... that campaign manager and realize...there is no one there based on gender alone.” The above tables suggest that such a statement is not entirely correct but that the support of female donors may be muted by similar support of male donors for male candidates.

Prior research on women’s giving, particularly the giving patterns of Democratic women, has found that liberal, female donors to congressional campaigns value women’s officeholding over other strategic goals and focus their donations on open seat opportunities to increase the overall number of female elected officials (Thomsen & Swers 2017). Table 10 suggests that a similar phenomenon is occurring in the states. Whatever the cost of campaigning in a given state, open seat contests tend to be the most expensive. Open seat contests are competitive elections because they do not include an incumbent. When female donors give, they give the most, on average, to

open seat candidates. Actually, this was true of donors in both parties, not just among Democrats.

The same phenomenon can be observed from the behavior of male donors in both Tables 9 and 10. They also make the largest average donations to open seat candidates. Again, this was expected based on prior research on the cost and competitive nature of open seat campaigns. However, there is some potential nuance. For both Table 9 and 10, compare the bars for female open seat and male open seat contests. One argument against the idea that this data is illustrative of any donor gender affinity bias is that the contests in which male candidates run are simply more expensive. Therefore, a strategic understanding of district characteristics motivated giving, not gendered considerations. Realistically, many of the individual donors interested enough to give to a state legislative primary contest know something about the tactical concerns of politics. The tallest bar above represents male average donation amounts to male open seat candidates. From this bar, it is only possible to extrapolate that men have donor power, which they are willing to use when needed. But compare the bars for male and female giving to female open seat candidates. Even if the open seat races involving women were cheaper contests, shouldn't male donors be expected to give at least as much, on average, to those contests as female donors? They do not. Perhaps it is within these open seat races that the impacts of gendered donor networks can be most observed by female candidates.

The meaning of these preliminary findings is limited given the messy and context-dependent nature of running for office. Yet, with little known about primary state legislative elections, this analysis suggests potential directions for future research.

Since, as noted, many factors other than gender may influence donor behavior, this study also investigates multivariate relationships between the sex of the candidate and average individual donation amounts. OLS regression with controls helped to better isolate the possible impact of candidate sex. Again, the two major parties were modeled separately, since Republicans and Democrats do not run against one another during primaries. The controls utilized in regression models were described above in the DIME methodology section.

Table 11

*Republican Candidates, Primary Elections from 2000-2010, Average Itemized Individual Donation Amount*

	All Candidates	Winners Only
	N = 208,692	N = 29,026
	R squared = .005 <sup>18</sup>	R squared = .007
Female Candidate	-143.74*** (33.00)	383.11** (136.10)
Female Contributor	- 243.59*** (14.72)	-227.74*** (37.35)
Election Cycle	17.67*** (2.77)	-38.19** (13.01)
Challenger	-4.64 (22.52)	89.10** (55.08)
Open Seat	26.75 (15.13)	-256.81 (59.89)
Professionalized State	74.57*** (16.22)	21.07 (42.61)
Disclosure Laws	-194.32*** (12.56)	-35.26 (34.94)
Individual Donation Limits	-98.03*** (14.86)	-109.34** (36.31)
Public Financing	-62.05*** (12.65)	-200.70*** (45.66)
Female Candidate*Female Contributor	449.896*** (28.87)	393.09 (62.61)
Female Candidate*Challenger	9.20 (48.90)	-250.91 (140.56)

Source: DIME.

Note: Robust standard errors clustered by district are in parentheses. \*\*\*p &lt; .001,

\*\*p&lt;.01

<sup>18</sup> Noting the low R-squared values across the two variations of both the Republican and Democratic models, it is likely that additional predictors would increase the explanatory power of the models. However, donation data is very unpredictable, as is the campaign environment itself. Given the low values of P, there is still a relationship between the significant predictors and the dependent variable.

Table 12

*Democratic Candidates, Primary Elections from 2000-2010, Average Itemized Donation Amount*

	All Candidates	Winners Only
	N = 222,883	N = 23,502
	R squared = .005	R squared = .006
Female Candidate	-172.058*** (35.78)	-236.55** (81.78)
Female Contributor	-248.40*** (13.06)	-427.73*** (66.27)
Election Cycle	18.76 (2.58)	46.86 (25.54)
Challenger	112.38*** (22.10)	725.26*** (98.23)
Open Seat	32.07 (20.05)	151.09 (90.83)
Professionalized State	-24.89 (14.42)	-67.48 (75.39)
Disclosure Laws	-174.15*** (10.77)	135.66 (66.52)
Individual Donation Limits	-58.20*** (15.10)	-66.24 (77.36)
Public Financing	51.83*** (11.85)	-266.29** (66.52)
Female Candidate*Female Contributor	319.75*** (24.12)	445.01*** (117.90)
Female Candidate*Challenger	-106.10 (41.52)	-790.89*** (191.38)

Source: DIME.

Note: Robust standard errors cluster by district are in parentheses. \*\*\*p &lt; .001,

\*\*p &lt; .01

Table 11 shows that many variables are significantly related to donations amounts. Interestingly, incumbency status mattered less than may be expected based on the campaign finance literature, which shows strong incumbency effects. The literature on congressional primaries highlights the rise of Tea Party challenges (Deckman 2016) and notes how these contests have moderated the incumbency

advantage via a wave of public support for new Republican candidates. With regard to Republican women, Thomsen and Swers note that, in congressional primaries, the campaign finance system favors the emergence of conservative women who tend to find strong primary support (2017). Given that being a challenger was significant in the winner-only Republican model, similar support for newcomer candidates may be present in the states, especially since the interaction between being a female candidate and a challenger did not show that Republican women were disadvantaged compared to their male peers. The Democratic model also highlights the correlation between being a winning challenger and donation amounts. Additional studies inclusive of a candidate ideology variable for state legislative candidates, especially Republican women, would help expand our knowledge of challenger performance in primaries.

Table 12 shows that the interaction between being a winning challenger and being a female candidate was significant for Democrats. Female challengers received lower average donations than their male peers. While the Democratic Party is known for its greater focus on identity politics and support for female candidates, Table 12 suggests that the party lags behind its rhetoric with regard to primary elections – at least in terms of overall average donation to female candidates and in supporting female challengers. As one winning Democratic candidate noted,

*I realized that my male counterparts were getting more money from my donors. It's like they didn't know that I could look it up. I was just curious one day and I looked it up...They were getting more money than me.*

What this candidate observed, was observed more generally across the universe of Democratic donations. Also, for both Democratic and Republican donors showed a

gender affinity bias as seen in the interaction between donor sex and candidate sex.

Donors give more to candidates of their own sex – a clear gender affinity even when controlling for other factors.

### **General Perceptions of Female Candidates and Primary Fundraising**

Primary fundraising is fraught with difficulty. Party - the heuristic typically utilized to determine whom to support - is not relevant. Given this environment, the fact that a myriad of variables, including gender, were significant across all models is not surprising. Primaries are chaotic; candidates and practitioners expressed great disdain for them. During the interviews conducted for this project, campaign professionals commented on the overall difficulty of attracting primary money stating, “no one wants to give” and “big players prefer to stay out of it.” Another winning candidate called primary fundraising time, “a Girl Scout Troop at cookie season. It is 40 to 60 a week regardless of the season.” While these comments expressed the struggle of primary fundraising for all candidates, the concept of a gendered disadvantage became apparent once interviewees began discussing donor networks and the extra time that it could take for female candidates to obtain buy-in from male donors. With regard to women’s candidacies, one Republican party professional stated,

*I see it [the primary] as a challenge [for women], absolutely. What I believe the difference becomes is does this individual bring an organization to the table. Does [she] bring donors to the table does [she] bring the ability to win the primary over someone else. Money is often the deciding factor. If one candidate can outspend the other or self-fund it skews the dynamics one way. Yeah, it’s hard. And we have collateral damage from that.*

A Democratic campaign professional speaking about female clients was more direct.

*All the networks are male, white male and it is tough to break into those networks with the real comradery that a white male has. They go out golfing and drinking with their buddies and it's easier to tap into those networks that have real financial resources. Women, and you probably know this from your research, they don't give nearly as much to campaigns as men do and so trying to convert women to become active campaign donors is very, very difficult. So those are the kind of things that really prevent the network from coming out. Women tend to network mostly with other women, have those better bonds with other women and so going out and asking for money [from women] would be more comfortable but they don't give...so [candidates] have to go out and break into the white male network.*

In fact, one campaign consultant encouraged female candidates to re-call male individual donors and ask them for more money if they were given less than the male candidates supported by the same donor. This advice makes sense when viewed in light of the gender affinities observed in the quantitative data.

While Republican candidates and consultants were more likely than Democrats to reject the idea of gender as salient, they recognized the importance of networks to early fundraising. “The first rule of fundraising is friends and family - pulling the kitchen cabinet together.” Both Republicans and Democrats noted the importance of personal ties. One candidate recounted that, “[she] had to raise \$100,000. Imagine if someone told you that you had to raise that much money in six months. I mean I had to call all of my friends.” “Personal ties” jumpstart the fundraising process. My data suggests that personal ties actually refer to tapping a gendered donor network.

### **Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research**

Overall, these findings support the conclusions of prior general election studies, which have shown that individual donation patterns favor male candidates (Barber et. al. 2014). Barber and his colleagues find that, during general elections, “men raise more



money from individual donors than women (a difference that is statistically significant) ...because the largest source of funds in state legislative races is contributions from individual donors (Barber n.d.), this bias strongly favors men” (16). This same bias is exhibited during primary elections. Female candidates of both parties are favored by female donors, but this advantage is moderated by the fact that female donors give less on average and there are less of them in both parties’ donor pools. Female candidates are fighting against the reality of a smaller and less monied network.

The fact that female candidates receive smaller individual donations on average does not mean that they can never outraise men or that there are not prolific female fundraisers. However, looking at the entire fundraising process, as opposed to solely the outcome, suggests that female candidates still face gendered challenges, especially with the most important group of donors to primary elections – individual men.

Future research on female Republican primary donors could help researchers and practitioners understand the motivations of this small but important group. This research suggests that female Republican primary donors are more important than previously thought. They are more present in the donor pools of female, Republican primary candidates than expected based on general election studies. Further, despite the Republican Party’s aversion to identity politics, female Republican donors do exhibit a gender affinity bias for female candidates.

While the Democratic party’s donor base is generally thought of as supportive of female candidates, this picture is complicated by state legislative primary elections. Female Democratic donors do favor Democratic female candidates but less so than their

Republican counterparts. This contradicts the existing literature on the donor networks of Democratic women. Further, Democratic men are underrepresented in the donor pools of Democratic women and there is a significant interaction between being a female, winning, challenger candidate and receiving lower donation amounts than your male peers. This interaction is significant despite the fact that winning Democratic challengers receive higher donations than other candidate types overall.

Finally, a focus on state legislative primaries is important because Democratic women do not have the help of women's donor groups at the state legislative primary level. Congressional-level research on the donor networks of women highlights the importance of women's PACs, which give early money to female candidates (Burrell 1994; Francia 2001). Democratic women have supposedly leveled the fundraising playing field with help from the women's PAC network. However, there are few moneyed women's PACs in the 50 states; Democratic candidates have lost one of their strongest champions. A lack of women's PACs and a lack of support from male individual donors may create structural disadvantages for Democratic women running in state legislative elections.

Future research with additional controls will greatly expand state legislative primary research, which is still in its infancy in the area of campaign finance. This chapter began to address the dearth of primary research and asked several new questions. Firstly, how much time did male and female state legislators believe they spend fundraising during primary elections? Secondly, what were the average dollar amounts of individual campaign donations to female and male candidates during

primary elections? Thirdly, of whom were candidates' individual donor networks comprised? The preliminary results found here make an excellent case for state legislative primary research.

## **Chapter Four: Women of Color and the Campaign Fundraising Process**

Chapter Three addresses an understudied area of state legislative elections – primary contests. Similarly, Chapter Four seeks to break new ground in state legislative campaign finance research with its focus on women of color. Nearly one of every three Democratic women state legislators are women of color (CAWP 2019). According to the Center for American Women and Politics, female state legislators of color make up 24.83% of all female legislators nationwide or 6.2% of all state legislators (2019). This chapter investigates the unique campaign finance challenges experienced by women of color when they run for state legislative office. I ask how women of color experience the fundraising process during general elections.<sup>1</sup> What fundraising challenges do women of color perceive during their campaigns? Do women of color receive smaller mean donations than their white female counterparts? Are they disadvantaged with certain types of donors? As Kira Sanbonmatsu notes, “minority women are disadvantaged by their location at the intersections of race, gender, and class inequalities, with implications for all aspects of political participation, including the pursuit of elective office” (2015, 2).

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter Three makes a strong case for the need to study primary elections. Preferably, primary election donations to women of color would be the focus of, or at least included in, Chapter Four’s analysis. However, in this case, primary elections must be excluded due to data limitations with regard to the race/ethnicity of candidates. The Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) has verified candidate race/ethnicity data for general elections only. Therefore, I have elected to use only their general election data for the dissertation. However, future iterations of this study will include primary elections. I have spoken with several scholars of race and politics in an attempt to find good, 50-state, multi-year primary data. I was able to find a one-year data set, but it did not overlap with the DIME data utilized for the rest of this project. Further, CAWP does have some primary elections data that is need of verification. Building on the one-year data set or verifying the CAWP data are both options for the inclusion of primary elections data in the future.

The quantitative portion of this analysis utilizes data that begins in 2004 and ends in 2010. While it is dated, this information is valuable. Firstly, women of color made up a small but growing percentage of all state legislators during the years analyzed. For example, in 2004, women of color were 18.4% of all state legislators; they were 19.5% by 2010. Secondly, there are few 50-state studies of the campaign finance experiences of women of color in state legislatures because 50-state data is difficult to obtain. Most 50-state campaign finance studies emphasize differences between male and female legislators, as is the case with Chapter Three, without including a race variable. As such, “diversity among women (and among men) is often ignored, and the commonality among women (and among men) is often exaggerated” (Cammisa & Reingold 2004, 202). Yet, women in the state legislatures are far from a homogenous group. When scholars do attempt to differentiate female legislators and candidates from one another, the most common method of doing so is to look at party differences. Data on candidate and legislator party is widely available. These studies are important as the campaign finance environment differs markedly for Democratic and Republican women. In fact, all the empirical chapters of this work separate women by party for precisely this reason.

Race is a difficult variable to incorporate in large-N studies because it is not reported when state legislative candidates or legislators file campaign finance documents. This chapter combines race data from the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) with the DIME campaign finance data to study the experiences of

female state legislators of color from 2004 to 2010.<sup>2</sup> These findings are supported by interview data. Details and limitations are described below in the data and methodology section.

### **Women of Color and the “Double Disadvantage”**

A double disadvantage in which women of color lack both sex and race privilege is evidenced by the responses of women of color to scholars who study their candidacies. Female candidates of color are more likely to report fundraising as a hurdle and more likely to have a primary challenge (Carroll & Sanbonmatsu 2013). Women of color are also more likely to have encountered efforts to discourage their candidacies, meaning they have surmounted higher hurdles to run for office in the first place (Sanbonmatsu, Carroll, & Walsh 2009). Women of color emerge to candidacy in a different context than white women (Moore 2005).

However, a number of scholars now dispute the idea of an intersectional disadvantage (Bejarano 2013; Silva & Skulley 2018). In fact, Wendy Smooth finds that the number of black women in office is growing at a faster rate than that of white women or black men (2014). Further, both black women and Latinas have been more successful at winning state legislative elected office than white women and minority men (Junn & Brown 2008; Scola 2006); women of color hold larger proportions of the seats held by their respective racial/ethnic groups in state legislatures than the proportion held by white women (Garcia Bedolla, Tate, & Wong 2005; Hardy-Fanta et al. 2006; Scola 2006). As Latina and Asian American populations continue to grow, it is

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<sup>2</sup> CAWP’s race data begins at 2004 so prior years could not be included.

likely that greater numbers of women of color will run in the future. This will have impacts for politics and policy (Brown 2014; Reingold & Smith 2012). Understanding how these women experience the fundraising process prior to their electoral success should be critically important to practitioners concerned with attracting more women of color into politics.

### **Data and Methods**

This chapter utilizes three data sets as well as original interviews with 28 women of color in four case study states. I began with the 2002 Joint Project on Term Limits State (JPTL) Legislator Survey that was described in Chapter Two and Chapter Three. The survey informed this chapter's focus on women of color. Dr. Adam Bonica's Database on Ideology, Money in Politics in Elections (DIME 2013) was augmented with race data from the Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP) in order to study donations to legislators of color from 2004 to 2010.<sup>3</sup> As with results from the JPTL survey, this portion of the analysis is limited to legislators (winning candidates) since CAWP race data only includes elected officials. Further studies that include losing candidates would be an excellent contribution to this research. Research on women of color during primary elections would also be of great value and is a necessary expansion of this work. Since CAWP's race data does not include primary candidates, an extensive data gathering project would be necessary to apply the analysis conducted here to primary elections. The current analysis includes only general elections. Though, I have previously made a strong case for the study of primaries and do hope to expand this work to

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<sup>3</sup> The DIME database does not include a race variable. CAWP data begins in 2004.

primary elections, there is little 50-state on donations to women of color during the primaries or the general election. Therefore, this analysis of general election fundraising process is equally important.

Unlike Chapter Three, which compares female candidates to male candidates, this chapter compares winning, female legislators of color to white female legislators. CAWP race data is limited to female candidates that won a general election between 2004 and 2010. As such, male candidates were not included in this chapter's analysis. This limitation makes it difficult to isolate the effects of race and gender, as it is possible that male and female legislators of color share experiences that are rendered invisible here. However, understanding how the experiences of women differ within the group is critical to the project of gender parity in officeholding and to fully understanding the female experience of running for state legislative office. Despite some limitations, this quantitative 50-state study of state legislators of color makes an important contribution to the literature. Interview data is interspersed throughout the chapter to paint a fuller picture of the process of fundraising.<sup>4</sup>

As in Chapter Three, I look at mean donations to candidates. I added a code for race (white, African American, Latina, Asian/ Pacific Islander) using the CAWP race data. Individual donations are critical to primary elections and were therefore the focus of Chapter Three. This chapter includes an analysis of several different types of donations. The results outlined below compare the mean donation amounts from individual

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<sup>4</sup> Interviews were conducted after the timer period covered by the quantitative portion of this analysis and are not directly comparable to it. They help eave a more colorful tapestry and suggest that the challenges experienced by women of color did not end in 2010.



donors, party committee donors, all other committee donors, and women's PACs during the general election. Controls for seat status (incumbent, challenger, open) are included. A control for professionalization (as a proxy for cost) is also included. Female candidates of color and white female candidates may receive different mean donation amounts because they run in districts with widely variant campaign costs. Controlling for professionalization eliminates some of this concern since professionalization and cost are highly correlated. The professionalization variable was operationalized the same way in Chapters Three and Four.

A previously unutilized variable, district competition was also used in this chapter. Data on district competition came from Carl Klarner and his colleagues (2013); their work provides information on all state legislative elections from 1967 – 2010. Klarner's data set is titled *State Legislative Election Returns 1967-2016* and is available from the Harvard Dataverse. It is a centralized repository of district-level data, which would otherwise need to be collected from the board of elections websites of all 50 states. Using Klarner's data, district competitiveness can be determined by analyzing the vote share of the winning candidate in each district during each election. The vote share model is a commonly used method for calculating district competition (Grainger 2010; Huberty 2013; McGee & Kogan 2011). Typically, any winning candidate with a vote margin of under 10 points (55% to 45% or tighter)" was considered to have run in a competitive election. Since this chapter only includes winning candidates, I transformed the percentage of the vote received by the winner into a dummy variable – competitive

or not competitive. A race in which the winner received 55% of the vote or less was considered competitive.

Critiques of the vote share model include questions about candidate quality and anomalous circumstances such as a scandal. These critiques illustrate the difficult nature of parsing variables that make any given election competitive – a challenge which numerous scholars have sought to address.<sup>5</sup> Still, it is not possible to meaningfully compare winning female candidates across race/ ethnic groups without a district competition control and the prior vote share model is a generally accepted, though imperfect, operationalization of this concept.

Additionally, controls for state campaign finance law stringency, which can shape donor behavior, were included. Christopher Witko's 22 item campaign finance stringency scale was adapted to fit the data. As in Chapter Three, rather than using all 22 items in the scale, I selected the items which were most likely to impact the types of donations analyzed during this chapter. These are:

1. Disclosure laws – itemization of contributions over \$50
2. Limits on donations to candidates from individual donors
3. Limits on donations to candidates from organizations (direct or PACs)
4. Public financing of state legislative campaigns
5. Public financing of political parties.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For example, in a study of female candidate emergence and success in state legislative elections, Jason Windett and Jonathan Winburn (2015) categorized competitive elections as those in which a candidate raised \$1,000 in electoral districts with a population of <50,000, at least \$5,000 in electoral districts with >50,000 but <500,000 constituents, and at least \$10,000 in electoral districts with >500,000 constituents. While they note that this included some candidates that were not actually viable, they also state that it eliminated the need to calculate prior vote share, while still capturing competitive elections in a given cycle. I chose the more commonly used prior vote share model, though this is an interesting alternative option.

<sup>6</sup> The campaign finance regulations listed as items three and five were not included when analyzing donations from individual donors to female candidates because these limits do not impact individual donations. However, these items were utilized as dichotomous controls in the committee and party committee models.

Again, I followed the model of David Primo and Jeffrey Milyo's 2006 study of campaign finance laws and political efficacy and transformed the three items selected from the Witko scale into dichotomous variables. The use of dichotomous variables avoided multicollinearity between the items, which are related. Since state campaign finance laws change, I accounted for the election cycle in the coding. Finally, year dummy variables were included to control for features of particular election cycles that can impact fundraising. The two parties were modeled separately as in common in campaign finance studies.

#### JPTL Results

Joint Project on Term Limits data provided a brief insight into the view point of female legislators of color. There was a statistically significant difference between the amounts of time that female legislators of color reported spending on fundraising as compared to white female state legislators.<sup>78</sup>

Table 13

*Legislators by Race - Time Spent Fundraising from Hardly Any to a Great Deal (1-5)*

N white = 2597

N non-white = 285

Total N = 2,882 with valid race and gender data; total survey cases = 2,982

<b>TIME SPENT</b>	MEAN ALL WHITE MEN N = 1,967	MEAN ALL NON-WHITE MEN N = 199	MEAN ALL WHITE WOMEN N = 630	MEAN ALL NON-WHITE WOMEN N = 86
Fundraising for Yourself	2.8	3	2.8	3.3

Source: JPTL.

<sup>7</sup> The JPTL analysis does not distinguish between primary and general elections.

<sup>8</sup> While the difference was also present between male legislators of color and white male legislators, it was larger when comparing women of color to white women.

Table 14 utilizes a regression analysis to illustrate the finding in Table 13, which is that women of color believe they spend more time fundraising than their white female counterparts. This difference in perceived fundraising time is statically significant.

Table 14

*Fundraising Time Spent by Race Female Legislators Only*

N = 716 with valid race and gender data; total survey cases = 752

<b>Fundraising Time</b>	<b>Change in Time Spent when Elected Official is Non-white (coefficient)</b>	<b>Standard Error</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>P&gt;[t]</b>
<b>Non-White Elected Women</b>	.582909	.1512347	3.85	0.000***

Source: JPTL.

The perceptions of winning women of color were both interesting and unsurprising in light of prior research on women of color and the double disadvantage. These survey findings had many similarities to the perceptions that candidates and legislators of color expressed during the original interviews conducted years later for the purpose of this dissertation. Interviewees felt that their fundraising experience differed from that of their white peers. Women of color were often matter-of-fact in their accounts of seeking monetary support; they viewed a fundraising challenge as an obvious reality. Women of color, especially African American women, were actually less likely than their white counterparts to say that women were specifically disadvantaged with regard to raising money. They saw fundraising through the intersectional lens of race, gender, and class - overcoming intersectional challenges was part of the history of black womanhood. Several African American interviewees felt that the historic presence of strong women in their communities led to their acceptance as leaders by important

local stakeholders, a concept supported by prior research (Giddings 1984). African American interviewees discussed fighting for their communities and being supported as vocal black women. They realized that their donor networks were not as moneyed as those in wealthier, whiter communities but accepted this as fact not a deterrent. One candidate of color who felt that she was advantaged by her light skin noted,

*Please trust me there is nothing for African American women running. Even [large national women's PAC] - it is a white organization. I have a lot of colleagues that I still stay in contact with that are women of color and the things that they go through. I bypass a lot of that because of...I don't know...my skin is light.*

This interviewee accepted bias as a given, not something about which to be angered. Latina interviewees often reported being surprised by the amount of money they needed to raise and the importance of fundraising overall. One reported that her network, which was predominately working-class Latinas, made fundraising especially difficult. She lamented that a consultant told her to ask her mother for \$1,000. She did but had to allow her to pay “as much as she could in an installment plan.” Having a poorer network was a common theme among black and Latina women. Non-white women were (and still are) more likely than their Caucasian counterparts to live in poverty – a socioeconomic reality that raises the bar to entry into a campaign world that is expensive and dominated by those in a narrow group of professional occupations. Women of color tend to run as Democrats in urban areas within professionalized states. Elections costs the most in professionalized states, so any fundraising disadvantages may be especially salient for women of color.

## DIME Results

Before interpreting the results of the regression analyses below, it is important to note that a limited number of winning women are present in the DIME data set. This is especially true among Republican women. According to the DIME data, only three black Republican women actually ran and won between 2004 and 2010.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, only eleven Hispanic Republican women and eight Asian/ Pacific Islander Republican women were included in the data spanning 2004 to 2010.

Even if the available data extended through 2019, women of color would be difficult to study quantitatively – particularly Republican women. As of 2019, there are 456 women of color serving in state legislatures. One of them is a member of the Progressive Party (CAWP 2019). 429 are Democrats; 26 are Republicans. In the case of women of color, the rich description of qualitative or mixed- methods research is critical to understanding the campaign finance process.

More studies of primary elections, for which Chapter Three advocates, would also be useful. The case of black, Democratic women illustrates this point. Among Democrats in the data set, only three black women ran in competitive election districts, which made it difficult to adequately control for this important predictor variable. Black women often run in heavily Democratic districts in which the real election is the primary election. Studies of the fundraising experiences of black women should really be studies of primaries not general elections. The same may be true for all Republican women of

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<sup>9</sup> A study that includes losing candidates could be interesting with regard to black Republicans. Perhaps more are running but not winning. However, since the vast majority of black women are registered Democrats, it is likely that few black women chose to run as Republicans.

color for whom the question of who is able to emerge from primaries is critical. Prior research has shown that conservative Republican women are more likely to win primaries, at least for congressional seats. However, these studies do not distinguish between women of different races/ ethnicities due to data limitations. It is possible that even if more women of color ran as Republicans, they would not receive the individual donor support necessary to mount a successful primary challenge. It is with these caveats and data limitations in mind that the following results are presented. While, limited, they still have value since women of color are an understudied group in campaign finance research.

**Individual donors in general elections.** Republican individual donors made 238 donations to black women, 2,198 donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 1,038 donations to Latinas. Alternatively, Democratic individual donors made 26,053 donations to black women, 5,275 donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 8,150 donations to Latinas. Most individual donations in the DIME data set were made to Democratic women. This was not surprising, since more women run for office as Democrats than Republicans. This was especially true for women of color, which was also unsurprising

The following regression tables show differences in average individual donation amounts to white women as compared to women of color. The tables below, and throughout the rest of this chapter, are separated by party, which is common in studies of campaign finance. While Republican and Democratic women do run against one another in general elections, this portion of the study compares similarly-situated

women with a focus on race/ ethnic disparities in campaign finance. The campaign finance environment differs markedly by party.

Table 15

*Republican Individual Donations to Female, Winning Republican Candidates by Race 2004 to 2010*

	N = 64,453 R squared = 0.010
Female, Asian Pacific Islander	164.37*** (39.95)
Female, Black	1.08 (73.79)
Female, Hispanic	152.50 (34.92)
Challenger	54.73** (20.57)
Open Seat	97.20*** (10.33)
Professionalized State	-24.88** (9.30)
Competitive Seat	-6.89 (10.26)
Disclosure Laws	-64.34*** (8.02)
Individual Donation Limits	-133.08*** (10.30)
Public Financing	-52.36*** (15.12)
Female, Asian Pacific Islander* Competitive Seat	-51.51 (48.83)
Female, Black*Competitive Seat	436.70*** (126.85)
Female, Hispanic*Competitive Seat	496.44*** (75.73)

Source: DIME.

Note: White women are the comparison group

\*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p<.01



Table 16

*Democratic Individual Donations to Female, Winning Republican Candidates by Race  
2004 to 2010*

	N = 151,111 R squared = 0.008
Female, Asian Pacific Islander	113.41*** (15.15)
Female, Black	-18.75** (5.95)
Female, Hispanic	86.54*** (10.20)
Challenger	28.81*** (7.57)
Open Seat	15.26** (5.45)
Professionalized State	23.17*** (5.74)
Competitive Seat	-28.88*** (6.89)
Disclosure Laws	-64.34*** (8.02)
Individual Donation Limits	-1331.24*** (6.97)
Public Financing	-16.64 (8.83)
Female, Asian Pacific Islander* Competitive Seat	199.94 (136.79)
Female, Black*Competitive Seat	-54.02* (27.19)
Female, Hispanic*Competitive Seat	95.15** (30.22)

Source: DIME.

Note: White women are the comparison group

\*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p<.01, \*p>.05

Neither the Republican nor Democratic tables suggest a bias against women of color as a whole, at least with regard to average donation amounts. Among Republicans, all Asian/ Pacific Islander women as well as Black and Hispanic women running in competitive races received significantly higher average donations than their white

peers. Perhaps donors were excited by the still-rare presence of highly competitive Republican women of color. With so few Republican women of color running, there may be a benefit to those who do – their races may be viewed as strategic opportunities for victory. From the viewpoint of those of who advocate for women's representation, this may be a positive observation, but it does little to address the larger reality of so few candidates. Further, the value of statistical data will always be limited for this group as long as it remains so small.

Among Democrats, Asian/ Pacific and Hispanic women received higher average donations than their white peers. Black women received slightly lower average donations. The results are similar when interacting race and district competition. Only Black women received lower average individual donations, even when the competitiveness of the race was considered. The difference was not huge, and it was only significant at the .05 level, but Black women did receive lower average donations from individual donors.

Interview data offered several potential explanations for this reality. One interviewee noted that that campaigns of black women are different from their white counterparts. She stated, "the challenge for women of color is raising money...white women and black women - from my personal experience it is two different types of campaigns. From my experience, it is harder for women of color to raise the same type of money [need for professional staff]." Another candidate noted that she faced resistance when trying to expand her fundraising network beyond people of color. "It is more difficult for minority candidates to really be heard and be taken seriously. It takes

a while to be taken seriously and that is a big hurdle to get over.” Still another interviewee stated, “You know African American women do give money to their church but with candidates it is a different story. I really don’t know why to be honest with you. I have heard women from all different types of socio-economic backgrounds [say I won’t donate].” Another African American woman echoed this concern, especially with regard to middle-class black women who “had the money” but did not like politics. Another stated, “You have to begin the fundraising conversation at \$10.” These facts were sometimes compounded by a reality expressed by women of color more generally – that they sometimes faced resistance when attempting to broaden their donor network beyond fellow women of color. One consulted noted,

*I have seen both African American and non-African American women call the same people asking for donations and you know the white woman can get \$100 and the African American women can get \$25.*

While not representing the experience of every Black candidates, it seems that fundraising from individual donors remains a fraught experience for black women as a group. Since the vast majority of Black, winning, state legislative candidates are Democrats, it is within the Democratic Party network that this challenge becomes apparent.

**Committee Donors in General Elections.** Most committee donations to winning female candidates were made to Democrats (126,653 to Democrats versus 73,174 to Republicans). This was especially true for women of color. Committees that gave to Republicans made 537 donations to black women, 1,802 donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 1,907 donations to

Latinas. Alternatively, committees that gave to Democrats made 18,122 donations to black women, 4,287 donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 9,761 donations to Latinas. These committee donations primarily went to a small number of female candidates of color running in competitive districts. As previously discussed, a limited number of winning women of color were part of the DIME data set, especially with regard to Republican women. As such, while there are enough donations for statistical analysis, the results shown on the regression tables below must be interpreted with caution. For candidates of both parties, these results best represent the campaign finance experiences of the small cohort of women of color that ran in competitive general elections. Prior research has shown that these are the races in which committee donors tend to be most involved based on their strategic priorities. When women of color do run in these specific types of races, they do not experience committee donor bias against them – at least with regard to average donation amounts. Of course, such a conclusion is limited by a lack of data on losing candidates as well as primary elections.

Table 17 shows the average amounts of all committee donations to Republican women.

Table 17

*Committee Donations to Female, Winning Republican Candidates by Race 2004 to 2010, All Committee Donors*

	N = 73,174 R squared = 0.015
Female, Asian Pacific Islander	79.78 (184.15)
Female, Black	117.84 (174.66)
Female, Hispanic	582.36*** (88.05)
Challenger	344.28*** (84.49)
Open Seat	30.19 (32.96)
Professionalized State	262.82*** (31.48)
Competitive Seat	233.98*** (30.77)
Disclosure Laws	-80.37** (26.46)
Individual Donation Limits	194.96*** (38.96)
Public Financing	-189.67** (64.12)
Organizational Donation Limits	-440.07*** (48.92)
Election Year	41.65*** (11.84)
Female, Asian Pacific Islander* Competitive Seat	1384.83*** (202.30)
Female, Black* Competitive Seat	-202.91 (270.19)
Female, Hispanic* Competitive Seat	1024.29*** (150.98)

Source: DIME.

Note: White women are the comparison group

\*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p < .01

Table 17 shows that many factors are significantly related to average donation amounts.

The competitiveness of the race increases donation amounts, as expected. Candidate

type, professionalization, and campaign finance laws are similarly impact donation amounts, also as expected based on prior campaign finance research. Race was not generally predictive of average donation amounts on its own, though Hispanic women did receive significantly higher average donation amounts than their female peers. This result must be interpreted carefully because, while there are nearly 2,000 committee donations to Republican Hispanic women in the dataset, most donations went to the same few candidates. As such, the result shown above really only applies to a narrow subset of candidates. Looking at the interaction between race and the competitiveness of the seat further illuminates this point. When Asian/ Pacific Islander and Hispanic women run in competitive races, they receive significantly higher average donation amounts than their white peers. Again, these results must be interpreted carefully since they represent the campaign finance situation for a limited number of candidates. However, they suggest that Hispanic and Asian/ Pacific Islander women running for competitive seats were perceived to be good strategic choices by committee donors to Republican candidates.

Table 18 looks at the average amounts of all committee donations to Democratic women with similar results.

Table 18

*Committee Donations to Female, Winning Democratic Candidates by Race 2004 to 2010, All Committee Donors*

	N = 126,653 R squared = 0.010
Female, Asian Pacific Islander	34.41 (74.77)
Female, Black	-77.84 (34.76)
Female, Hispanic	99.81 (47.78)
Challenger	441.44** (147.96)
Open Seat	464.55*** (137.62)
Professionalized State	341.29*** (30.24)
Competitive Seat	551.20*** (38.12)
Disclosure Laws	-359.18*** (25.41)
Individual Donation Limits	47.86 (41.96)
Public Financing	-106.48 (51.55)
Organizational Donation Limits	-389.14*** (54.76)
Election Year	55.83 (11.73)
Female, Asian Pacific Islander* Competitive Seat	-655.90 (522.90)
Female, Black* Competitive Seat	-171.59 (442.55)
Female, Hispanic* Competitive Seat	889.92*** (112.13)

Source: DIME.

Note: White women are the comparison group; N donations to white women =

\*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p < .01

Table 18 also shows that many factors are significantly related to average donation amounts. Though, race, on its own, was not a predictor. Looking at the interaction

between race and the competitiveness of the seat shows that when Democratic, Hispanic women run in competitive races, they receive significantly higher average donation amounts than their white peers. Again, these results must be interpreted carefully since they represent the campaign finance situation for a limited number of candidates. Still they suggest that Democratic committee donors can be excited by the competitive candidacies of Hispanic women, at least in certain contexts.

**Party committee donors in general elections.** Table 19 includes Democratic Party donations to women. Republican Party donations could not be analyzed as their numbers were too limited. The Republican Party made 14 donations to black women, 46 donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 41 to Latinas. It is possible that these low numbers are evidence of the Republican Party's lack of interest in women of color, but they may also be a function of the low numbers of Republican candidates of color. Perhaps there is no bias with regard to party donations but there are no candidates to whom to give money. Qualitative studies of the interactions between Republican women of color and their political party are critical to campaign finance research for this group of women. I hope to expand the interview portion of this project to include more Republican women of color in the future.

The Democratic Party made a total of 4,818 donations to winning women. 278 were to black women. They also made 464 donations to Hispanic women. The Democratic Party made only 30 donations to Asian Pacific Islander women; they were dropped from the regression table below.



Table 19

*Democratic Party Donations to Female, Winning Republican Candidates by Race  
2004 to 2010*

	N = 4,818 R squared = 0.058
Female, Black	-1634.1 (1902.6)
Female, Hispanic	-2580.1 (3358.7)
Challenger	-369.2 (1634.7)
Open Seat	4412.2 (1241.7)
Professionalized State	7388.8 (1270.5)
Competitive Seat	4665.5*** (1192.4)
Disclosure Laws	-6604.7*** (1128)
Individual Donation Limits	4850.3** (1575.3)
Public Financing	1155.9 (2062.3)
Organizational Donation Limits	-5118.7 (2041.8)
Female, Black* Competitive Seat	-2692.6 (9616)
Female, Hispanic* Competitive Seat	13303.2** (4504)

Source: DIME.

Note: White women are the comparison group

\*\*\*p < .001, \*\*p < .01

Table 19 shows that race does not impact average donation amount. One exception was Hispanic women running in competitive races. Such legislators received higher average donation amounts. Though, it is important to note that a very small number of women received the donations included in the data set. As such the data above only represents their campaign finance experience and is not generalizable

outside the limited context of competitive races inclusive of a Hispanic woman. Further, this data only includes winners, losing Hispanic female candidates would make an excellent comparison group in the future.

As with Republican women of color, the thick description of qualitative studies is critical to a full understanding the campaign finance experience. In fact, while the above results do not show any bias against female, winning candidates of color, Democratic interviewees expressed concern regarding the party's acceptance of minority candidates. When asked about Democratic local party funding several black women commented that the party just did not "get involved at that level" or "did not care" that much about their district. Black women generally run in majority-minority districts with a strong Democratic registration skew rendering their races less interesting to their party, which is a strategic actor that wants to win or keep legislative chambers. As one black party chair reported, "the party helps other counties more. Definitely they do. It is because we are black." While another local party chair in a majority-minority district stated,

*They are just going to assume that we will vote because they feel that the older black people, they went through the struggle, so they are going to vote regardless...They don't care [about helping the local party with its turnout operation]. We don't have the financial resources so we are trying to get people to give a little donation for paper and ink and all kinds of stuff so that we can do phone banking. We have to go buy phones because the party has not given us one penny as far as trying to get an HQ. They don't help us. It is slap in the face.*

Such comments suggested that there may be tensions between the larger Democratic Party and local county parties. These tensions sometimes included accusations of discrimination by chairs of local parties in predominately non-

white counties. The funding relationships between national, state, and local arms of the party and how those relationships are, or are not, impacted by the racial and ethnic makeup of a county is an interesting area for future study.

**Women's PAC donors in general elections.** As per the conventional wisdom on women's PACs, there was minimal participation on the part of Republican-identified groups. These groups made only 743 donations during the time period studied. 701 of those donations were to white women. 1 was to a black woman, 20 were to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 17 were to Latinas. Republican women's PACs made high mean donations to Asian/ Pacific Islander and Hispanic women, which reflects donations given to the same candidates that received high Republican Party donations during races for competitive seats. Republican women's PAC professionals noted during interviews that they sometimes worked with their party allies to support a female candidate. This may have occurred in these cases. There are not enough cases for regression analysis.

Democratic women's PACs made more donations than their Republican counterparts. This was not surprising since more women run as Democrats and the Democratic women's PAC infrastructure is more robust. Democratic women's PACs made 2,700 donations during the time period studied. 2,240 of these donations were to white women. 306 were to black women, 65 were to Asian/ Pacific Islander women, and 89 were to Latinas. A statistical analysis was not possible due to the low number of donations made to women identified as Hispanic and Asian/ Pacific Islander women. However, during interviews, women of color sometimes described a lack of familiarity

with women's groups; their networks did not include these entities, so they did not know to ask them for money. Though many Democratic women's PACs have made efforts to diversify, they are often predominately white organizations. This was felt by some Democratic interviewees who assumed that women's PACs simply did not work for them. Network effects may encourage women's PACs to give more to white women because they have stronger relationships to this group. However, the table above suggests that Democratic women's PACs will give equally to women of color once they choose to support their races. This is hopeful information, so long as more women of color can be connected to Democratic women's PACs.

### **Conclusions and Suggestions for Future Research**

Among Democrats, black women received lower average donation amounts from individual donors. This was somewhat surprising since the Democratic Party typically positions itself as a supportive home for women generally and black women specifically. Certainly, the vast majority of black female candidates run as Democrats. Democratic women identified as Hispanic or Asian/ Pacific Islander were not at a statistical disadvantage with regard to individual donors. The experience of black women appeared to be unique. Additional research that includes later election years would help to validate these results.

Republican women of color were not at a statistical disadvantage with regard to mean donations from individuals. In fact, in some cases, Republican women of color actually received higher average donation amounts than their white peers. This may be due to the fact that elected Republican women of color are still rare across the states.

There may be excitement to support them. Qualitative research on individual donations could help better explicate this finding.

The results were as expected with regard to committee and party donations. These groups are strategic funders. As this is a study of general election winners, it is unsurprising that such donors show no bias across both parties.

Further research should also investigate the race of individual donors to better understand the individual donor networks of women of all races and ethnicities. The study of gendered donor networks is a growing area within the subfield of women and politics. It may be useful to examine the racial contours of donor networks as well. As one candidate of color noted,

*I realized that my male counterparts were getting more money from my donors. It's like they didn't know that I could look up the campaign finance reports. I was just curious one day and I looked it up. Especially among Arab American men. They were giving more money to men than me. You can put that in [your study]. I don't care. I talk to my Latina colleagues and they say it is the same thing. I have even heard one of my male donors say to other donors 'oh you can give her money, but she is not going to win', so maybe it is just that.*

Skepticism on the part of individual male donors was a common refrain in interviews.

Just like candidates generally, women of color began their individual fundraising journeys by asking their personal networks. However, such asks may be complicated by increased hesitation and could be more prevalent among certain groups of individual donors.

It must be noted that the data analyzed for Chapter Four was limited to winning female candidates who ran in a general election between 2004 and 2010. Missing data greatly constrained this analysis. Most notably, men are not included nor are primary

elections. My future research will seek to address these issues. Despite these caveats, this work is valuable because comparisons that separate white women from women of color are still rare within the state legislative campaign finance literature.

## Chapter Five: Women's Donor Groups

This chapter breaks new ground in its focus on women's donor groups in the 50 states; its findings include the most comprehensive database of such organizations compiled to date as well as new data on the involvement of such groups in primary and general elections. EMILY's List, a women's political action committee (PAC) well-known by scholars and practitioners of American politics, has become synonymous with the potential power of women's donor groups. Though EMILY's List has funded state legislative candidates in recent years, they are best known for their efforts to elect women to Congress. A robust literature chronicles the growth and success of EMILY's List at the national level (Burrell 2003, 2014; Hannagan, Pimlott, & Littvay, 2010; Malcolm & Unger 2016; Pimlott 2007). Much less is known about their state-level activities. The work of other women's donor groups, Republican, Democratic, and nonpartisan, that seek to impact state legislative elections receives even less attention. Especially, with regard to campaign finance, women's donor groups in the 50 states are infrequently studied.

The limited research on state women's donor groups is mostly focused on recruitment (Dittmar 2015). State women's donor groups are typically assumed inconsequential because they do not have as much money as other institutional funders. This project attempts to bridge the gap between the state legislative campaign finance literature and the work of women's donor groups operating at the state level. I find that women's donor groups: 1) are involved in funding state legislative campaigns and are worth studying during future election years, 2) provide campaign resources

other than cash and, 3) leave an impression on the female candidates that seek their financial assistance. Further, strategic behavior could increase the impact of women's donor groups in some cases. Finally, while this chapter is a study of campaign finance, it provides insights useful for those studying recruitment and supporting women's candidacies.

Chapter One's literature review includes a summary of the political science research on women's donor groups. As noted, the majority of this work focuses on national-level women's PACs. National women's PACs bundle contributions to women's campaigns (Frederick 2004; Burrell 2006; Jenkins 2007) and provide funding during the early stages of women's candidacy (Burrell 2010; Gierzynski 1993) to help legitimize female candidates. Since the rise of EMILY's List, women's PACs have been credited with helping women, especially Democratic women running for the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House of Representatives, master the money game. Women's PACs can help female candidates overcome a fundraising disadvantage (Burrell 2010) and can even give them an advantage during congressional elections.<sup>1</sup> Yet, the scholarly attention to women's PACs at the national level has not translated to research on these groups in the 50 states. In a rare attempt to create a database of state-level women's donor groups, the Center for American Women and Politics listed 47 state-based women's PACs on its

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<sup>1</sup> Powerful women's PACs are a positive development for advocates of political parity. Yet, the value of these groups is predicated upon the reality that male and female candidates still inhabit distinct donor networks. This is true at both the congressional and state levels, but robust women's PACs cannot make up the difference in the latter context. Further, these groups are much more advantageous for Democratic women than Republican women in both Congress and the states (Elder 2012, Political Parity 2012).



2014 state women’s PAC fact sheet.<sup>2</sup> In 2017, its *Political Leadership and Resource Map*, which includes “resources across the county for women interested in running for office, working on political campaigns, or holding appointed office,” found over 50. The latter resource mirrors much of the work on women’s groups operating at the state legislative level – it does not focus solely on women’s donor groups but on all groups assisting female candidates at any stage from recruitment to election day. Such efforts are important but not campaign finance focused. Since no comprehensive list of state level women’s donor groups was identified, I created one; through this process, I identified a large number of groups that are typically ignored by recruiters of female candidates. The full list of women’s donor groups that I identified is included in Appendix C and D and is utilized here to explore the involvement of women’s donor groups in financing state legislative elections. The initial findings and the database gathered here provide a starting point for future research.

### **Research Questions**

To examine the intersection of women’s donor group involvement in state legislative campaigns and campaign finance, this chapter asks three overarching questions. First, which groups count as women’s donor groups in the 50 states? This question is necessary because prior research has not attempted to identify the full universe of state-level women’s groups that make monetary donations to female candidates. Women’s donor groups are a discrete category of state-level groups that deserve further study. However, most state-level research focuses on a random

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix D for CAWP’s full list of state-level women’s PACs

selection of all women's groups, predominately those that recruit candidates but don't donate money (for example, Dittmar 2015). This first question is answered in the methodological section because it forms the basis of the second two questions. Second, how many women's donor groups exist in the 50 states? The creation of the category women's donor group allows for the most complete count of women's donor groups to date.<sup>3</sup> I find three main types of women's donor groups: women's PACs, recruitment and encouragement organizations that make donations, and party affiliated women's groups. These will be discussed in detail below. Third, how are women's donor groups involved in state legislative elections?

### **What is a Women's Donor Group?**

I use the term women's donor group throughout this work to describe those entities that I included in both the quantitative and qualitative portions of my research. I created a new term to explain the inclusion and exclusion of various actors.<sup>4</sup> The term used for the purpose of this study - women's donor groups - refers to a specific subset of organizations operating at the state-level. Women's donor groups give money to women's campaigns. More specifically, women's donor groups either: donate to women

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<sup>3</sup> Grappling with the category women's group donor is difficult. Future research might dispute the parameters outlined here. A disagreement regarding who counts as a women's donor group might add or subtract from the total number identified here. A dialogue on the definition women's groups in the 50 states has been started by Melody Crowder-Meyer and Rosalyn Cooperman and this research attempts to continue that discussion. Further, a very limited number of women's donor groups fell into more than one category, in which case they were counted separately if they functioned as distinct legal entities. For example, a group with a PAC as well as a nonprofit recruitment operation.

<sup>4</sup> As previously noted, most studies of state women's groups focus on recruitment. Recruitment research tends to use a larger category - women's groups - when selecting entities for study. Most recruitment is done by Democratic women's PACs and non-partisan women's groups that are nonprofits. Therefore, recruitment studies lump donor groups together with women's groups that do not make donations but that do want to increase the number of women in office. This categorization makes sense since recruitment studies are not focused on campaign finance. However, the category women's group does not work well for a study of donations to women's campaigns.

as part of their primary organizational mission; exist to empower female candidates and donated to women as a secondary focus; exist to empower candidates from their political party, were comprised of all women, and gave at least some of their funds to female candidates. The rationale for these criteria is discussed below along with the process of identifying women's donor groups.

I first sought to identify all women's PACs that made donations during the election cycles available. What characterizes women's PACs is a mission, whether partisan or not, to assist in the election of female candidates by giving them financial support. Women's PACs clearly belong in the category of women's donor group since they exist to fund women's campaigns. They were the most obvious starting point for this reason and because some prior information about their existence was available. CAWP's women's PAC list, included in Appendix E, was published as a facts sheet only in 2014. It was the most comprehensive list of state-level groups available prior to the launch of CAWP's 2017 *Resource Map*. (Therefore, this list was a useful starting point as well as an excellent example of the need for further research.) I searched the DIME database for the 47 women's PACs identified by CAWP and counted them as women's donor groups if they were active between 1990 and 2010. Next, I searched the DIME data for the words "women", "womens", "list", "fund", and, "NOW".<sup>5</sup> These words are commonly used in the names of women's PACs and women's donor groups more broadly. Since the CAWP list only included women's PACs active for one year, it was

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<sup>5</sup> Some women's donor groups were likely inadvertently excluded by this search method. Future research may add words to the search terms. However, almost all groups identified contained either the word "women" or "list", which suggests that these terms are reasonably comprehensive.

likely that some groups were left out. Once I identified the universe of women's PACs, I broadened the search for women's donor groups beyond PACs by searching for all the groups listed on CAWP's 2017 *Resource Map*. Not all of these groups focus primarily on giving money to women's campaigns. Some exist to increase women's representation in the state legislatures while making donations to women's campaigns to help meet that goal. In fact, some of the groups identified using the words "women", "womens", "list", "fund", and, "NOW" were not women's PACs but were actually women's recruitment organizations that also gave money to a female candidate at some point between 1990 and 2010. As women's groups that were financially involved in women's campaigns, I believe they should be counted as women's donor groups even if campaign financing was not their primary focus. These groups impact campaign finance because they donate to female candidates and exist to increase women's representation; they meet the criteria for inclusion in the category women's donor group. Utilizing CAWP's 2014 and 2017 lists as well as my own set of search terms, I identified a sizable number of previously unmentioned state-level women's groups.

Finally, I sought to identify party affiliated women's groups, which were included in the larger category of women's group donor if they gave money to female candidates during the timeframe studied. These groups were a major source of activity on the Republican side. They exist to empower candidates from their political party, were comprised of all women, and gave at least some of their funds to female candidates. I identified these groups by searching for the terms "Republican women's club" and "Democratic women's club".

The inclusion of party affiliated women's groups under the women's donor group umbrella was difficult decision. As party organizations, some party affiliated women's donor groups made more than half of their donations to male candidates. This differs from the other groups included, which only or primarily donated to women.<sup>6</sup> While making so many donations to men may seem disqualifying, it important to emphasize that other work on women's donor group activity does include groups that make substantial donations to male candidates (Crowder-Meyer & Cooperman 2017). Melody Crowder-Meyer and Roslyn Cooperman note that,

*likely due to the scarcity of female candidates, some of our [women's groups] ...supported male candidates...Indeed, to be included in our list of [women's groups] required that groups maintained an explicit and demonstrated focus on promoting women's representation through their activities (7).*

Ultimately, party affiliated women's donor groups were included in this study because of their ubiquity, because their members expressed an interest in supporting female candidates, because they made donations to women's campaigns within the time period studied, and because interview data suggests an important role for such groups within Republican women's campaigns. (A substantial number of Republican state legislative candidates interviewed mentioned party affiliated women's donor groups when speaking about their campaigns.) In fact, one of the findings of this research is that the literature's failure to recognize or study Republican party affiliated women's groups could be a missed opportunity for advocates seeking to increase female representation.

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<sup>6</sup> For methodological purposes, only donations to female candidates were analyzed even though such donations did not represent all of the campaign finance activity of women's donor groups.

These organizations are ripe for recruitment. Including them in studies of women's donor groups, or women's groups more broadly, is a first step toward their greater recognition. Further, members of these groups expressed an interest in helping female candidates and those identified here were involved in financing women's campaigns.

However, party affiliated women's donor groups are sometimes discussed separately from other women's donor groups in the results section of this chapter in order to prevent confusion. Women's donor groups are listed in Appendix C and D; non-party affiliated women's donor groups are listed in Appendix C; party affiliated women's donor groups have their own list in Appendix D.

Finally, this study excludes a known subset of donors to women's campaigns – women's issue PACs. An example of a women's issue PAC is the Planned Parenthood of New York Political Action Group, which advocates for reproductive choice and donates money to the campaigns of women who are pro-choice. The exclusion of such groups was fraught since they are organized around what are traditionally considered 'women's issues' and tend to support female candidates. The term women's donor group is a large umbrella and other scholars may dispute this exclusion. However, I find the inclusion of these groups to be problematic since the mission of women's issue PACs is not to support female candidates but to support a cause. These groups are excluded because they are neither solely comprised of women nor focused primarily on giving money to women. Finally, these groups do not exist to increase women's representation more broadly. Such groups are issue advocacy PACs that happen to focus on policies of importance to many women. It is important to make this distinction precisely because

the difference between women's donor groups and women's issue PACs is very murky at the ground-level. This is especially true for first-time candidates running as Democrats. The Democratic Party network includes some prominent pro-choice issue PACs as well as some prominent women's PACs (women's donor groups) with pro-choice litmus tests. This confounds the distinction between PACs that are women's donor groups and issue PACs that happen to be focused on traditional women's issues, especially in states with both types of organizations. This confusion can create false expectations that have negative consequences for candidates. This dilemma will be further discussed in the results section.

The extant literature on women's donor groups is mixed with regard to the inclusion of women's issue PACs within the total universe of women's donor groups. At the national-level, Melody Crowder-Meyer and Rosalyn Cooperman (2017) women's PAC study includes EMILY's List, Maggie's List, NOW, Planned Parenthood, Republicans for Choice, ShePAC, Susan B. Anthony List, and VIEW PAC. The inclusion of Planned Parenthood means that these author's methodology differs somewhat from the one utilized for this chapter. Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman state that they selected groups for inclusion partly because "they explicitly advocate for increasing women's political representation and endorse and fund female candidates to further that goal" (7). This criterion extremely similar to the criteria used for the inclusion of women's groups in this study. However, as a result of interviews, I found that reproductive health PACs such as Planned Parenthood were not explicitly focused on the election of women. This may not be true of the national women's PACs studied by Crowder-Meyer and

Cooperman. However, this study suggests that the inclusion of women's issue PACs within the universe of women's donor groups is not appropriate at the state legislative level.

## Methods

Once I identified the universe of women's donor groups, Adam Bonica's (2013) "Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME), [which] is intended as a general resource for the study of campaign finance and ideology in American politics," was used to answer the second research question: how many women's donor groups exist in the 50 states? A portion of Bonica's database was obtained from the National Institute on Money in State Politics and includes complete donor records for candidates running for both the upper and lower chambers of state legislatures from 1990 through 2010. More recent election cycles periodically become available but were not yet uploaded to the DIME repository at the time of this analysis.<sup>7</sup> Using this data, I created a master list of donations, which included 14,479,566 entries. These donations were further parsed into individual (9,065,948) and committee (5,414,697) types. For the purposes of this chapter, I dropped the individual donors since all women's donor groups were coded as committees.<sup>8</sup> Looking only at committee donors for the 11

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<sup>7</sup> This is a limitation, especially since women's donor group activity has been gradually increasing from cycle to cycle. Still, this data allows for the most comprehensive analysis of women's donor groups to date. 2016 interviews help fill in some of the gaps in the DIME data.

<sup>8</sup> Data suggests that women's donor groups, especially PACs, bundle individual contributions to women's campaigns and encourage individual women to donate directly to specific races. In fact, at the national level, scholars find that Democratic women raise more money from individual donations than other candidates (Crespin & Dietz 2010; Dalbeko & Herrnson 1997). This success with individual donors is attributed to the fact that Democratic women benefit from female donor networks in the form of women's PACs such as EMILY's List. The puzzle of women's group impact on individual donation patterns to women's campaigns is difficult to piece together. This study does not do so, but future research could use the DIME data to begin addressing this quandary.



campaign cycles available, I was able to determine the number of women's donor groups in existence during this time as well as answer the third question of this chapter: how are women's donor groups involved in state legislative elections? Involvement can be enumerated in many ways. As exploratory research, this work casts a wide net. I analyze women's donor group involvement in both primary and general elections during the years for which data allows - 2000 to 2010. I determined the average donation amount and range of donations given to female candidates from women's donor groups. I also determined the total amount of women's donor group donations as a percentage of all committee funds,<sup>9</sup> the highest donation to any one candidate, and highest percentage of all women's donor group funds given to any one female candidate. Involvement is also described qualitatively. I derive qualitative data from interviews during which participants expressed a holistic view of financial involvement – not only direct donations but assistance with campaign staffing (such as paying for a staff member), cost offsetting, bundling, and donor introductions, as well as more psychological aspects of campaign support.<sup>10</sup> There are other metrics with which to demonstrate involvement that future research can investigate.

According to the DIME database, 89,423 candidates ran for state legislative office between 1990 and 2010. Of these, 19,259 were women – 7,223 Republicans and 11,658 Democrats. The study began with an analysis of the donation patterns of

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<sup>9</sup> The campaign finance database utilized for this project categorizes donations as either individual or committee. Since all women's donor group donations fell into the latter category, I decided to focus on committee donations to better understand the impact of women's donor groups as compared to other institutional funders.

<sup>10</sup> Interview methodology was described in detail in Chapter Two.

Republican, Democratic, and nonpartisan women's donor groups to the female candidates in the dataset. A distinct analysis of primary and general elections was also necessary because primary elections are understudied, and interviews suggest that these two segments of the campaign are perceived very differently by both female candidates and women's donor groups. The DIME data contains a code (P) for primary elections and (G) for general under the variable name 'election\_type' which made it possible to conduct a separate analysis of primary and general elections during the 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, and 2010 election cycles. Due to limitations in data reporting, a separate analysis of the primary and general phases of elections was only possible during these later years. In fact, election type data was only available within the existing DIME dataset for the 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006 cycles. I coded later donations as primary or general based on the donation date in order to include the 2008 and 2010 election cycles in this portion of the analysis.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The universe of committee donations from 1990 to 2010 had 20% missing data for the election\_type variable. Some states did not report any election type data for specific years, which drove up the rate of missingness. Appendix E includes a bar graph for every state that visually illustrates which years are missing entirely and which years have some randomly dispersed missing election\_type data. For the election cycles from 1990 through 1998, most states did not report election\_type data. Therefore, these earlier years were dropped for the portion of the analysis that discusses primary and general elections are analyzed separately. For election years, 2000, 2002, 2004, and 2006, the missingness is random and not related to any variable in the data set. Most states reported complete election type data during these cycles. The election years 2008 and 2010 did not contain election\_type data. This later missingness was confirmed by Dr. Adam Bonica who stated that states simply chose not to report this data during some years. To incorporate 2008 and 2010 into this analysis, a code for primary, general, or special election was added based on the primary election date in each state for these two election cycles. 28503 donations did not have a date and therefore could not be recoded. If donations occurred on or before a state's primary they were coded as P. If they occurred after, they were coded as G. I looked up special elections in each of the 50 states during those two cycles and coded them as S. Special elections were not a part of this chapter's analysis. One limitation of this method is that the data is not being derived from state boards of elections as it was from 2000 through 2006. Still, the use of DIME data still allows for a more comprehensive analysis of campaign finance data during the primary than other sources.

Qualitative data derived from 120 interviews conducted in 2016. These 120 semi-structured interviews included losing female candidates (13), winning female candidates (37), campaign consultants and staff (22), executive directors of women's groups (14), and local party leaders including leaders of party women's groups (34). These interviews were conducted in four states where large sums of money are essential to campaigns. Interview state case section was described in detail in Chapter Two.

### **Results: Women's Donor Groups in the 50 States**

Appendix C and D contain a complete list of women's donor groups. Appendix D lists all party affiliated women's donor groups active at the state level between 1990 and 2010. Appendix C lists all non-party affiliated women's donor groups, specifically state-level women's PACs, state-level chapters of national women's PACs, and other women's groups that made donations to female candidates during the time periods studied. As with any group of donors, the women's donor group landscape changed from year-to-year. New groups emerged yearly, while other groups made donations during a few of the years analyzed and then dissolved. Based on the changes observed between 1990 and 2010, it is likely that several new women's donor groups are currently in existence that are not included in Appendix C or Appendix D. In the future, additional years of women's donor group data can be added to the Appendices.

1,722 women's donor groups were identified. There were 253 non-party affiliated women's donor groups active at some point between 1990 to 2010. There were also 1,469 party affiliated women's donor groups active at some point between 1990 to 2010. Democratic women's groups were more evenly spread out across the

states than their Republican counterparts. For both parties, more groups emerged after 2000 than during years prior. The fact that so many women's donor groups exist throughout the 50 states is interesting because most of these groups are not known to political scientists. Further, the universe of women's donor groups has continued to grow since 2010 and has arguably entered a phase of exponential growth in 2018 due to the 2016 election of President Trump and the #Metoo movement (Putnam & Skocpol 2018). As later DIME data becomes available, this study can be updated. A frequently updated list of women's donor groups would be a major contribution to the state politics literature and an aid to practitioners. No fifty-state version of these groups exists currently.

Table 20

*Women's Donor Groups in the 50 States, 1990 - 2010*

Type of Women's Donor Group	Democratic	Republican	Nonpartisan
<b>PAC</b>	39 (+ 4 state-level chapters of national women's PACs) = 43	30 (+ 5 state-level chapters of national women's PACs) = 35	37(+3 organizations operating in multiple states) =
<b>Recruitment/Encouragement Organization</b>	39	15	87(+8 organizations operating in multiple states) =
<b>Party Affiliated</b>	411	1,057	N/A
<b>TOTAL</b>	593	1,107 <sup>12</sup>	135

<sup>12</sup> 167 of these Republican party affiliated women's donor groups used the term PAC in the contributor occupation section of their campaign finance filing. None of the Democratic party affiliated groups reported being PACs. This suggests that Republicans have more intra-party women's donor groups that are specifically focused on raising money though more research is needed.

The most commonly identified Republican and Democratic state-level women's donor groups were party affiliated women's donor groups. Recruitment organizations were the most common nonpartisan women's donor groups. The preponderance of party affiliated Republican women's donor groups is indicative of the robust infrastructure of local Republican parties. However, the larger number of Republican women's donor groups does not necessarily mean that Republican female candidates are greater benefactors of campaign support from women's donor groups. The number of women's donor groups in existence and their involvement in financing women's campaigns proved to be very differs greatly according to political party.

#### **Results: Women's Donor Group Involvement in State Legislative Elections**

While involvement can be defined in many ways, this exploratory research sought to keep the focus on campaign finance while casting a wide net. The tables below include: median donation, range all donations, total amount of all donations as a percentage of all committee funds, highest donation to any one candidate,<sup>13</sup> the highest percentage of all committee funds given to any one candidate by a women's donor group, the percentage of women's donor group money that went to female candidates, and the percentage of female candidates that received funds from a women's donor group. The behavior of non-party affiliated women's donor groups and party affiliated

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<sup>13</sup> The 50 states vary according to the strength of their campaign finance laws. Campaign finance laws constrain the fundraising activity of all actors including women's groups and generally shape the campaign environment. However, "maxing out" (in other words being potentially constrained by campaign finance laws) was a relatively rare occurrence among women's donor groups, so campaign finance laws are not a major feature of this analysis.

women's donor groups was very different. Therefore, the activities of these two types of women's donor groups are discussed separately.

Table 21

*Women's Non-Party Affiliated Donor Group Giving 1990 – 2010: Primary and General Elections*

N = 4,182 (number of donations made by non-party affiliated women's donor groups)

	<b>Democratic Groups</b>	<b>Republican Groups</b>	<b>Nonpartisan Groups</b>
<b>Median Donation to a Female Candidate by All Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups (PACs and recruitment/encouragement organizations)</b>	\$537.50	\$325	\$200
<b>Median Donation – Women's PACs Only</b>	\$800	\$350	\$200
<b>Median Donation - Recruitment/encouragement organizations only</b>	\$275	\$300	\$200
<b>Range of Individual Donations from All Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups (all years)<sup>1</sup></b>	\$20 <sup>2</sup> to \$60,000 <sup>3</sup>	\$20 to \$30,000	\$25 to \$2,500
<b>Highest Total Donation from Any One Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Group to Any One Female Candidate</b>	\$149,000	\$5,000	\$2,500
<b>Highest Percentage of All Committee Funds from Any One Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Group to Any One Female Candidate</b>	13%	Less than 1%	Less than 1%
<b>Percentage of Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Group Donations Given to Female Candidates</b>	100%	44%	100%
<b>Percentage of Female Candidates that Received Money from Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups</b>	18%	4%	2%

<sup>1</sup> While women's donor group activity generally increased each year, the percentage of all committee donations that are from women's groups declined slightly each year beginning in 2002. This was due to a consistent escalation in participation from other committee donors; women's donor groups have struggled to keep up with the rising cost of campaigns in the 50 states

<sup>2</sup> Less than 1% of donations were recorded as \$0 through \$19. These small donations were dropped from the analysis. Institutional donors rarely give less than \$20. Donations ranging from \$0 through \$19 may have been incorrectly reported by candidates or state campaign finance boards.

<sup>3</sup> Some state campaign finance laws are significantly more lax than federal contribution limits. As such, it is for women's donor groups to give very large sums of money to one candidate in some states.

Among Democratic non-party affiliated women's donor groups, the largest donors were chapters of the national women's PAC EMILY's List as well as women's PACs modeled after EMILY's List such as Emma's List, Annie's List, and Lilian's List. Annie's List was the highest donor to any one individual candidate giving \$148,000 to one woman's election to Texas State Senate. This is possible because Texas allows for unlimited PAC contributions to candidates. Looking only at Democratic women's PACs, the median donation was \$800 as opposed to \$537.50.<sup>4</sup> On average, Democratic women's PACs donated the most per candidate of all women's donor groups.

Among Republican non-party affiliated women's donor groups, chapters of nationally operating Republican women's PACs made the largest donations. The highest total donation from a non-party affiliated Republican women's donor group to any one candidate is actually higher than the \$5,000 shown on the table above because the highest Republican donation was to a male candidate. Republican non-party affiliated women's donor groups made 1,632 donations during the time period studied. 796 of these donations were to male candidates. The highest of all donations to men was \$30,000. Democratic non-party affiliated women's donor groups gave solely to female candidates. Even when their name identifies them as Republican women's PACs, Republican non-party affiliated groups gave to male candidates.

As with Congress, Democratic candidates appeared to benefit most from the campaign involvement of women's donor groups, especially non-party affiliated

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<sup>4</sup> Smaller donations from other non-party affiliated democratic organizations lowered the overall median donation from this subset of women's donor groups.



women's donor groups. There were fewer Republican women's PACs and women's recruitment groups than Democratic organizations. Further, women's donor groups that gave exclusively to Democratic candidates gave larger sums on average. Exacerbating this funding imbalance, non-partisan women's donor group donations were more likely to go to Democratic women than Republican women. In fact, interviews revealed that some non-partisan groups had a pro-choice litmus test that effectively barred many female, Republican candidates from receiving support. This was not lost on Republican candidates. Some of those interviewed claimed that non-partisan women's groups were actually Democratic Party groups in disguise. One stated, "I wish they would have given me a chance...at least seen what I was about before spending thousands against me".

Table 22

*Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Group Giving 1990 – 2010: Primary and General Elections*

N = 14,851 (number of donations made by party-affiliated groups only)

	Democratic	Republican
<b>Median Donation from Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Groups</b>	\$200	\$225
<b>Range of Individual Donations from Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Groups</b>	\$20 to \$150,000	\$20 to \$18,300
<b>Highest Total Donation from Any One Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Group to Any One Female Candidate</b>	\$150,000	\$18,300
<b>Percentage of Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Group Donations Given to Female Candidates</b>	38%	31%
<b>Percentage of Female Candidates that Received Money from Party-Affiliated Women's Donor Groups</b>	7.5%	18%

Oppositely, the involvement of party affiliated women's donor groups skewed toward Republican candidates. There were far more Republican party-affiliated

women's donor groups than non-party affiliated women donor groups. Republicans' lack of women's PAC infrastructure and focus on intra-party groups was likely a function of party member preferences. The Republican Party as a whole tends to reject identity-based appeals for the expansion of women in office (Burrell 2008, 2010). Further, several interviewees noted that parity in representation would not come from women differentiating themselves and seeking help from other women but from blending in with the men and being "just another member of the party." Republican candidates generally offered complimentary comments about women's cooperation with men. According to one Republican party-affiliated women's donor group member, "[women] contribute as much as [they] can... but the men help also...that is the good thing. It is not like a men's club and a woman's club. We are all part of the caucus." The Republican Party's local party network was more robust than the Democratic Party's. Republican party-affiliated women's donor groups gave larger donations on average and supported a higher percentage of female candidates. This infrastructure is often ignored but it could play an important role in encouraging more Republican women to run for state legislative office.

Despite a supposed greater focus on female candidates and a greater willingness to discuss identity politics, Democratic party-affiliated women's donor groups also gave largely to male candidates. 38% of donations went to female candidates.<sup>5</sup> Democratic party-affiliated women's groups were not as numerous or involved as their Republican

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<sup>5</sup> Though, since female candidates run in smaller numbers than male candidates, 38% still shows a targeted focus on women in comparison to their presence in the campaign pool.

counterparts. A few large donations aside<sup>6</sup>, Democratic female candidates relied mostly on outside women's groups for identity-based support. If it wants to support female candidates as part of its electoral strategy, the Democratic Party may look to its local party-affiliated women's donor groups as a place where there is room for growth in the party's capacity to financially assist women. Further, interviews with members of Democratic party-affiliated women's donor groups suggested that members want to focus specifically on female candidates and not the party as a whole. This is additional evidence that there may be room for the Democratic Party to reevaluate its use of women's clubs.

### **Results: Involvement in Primary and General Elections**

The following analysis takes a deeper dive into the primary and general phases of elections. The DIME data makes it possible to distinguish the primary and general phases of elections during the 2000, 2002, and 2006 election cycles by utilizing a pre-existing code called 'election\_type'. I coded all donations made during the 2008 and 2010 cycles as primary or not primary so that these years could also be included. Election cycles prior to 2000 are dropped from the rest of the analysis. There was not enough data to include them; see Footnote 9.

**Primary elections.** Prior research shows that female candidates struggle to obtain "buy-in" at the beginning stages of their campaigns (Burrell 2014; Crespin & Deitz 2010). The name of well-known congressional women's PAC EMILY's List is actually an acronym for "early money is like yeast." The group was founded to help women surpass

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<sup>6</sup> For example, one Democratic party-affiliated women's donor group gave \$150,000 to a female candidate who ran a successful campaign for the California State Senate.

the challenges of early money – an organizational goal that has been mimicked by other national women’s donor groups. The philosophies of state-level groups have never been investigated by the literature though it may have been assumed that state-level Democratic women’s PACs modeled after EMILY’s List would have priorities similar to their exemplar. When a candidate has a primary contest, early money should mean money given in the primary. However, there is no clear definition of early money in the state politics or campaign finance literature. In 2003, David Leal summarized this confusion stating, “although early money is occasionally referred to in the literature, few political scientists have given extended thought to a precise definition of early” (96). Some scholars refer to early money as funds given during the general election before a specific “cut off” period. Others count all money given in the first two campaign finance filings. After speaking with an official at EMILY’s List and others, Leal himself decided to count all money raised eight to nine months before a primary election as early. While Leal thought of early money and primary money as the same, state-level women’s donor groups do not use the same metric and/ or do not share the philosophy of “early money is like yeast.” For the purpose of this work, early money is money donated during the primary phase of elections.

One of the few studies examining primary elections and the differential experiences of male and female candidates is a congressional study (Swers & Kitchens 2014). It finds that Democratic women running in primaries raise more money from individual donors than similarly-situated male candidates. Republican men and women raise similar amounts of money from individual donors. The success of Democratic

women was attributed to the fact that these candidates benefit from the female donor networks created by women's PACs such as EMILY's List. Female candidates who did not get money from women's PACs did not raise more money in individual donations (Crespin & Dietz 2010) and only Democratic women who received early money from women's PACs received a larger number of contributions than similar male candidates (Francia 2001). Compared to their national counterparts, state-level women's groups are small and are probably not able to leverage the gendered nature of individual donations to women's advantage by attracting more female donors to female primary candidates. In fact, at the state-level, female candidates receive fewer individual donations overall because men are less likely to give to women than to men (Barber et. al. 2016) and most campaign donors are male (Bryner & Weber 2013; Burns, Schlozman, & Verba 2001; Gimpel, Lee, & Pearson-Merkowitz 2008). Viewing all of this research together, the potential value of primary giving by women's donors groups is evident.

During interviews, candidates tended to describe early money as primary money if they had a primary election, especially a competitive one. However, many women's donor groups described early money as money given at the beginning of a general election since they would not consider involvement in a primary. Women's donor group participation in primaries reflected their discomfort with this fraught stage of elections. As with committees generally, women's donor groups tended to hedge their bets until the general election. The most likely groups to give money during primaries were state chapters of EMILY's List and Democratic women's PACs modeled after EMILY's List. For example, California List and Annie's List. Their greater-than-average financial capacity

allowed these groups to start choosing candidates and executing their strategies for a given election cycle earlier than other groups. Democratic women's PACs typically gave primary dollars to female candidates who would also face a competitive general election. Primary giving was a part of their general election strategy. Not a strategy of its own.

Table 23

*Women's Donor Group Involvement Compared to All Committee Involvement During Primary Elections 2000 -2010<sup>7</sup>*

N = 1,518,756 committee donations<sup>a</sup>

	Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups	Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups	All Women's Donor Groups Combined	All Committees
<b>Total Republican</b>	\$39,475.00	\$119,725.38	\$159,200.38	\$257,382,071.00
<b>Total Democratic</b>	\$553,745.00	\$34,615.00	\$588,360.00	\$293,598,919.00
<b>Total</b>	\$593,220.00	\$154,340.38	\$742,962.38	\$550,980,990 <sup>b</sup>

a Only donations made to female candidates are included in women's donor group numbers. Republican Party affiliated women's groups gave slightly more than half of all donations to male candidates.

b \$6,330,362 additional dollars of committee donations did not include data on the party of the recipient. Therefore, this money is not included in the above table.

According to the DIME data, committees made 6,146,983 donations to general election campaigns between 2000 and 2010 but only 1,518,756 during primary elections. Women's donor group money was a negligible percent of all committee funds donated during primaries. Yet, primaries could represent the best opportunity for women's donor groups to maximize their involvement in campaigns. Business group

<sup>7</sup> Primary election tables do not include election cycles 1990 through 1998 because data for the variable election\_type was not available for all 50 states.

donors and other PACs are concerned with gaining access to members with jurisdiction over their interests (Francia et al, 2003; Gimpel, Lee, & Pearson-Merkowitz 2008) and do not like to risk a primary donation. Like all candidates, women are more reliant on individual donors during the primary but individual donors are majority male and are less likely to give to female candidates than male candidates. Female candidates need help during the primary phase of elections. However, primary involvement is a question of strategy; not all women's donor groups were especially concerned with which candidate emerged from a primary contest. As many women's donor groups were partisan, they were often happy to allow men to emerge from primaries while avoiding intra-party conflict and focusing on general elections.

The rationale for giving and not giving during primary elections was elucidated by women's donor group professionals during interviews. Many choose to stay out for fear of retribution from an allied political party, fear of choosing one female candidate over another, fear of upsetting their allies more generally, belief that donors would not like it, desire to save funds for competitive general elections, belief that the general election was philosophically or strategically more important (due to partisanship or prioritization of an issue such as abortion), or tradition. While the practice of staying out of primaries was common, it was not without consternation. One Executive Director of a women's PAC explained.

*In an open seat, we wait until the general election. We do not endorse. Although...I think we are at a point where we need to put a stake in the ground and make a decision... We do the candidate no favors by staying out, especially in a seat where it's going to be competitive for both the primary and the general. Getting a fundraising force behind the new candidate is critical and the longer you wait the harder it is to get that*

*momentum. Yes, it is a gamble, but you can review the campaign plan, the finance plan, you know who the campaign manager is, you know how much the candidate has raised. You get a snapshot. I think, as long as we can always say why we did what we did...our donors will appreciate that calculated risk.*

An elected official who did receive help from a women donor group noted that, “women's PACs offer that hand up at the very beginning in terms of fundraising and technical assistance and the peer support of other women who have tried it or are doing it.”

Overall, the lack of primary support from women’s donor groups was especially disheartening to first-time candidates who sometimes reacted with surprise and criticism when recalling the first time they realized that women’s donor groups would not support them in their primary race. One noted,

*Women's groups do those things quite well [recruiting and training]. The thing that they don't do well is once you say ‘okay, I am running for this office,’ what happens next? There is no women's group that is there to help at all. Unless you are already an elected official, they are useless. And realizing that was quite the wakeup call. Coming up in this business, you get all this rhetoric about how important it is for women to run... and it's like ‘great I am there you have been convincing me that I should do this.’ Then you decide you are going to do it and there is no one standing with you and it is very jarring to be that candidate or in my case that campaign manager and realize that at that point, when you really need someone to be like ‘great you are a woman you should definitely do this, first you need to hire a fundraiser, or hire a lawyer...or even just to say it is going to be okay’ there is no one there based on gender alone.*

Another candidate suggested that the rationale of multiple women running is just an excuse for poor strategy or lack of desire to get involved. “There was another woman in the primary, so I could not get [the state women’s PAC’s] support. The [other] woman that was running did not really do anything. That was not a real opposition.”



Surprisingly, Republican party affiliated women's donor groups sometimes reported allowing women's clubs to endorse in primaries. However, one women's club president noted, "as a club and as a group we should be supportive of all candidates, so it is a rare occurrence, but it does happen that a club could support a Republican over another Republican. That happens at the local level." While these groups were willing to offer general support to candidates, DIME data available from 1990 to 2010 shows that they did not make any contributions during primary elections. It seems reasonable for party affiliated women's groups to stay out of primaries due to their formal association with all candidates running on their party's ticket. However, non-party affiliated women's donor groups do not always pick up the slack, even when there is only one female candidate in the race. In such cases, female candidates can get the message that women's groups are just another strategic actor that doesn't really exist to support women. On candidate noted,

*[A state women's PAC] endorsed me after the primary, but I did not get their support during the primary. This is the reason they gave me. They said that they could not endorse me because Planned Parenthood was endorsing the incumbent. He took a walk on three critical votes for Planned Parenthood. Three walks to the water cooler, so I was surprised that they did not endorse me.*

Such behavior ignores the realities of women's campaigns. Women often run in heavily Democratic districts where the general election is not competitive. The primary election is frequently the only real election and the only real chance for women's donor groups to get involved. As one consultant stated bluntly,

*These women's groups who say they don't get involved in primaries. In [this state], that is such a cop out. In [this area], except in like two or three districts the primary is the whole ball game and they know that, so*

*if you are not endorsing in a primary, you are not involved in the race.*

In addition to running in heavily Democratic districts, women were (and still are) more likely to be first-time candidates because there are fewer women than men in state legislatures. As such, they will either be challengers or open-seat candidates. Open seats races often involve primaries because they are viewed as the most winnable type of seat. By taking an anti-primary stance, women's donor groups limit themselves to the few competitive general election contests in which women actually run. Finally, when women's donor groups shy away from primaries, they also shy away from women of color (Sanbonmatsu 2015). Women of color most frequently run in majority-minority districts, which also tend to be majority Democratic. Even more frequently than Caucasian women, women of color run in races that are over on primary election day. Yet women of color are key to women's greater representation (CAWP & Higher Heights Leadership Fund 2015), women's donor groups are hampering their larger mission to achieve gender parity in officeholding.

The distance between women of color and women's donor groups was apparent during interviews. Women of color were more likely to say that they had not heard of women's donor groups until after they were elected for the first time. One winning candidate noted, "Someone commented that I should have done [a program run by a women's PAC] and I was like too late for that. I am already getting the training trial by fire type of thing. Over the years I have connected with other Latinas, but not initially." Even when they are recruited by women's groups, women of color generally, and black women in particular, seem to know intrinsically that women's donor groups will not be

key financial supporters. Several black women noted that they did not receive help from women's donor groups during their race. However, this report was not tinged with disappointment as was especially common among Caucasian, first-time candidates. Rather, such statements were made matter-of-factly and sometimes accompanied with statements like, "I think they have other priorities". One candidate noted,

*Please trust me; there is nothing for African American women running. Even [a large women's PAC] - it is a white organization. I have a lot of colleagues that I still stay in contact with that are women of color and the things that they go through. I bypass a lot of that because my skin is light.*

Data limitations prevented an analysis of women's donor group giving by race and ethnicity, but future research should further investigate the claims made here to identify potential biases in campaign giving that disadvantage women of color.

**General elections.** Women's donor groups did not hesitate to become involved in general elections. However, a lack of infrastructure made it difficult for women's donor groups to compete with the many other committees involved during this phase of elections.

Table 24

*Women's Donor Group Involvement Compared to All Committee Involvement During General Elections 2000-2010*

N = 6,146,983 committee donations<sup>a</sup>

	Non-Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups	Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups	All Women's Donor Groups Combined	All Committees
<b>Total Republican</b>	\$961,112.00	\$4,162,838.00	\$5,123,950.00	\$1,550,763,594.00
<b>Total Democratic</b>	\$5,127,478.00	\$1,846,551.00	\$6,974,029.00	\$1,659,591,579.00
<b>Total</b>	\$6,088,590.00	\$6,009,389.00	\$12,097,979.00	\$3,210,355,173.00

<sup>a</sup> Only donations made to female candidates are included in women's donor group numbers. Republican party affiliated women's donor groups gave 56% of all donations to male candidates.

Table 24 illustrates the difference between the Republican and Democratic women's donor group landscape. Democratic women are more likely to receive funds from non-party affiliated women's donor groups. Republican women are more likely to receive funds from party affiliated women's donor groups. Donations to Democratic women come mostly from women's PACs. There is little Republican women's PAC infrastructure in the states. For Republican women, the primary source of women's donor group money is their local Republican women's club. Since most studies of women's donor groups are solely of women's PACs, scholars usually conclude that Republican women receive very little support. However, Republican women can seek financial support from within their own party.

***Strategic decisions and limited money.*** As shown in Table 24, women’s donor group funds were quite limited compared to other committees, deciding who to support was a common challenge recognized by candidates and women’s donor group professionals. This was especially true among Democratic candidates who were more likely to expect assistance based on their gender identity. One Democratic candidate noted, “it can be a disadvantage if there are too many women. Then the [women’s group] funders cannot help everyone.” Another successful Democratic candidate noted,

*They have a very narrow role and within the scope of their role they were helpful. They cut me like a \$1,000 check and [one staff member] came out and canvassed a few times. That is the extent of which they can do.*

Paradoxically, women’s donor groups with a goal of supporting all women (either in their party or overall in the case of non-partisan groups) were the least likely to be viewed as helpful by candidates. Since there are so many committees involved in general elections and limited women’s donor group funds, women’s donor groups must target a small number of races in order to have a noticeable impact. Groups that did not act strategically to support the most competitive races and would not choose one woman over another were not viewed as financially helpful by candidates.<sup>1</sup> Some women’s donor groups missions reflected this reality. One women’s PAC professional noted,

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<sup>1</sup> Several women’s PACs mentioned that they feared pushback from their board if they moved toward a more selective method of candidate support. However, one of the dilemmas associated with “supporting all women” is that, for Democrats, this can actually mean supporting no woman. The vast majority of female candidates are Democrats. Supporting all of them is expensive and well beyond the financial capacity of women’s groups. It is simply not possible to meaningfully support all women. Further, Democrats do not have the bandwidth to offset low levels of monetary giving with other forms of campaign assistance. There are not enough members of Democratic women’s groups to act as surrogate campaigns, which is common in Republican circles.

*We don't support everyone. We made a decision years ago that we would look at marginal seats...we would look at those seats first, and when they are coming up open, we would look strategically in those areas to identify women either for that immediate cycle or to say this seat is going to be open in four years, so we need to start getting ready.*

Democratic women's PACs modeled after EMILY's List were most likely to exhibit this type of strategic behavior. By acting strategically and by telling women, especially first-time candidates, that they needed to meet certain criteria for funding, women's donor groups might increase their level of meaningful involvement and help manage expectations.

While Democratic women's donor groups were more active donors, Republican candidates spoke positively about their experience with Republican party affiliated women's donor groups. One interviewee referred to them as "the best women's group you never heard of" in reference to the support that party affiliated Republican women's donor groups provide to campaigns. In his 40-year retrospective on the political parties, Morris Fiorina (2002) found that the Republican National Committee began actively recruiting and training state-level candidates and providing money to revive local party organizations. While not necessarily intended, Republican women's party groups have benefited from and capitalized on this infrastructure building project. An impressive number of Republican Party women's groups (1,058) donated to campaigns between 1990 and 2010 and many more are likely active in other ways. Interviews show that these groups include traditional Republican and Tea Party organizations. They include groups that have daytime teas for stay-at-home mothers and evening groups for women coming home from their corporate jobs. In following the

bottom-up model of the Republican Party with regard to local involvement, Republican party women's donor groups seem to have created a safe space for Republican female candidates. Yet, their campaign finance involvement is missed for two reasons. First, they are part of the party and not a PAC, but most studies of women's donor groups and campaign finance only include PACs. Second, Republican party women's donor group involvement is not well understood from a campaign finance filing. Interviews suggest that Republican party women's donor groups are engaged in other forms of financial participation in women's campaigns. Cost offsetting and donor introductions, as well as more psychological aspects of campaign support, were the most commonly mentioned by candidates. Reliance on a women's network for campaign labor, such as door knocking and envelope stuffing, was mentioned by numerous Republican candidates and consultants. This defraying of campaign costs could be incredibly helpful as paid campaign services can be expensive and easily ravage a candidate's budget. Further, to the extent that Republican women run in less expensive races outside of cities, they may good campaign labor as much as may high-dollar donations because "there is only so much money that you can spend productively" according to one campaign consultant. A Republican candidate noted, "The Republican women are a pretty good force. [We] are the largest women's group that nobody has ever heard of. We are working with a large network. I know women all over the state. It is a huge..." Another stated,

*Oh, wow, I am so glad you asked about women's groups. I have to tell you the Republican women in the clubs...were instrumental in me winning. I really believe that. They are a force to be reckoned with...They are the grassroots and they really have a big impact. They helped with phone calls and walking and parades. Any task that I asked them to do they were there for me. It didn't matter what it was. I could go to every club*

*and say would you guys do this for me, and they would get it all done. We had flags that we needed one time and a woman made us 5,000 flags. It is an amazing group of women. They were tremendous.*

Additionally, one Republican women's donor group leader commented that the role of her group was not to fundraise directly for candidates but to link women so that they can fundraise from each other on their own time. These types of behaviors are not easily studied quantitatively. However, it is important to note that while Republican female candidates were generally happy with the role of party affiliated women's donor groups, they also had lower expectations of women's donor groups. Since most did not expect to receive - or did not think they should receive - financial support based solely on being a woman, any assistance felt like an asset.

### **The Republican and Democratic Women's Donor Group Landscape**

Republican women's donor groups lag behind the campaign finance involvement of their Democratic counterparts. However, Republican women's satisfaction with their party's women's network is important and not well understood by the literature. While this is a study of campaign finance, it draws important conclusions for recruiters. Even if they are not deeply involved in campaign finance, Republican party affiliated women's donor groups could be fertile ground for recruiting and training women. Those seeking political parity have failed to fully recognize the value of Republican party women's donor groups. In doing so, they may have failed to recruit many excellent candidates at a time when advocates desperately need more Republican women. Nonpartisan and Democratic women's recruitment organizations often advertise their successes.<sup>2</sup> For

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<sup>2</sup> The 2015 article *Encouragement is Not Enough: Addressing Social and Structural Barriers to Female Recruitment* by Kelly Dittmar situates the candidate recruitment efforts of three women's organizations



example, research shows that the female candidate training program Emerge America boasts a high rate of “conversion” to candidacy (Bernhard, Shames, Silberman, & Teele forthcoming). The value of these groups is obvious but, even when trainings are nonpartisan, the majority of attendees are often self-identified Democrats. To help correct this imbalance, recruitment organizations should encourage the women involved in Republican party affiliated women’s donor groups. Recruiting Republican women where they are likely presents another dilemma that is outside the scope of this project: many recruiters do not believe that electing Republican women aligns with the feminist project of political parity. Interviews suggest that Republican women know they are outsiders in the world of women’s donor groups. They prefer to stay under the radar in party affiliated groups. Yet, equal representation will never be achieved with Democratic women alone.

The recent focus Democratic Party on identity groups and the overlap of Democratic issues with the women’s movement created a space for women’s donor groups that does not exist in the Republican Party at the state-level. Democratic women’s donor groups were undeniably more robust. Within the time period I studied, they donated more money and more frequently to women’s campaigns. Based on interviews, they were also involved in the types of campaign cost offsetting behaviors mentioned by Republican women. This included bundling campaigns and providing staff,

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within a larger discussion of gender parity in state and local officeholding. Women’s organizations’ have a penchant for candidate recruitment, which amounts to an “obsession with inviting” (Dittmar 2015, 760). It developed out of a large body of literature showing that encouragement greatly increases a woman’s chances of running for office (Carroll and Sanbonmatsu 2013; Lawless and Fox 2010; Moncrief, Squire, and Jewell 2001).

the latter of which helps candidates strategize and also offsets costs. A winning candidate noted that, “if you also look at the donor list of [a state women’s PAC] and you look at my donor list, particularly in the early years when I was really needing to raise a lot of money because I had serious opponents, and I was still young and green about how you do this, you will see a disproportionately large number of women donors to me who frankly I got to them or they knew about me through the staff at [the women’s donor group].” This quote illustrates the importance of the financial network that women’s donor groups, especially state-level women’s PACs, create or supplement for Democratic women.<sup>3</sup> The value of Democratic women’s donor group support was especially pronounced among first-time candidates and those with competitive general election races. These candidates were most likely to be provided with staff and assistance with campaign tasks.

*It’s not so much ‘here’s money.’ They did that, but it’s also ‘here’s how you get more money.’ Here’s how you pitch your campaign. Here’s how to fine tune your message. I was someone who knew I needed to get to the Senate. I was not someone who knew how to run a campaign. I needed help with that, and I think the fact that I was a woman, organizations that support women candidates were very important to helping me get there.*

One losing candidate who did not receive campaign assistance noted the potential value of women’s groups as campaign consultants and staffers. She stated, “a staff team would be huge. I would have had a very different race if I had competent field people. I

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<sup>3</sup> Hamm et. Al. made a similar argument for political parties in 2014 noting that, “vertically networked parties operate across levels of jurisdiction” (3), after which he asserts that party groups target races all across the United States and at all levels of government and that they bring a network of supporters with them. In other words, political parties implement their strategic goals from the national level downward connecting candidates to financiers when appropriate to their mission. This may also be true of some women’s PACs either at the national or state level.

had two field people, and they were both remarkably incompetent, and it was really terrible. If you look at that race, I referenced earlier the woman who got knocked off the ballot that happened because she got terrible advice from her consultant.” Another candidate who did receive help noted,

*What they did make sure was that I and my team understood the elements and the ingredients that were necessary in order to be successful, I and with the network that they had they put it out that they were supporting my candidacy and all across their donor based, and it really made a huge difference... I am very happy that these organizations exist, and I think that it is absolutely essential as women become more involved in running for office.*

Democratic women’s donor groups need to be careful that they are not confused with pro-choice women’s issue PACs. Reproductive choice PACs generally stay out of races where two or more candidates are pro-choice, even if there is only one pro-choice woman. Yet, female, Democratic candidates sometimes had different expectations. One candidate interviewed for this project exemplified this confusion stating, “I wish they would have just told me that they weren't going to get involved in the race. Both strung me along: sent me follow up questionnaires; had me come into the city. It's a really big deal particularly on the campaign I was on, where there was such a short time frame. And one of them, I cannot remember which one, ended up saying ‘well, there are multiple pro-choice candidates.’” Actual women’s donor groups can further confuse the issue. One state-level women’s PAC leader noted, “we have a policy where if there is more than one pro-choice Democratic candidate male or female we thus far have stayed out. We have had races where there is a pro-choice Democratic female candidate and a pro-choice male. It is painful to do that but that’s what we have done.” This explains

why Democratic candidates may think of certain women's issue PACs as a women's PACs and vice versa. Democratic candidates were much more likely than Republicans to report dissatisfaction, that they had been recruited and let down, or that women's donor groups had failed them. Some of this feeling was related to the confusion between women's PACs and issue-PACs that focus on traditional women's issues. Some of it was likely a result of the mismatch between capacity and expectations. Even though Democratic women's donor groups are much more involved in campaign finance than their Republican counterparts, they also need to be careful about managing expectations. When Democratic women's donor groups, especially women's PACs, do target a competitive general election, their ability to "go all in" with money and staff left an impression on the candidates interviewed.

### **The Future for Women's Donor Groups**

Women's donor groups are more involved in campaigns than previously assumed. Democratic women's donor groups have a visible donor footprint in a limited number of races. Specifically, Democratic women's PACs modeled after EMILY's List are increasingly active; interviews suggest that their presence is notable in the competitive general elections that they target. Republican women's donor group infrastructure is more robust than can be understood from the existing literature. Republican women's donor groups present an opportunity for strategic recruitment by non-partisan women's organizations. Alternatively, Democratic recruitment has been so successful that there can sometimes be a mismatch between the "women's mafia" mythology (the idea that a cadre of women is at the ready to support women's campaigns financially) and the actual monetary resources of women's donor groups. This causes some candidate

disappointment, especially among candidates with a challenging primary election.

Primary elections could be an opportunity for resource maximization if Democratic women's donor groups are willing to get involved. Few institutional players fund candidates during the primaries. Therefore, women's donor groups would stand out as one of only a few committee donors. They could also help counteract the gender bias of individual donors. Such donors are extremely important during primary elections, but most are men who tend to give more to male candidates (Barber, Butler, & Preece 2016).

While exploratory and preliminary, this research finds that women's donor groups: 1) are involved in funding state legislative campaigns, 2) provide campaign resources other than cash and, 3) leave an impression on many female candidates (whether positive or negative). This work recognizes the messy nature of the campaign environment while attempting to better understand the behavior of previously understudied groups. Since this research does not include the three election cycles that have occurred post-2010, there is an excellent opportunity for future research to use this study as a model as the DIME datasets are expanded. As with other campaign organizations, women's donor groups come and go. New research by Theda Skocpol suggests that new women's groups may be springing up at an accelerated pace (Putnam & Skocpol 2018), especially Democratic women's donor groups concerned with the election of President Donald Trump. This research could be used as blueprint for identifying such organizations and better understanding their involvement in women's campaigns at the state legislative level. Commenting on the much-studied consolidation

of old-guard women's groups at the national-level, women's donor group founder Amanda Litman told TIME that her groups is willing to target "the less glamorous down-ballot contests" (Alter 2018). While this is an antidotal comment, it suggests, along with the findings of this research, that there is much more to know about women's donor group involvement across the 50 states.

## **Chapter Six: Conclusions and Future Research**

Well-positioned female candidates for state legislative office have been closing the gender fundraising gap since the 1990s. Numerous studies show that similarly-situated male and female candidates have equal campaign receipts. These studies are focused on the final outcome of candidate fundraising – total money received. A newer strain of research investigates the process of fundraising throughout the campaign. This more wholistic approach considers the time that female candidates spend fundraising, the value of their campaign money, their interactions with different types of donors, and the gendered nature of donor networks. Two candidates can reach the same place while walking very different paths and having vastly different experiences with the campaign process.

As Congresswoman Rashida Tlaib told the New York Times in 2018, “women work it...We work twice as hard. At some point that may change, but we have to work twice as hard” (Zernike 2018). For Tlaib and the female legislators featured at the beginning of this work, fundraising is clearly and concretely a gendered challenge. This dissertation explores that perception and why it differs from some of the literature’s conclusions.

This work helps close a research gap by conducting a mixed method, 50-state investigation of female state legislative campaign fundraising with a focus on primary elections, race/ ethnic differences between female legislators, and state-based women’s donor groups. Each of these focal points are derived from burgeoning or understudied areas of research. This work helps clarify where and under what conditions women

might rightly observe gender bias with regard to fundraising. My contribution is partly methodological – its focus on campaign fundraising process rather than fundraising outcomes firmly situates this work within the newer literature on women’s campaigns for state legislature. I contend, along with scholars such as Fulton (2012), Barber, Butler, and Preece (2014), Miller (2016), and Jenkins (2007) that a focus on campaign fundraising outcomes is an oversimplification of women’s experiences. Female candidates do not simply have wrong perspectives with regard to a fundraising challenge. Rather, that challenge has been hidden in the process of campaigns. One’s research findings depend partially on the methodology utilized. In the case of campaign finance and gender, scholars need to move away from final receipts as the sole unit of analysis. Final receipts are a valuable metric but should be investigated along with other focal points.

### **Key Findings**

My research also makes substantive contributions to the field. The following paragraphs detail these contributions by chapter beginning with Chapter Three. In this chapter, I find that female candidates may perceive a gendered fundraising challenge during primary elections because individual donors are critical to this phase of campaigns and male donors are generally less supportive of female candidates than their male peers. Male donors are underrepresented in the donor pools of both Republican and Democratic women, which puts these female candidates at a disadvantage. Male donors also make lower average donations to female candidates, even when controlling for factors such as incumbency status. These findings support the



conclusions of general election studies, which have shown that individual donation patterns favor male candidates (Barber et. al. 2014).

Female candidates of both parties were favored by female donors, but this advantage was moderated by the fact that female donors gave lower amounts on average. Also, there were fewer female donors overall. Female candidates benefit from the gender affinity bias of female donors but were still fighting against the reality that women's donor networks are generally smaller and less monied than male donor networks.

The fact that female candidates received smaller individual donations on average does not mean that female candidates never outraise men or that there are not prolific female fundraisers. However, looking at the entire fundraising process, as opposed to solely the outcome, suggests that female candidates still face gendered challenges. This is especially true with regard to the most important group of donors to primary elections – individual men.

Future research on female Republican primary donors could help researchers and practitioners understand the motivations of this small but important group. My research suggests that female Republican primary donors are more important than previously thought. Despite the Republican Party's aversion to identity politics, female Republican donors do exhibit a gender affinity bias for female candidates.

While the Democratic party's donor base is generally thought of as supportive of both identity politics generally and female candidates specifically, this picture is complicated by state legislative primary elections. Democratic women, as a group,

actually had fewer donations from women in their donor pool than their Republican counterparts. This might be framed as an under-reliance on male donors on the part of Republican female primary candidates. While male donors make up the vast majority of the Republican primary individual donor pool, they are less likely to give to women. This is in line with prior research suggesting that Republican women struggle with individual donors because they are perceived as a poor match for the Republican Party's ideology (Bucchianeri 2018). Congressional research has shown that very conservative women preform the best in Republican primaries because they are able to overcome stereotypes regarding female candidate liberalism (Thomsen & Swers 2017). A similar phenomenon may be occurring at the state-level. However, more research is needed to understand why male state-level donors are less invested in women's campaigns than those of their Democratic counterparts.

Chapter Four focuses on women of color in general elections but also highlights the complicated nature of fundraising, especially from individuals. Among legislators surveyed as part of the Joint Project on Term Limits study of state legislative office holders, women of color believed that they spent more time fundraising than their white, female counterparts. Interview data also supported this perception. Further, an analysis of data from the DIME found that while women of all races ethnicities generally do equally well with committee and party donors, black women receive lower average donation amounts from individual donors. Individual donors in both the Democratic and Republican parties were generally supportive of women of color as a whole. However, within the Democratic Party individual donor network, black women were at a

disadvantage – at least with regard to average donation amount. The literature’s most common explanation for this is that black women do not run in competitive general election districts. Therefore, they are not as interesting to donors. However, regression analysis shows that even when interacting the competitiveness of the seat with the race of the recipient of a donation, black women are at a disadvantage. District competition is not the whole story. Still, the characteristics of the districts in which black women run are not controlled here. Black women may still be receiving lower average donation amounts because they are running in especially low cost races. To contextualize these findings, future iterations of this study could compare the overall cost of races in which black women and other women run.

Chapter Five addresses the understudied topic of women’s donor groups in state legislative elections. Women’s donor groups can be financially important to the campaigns of Democratic women but miss significant opportunities to support women whose critical elections are the primary election – including many women of color. This phenomenon combined with the earlier finding that female donors are not particularly important to Democratic women during primaries likely contributes to the disappointment observed among many Democratic candidates. While the Democratic Party proports to support women and often uses identity politics to attract them, there is less gender-based support than many female candidates expected. One interviewee best summarized this chapter when she stated simply, “there is no women’s mafia.” Indeed, both chapters three and five suggest that the Democratic Party rhetoric of

supporting women is stronger than the actual, ground-level support for female candidates with regard to campaign finance.

Interestingly, party-affiliated women's donor groups are noticeable within the networks of Republican female candidates and could be a valuable source of campaign contributions for Republican women in the future. Since these groups are not currently donating big dollars, their presence is often missed by scholars of gender and campaign finance. However, while they may not be large donors, Republican interviewees reported that their campaign assistance was notable in terms of offsetting other campaign costs and connecting them to donors. Their existence is in conflict with the current state-level women's group literature, which assumes that Republican-supporting women's groups are non-existent across the 50 states. Advocates for women's increased representation might look toward Republican women's donor groups as a possible resource for identifying and supporting more women.

### **Limitations**

My dissertation expands the literature on the limitations of the conclusion that female candidates have solved the fundraising problem. It also identifies areas where practitioners invested in parity might find opportunities to further strengthen female candidates' fundraising networks. This study contributes to advancing a deeper understanding of the state-legislative campaign fundraising process and illustrates the value of pairing large-N campaign finance studies with qualitative data from the field.

However, it is important to note that this research has significant limitations, especially with regard to the quantitative analysis. Many relevant controls were not included in my regression models due to data constraints. With regard to Chapter Three,

the most prominently missing variable is a variable for district competition. Jason Windett's use of fundraising (2015) as a proxy for district competition and Robert Boatright's use of the number of primary donations as a method for distinguishing between real and "on-the-books" congressional primaries (2013) are potentially useful to future state legislative primary research using the DIME data. The challenging nature of defining district competition during primaries as well as the lack of state legislative data on the topic has kept scholars out of this line of research. For publication, I plan to add a district competition variable to my models in Chapter Three. Similarly, while this dissertation is a study of fundraising process, comparisons of mean donations begs the question of what happens at the end of the campaign. Do female primary candidates raise as much from individual donors as male primary candidates? What percentage of all individual donor money is raised by the female candidate in any given race as opposed to the male candidate (if there is one)? These additional questions will build upon my research in Chapter Three for later iterations of this work.

Across chapters three and four, additional missing variables include: term limits (Carroll & Jenkins 2005; Thompson & Moncrief 1993), the presence of multimember districts where women are more likely to be elected (Hogan 2001a; Moncrief & Thompson 1992; Rule 1990), political culture (Elzar 1984; Hogan 2001; McCormick-Higgins 2005), interest group activity (Thomas & Hrebenar 2004), candidate leadership position (Powell 2013), party in majority (Sanbonmatsu 2002), and chamber competition in the state, which is mostly operationalized using the Ranney Index developed Austin Ranney (Donovan, Smith, Osborn, & Mooney 2014). Women and politics scholars also

sometimes consider the occupations of women in the state (Sanbonmatsu 2002), urbanization (Green 2003; Sanbonmatsu 2006), and region (Clemens 1997), which are known to impact female candidate's viability. These further controls will be added for publication in the future. The need for these controls is evidenced by the low R-squares in Chapter Four. The Chapter Four models lack a lot of specification due to omitted controls and the Ns are generally small, which begs questions about the explanatory power of the models.

Further, Chapter Four is a study of winning women of color. The inclusion of male winners as a comparison group would improve this research. Finally, the inclusion of losing candidates would capture a much more accurate picture of the fundraising experience. The CAWP race/ ethnicity data utilized was limited to winning women. More data collection efforts are needed for further exploration of donations to women of color. Similar, data on primary elections would be a valuable addition, especially with regard to the candidacies of black women since they are likely to run in districts with competitive primary elections.

### **Implications for Future Research**

This work suggests many avenues for future research. Firstly, there is little current research on fundraising time. The survey data used here is dated (from 2002). Additional research into women's perceived fundraising time would be useful, especially if it included losing candidates. Michael Miller recently surveyed candidates about

fundraising time, but his data is not public. Miller's future work will address this topic and may encourage other researchers to do so as well.<sup>1</sup>

Additional future research could investigate the race of individual donors to better understand the individual donor networks of women of all races and ethnicities. Even when income was not a factor, women of color, especially black women, reported that other women of color were reticent to give to political candidates. If, for example, black women have donor networks dominated by other black women, this reality may help to lessen their average donation amounts.

As a whole, individual male donors are interesting in their gendered support for male incumbents and their relative absence from the donor pools of Republican female primary candidates. A small body of congressional research has shown that very conservative women do well in Republican primaries because they are able to overcome stereotypes regarding female candidate liberalism (Thomsen & Swers 2017). State legislative research could help determine whether or not the same phenomenon is occurring at the state-level. My findings with regard to individual donors strongly support the continued use of DIME data to examine the fundraising process holistically as opposed to simply looking at aggregate receipts. Further, the fact that individual female donors are less prominent within the donor networks of Democratic women than the donor networks of Republican women is a reminder that findings from congressional research and general election research cannot always be extrapolated to

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<sup>1</sup> I spoke to Michael Miller about his survey and his research. He stated that he is in the process of writing a book that includes his survey data on fundraising time.

state legislative primary research. Findings from general elections should not be taken as evidentiary of the entire campaign process.

### **Implications for Female Candidates and Practitioners**

Future research on female Republican primary donors could help practitioners understand the motivations of this small but important group. This research suggests that female Republican primary donors are more important than previously thought. While the Democratic party's donor base is generally thought of as supportive of female candidates, this picture is complicated by state legislative primary elections. Again, female Democratic donors are not as critical to the donor network of female Democratic candidates as Republican female donors are to Republican candidates. Practitioners seeking to increase women's representation must look to Republican, female donors as a source of key support for Republican women's candidacies. Further, practitioners should meet Republican women where they are by looking to local Republican women's clubs as a source of potential candidates. Republican party-affiliated women's donor groups are hiding in plain sight. Since many in the women's recruitment community have liberal ideologies, they may be failing to identify and reach out to these groups. Parity in representation cannot be achieved solely by electing Democratic women. Yet, the imbalance between the number of Democratic women and Republican women in office is continuing to increase. One Republican interviewee called Republican women's donor groups, "the best women's group you never heard of." This is a missed opportunity for the women's political recruitment community. Even those with liberal ideologies might note that female legislators are more likely to work on bipartisan bills and female Republicans are more likely to support issues of importance to women



(Swers 1998). In districts where a Republican candidate will surely be the winner, even liberal practitioners might remember that Republican women can be preferable to their male colleagues. Currently, it seems that very conservative women are the most able to emerge from primaries. Advocacy groups could help more Republican women with varied levels of conservatism get elected.

Further, advocates explicitly supporting the candidacies of Democratic women need to be mindful of over-promising. Democratic interviewees largely bought into the notion that there would be gender-based support for their candidacies. However, they frequently learned that the promise of gender-focused campaign assistance does not always translate to campaign donations. Women's donor groups tended to stay out of primaries and Democratic, female individual donors did not give disproportionately to women during this phase of campaigns. As such, Democratic women with competitive primaries were often left wondering why the Democratic Party's identity politics rhetoric did not translate to more support. This is potentially dangerous, especially if it discourages some losing candidates from running again as was anecdotally reported in several interviews. Women of color, especially black women were more immune to the disappointment phenomenon. They accepted a lack of support from women's donor groups as a reality. While this helps protect women of color from disappointment, it is not a positive. Women's donor groups still need to do more to make inroads with candidates of color.

Supporting all women during general elections (by giving all female candidates a small donation) and staying out of primaries are not good strategies for women's donor

groups. Women's donor groups need to make strategic choices. The groups that use their resources wisely by giving more to a smaller number of races are the best able to help female candidates. This will be increasingly true as more women run for office as they did in 2018. Finally, while it may be difficult for women's donor groups that essentially function as Democratic Party adjuncts, women's donor groups must pick candidates in competitive primaries. Female candidates are more likely to run in primaries than their male counterparts. Further, other organizational donors tend to stay out of primaries. This gives women's donor groups an opportunity to make a splash despite not having multitudes of cash. Most women's donor groups are letting this opportunity go by to their own detriment. Primaries are a difficult slog for all candidates. Big support from women's donor groups during this early phase of campaigns will leave an impression that could encourage winning candidates to come back and help support the women's donor group cause. A bolder strategy will help women's donor groups truly supporting women on their campaign fundraising journeys and it will help women's donor groups to be taken more seriously at the state-level.

## APPENDIX A

### INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Semi-structured interview questions for:

1. Elected officials
2. Campaign Professionals
3. Legislative campaign caucus committee staff
4. Women's PAC staff

#### Section 1: Elected Officials

Thank you so much for speaking with me today.

**If relevant:** You've been a public advocate for campaign finance reform, especially publicly financed elections, which you think will help get more women in office. Why do you see reform as benefit to women specifically?

**Sub-question:** Why public financing specifically?

When you were gearing up for your first race for [relevant seat] back in [relevant year], who could you count as your base of fundraising support?

Was there anyone (or any groups) who you thought would support you that did not?

**Sub-question:**

What happened with [the toughest sell] in the end? Did they come on board?

Do you remember what it was like putting together your first fundraising team?

**Sub-question:**

Was it easy to find that team?

Do you think being a woman made it more difficult for you to finance your campaign [either the first time you ran or during a competitive election]?

**Sub-question/ Prompt only if needed:**

If you had to list two or three, what aspects of fundraising were the most challenging for you as a woman?

Where there any fundraising advantages that you had as a woman?

**Only if they had a primary:** You had a lot of support from [depends on interviewee] during your primary. Why do you think they were so willing to support you financially?

OR During your primary, was it harder to raise money that it was during the general election?

**Sub-question:** Do you think that's because you are a woman or because of something else?

**If their primary was against a woman:** You faced another woman in the primary, do you think this had an impact on your fundraising strategy? For example, did you have to compete with your challenger for donors that usually support women?

**If their primary was against a man:** Specifically, during the primary, do you think there were any fundraising disadvantages that you faced that your male challenger did not face?

Beyond what I can see from your filings, did you feel supported by the local party during your primary?

Did you feel supported by the local party during your general election?

**Sub-questions if clarification is needed:**

Did you feel supported by the local party financially?

Did you feel supported in other ways besides financial support?

Do you think that the support you received was in any way related to you being a woman?

What about women's PACs, have they ever helped out on your races?

**Sub-questions:**

Have they ever helped out during a primary?

If not, why do you think that was the case?

How do you think they choose who to support?

Do you think the year matters, so if you're running in an off year or a special is it easier to get their attention?

If so, what types of things did they help with?

Do you think they made a difference in your race?

What about the legislative party, specifically the campaign committees, did you feel supported by them in your first general election?

**Sub-questions:**

What about your first primary (if applicable)?

What about your subsequent races?

If you had to list three to four factors that determine which races they support, what do you think those are?

**Sub-questions:**

Do you think those factors are different for male and female candidates?

Do you think that [relevant committee] uses the same factors you just mentioned to decide whether or not to give money during a primary?

**If newly elected:** Looking at your campaign filings, I've noticed a lot of transfers from one campaign account to another. Did you think of other elected officials as a source of monetary support when you first ran?

**Sub-questions:**

Would you be more likely to ask a female elected to support you with a transfer of funds?

If so, why so?

Do you think that female candidates benefit when there are women in office who can give that kind of support?

**If an experienced elected:** I know that campaign transfers are one source of campaign funding in [state], how do you decide who you will support financially?

**Sub-question:**

Would you ever be more likely to support candidate because they are a woman?

Would you ever deviate from party strategy to support a woman specifically?

**If they have a PAC:** In addition to your campaign account, you can give through your PAC? What was your rationale for starting that?

What was it like as a woman in legislative leadership? Dep Maj whip

Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about fundraising?

Is there anyone that helped you a lot when you started fundraising or that you'd recommend that I speak to about this topic?

Section 2: Campaign Professionals

Thank you for speaking with me today. I'm interested in your role in elections in [relevant state], about how many races would you say you've been involved in here?

**Sub-questions:**

And in how many of those were you specifically involved in fundraising?

And about how many of those campaigns have involved women?

Women of color?

Generally speaking, when a candidate hires you to do their fundraising, what do you do first?

**Sub-questions:**

Is that different at all for women and men? For example, would you talk to certain groups first depending on whether the candidate was a woman or a man?

Thinking about all those experiences, do you think it was more difficult to fundraise for the female candidates that you've worked with than the male candidates?

**Sub-questions:**

If you had to list two or three, what do you think are the specific fundraising challenges that women face?

Do you think there are any fundraising advantages that women have?

Thinking about the incumbents you've worked for, is fundraising about the same for male and female candidates or is it different in this type of race?

Thinking about the challengers you've worked for, is fundraising about the same for male and female candidates or is it different in this type of race?

Have you ever worked on a primary?

**Sub-questions, if yes:**

Do you think that there are any challenges that a female candidate faces that a male candidate does not face during a primary?

Did you ever seek the party's financial support for your candidate during a primary?

Did you obtain the support that you wanted?

Do you think that it was any harder to obtain primary support for your female candidates?

What about women's PACs, have they ever helped any of your candidates?

**Sub-questions:**

If not, why do you think that was the case?

How do you think they choose who to support?

If so, what types of things did they help with?

Do you think they made a difference in your race?

**Depending on the state:** I also want to ask you about the [relevant party legislative committee] because I know they can be pretty important to fundraising here. Have you ever interacted with [relevant committee] during your races?

If you had to list three to four factors that determine which races they support, what do you think those are?

**Sub-question:**

Do you think those factors are different for male and female candidates?

What about donations from the accounts of existing elected officials, do you seek those out when you're working on a campaign?

**Sub-questions:**

Do you think those contributions were important; were they something that you sought out as part of your fundraising strategy?

Do you think it is helpful to women candidates to have more women making transfers?

Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about your experience with fundraising?

Is there anyone that you'd recommend that I speak to about this topic?

Section 3: Local Party Staff or Leadership

Thank you for speaking with me today. I'm interested in the role of the [relevant local party] in elections here [relevant state]. Briefly, can you tell me what the local party does the most during an election cycle?

Can you tell me about your role in individual state house and state senate campaigns?

Do you ever support candidates financially? How else do you support them?

Campaigning is very expensive and, obviously, you don't have unlimited funds. Generally speaking, if you had to choose two or three factors, how would you say you decide which races to support financially?

Does this vary a lot by cycle or stay about the same?

Do candidates ever come to you to seek support? Is there a formal process by which they get support?

**Sub-questions:**

Would you say that women are about as likely as men to come to you to seek support?

Why do you think that's the case?

**If relevant:** I saw that there is a women's section of the local party in your county. Would you say that this group is helping to bring women into the party? / Is it your mission to support women in the party?

Does the committee ever seek out candidates to run for an office that they know might be competitive?

How does the local party women's group decide who to support?

**If relevant:** Are there certain years or certain races in which a woman focused strategy might make more sense?

**If relevant:** In [relevant press release] your group mentioned a push to elect women specifically. Why did you think this was important?

**If relevant:** In that year, how was your strategy different? What did you do to really focus on electing women?

Would you ever get financially involved in a primary election?

Is there any way that the party could get involved in a primary election that doesn't include money?

Do candidates ever seek your support during the primary election? Is there a formal strategy to gain your support?

If a candidate frequently has a primary challenger, do you have any sense of why that is, and do you try to discourage this or let it happen?

Do you partner with any groups in order to help candidates with their fundraising?

How common is it for you to put staff on the ground?

Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about your fundraising work?

Is there anyone else that you'd recommend that I speak to about this topic?

#### Section 4: Women's PAC Staff

I'm hoping to understand the role of Women's PACs in campaign funding and elections in the states. Beyond what I can see from your filings and your website, could you explain to me what your group does to assist women candidates financially?

**Sub-questions (if they don't bring up these items):**



Specifically, how do you support women financially?  
 How do you support women in other, non-financial ways?  
 Do you ever connect women to donors in your network?  
 Do you ever help women identify campaign staff?  
 Do you conduct trainings?

Since you cannot support every woman, what are the three or four most important factors that determine who you support financially?

When women come to you to ask for financial help, is it usually before they have officially launched their campaign or while they are in full swing?

How do you think women find out about you?

Some of the national women's PACs are really focused on early money. Is giving early a priority for you?

**Sub-questions:**

Why? Do you think female candidates in New York have trouble raising money at the beginning of their campaigns?

Do you think this is especially true for challengers, incumbents, or both?

When you donate to women in primaries, what's your motivation?

**Sub-question:**

Do you also help out in non-monetary ways?

What about a primary with more than one woman? Would you ever help one woman and not the other?

What about the national women's PACs, do you ever interact with them?

Have you ever found the state party's campaign committees [like XXXX for example] helpful to your goals?

Do you see elected women as a financial resource for female candidates? For example, would you encourage a first-time candidate to ask for donations from elected woman's campaign account?

Is there anything else you'd like to tell me about your financial role in campaigns?

Is there anyone else that you'd recommend that I speak to about this topic?

**APPENDIX B****CAWP SURVEY DATA – IS FUNDRAISING HARDER FOR WOMEN**

*Fundraising is Harder for Women Than It Is for Men*

Chart based on data from the Center for American Women and Politics Recruitment Survey (2008)

Least Professional	50% of women think fundraising is harder for women
Somewhat Professional	55% of women think fundraising is harder for women
Most Professional	70% of women think fundraising is harder for women

## APPENDIX C

### WOMEN'S DONOR GROUPS

Included in chart: Non-Party Affiliated (may be party allied but are not an official part of any political party) Women's Donor Groups in the 50 states that made donations to women's state legislative campaigns between 1990 and 2010.

#### Alabama

Allied Women PAC (R)  
Alabama Women's Agenda (D)

#### Alaska

Demo Women 2000 (D)  
Mary McKinnon Fund (D)  
Alaska Women for Political Action PAC (NP)  
Alaska Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Anchorage Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Interior Alaska Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Kenai Peninsula Women's PAC (NP)  
NOW Equality PAC (NP)

#### Arizona

Paradise Republican Women's Club PAC (R)  
Arizona List (D)  
Arizona NOW PAC (NP)  
Las Adelitas Arizona PAC (NP)

#### Arkansas

Arkansas Women's Action Fund (D)  
Lee County 100 Women (D)  
Faulk County Women's Club (NP)  
Junior Women's Civic Club (NP)  
Project to Empower Women (NP)

#### California

California List (D)  
DAWN: Democratic Activists for Women Now (D)  
Democratic Women Leaders Fund (D)

Women Building for the Future (D)  
Women for Orange County (D)  
Women in Leadership (D)  
Women In Power (D)  
Women's Coalition (D)  
Women's Political Committee (D)  
Women's Voter Project (D)  
Black Women Organized for Political Action (NP)  
California Federation of Business and Professional Women (NP)  
California Women's Leadership Association PAC (NP)  
First District Women's Steering Committee (NP)  
Inland Area United Black Women's Forum (NP)  
Los Angeles African American Women PAC (NP)  
NWPC Alameda (NP)  
NWPC Contra Costa (NP)  
Sacramento Chapter of Women's Campaign Fund (NP)  
Women For: (NP)  
Women For: Orange County (NP)

#### Colorado

Colorado Democratic Women's PAC (D)  
Look Forward for Democratic Women  
Middle Aged Democratic Women (MAD Women) (D)  
Boulder City Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Colorado Black Women for Political Action (NP)  
Colorado Business and Professional

Women PAC (NP)  
 Colorado Springs Women's Political  
 Caucus (NP)

### **Connecticut**

Waterbury Women's Political Action  
 Group (D)  
 Women Organizing Women (WOW) (D)  
 Central Connecticut Women's Forum  
 (NP)

### **Delaware**

Women's Democratic Clubs of Delaware  
 PAC (D)

### **Florida**

Dedicated to Women PAC (R)  
 Florida EMILY'S List (D)  
 Ruth's List (D)  
 Winning with Women (D)  
 Florida Federation of Business and  
 Professional Women (NP)  
 Florida NOW (NP)  
 Florida Women's Political Caucus PAC  
 (NP)  
 Women of Color Caucus Florida Chapter  
 (NP)

### **Georgia**

West Georgia Republican Women for  
 Good Government (R)  
 Georgia Win List (D)  
 Georgia NOW PAC (NP)  
 NewPowerPAC (NP)  
 Today's Atlanta Women (NP)  
 Women in Numbers (NP)

### **Hawaii**

Oahu League of Republican Women PAC  
 (R)

### **Idaho**

Gracie's List PAC (D)  
 Idaho Democratic Women's Caucus (D)

Idaho NOW Equality PAC (NP)  
 Idaho Women's Network (NP)

### **Illinois**

Republican Women's PAC of Illinois (R)  
 Illinois NOW (NP)  
 Illinois Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
 Morgan City Women's Club (NP)  
 Springfield Women's Political Caucus  
 (NP)  
 Women Electing Women (NP)  
 Women's Division Urban League (NP)

### **Indiana**

America Women Vote! 2002 (D)  
 Indiana Democratic Women's PAC (D)  
 Indiana Women's Network for Political  
 Action (D)  
 Women on the Move (D)  
 Indiana NOW (NP)

### **Iowa**

Dawn's List (D)  
 Women on the Move (D)  
 Iowa Business Women's PAC (D)

### **Kansas**

Greater Kansas City Women's Political  
 Caucus (GKCWPC) (NP)  
 Kansas NOW (NP)  
 Kansas Women's Political Caucus PAC  
 (NP)

### **Kentucky**

Emma's List (D)  
 Jefferson County NOW (NP)  
 Kentucky State Business and  
 Professional Women's PAC (NP)  
 Metro Louisville Women's Caucus (NP)  
 Women of Kentucky (NP)

### **Louisiana**

Political Organization of Women to Elect  
Republicans (R)  
Women on Alert (D)  
Women of Louisiana (NP)

### **Maine**

ME NOW PAC (D)  
Hard Working Women (NP)  
Maine Women's Lobby (NP)

### **Maryland**

Democratic Women's PAC of Maryland  
(D)  
Harriet's List (D)  
Women Power Inc. (D)  
2000 Women's Network (NP)  
Dynamic Women (NP)  
Everyday Women Network (NP)  
Maryland Business and Professional  
Women (NP)  
Women Legislators of Maryland (NP)

### **Massachusetts**

Metrowest Republican Women's PAC  
(R)  
PAC to Promote Women in Politics (R)  
Caucus to Elect Women (NP)  
Massachusetts Women's Political  
Caucus: PAC to Promote Women in  
Politics (NP)  
Women's Network (NP)

### **Michigan**

GOP Women Matter (R)  
Bay County League of Democratic  
Women (D)  
Democratic Women Power PAC (D)  
Democratic Women's Leadership Fund  
(D)  
Fund for Democratic Women (D)  
ICDP Women's Caucus PAC (D)  
MI List (D)  
One Hundred Women (D)  
Progressive Women's Alliance of West

Michigan (D)  
Black Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Lapeer League of Women (NP)  
Michigan NOW (NP)  
Michigan Women's Political Caucus (NP)

### **Minnesota**

Voices of Conservative Women (R)  
Friends of Democratic Women (D)  
Hennepin County Women's PAC (D)  
Women Winning (NP)

### **Mississippi**

None

### **Missouri**

For Women Only (R)  
Missouri Women's Action Fund (D)  
Women's Roosevelt Fund (D)  
Capitol Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Greater Kansas City Women's Political  
Caucus (NP)  
Missouri Women's Action Fund (NP)  
St. Louis Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
Women's Political Caucus Eastern  
Missouri PAC (NP)

### **Montana**

Montana Women's Pipeline Project (D)  
Montana NOW PAC (NP)

### **Nebraska**

None

### **Nevada**

Anne Martin National Women's Political  
Caucus (NP)  
Nevada Women's Lobby (NP)  
Northern Nevada Women's Political  
Caucus PAC (NP)  
Southern Nevada Women's Political  
Caucus (NP)

**New Hampshire**

New Hampshire GOP Women's PAC (R)  
 Democratic Alliance for Women in NH-  
 DAWN PAC (D)  
 Trust New Hampshire Women (D)

**New Jersey**

Greater Roles and Opportunities for  
 Women (GROW) Republican Women (R)  
 Republican Women of the 90s (R)  
 Women First (R)  
 Pam's List (D)  
 Women's Political Caucus of New Jersey  
 (NP)

**New Mexico**

Democratic Women 2000 (D)  
 Las Adelitas: Women in Politics (NP)

**New York**

Women Power PAC (also called NYS  
 Federation of Women Power PAC) (R)  
 African Women's Dream (D)  
 Eleanor Roosevelt Legacy Committee  
 (D)  
 Key Women of America (D)  
 Partnership of Bronx Democratic  
 Women (D)  
 50 Women with a Vision (NP)  
 African American Women of Harlem  
 PAC (NP)  
 Brooklyn Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
 Greenburg Black Women's Political  
 Caucus (NP)  
 Native Black American Women (NP);  
 New York State Association of Black  
 Women (NP)  
 New York State Business and  
 Professional Women (NP)  
 West Chester Black Women's Political  
 Caucus (NP)  
 Women of El Barrio (NP)  
 Women's TAP Fund (NP)

**North Carolina**

Lillian's List (D)  
 NC NOW PAC (NP)  
 North Carolina Women's Political  
 Caucus (NP)

**North Dakota**

None

**Ohio**

Ohio Republican Women's Campaign  
 Fund (R)  
 Today's Republican Women (R)  
 Democratic Business and Professional  
 Women's Club of Ohio (D)  
 Democratic Women's PAC (D)  
 Black Women PAC (NP)  
 Cincinnati Women's Political Caucus PAC  
 (NP)  
 Columbus Area Women's Political  
 Caucus (NP)  
 Jefferson County NOW (NP)  
 Ohio NOW (NP)  
 The Cincinnati Woman's Club (NP)  
 Zanesville NOW PAC (NP)

**Oklahoma**

None

**Oregon**

Executive Republican Women's Club  
 PAC (R)  
 Umpqua Valley Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 Eleanor Roosevelt League (D)  
 North Coast Women's PAC (D)  
 North Court Women's PAC (D)  
 Oregon WIN PAC (D)  
 Willamette Women Democrats PAC (D)  
 North Coast Women's PAC (NP)  
 Oregon Federation of Business and  
 Professional Women (NP)  
 Oregon NOW Equality PAC (NP)  
 Oregon WIN PAC (NP)

**Pennsylvania**

Erie Women's PAC (R)  
 Republican Women in Government (R)  
 Democratic Women's Forum (D)  
 Friends of Democratic Women in  
 Indiana County (D)  
 PA Progress PAC (D)  
 PAC of PA Federation of Democratic  
 Women (D)  
 Salute to Democratic Women  
 Candidates (D)  
 Wizard Women (D)  
 Women for Change (D)  
 2000 African Women (NP)  
 Black Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
 Black Women's Political Crusade (NP)  
 Philadelphia Congress of Black Women  
 (NP)  
 Represent! PA State Women's PAC (NP)  
 Three Rivers Women's Club PAC (NP)

**Rhode Island**

Little Compton Republican Women's  
 Club PAC (R)

**South Carolina**

South Carolina Democratic Legislative  
 Women (D)  
 South Carolina General Assembly  
 Women's Caucus (NP)

**South Dakota**

Women Run! South Dakota (NP)

**Tennessee**

Tennessee Democratic Women's PAC  
 (D)  
 Tennessee Political Fund (NP)  
 Tennessee Women's Political Caucus  
 (NP)

**Texas**

Canyon Lake Republican Women's PAC  
 (R)

Castro County Republican Women's PAC  
 (R)  
 Denton Republican Women's Club PAC  
 (R)  
 Ellis County Republican Women PAC (R)  
 Hispanic Republican Women of San  
 Antonio PAC (R)  
 Kaufman County Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 Lake Conroe Republican Women's PAC  
 (R)  
 Memorial West Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 North East Bexar Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 Plano Republican Women's Club PAC (R)  
 Reagan Legacy Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 Republican Women of Brazos Valley PAC  
 (R)  
 Republican Women on the Go (R)  
 South Llano County Republican  
 Women's PAC (R)  
 Spirit of Freedom Republican Women's  
 PAC (R)  
 Vote PAC Nueces County Republican  
 Women (R)  
 Annie's List (D)  
 Road Women (D)  
 Winning for Women (D)  
 Women's PAC of El Paso (D)  
 Hay's County Women's Political Caucus  
 (NP)  
 Texas NOW PAC (NP)

**Utah**

Utah Women's Republican PAC (also  
 called Republican Women's PAC) (R)  
 Women's Action for New Directions (R)  
 Utah Women's Political Caucus (NP)

**Vermont**

NOW Equality PAC (NP)

**Virginia**

Gwen's Local List (D)  
Make Women Count (D)  
Virginia NOW PAC (NP)

**Washington**

Win with Women (D)  
Clark County Women's Club (NP)  
Washington State Business and  
Professional Women's PAC (NP)  
Washington State NOW (NP)  
Washington Women's Political Caucus

(NP)

Women for Senate PAC (NP)

**West Virginia**

Financial Assistance for Democratic  
Women (D)

**Wisconsin**

None

**Wyoming**

Women of Wyoming (D)



**National PACs or PACs operating in more than one state**

Susan B. Anthony's List (R)  
 Concerned Women for America (R)  
 Republican Association of Business and Professional Women (R)  
 Republican Network to Elect Women (RENEW) (R)  
 Republican Women's Forum (R)  
 WISH List (R)  
 Hollywood Women's Political Committee (D)  
 Women in Leadership (D)  
 Women Vote! (D)  
 EMILY's List (D)

Black Women Organized for Political Action (NP)  
 Black Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
 Business and Professional Women's PAC (NP)  
 National Women of Achievement (NP)  
 League of Women Voters (NP)  
 National Council of Negro Women (NP)  
 National Foundation for Women Legislators (NP)  
 National Women's Political Caucus (NP)  
 NOW Equality PAC (NP)  
 Women in Government (NP)  
 Women's Campaign Fund (NP)  
 Women's Voices Women's Votes

## APPENDIX D

### PARTY AFFILIATED WOMEN'S DONOR GROUPS

Party Affiliated Women's Donor Groups that made donations to state legislative candidate between 1990 and 2010

#### **Alabama**

##### *Republican Clubs*

Alabama Federation of Republican Women

Azalea City Republican Women's Club

Cullman County Republican Women

Dekalb County Republican Women

Eastern Shore Republican Women

New Horizons Republican Women

Republican Women of East Alabama

Republican Women of Etowah County

Republican Women of Huntsville

Republican Women of Coffee County

Republican Women of Huntsville

Republican Women of Madison County

Republican Women of the Shoals

Republican Women of the South

Republican Women of Tuscaloosa County

South Baldwin Women's Republican Club

Twickenham Republican Women

Winston County Republican Women

##### *Democratic Clubs*

Metropolitan Democratic Women's Club of Jefferson

#### **Alaska**

##### *Republican Clubs*

Alaska Federation of Republican Women

Anchorage Republican Women's Club

Capital City Republican Women

District 35 Republican Women of Alaska

Fairbanks Republican Women

First City Republican Women

Matanuska Susitna Republican Women

Matsu Republican Women's Club

Midnight Sun Republican Women's Club

Republican Women of Alaska

#### **Arizona**

##### *Republican Clubs*

Arizona Coordinating Council of Republican Women

Arizona Foundation of Republican Women

Cactus Wren Republican Women

Faulkner County Republican Women

Kingman Republican Women

Palo Verde Republican Women's Club

Paradise Republicans Women's Club

Pima County Republican Women

Tempe Republican Women's Club

Tombstone Republican Women

Tucson Republican Women

##### *Democratic Clubs*

Arizona Democratic Women's Club

Globe-Miami Democratic Women's Club

Valley Democratic Women's Club

#### **Arkansas**

##### *Republican Clubs*

Bella Vista Republican Women's Club

Benton County Republican Women

Boone County Republican Women

Cleburne County Republican Women's Club

Columbia County Republican Women

Conway County Republican Women

Craighead County Republican Women

Fairfield Bay Area Republican Women

Faulkner County Republican Women

Garland County Republican Women  
 Hempstead County Republican  
 Women's Association  
 HSV Republican Women  
 Hot springs Village Republican Women  
 Johnson County Republican Women  
 Little Rock Republican Women  
 Lonoke County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Near Republican Women  
 North Pulaski Republican Women  
 PC Republican Women  
 Pulaski County Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Crawford County  
 Searcy County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Sebastian County Republican Women  
 Sharp County Republican Women  
 Silom Springs Republican Women  
 Twin Lakes Federation of Republican  
 Women  
 Union County Republican Women  
 Washington County Republican Women  
 White County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Arkansas Federation of Democratic  
 Women  
 Democratic Women of Baxter County  
 Pope County Democratic Women  
 Prairie County Democratic Women  
 Saline County Democratic Women  
 Scott County Democratic Women  
 Sebastian County Democratic Women  
 South Franklin County Democratic  
 Women's Club  
 Virginia Clinton Kelley (VCK) Democratic  
 Women

**California**

*Republican Clubs*

Anaheim Republican Women  
 Bakersfield Republican Women  
 Balboa Bay Republican Women

Blair Republican Women  
 Blackhawk Republican Women  
 Federated  
 Camarillo Republican Women Federated  
 Carpentaria Valley Republican Women  
 Colima Hacienda Republican Women  
 Colusa Republican Women Federated  
 Conservative Women's Leadership  
 Association  
 Coronado Republican Women  
 Federated  
 Delmar Republican Women  
 East Pasadena Republican Women  
 Encino Republican Women Federated  
 Fairbanks Republican Women Federated  
 Kings County Republican Women  
 La Mirada Republican women's Club  
 Manhattan Beach Republican Women  
 Federated  
 Merced County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Northridge Republican Women's Club  
 Ong Beach Democratic Women's Club  
 Paradise Magalia Republican Women  
 Pasadena Republican Women Federated  
 Peninsula Republican Women  
 Federated  
 Rancho MC Nally Federated Republican  
 Women  
 Redwood Republican Women  
 Republican Women's Club of Burbank  
 Republican Women of San Marino  
 Republican Women's Task Force  
 Reseda-Tarzana Republican Women  
 Federated  
 San Benito County Republican Women  
 San Ramon Valley Republican Women  
 SLO Republican Women Federated  
 South Pasadena Republican Women  
 West Valley Republican Women  
 Federated  
 Woodland Hills Republican Women  
 Federated

*Democratic Clubs*

Alpert Democratic Women Leaders  
 Democratic Women of Santa Barbara  
 County  
 Carmel Area Democratic Women's  
 Luncheon Club  
 Democratic Women of the Desert;  
 Democratic Women of Kern  
 Democratic Women of Southwest  
 Riverside Council  
 Democratic Women North State  
 Democratic Women's Associates of  
 Imperial Council  
 Democratic Women's Club of Joaquin  
 County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Santa  
 Clara County  
 Democratic Women's Forum of Orange  
 County  
 Democratic Women's Study Club  
 Fresno County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Greenville Women Democrats  
 Kern County Democratic Women's Club  
 Nevada County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Pass Democratic Women's Club  
 San Diego Council of Democratic  
 Women  
 San Gabriel Valley Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 San Geronio Democratic Women's Club  
 Women Democrats of Placer County  
 Women Democrats of Sacramento  
 County

**Colorado***Republican Clubs*

Aurora Republican Women's Club  
 Bear Creek Republican Women  
 Belnor Republican Women's Club  
 Boulder Forum of Republican Women  
 Boulder Women's Republican Club  
 Centennial Republican Women

Cherry Creek Republican Women  
 Coal Creek Republican Women  
 Collegiate Peaks Republican Women  
 Democratic Women's Forum  
 Denver Women's Republican Club  
 Douglas County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 El Paso City Republican Women  
 El Paso County Republican Women  
 Englewood Republican Women  
 Foothills Republican Women's Club  
 Front Range Republican Women  
 Garden Valley Republican Women  
 High Country Republican Women  
 Jefferson City Republican Women's Club  
 Jefferson County Women's Republican  
 Club  
 Las Animas County Republican Women  
 Mesa County Republican Women's Club  
 Monetzuma County Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Montelores Republican Women  
 Montrose Republican Women's Club  
 Mountain Republican Women  
 Northern Larimer Republican Women  
 Otero Republican Women's Club  
 Phillips County Republican Women  
 Pikes Peak Republican Women's Club  
 Political Organization of Women  
 Republican  
 Royal Gorge Republican Women  
 St. Vrain Republican Women  
 Steel City Republican Women's Club  
 Sunrise Republican Women's Club  
 Surface Creek Republican Women  
 Teller County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Colorado Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Boulder

**Connecticut***Republican Clubs*

6th Congressional District Republican

## Women

Bethany Republican Women's Club  
 Brookfield Republican Women's Club  
 Connecticut Federation of Republican Women's Clubs  
 Darien Women's Republican Association  
 East Haddam Republican Women  
 Enfield Republican Women's Club  
 Manchester Republican Women's Club  
 New Canaan Women's Republican Club  
 Old Saybrook Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Bolton  
 Newington Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Westport  
 Simsbury Republican Women's Club  
 Stamford Women's Republican Club  
 Waterford Republican Women  
 West Hartford Republican Women's Club  
 Women's Republican Club of Orange

### *Democratic Clubs*

Cheshire Democratic Women  
 Colchester Democratic Women's Club  
 Connecticut Federation of Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Westport  
 Durham Democratic Women's Club  
 East Harford Democratic Women's Club  
 Greater Hartford Progressive Women's Club  
 Groton Federation of Democratic Women  
 Newington Federation of Democratic Women's Clubs  
 Plymouth Democratic Women's Club  
 Prospect Federated Democratic Women's Club  
 Sojourner Network of Democratic Women  
 Southbury Democratic Women's Club  
 South Windsor Federated Democratic Women  
 Torrington Democratic Women's Club

Trumbull Federated Democratic Women's Club

## **Delaware**

### *Republican Clubs*

Dagsboro Republican Women's Club  
 Delaware Republican Women  
 Delmarva Republican Women  
 Eastern Sussex Republican Women  
 Georgetown Republican Women's Club  
 Kent County Republican Women's Club  
 Mary Ann Moore Delmano Republican Women  
 Women's Republican Club of Wilmington

### *Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women's Club of Delaware  
 Kent Democratic Women's Alliance  
 Sussex County Women's Democratic Club

## **Florida**

### *Republican Clubs*

Atlantic Federated Republican Women's Club  
 Belleair Republican Women's Club  
 Broward Federated Women's Republican Club  
 Celebration of Republican Women  
 Central Brevard Republican Women  
 Coconut Grove Republican Women  
 Contemporary Republican Women's Club  
 East Broward Federated Republican Women  
 Escambia Federated Republican Women  
 Federated Republican Women of South Florida  
 Federated Republican Women of the Space Coast  
 Florida Federation of Republican Women  
 Fort Meyers Republican Women's Club

Four Towns Federated Republican Women's Club  
 Gainesville Federated Republican Women  
 Greater Osceola Republican Women's Club  
 Key Biscayne Republican Women's Club Federated  
 Lee Republican Women Federated  
 Platinum Coast Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Federated Women of Boca Raton  
 Republican Women of Brevard  
 Republican Women of Greater Polk County  
 Republican Women of Indian River  
 Republican Women of Sarasota  
 Republican Women's Club of Lakeland Federated  
 Republican Women's Club of Sarasota  
 Southwest Florida Federated Republican Women  
 Suburban Republican Women's Club  
 Suncoast Republican Women Federated  
 Tallahassee Republican Women's Club  
 Tampa Republican Women's Club  
 Winter Park Federated Republican Women's Club  
 Women's Republican Club of Winter Haven Federated

*Democratic Clubs*

Bay County Democratic Women's Club  
 Capital City Democratic Women's Club  
 Democratic Women's Club of Charlotte County  
 Democratic Women's Club of ESC  
 Democratic Women's Club of Flagler County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Florida  
 Democratic Women's Club of Indian River County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Lake

County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Lee County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Manatee County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Palm Beach County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Pasco County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Sarasota  
 Democratic Women's Club of South Florida  
 Democratic Women's Club of Volusia County  
 Haitian American Democratic Women's Club  
 Hernando County Democratic Women's Club  
 Hillsborough County Democratic Women  
 Pinellas Women's Democratic Club  
 Saint John's County Democratic Women's Club  
 South Brevard Democratic Women  
 Tri-County Democratic Women's Club

**Georgia**

*Republican Clubs*

Athens Area Republican Women  
 Chatham County Republican Women's Club  
 Coastal Republican Women's Club  
 Fayette Republican Women  
 Golden Isles Republican Women's Club  
 Greater Dekalb Republican Women's Club  
 Greater Fayette Republican Women's Club  
 North Dekalb Republican Women  
 North Fulton County Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Georgia  
 Republican Women of Gwinnett  
 Republican Women of Forsyth County

Republican Women of the Northside  
 Savannah Area Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Sawnee Republican Women  
 South Fulton Republican Women  
 Towns County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Troup County Republican Women  
 Cobb Democratic Women  
 Fayette Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Bibb County  
 Glynn County Federation of Democratic  
 Women  
 Middle Georgia Democratic Women  
 Northwest Georgia Democratic Women

## **Hawaii**

### *Republican Clubs*

Kauai Republican Women  
 Kona League of Republican Women  
 Maui League of Republican Women  
 Republican Women's Club of Kauai

## **Idaho**

### *Republican Clubs*

Ada County Republican Women's Club  
 Blaine County Republican Women's  
 Group  
 Canyon County Federation of  
 Republican Women  
 Jefferson County Republican Women  
 Kootenai County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Nez Perce County Republican Women

### *Democratic Clubs*

Idaho Democratic Women's Club

## **Illinois**

### *Republican Clubs*

Adams County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Addison Township Republican Women's  
 Club

Alexander County Republican Women's  
 Organization

Aurora Republican Women's Club  
 Bureau County Republican Women  
 Cass County Republican Women  
 Collinsville Republican Women's Club  
 Dewitt County Republican Women's  
 Club

Dupage County Federation of  
 Republican Women

East Peoria Republican Women's Club  
 Edgar County Republican Women  
 Edwardsville Republican Women's Club  
 Fulton County Republican Women  
 Gundy County Republican Women  
 Homer Republican Women's Club  
 Lee County Republican Women's Club  
 Madison City Federation of GOP  
 Women's Clubs

Madison County Republican Women  
 Maine Township Republican Women's  
 Club

Monroe County Women's Republican  
 Club

Morton Republican Women  
 Naperville Area Republican Women's  
 Organization

Northwest Republican Women  
 Perry County Republican Women  
 Pope County Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Park Ridge  
 Salem Republican Women's Club  
 South Suburban Republican Women's  
 Club

St. Clair County Republican Women  
 United Republican Women

United Southland Republican Women  
 Warren County Republican Women's  
 Club

Wheaton Women's Republican Club  
 White County Republican Women's Club  
 Women's Auxiliary Republican Voters  
 League

Women's Republican Club of Lake

Forest Lake Bluf  
Women's Republican Club of Newtrier

*Democratic Clubs*

1st Ward Democratic Women's  
Organization  
Brown County Democratic Women  
Democratic Women of Knox County  
Evening Chapter of Democratic Women  
Hancock County Democratic Women's  
Club  
Lake County Democratic Women  
Macoupin County Democratic Women  
Peoria Democratic Women  
Rock Island County Democratic  
Women's Club  
Stickney Township Regular Democratic  
Women's Organization

**Indiana**

*Republican Clubs*

Bartholomew County Republican  
Women's Club  
Benton County Women's GOP Club  
Boone County Republican Women's  
Club  
Cass County Republican Women's Club  
County Seat Republican Women's Club  
Bush County Republican Women's Club  
Daviess County Republican women  
Women  
Dekalb County Republican Women's  
Club  
Dubois County Republican Women Club  
Dunkirk Republican Women's Club  
Elkhart Democratic Women's Club  
Fountain County Republican Women's  
Club  
Fulton County Republican Women's  
Club  
Gibson County Republican Women's  
Club  
Greater Indiana Republican Women's  
Club

Greater Indianapolis Republican  
Women's Club  
Greene County Republican Women  
Hamilton County Federated Republican  
Women  
Howard County Republican Women's  
Club  
Indiana Federation of Republican  
Women  
Indianapolis Republican Women in the  
Neighborhood  
Jefferson County Women's Club  
Knox County Republican Women's Club  
Lake Ridge Republican Women's Club  
Lawrence County Republican Women's  
Club  
Midlake Republican Women's Club  
Mishawaka GOP Women  
Morgan County Women's Republican  
Club  
Owen County Republican Women  
Pike County Republican Women's Club  
Randolph County Republican Women's  
Club  
Rush County Women's Republican Club  
Republican Women's Club  
Republican Women's Club of Ripley  
County  
Seymour Republican Women's Club  
Springs Valley Republican Women's Club  
St. Joseph County Republican Women  
Starke County Republican Women's  
Club  
Sullivan County Republican Women  
Switzerland County Republican  
Women's Club  
Tippecanoe County Republican  
Women's Club  
Vanderburgh County Federated  
Republican Women  
Vigo County Republican Women's Club  
Wabash County Republican Women's  
Club  
Washington County Republican



Women's Club  
White County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Clark County Democratic Women's Club  
DeKalb County Democratic Women's Club  
Delaware County Democratic Women's Organization  
Democratic Women of Huntington County  
Elkhart County Democratic Women's Club  
Franklin Women's Democratic Club  
Gibson County Democratic Women's Club  
Grant County Women's Democratic Club  
Harrison County Democratic Women's Club  
Hendricks County Women's Democratic Committee  
Henry County Women's Democratic Club  
Huntington County Democratic Women's Club  
Laporte Area Women's Democratic Club  
Madison County Women's Democratic Club  
Michigan City Women's Democratic Club  
Trom Township Democratic Women's Club

**Iowa**

*Republican Clubs*

Allamakee County Republican Women  
Buchanan County Republican Women  
Calhoun County Republican Women  
Carroll County Council of Republican Women  
Cerro Gordo County Republican Women  
Clarke County Republican Women's Club  
Clinton County Republican Women's

Club

Crawford County Republican Women  
Dewitt Republican Women  
Fayette County Republican Women  
Hardin County Republican Women  
Harrison County Republican Women  
Henry County Republican Women  
Iowa County Republican Women  
Iowa Federation of Republican Women  
Iowa Federation of Republican Women District Five  
Jefferson County Republican Women  
Linn County Republican Women  
Loess Hills Republican Women  
Louisa County Republican Women  
Madison County Republican Women's Club  
Mahaska County Republican Women  
Marshall County Republican Women  
Mason City Republican Women  
Marshall County Republican Women  
Polk County Republican Women  
Republican Women of Madison County  
SAC County Republican Women  
Scott County Republican Women  
Tama County Republican Women  
Taylor County Republican Women  
Wapello County Republican Women  
Winnebago Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women of Buchanan County  
Madison County Democratic Women  
Taylor County Democratic Women

**Kansas**

*Republican Clubs*

Allen County Federation of Republican Women  
Coffey County Republican Women  
Crawford County Republican Women  
Dickinson County Republican Women  
First District East Republican Women

Ford County Republican Women  
 Franklin County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Geary County Republican Women  
 Leavenworth County Republican  
 Women  
 Lenexa Republican Women's Club  
 Normandy County Republican Women  
 Rice County Republican Women  
 Riley County Republican Women  
 Sedgwick County Republican Women  
 Shawnee County Women's Republican  
 Club  
 Washington County Republican Women  
 Wyandotte County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Butler County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Capital Area Federation of Women's  
 Democratic Clubs  
 First District Kansas Federated Women  
 Democrats  
 Ford County Women's Democratic Club  
 Franklin County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Joco Democratic Women  
 Leavenworth County Women's  
 Democratic Club  
 Marion County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Miami County Women's Democratic  
 Club  
 Pratt County Democratic Women  
 Reno County Democratic Women's Club  
 Rice County Democratic Women's Club  
 Sedgwick County Federation of  
 Democratic Women  
 Winfield Women's Democratic Club

**Kentucky**

*Republican Clubs*

Arshall County Republican Women's  
 Club

Barren County Republican Women  
 Bluegrass Republican Women's Club  
 Boone County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Caldwell County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Christian County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Daviess County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Fayette County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Franklin County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Hardin County Republican Women  
 Johnson County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Kenton County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Kentucky Federation of Republican  
 Women  
 Lee County Republican Women  
 Logan County Republican Women's Club  
 Madison County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Oldham County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Purchase Area Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Jefferson County  
 Republican Women of Southeast  
 Jefferson Council  
 Republican Women's Club of Pike  
 County  
 Republican Women's Club of Powell  
 County  
 Southwest Republican Women's Club  
 Warren County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Women Republicans of Central  
 Kentucky  
 Women's Republican Club of Kentucky

*Democratic Clubs*

Alben Barkley Democratic Women's

**Club**

Boyd County Democratic Women's Club  
Campbell County Democratic Women's Club

Christian County Democratic Women's Club

Cynthiana-Harrison County Democratic Women's Club

Democratic Women's Club of Franklin County

Democratic Women's Club of Kentucky  
First Congressional District Women's Club

Floyd County Democratic Women

Greater Lexington Democratic Women's Club

Henderson County Democratic Women's Club

Johnson County Democratic Women's Club

Kenton County Democratic Women

Kentucky Democratic Women's Club

Lawrence County Democratic Women's Club

Oldham County Democratic Women's Club

Shelby County Democratic Women's Club

Taylor County Democratic Women

Trigg County Democratic Women's Club

United Democratic Women's Club

**Louisiana***Republican Clubs*

Acadiana Republican Women

East Baton Rouge Parish Republican Women

Hammond Area Republican Women's Club

Lafourche Republican Women's Club

Livingston Parish Republican Women

Mandeville Women's Republican Club

Ouachita Republican Women

Plaquemines Parish Women's

**Republican Club**

Republican Professional Women of  
Greater New Orleans

Republican Women in Bossier

Republican Women's Club of Jefferson Parish

Republican Women of Kenner

Republican Women of St. Charles

Republican Women of St. Tammany

*Democratic Clubs*

Caddo Bossier Federation of Democratic Women

**Maine***Republican Clubs*

Androscoggin County Republican Women's Club

Hancock County Republican Women

Hannibal Hamlin Republican Women's Club

Kenn County Republican Women's Club

Knox County Republican Women

Kennebec County Republican Women's Club

Knox County Republican Women

Maine Federation of Republican Women

Penobscot County Republican Women

Waldo County Republican Women's Club

**Maryland***Republican Clubs*

Bowie Republican Women's Club

Cecil County Republican Women's Club

Chevy Chase Women's Republican Club

Delmarva Republican Women

East Montgomery Women's Republican Club

Harford County Republican Women

Henson Valley Republican Women's Club

Hopkins Women's Republican Club

Loraine Krim Rural Women's Republican

## Club

Marlboro Republican Women's Club  
 Middletown Valley Club of Republican Women  
 Mid Montgomery Women's Republican Club  
 Montgomery County Federation of Republican Women  
 Olney Women's Republican Club  
 Potomac Women's Republican Club  
 Prince Georges County Federation of Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Anne Arndale County  
 Republican Women of Calvert County  
 Republican Women of Talbot County  
 Republican Women's Club of Frederick County  
 Republican Women's Club of Kent and Queen Annes County  
 Republican Women of St. Mary's  
 Republican Women of Talbot County  
 Republican Women of Taneytown  
 Republican Women of Worcester County  
 Republican Women's Leadership Club  
 Rock Creek Women's Republican Club  
 Rockville Republican Women's Club  
 Rural Women's Republican Club  
 Severna Park Republican Women's Club  
 Somerset County Republican Women  
 Up County Republican Women  
 Wilmino County Republican Women's Club

*Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women of Howard County  
 Democratic Women's Club of Ocean Pines  
 Northern Montgomery County Women's Democratic Club  
 United Democratic Women of Baltimore County  
 United Democratic Women's Club of

## Maryland

Women's Suburban Democratic Club

**Massachusetts***Republican Clubs*

Dover Women's Republican Club  
 Lower Cape Cod Women's Republican Club  
 Needham Republican Women's Club  
 West Women's Republican Club of Massachusetts  
 Women's Republican Club of Upper Cape  
 Women's Republican Club of Winchester  
 Women's Republican Club of Worcester County

*Democratic Clubs*

Franklin County Democratic Women's Club  
 Women Democrats Metrowest

**Michigan***Republican Clubs*

Allegan County Republican Women's Club  
 Birmingham Republican's Women's Club  
 Bloomfield Republican Women's Club  
 Houghton Kenison Republican Women's Club  
 Livingston County Republican Women's Club  
 Macomb County Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women's Business and Professional Forum  
 Republican Women's Club of Grosse Pointe  
 Republican Women's Club of Monroe County  
 Republican Women of West Oakland  
 Royal Oak Republican Women's Club  
 Saginaw County Women's Republican

Club  
 Suburban Republican Women  
 Van Buren County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

House Democratic Women's Leadership  
 Caucus  
 Ingham County Democratic Women's  
 Caucus  
 Kent County Democratic Women's Club  
 Lenawee County Democratic Women's  
 Committee  
 Tri County Democratic Women's Caucus

**Minnesota**

*Republican Clubs*

Douglas County Republican Women  
 Duluth Women's Republican Club  
 Stewartville Republican Women  
 Suburban Republican Women

**Mississippi**

*Republican Clubs*

Hancock County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Jones County Republican Women  
 Lafayette County Republican Women  
 Mississippi Federation of Republican  
 Women  
 OKT Republican Women; Rankin County  
 Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Desoto County

**Missouri**

*Republican Clubs*

Congressional District Women  
 7th District Federated Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Ninth District Federated Republican  
 Women  
 Atchinson County Republican Women  
 Bates County Republican Women  
 Benton County Republican Women's  
 Club

Bi County Republican Women's Club  
 Bonhomme Township Federated  
 Republican Women's Club  
 Boone County Republican Women  
 Cape County Republican Women's Club  
 Cole County Republican Women's Club  
 Columbia Federated Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Democratic Women's Club of Perryville  
 County  
 Federated Republican Women's Club  
 First Capitol Republican Women's Club  
 Franklin County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Gentry County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Gravois Township Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Grundy County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Johnson County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Laclede County Federated Republican  
 Women  
 Lake Ozark Area Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Liberty Federated Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Nodaway County Federated Republican  
 Women  
 Phelps County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Republican Women of Newton County  
 Republican Women of Northwest  
 Township  
 Republican Women of Union  
 Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women's Club South  
 Republican Women's Club of St. Louis  
 County  
 Salt River Federated Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Santa Fe Trail Republican Women's Club  
 St. Charles Republican Women

Texas County Federated Republican Women  
 Washington County Federation of Republican Women  
 West County Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

5th Democratic District Women's Club  
 7th District Missouri Federation of Women's Democratic Clubs  
 Barton County Women's Democratic Club  
 Butler County Democratic Women's Club  
 Callaway County Women's Democratic Club  
 Clay County Women's Democratic Club  
 Crawfordettes Crawford County Federate Democratic Women's Clubs  
 Democratic Women's Club  
 Douglas County Women's Democratic Club;  
 Dunklin County Women Democratic Club  
 FDR Democratic Women's Club  
 Greene County Women's Democratic Club  
 Harry S. Truman Women's Democratic Club  
 Hillary Clinton Democratic Women's Club  
 Jeffersonian Women's Democratic Club  
 Livingston County Women's Democratic Club  
 Missouri 4th Congressional District Federated Republican Women  
 Pike County Women's Democratic Club  
 Pioneer Women's Democratic Club  
 Platte County Federated Democratic Women's Club  
 Pulaski County Women's Democratic Club  
 Randolph County Women's Democratic Club

St. Charles Women's Coalition  
 Stoddard County Women's Democratic Club  
 Vernon County Democratic Women  
 Wayne County Women's Democratic Club  
 Women's Democratic Club  
 Women's Democratic Club 2nd Congressional District  
 Women's Democratic Club of Callaway County  
 Women's Democratic Club of Jefferson County  
 Women's Democratic Club of Pettis County  
 Women's Roosevelt Club

**Montana**

*Republican Clubs*

Beaverhead County Republican Women  
 Big Horn County Republican Women  
 Butte Silver Bow County Republican Women  
 Carbon County Republican Women  
 Chouteau County Republican Women  
 Custer County Republican Women  
 Daniels County Republican Women  
 Dawson County Republican Women  
 Eagher County Republican Women  
 Fergus County Republican Women's Club  
 Flathead County Republican Women's Club  
 Gallatin County Republican Women's Club  
 Grant County Republican Women  
 Helena Republican Women's Club  
 Judith Basin County Republican Women's Club  
 Laurel Republican Women  
 Lewis & Clark County Republican Women's Club  
 McCone County Republican Women  
 Meagher County Republican Women

Missoula County Republican Women  
 Montana Federation of Republican Women  
 Montana Republican Women's Club  
 North Jefferson County Republican Women's Club  
 Park County Republican Women  
 Prairie County Republican Women  
 Ravalli County Republican Women  
 Richland County Republican Women  
 Sheridan County Republican Women  
 Silver Bow County Republican Women  
 Stillwater County Republican Women  
 Sweetgrass County Republican Women  
 Toole County Republican Women  
 Valley County Republican Women  
 Yellowstone County Republican Women's Club

*Democratic Clubs*

Dawson County Democratic Women  
 Fallon County Democratic Women  
 Garfield County Democratic Women  
 Golden Valley Democratic Women's Club  
 Hill County Democratic Women  
 Judith Basin County Democratic Women  
 Kootenai Valley Democratic Women  
 Laurel Democratic Women  
 Liberty County Democratic Women  
 Lincoln County Democratic Women  
 Pondera County Democratic Women  
 Sanders County Democratic Women  
 Sheridan County Democratic Women  
 Teton County Democratic Women  
 Toole County Democratic Women

**Nebraska**

None

**Nevada**

*Republican Clubs*

Active Republican Women's Club  
 Carson City Republican Women's Club

Douglas County Republican Women's Club  
 Lake Tahoe Nevada Republican Women  
 Lyon County Republican Women's Club  
 Mt. Rose Republican Women's Club  
 Nevada Federation of Republican Women  
 Pahrump Valley Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Henderson  
 Republican Women of Las Vegas  
 Sierra Nevada Republican Women  
 Southern Hills Republican Women  
 Sparks Republican Women  
 Virgin Valley Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Carson City Democratic Women  
 Clark County Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Carson City  
 Washoe County Democratic Women's Club  
 Women's Democratic Club  
 Women's Democratic Club of Clark County

**New Hampshire**

*Republican Clubs*

Cheshire Republican Women's Committee  
 Nashua Republican Women's Committee  
 New Hampshire Federation of Republican Women  
 Reshine Republican Women's Club  
 Seacoast Republican Women

**New Jersey**

*Republican Clubs*

Avalon Women's Republican Club  
 Bergen County Republican Women's Club  
 Burlington County Republican Women  
 Camden County Federation of Republican Women

Cape May County Republican Women's Club  
 Monmouth County Federation of Republican Women  
 New Jersey Federation of Republican Women  
 Ocean County Federation of Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Mercer  
 Somerset County Federation of Republican Women  
 Women's Republican Club of Berkeley

*Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women of Bergen County  
 Warren County Association of Democrat Women

**New Mexico**

*Republican Clubs*

Albuquerque Federated Republican Women  
 Chaves County Republican Women  
 Cottonwood Federated Republican Women  
 Curry County Republican Women  
 DAC Federated Republican Women  
 Federated Republican Women  
 Federated Republican Women of Lincoln County  
 Four Corners Federated Republican Women  
 Grant County Federated Republican Women  
 Lea County Republican Women  
 Los Alamos Republican Women  
 Luna County Republican Women  
 Metro Federated Republican Women  
 New Mexico Federation of Republican Women  
 North Eddy County Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women's Club in Arroyo Seco

Republican Women of Lincoln County  
 Republican Women of Grant County  
 San Bern Federated Republican Women's Club  
 San Juan Federated Republican Women  
 Santa Fe Federated Republican Women  
 Socorro Federation of Republican Women  
 Southwest Federated Republican Women  
 Valencia County Republican Women  
 Valle del Norte Federated Republican Women's Club  
 Women's Republican Committee  
 Zia Federated Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Carlsbad Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Bernalillo County  
 Democratic Women of Chavez County  
 Hispanic Democratic Women  
 Lovington Democratic Women's Club  
 Otero Democratic Women's Club  
 Roosevelt County Democratic Women  
 San Juan Democratic Women  
 Santa Fe County Democratic Women's Organization

**New York**

*Republican Clubs*

Amherst Republican Women  
 Beekman Women's Republican Club  
 Brookhaven Town Women's Republican Club  
 Cattaraugus County Women's Republican Club  
 Cortland City Women's Republican Club  
 Cortland County Republican Women's Club  
 Genesee County Republican Women's Club  
 Hampton Bays Republican Women Volunteers  
 Islip Women's Republican Club



Lackawanna Women's Republican Club  
 Livingston County Women's Republican Club  
 Monroe County Republican Women  
 Nassau County Federation of Republican Women  
 New York State Federation of Republican Women  
 Ontario County Women's Republican Club  
 Orange County Federation of Republican Women  
 Oswego County Republican Women's Club  
 Otsego County Women's Republican Club  
 Pittsford Women's Republican Club  
 Poughkeepsie Women's Republican Club  
 Pound Ridge Women's Republican Club  
 Republican Women of Bronx County  
 Republican Women of Huntington  
 Schenectady County Women's Republican Club  
 Schoharie County Republican Women's Club  
 Scarsdale Women's Republican Club  
 Suffolk County Republican Women  
 Taminent Women's Regular Democratic Club  
 Town of Catskill Women's Republican Club  
 Women's Republican Club of Saratoga County  
 Women's Republican Club of Queens County  
 Ulster County Women's Republican Club  
 West County Women's Republican Club  
 Westchester Women's Republican Club

*Democratic Clubs*

Aquehung Women's Democratic Club  
 Democratic Women of Broome County  
 Dutchess Democratic Women's Caucus

Hamburg Women's Democratic Club  
 Orange County Democratic Women  
 Partnership of Bronx Democratic Women  
 Taminent Women's Regular Democratic Club

**North Carolina**

*Republican Clubs*

Albemarle Republican Women  
 Ashe County Republican Women  
 Buncombe Republican Women  
 Cary Republican Women  
 Chapel Hill Republican Women  
 Chatham Republican Women  
 Committee to Elect Republican Women  
 Craven Republican Women  
 Crystal Coast Republican Women  
 Dane County Republican Women  
 Dare Republican Women  
 Durham Republican Women  
 East Lincoln Republican Women  
 Fayetteville Republican Women's Club  
 Gaston Republican Women  
 Gem County Republican Women  
 Greater Greensboro Republican Women  
 Guilford Wake Republican Women  
 Lady Cardinal Republican Women  
 Lake Lure Republican Women  
 Lincoln Republican Women  
 Lower Cape Fear Republican Women's Club  
 Macon Republican Women  
 Madison Republican Women  
 McNeill Federated Republican Women's Club  
 Moore Republican Women  
 Montgomery Republican Women  
 New Concept Republican Women's Club  
 Newton Republican Women  
 North Carolina Federation of Republican Women  
 Pamlico Republican Women  
 Pitt County Republican Women

Polk Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Chapel Hill  
 Republican Women of Chatham City  
 Republican Women of Chatham County  
 Rockingham Republican Women  
 Rutherford Republican Women  
 Salisbury-Rowan Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Sampson Republican Women  
 Scotland County Republican Women  
 Stokes Republican Women  
 Transylvania Republican Women  
 Triangle Republican Women  
 Union Republican Women  
 Wake County Republican Women  
 Wayne Republican Women  
 Wilson Republican Women  
 Yadkin Republican Women

*Democratic Clubs*

Alamance Democratic Women  
 Alexander Democratic Women  
 Burke County Democratic Women  
 Organization  
 Cabarrus Democratic Women  
 Caldwell Democratic Women  
 Carteret Democratic Women  
 Democratic Women of Alamance  
 County  
 Democratic Women of Cleveland  
 County  
 Democratic Women of Jackson County  
 Forsyth County Democratic Women  
 Johnson Democratic Women  
 Lincoln County Democratic Women  
 Mecklenburg Democratic Women  
 Moore Democratic Women  
 Richmond Democratic Women  
 Rowan Democratic Women  
 Rutherford County Democratic Women  
 Stanly Democratic Women  
 Surry Democratic Women  
 Union County Democratic Women

Wake Democratic Women  
 Watauga Democratic Women

**North Dakota**

*Republican Clubs*

District 10 & 16 Republican Women  
 District 11 Republican Women  
 District 15 Republican Women's  
 Organization  
 Grand Forks Republican Women's Club  
 Minot Area Republican Women  
 Northeast Republican Women  
 Towner Republican Women's Club

**Ohio**

*Republican Clubs*

Ashtabula County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Auglaize County Republican Women  
 Beavercreek Republican Women's Club  
 Blanchester Republican Women's Club  
 Bucyrus Area Republican Women  
 Canfield Women's Republican Club  
 Clark County Republican Women  
 Coshocton County Republican Women  
 Erie County Republican Women  
 Fairborn Republican Women's Club  
 Frances Bolton Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Galion Women's Republican Club  
 Greater Toledo Republican Women  
 Geauga County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Green Beaver Republican Women's Club  
 Guernsey County Republican Women  
 Hamilton County Women's Republican  
 Club  
 Harrison Township Women's Republican  
 Club  
 Hocking Hills Republican Women's Club  
 Holmes County Republican Women  
 Huber Heights Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Hudson Republican Women's

Committee  
 Huron County Republican Women's Club  
 Lancaster Fairfield Women's Republican Club  
 Madison County Republican Women's Club  
 Mahoning County Republican Women's Club  
 Medina County Federation of Republican Women  
 Mercer County Republican Women  
 Morrow County Republican Women's Organization  
 Muskingham County Republican Women  
 New Phila Republican Women's Club  
 Noble County Federation of Republican Women  
 North Eaton Women's Republican Club  
 Northeast Hamilton County Republican Women  
 Northeast Women's Republican Club  
 Northmont Women's Republican Club  
 Ohio Republican Women's Club  
 Ottawa County Republican Women  
 Perry County Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Henry County  
 Richland County Republican Women's Club  
 Ross County Republican Women  
 Trumbull County Republican Women  
 Tuscarawas County Republican Women  
 Vernon Adams Women's Republican Club  
 Warren County Republican Women  
 Washington Township Women's Republican Club  
 Warren City Republican Women  
 Warren County Women's Republican Club  
 Western Reserve Republican Women's Club  
 Williams County Republican Women

Women's Committee of the Republican Club  
 Worthington Republican Women's Club  
 Xenia Republican Women's Club

#### *Democratic Clubs*

Allen County Women's Democratic Club  
 Ashland County Democratic Women  
 Ashtabula County Democratic Women  
 Cuyahoga Falls Democratic Women's Club  
 Democratic 20th Ward Women's Club  
 Democratic Women's Club of Bucyrus  
 Democratic Women of Erie County  
 Democratic Women of Morgan County  
 Elyria Democrats Women's Club  
 Federated Democratic Women of Ohio  
 Federated Democratic Women of Portage County  
 Federated Democratic Women of Ross County  
 Federated Democratic Women of Summit County  
 Fitzgerald Democratic Women  
 Firelands Democratic Women  
 Fulton County Democratic Women  
 Henry County Women's Democratic Association  
 Highland County Democratic Women's Club  
 Hillary Clinton Democratic Women  
 Jerusalem Township Women's Democratic Club  
 Lakeland Democratic Women's Club  
 Lorain Democratic Women's Club  
 Miami County Democratic Women  
 Norwalk Democratic Women's Club  
 Ohio Democratic Women's Club  
 Ohio Federated Democratic Women  
 Perry Burrough Democratic Women's Club  
 Pickaway County Democratic Women's Club  
 Reynoldsburg Republican Women's Club

Sandusky County Democratic Women's Club  
 Salem Women's Democratic Association  
 Scioto County Democratic Women's Club  
 Seneca County Democratic Women  
 Shelby County Democratic Women  
 Summit County Federated Democratic Women  
 Tuscarawas Democratic Women's Club  
 Vermilion Democratic Women's Club  
 Washington County Democratic Women's Club  
 West Chester Democratic Women  
 Women's Democratic Club of Shelby County  
 Women's Federated Democratic Club  
 Xenia Republican Women's Club

## **Oklahoma**

### *Republican Clubs*

After Five Republican Women  
 Apple Edmond Republican Women's Club  
 Atters Republican Women's Group  
 Carter County Republican Women  
 Cherokee County Republican Women's Club  
 Chisholm Trail Republican Women  
 Cleveland County Republican Women's Club  
 Custer County Republican Women's Club  
 Edmond Republican Women's Club  
 Frontier County Republican Women's Club  
 Garfield County Republican Women  
 Helen Cole Republican Women's Club  
 Kingfisher County Republican Women  
 Lynn Lane Republican Women's Club  
 Noble County Republican Women  
 Oklahoma City Republican Women's Club  
 Oklahoma Federation of Republican

Women

Payne County Republican Women  
 Pittsburg County Republican Women  
 Redlands Republican Women's Club  
 Tri City Republican Women's Club

### *Democratic Clubs*

Bryan County Federation of Democratic Women  
 Carter County Democratic Women  
 Cherokee County Federation of Women's Democratic Clubs  
 Creek County Democratic Women  
 Grady County Democratic Women  
 Leflore County Democrat Women  
 Logan County League of Democratic Women  
 Muskogee County Democratic Women's Club  
 Seminole County Democratic Women  
 Sequoyah County Democratic Women  
 Sokc Women's Democratic Club  
 South Oklahoma City Women's Democratic Club  
 Woods County Federation of Democratic Women

## **Oregon**

### *Republican Clubs*

Beaverton West Slope Republican Women  
 Central Lane Republican Women  
 Charbonneau Republican Women  
 Delaware County Republican Women's Club  
 Executive Republican Women's Club  
 Federated Oregon Women's Republican Club  
 Jackson County Republican Women  
 Josephine County Republican Women  
 King City GOP Women's Club  
 Lake Oswego Republican Women Club  
 Milton Freewater Republican Women's Club

Oregon Federation of Republican Women  
 River Ridge Republican Women  
 Umpqua Valley Republican Women  
 West Slope Republican Women's Club  
 Western Lane Republican Women's Club  
 Willamette Republican Women's Club

## **Pennsylvania**

### *Republican Clubs*

Adams County Council of Republican Women  
 Armstrong County Republican Women  
 Bedford Area Republican Women  
 Bradford County Council of Republican Women  
 Bucks County Council of Republican Women  
 Cambria County Council of Republican Women  
 Delaware County Republican Women's Committee  
 Eastern Montgomery City Republican Women  
 Erie County Council of Republican Women  
 First Armstrong County Council of Republican Women  
 Fulton County Council of Republican Women  
 Indiana Council of Republican Women  
 Monroe Council Republican Women  
 Montgomery County Republican Women  
 Mt. Lebanon Council of Republican Women  
 North Hampton County Republican Women  
 North Pennsylvania Republican Women  
 Pennsylvania Council of Republican Women

### *Democratic Clubs*

Klamath Democratic Women  
 Milton Freewater Democratic Women's Club  
 Oregon Federation of Democratic Women

Perkiomen Council of Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Action of Mifflin County  
 Republican Women of Cumberland County  
 Republican Women of the Main Line  
 Scranton Council of Republican Women  
 Sullivan County Council of Republican Women  
 Upper Main Line Council of Republican Women  
 Venango County Council of Republican Women  
 Wayne County Council of Republican Women  
 Women's Republican Club of Chester County  
 Women's Republican Club of York County  
 Women's Republican Leadership  
 Wyoming County Council of Republican Women

### *Democratic Clubs*

Brad E. Democratic Women  
 Capitol Area Democratic Women  
 Clinton County Democratic Women  
 Columbia County Democratic Women's Caucus  
 Democratic Women's Club  
 Democratic Women of Pittsburg  
 Democratic Women's Forum

Democratic Women of District 154  
 Democratic Women of Philadelphia  
 Democratic Women's Division of  
 Alleghany County  
 East Side Democratic Women  
 Erie County Democratic Women  
 Federation of Democratic Women-  
 Indiana County  
 Helen B Hughes Federation of  
 Democratic Women  
 Juanita County Women's Democratic  
 Club  
 Lackawanna County Federation of  
 Democratic Women  
 Lancaster City Democratic Women's  
 Association  
 Mahanoy Area Democratic Women  
 Montgomery County Democratic  
 Women  
 Monroe County Democratic Women  
 Paxton Democratic Women's Club  
 Penns Valley Democratic Women's Club  
 Pennsylvania Federation of Democratic  
 Women  
 Schuylkill County Democratic Women's  
 League  
 Shamokin Area Democratic Women  
 Spring Grove Women's Democratic Club  
 Williamsport Area Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Women's Democratic Club of Franklin  
 County  
 Wyoming County Democratic Women's  
 Society  
 York County Federation of Democratic  
 Women

### **Rhode Island**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Rhode Island Federation of Republican  
Women

### **South Carolina**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Anderson City Republican Women  
 Anderson County Republican Women  
 Beaufort County Republican Women  
 Capital City Republican Women  
 Chas Republican Women's Club  
 Charleston County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Clover Lake Wylie Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Dorchester County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 East Cooper Republican Women's Club  
 GWD Republican Women  
 Knightsville Republican Women's Club  
 Little River Republican Women  
 McCormick County Republican Women  
 Myrtle Beach Republican Women  
 Palmetto House Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Greenwood  
 Sea Island Republican Women's Club  
 Spartanburg County Republican Women  
 Summerville Republican Women's Club  
 Upstate Republican Women's Club  
 York County Republican Women's Club

#### *Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women's Club  
 Democratic Women of Charleston  
 County  
 Democratic Women of Greenville  
 County  
 Women of Greenville County

### **South Dakota**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Beadle County Republican Women  
 Cenkota Republican Women  
 Codington County Republican Women  
 Fall River County Republican Women  
 Minnehaha County Republican Women  
 Pennington County Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Potter County Republican Women

Siouxland Republican Women  
South Dakota Republican Women

## **Tennessee**

### *Republican Clubs*

Blount County Republican Women  
Bristol Republican Women  
Campbell County Republican Women's Club  
Cheatham County Republican Women  
Cumberland County Republican Women  
Dickson County Republican Women  
FC Republican Women  
Greater Kingsport Republican Women  
Hardin County Republican Women  
Hawkins County Republican Women  
Haywood County Republican Women  
Hickman County Republican Women  
Johnson City GOP Women  
Kingsport Republican Women's Club  
Pickwick Republican Women's Organization  
Republican Women of Blount County  
Republican Women of West Wilson County  
Republican Women of Williamson County  
Robertson County Republican Women's Club  
Roane County Republican Women's Club  
Sumner County Republican Women  
Tennessee Federation of Republican Women  
Tipton County Republican Women  
Volunteer Republican Women's Club  
Washington County Republican Women  
Weakley County Republican Women  
Williamson County Republican Career Women  
Williamson County Republican Women's Club

## **Texas**

### *Republican Clubs*

Alamo City Republican Women's Club  
Alvin Area Republican Women's Club  
Austin Federation of Republican Women  
Bay Area Republican Women  
Bentwood Republican Women's Club  
Bexar County Republican Women  
Brush Country Republican Women  
Caldwell County Republican Women  
Clear Creek Republican Women  
Concho Valley Republican Women  
Cy-Fair Republican Women  
Daughters of Liberty Republican Women  
East El Paso Republican Women  
Fort Bend Republican Women  
Fort Worth Republican Women  
Founders Vision Republican Women  
Golden Corridor Republican Women's Club  
Guadalupe County Republican Women  
Henderson County Republican Women  
Heritage Republican Women's Club  
Highland Lake Republican Women's Club  
Hill County Republican Women  
Houston Professional Republican Women  
Houstonaires Republican Women  
Hutchinson County Republican Women  
Irving Republican Women's Club  
Kaufman County Republican Women  
Kerr County Republican Women  
Lago Vista Area Republican Women  
Lake Highlands Republican Women  
Lake Houston Shores Republican Women  
Lampasas County Republican Women  
Lexington of Texas Republican Women  
Leon County Republican Women  
Lewisville Area Republican Women's Club  
Lone Star Republican Women  
Magic Circle Republican Women

Marie Baylor Republican Women  
 McKinney Republican Women's Club  
 Memorial West Republican Women  
 Mesquite Republican Women  
 New Braunfels Republican Women  
 North Collin County Republican Women  
 Northwest Austin Republican Women  
 Northwest Forest Republican Women  
 Park Cities Republican Women  
 Parker County Republican Women  
 Pink Elephant Committee of the  
 Midland County Republicans  
 Preston West Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Arlington  
 Republican Women of Toakum  
 Rockwall Republican Women  
 Ronald Reagan Republican Women  
 Sachse Area Republican Women  
 Salado Area Republican Women  
 Smith County Republican Women  
 Spirit of Freedom Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Spirit of Goliad Republican Women  
 Tejas Republican Women  
 Texas Federation of Republican Women  
 Texas Tea Party Republican Women  
 Travis Republican Women  
 Village Republican Women's Club  
 Weber County Federation of Republican  
 Women  
 West El Paso Republican Women  
 White Rock Republican Women's Club  
 Wichita County Republican Women  
 Wise Republican Women  
 Williamson County Republican Women's  
 Club

#### *Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women of Hunt County  
 Fannin Democratic Women  
 Grass Roots Organization of Women  
 Greater Arlington Mansfield Democratic  
 Women  
 Kendall County Democratic Women

North Dallas Texas Democratic Women  
 River Oaks Democratic Women  
 Tarrant County Democratic Women's  
 Club  
 Texas Democratic Women  
 Texas Democratic Women of San Jacinto  
 County  
 Texas Democratic Women of Wichita  
 County  
 Young County Democratic Women

### **Utah**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Cache County Republican Women  
 Professional Republican Women  
 Republican Women of Utah  
 United Republican Women of  
 Southwest Utah  
 Utah County Republican Women  
 Weber County Republican Women  
 Women's Republican Club  
 Women's Republican Club of Salt Lake  
 City

#### *Democratic Clubs*

Democratic Women of Utah County  
 Utah Democratic Women's Club

### **Vermont**

None

### **Virginia**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Albermarle-Charlottesville Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Arlington Republican Women's Club  
 Barbara Bush Republican Women's Club  
 Central Chesapeake Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Colonial Republican Women's Club  
 Commonwealth Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Dan Valley Republican Women's Club  
 Dominion Republican Women's Club



Elizabeth River Republican Women  
 Franklin County Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Genet Republican Women's Club  
 George Mason Republican Women  
 Great Falls Republican Women's Club  
 Greater Oak Hill Area Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Greater McLean Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Goochland Republican Women's Club  
 Huguenot Republican Women's Club  
 Isle of Wight Republican Women's Club  
 James River Republican Women's Club  
 Mamie Eisenhower Republican  
 Women's Club  
 Martha Washington Council of  
 Republican Women  
 Monticello Council Republican Women  
 Mount Vernon Republican Women  
 New Providence Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Nimmo Republican Women's Club  
 Norfolk Republican Women's Club  
 Northern Pitts County Republican  
 Women  
 Patriot Republican Women's Club  
 Princess Anne Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Portsmouth Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Business Women's League  
 Republican Women Mamie Eisenhower  
 Club  
 Republican Women of Culpeper  
 Republican Women Patriot's Club  
 Smith Mt Lake Republican Women's  
 Club  
 Spotsylvania Republican Women's Club  
 Susan Allen Republican Women's Club  
 Virginia Beach Republican Women  
 Virginia Federation of Republican  
 Women  
 Virginia Republican Women Barbara  
 Bush Club

Virginia Republican Women Monticello  
 Council  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Accomack County  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Alexandria  
 Virginia Republican Women of Arlington  
 Virginia Republican Women of Augusta  
 County  
 Virginia Republican Women of Bull Run  
 Virginia Republican Women of Carroll  
 County  
 Virginia Republican Women of Central  
 Chesapeake  
 Virginia Republican Women of Colonial  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Dominion  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Goochland County  
 Virginia Republican Women of Great  
 Falls  
 Virginia Republican Women of Greater  
 Mclean  
 Virginia Republican Women of Hampton  
 Roads  
 Virginia Republican Women of Heritage  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Huguenot  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Jamestown  
 Virginia Republican Women of Mount  
 Vernon  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Piedmont  
 Virginia Republican Women of Norfolk  
 Virginia Republican Women of Northern  
 Pittsylvania  
 Virginia Republican Women of Reston  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Rockingham Harris  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Shenandoah County  
 Virginia Republican Women of  
 Spotsylvania County

Virginia Republican Women of Tri Cities  
 Virginia Republican Women of Virginia Beach  
 Virginia Republican Women of Winchester Frederick  
 Western Fairfax Republican Women  
 Winchester Frederick Clarke Republican Women  
 York Republican Women's Club

*Democratic Clubs*

Chesapeake Democratic Women  
 Fredericksburg Area Democratic Women's Club  
 Peninsula Democratic Women  
 Piedmont Democratic Women's Club  
 Portsmouth Democratic Women  
 Roanoke Valley Democratic Women  
 Shenandoah County Democratic Women's Club  
 Southside Republican Women's Club  
 Virginia Democratic Women  
 Virginia Democratic Women of Shenandoah County

**Washington**

*Republican Clubs*

Association of Republican Women of King County  
 Bainbridge Republican Women's Club  
 Bothell Republican Women's Club  
 Bainbridge Island Republican Club  
 Bremerton Republican Women's Club  
 Camano Island Republican Women's Club  
 Cascade Republican Women  
 Casper Republican Women's Club  
 Central Valley Women's Republican Club  
 Chelan Douglas County Republican Women  
 Clark County Republican Women's Club  
 Eastside Republican Women's Club  
 Evergreen Republican Women's Club  
 Gig Harbor Republican Women

Hoch Ruth South Kitsap Republican Women's Club  
 Horizon Republican Women's Club  
 Lakewood Republican Women's Club  
 Lewis River Republican Women  
 Mercer Island Republican Women  
 Mount Vernon Republican Women's Club  
 North Whidbey Republican Women's Club  
 Northwest Republican Women's Club  
 Overlake Republican Women  
 Prosser Republican Women's Club  
 Puyallup Valley Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Clallam County  
 Richland Republican Women's Club  
 Silverdale Republican Women  
 Snohomish County Republican Women's Club  
 South Kitsap Republican Women's Club  
 South Whidbey Republican Women's Club  
 Spokane County Republican Women's Club  
 Spokane Valley Republican Women's Club  
 Stevens County Republican Women's Club  
 South King County Republican Women  
 Sunnyside Republican Women's Club  
 Thurston County Women's Republican Club  
 Toppenish Women's Republican Club  
 West Skagit County Republican Women  
 Whitman County Women's Republican Club  
 Women Bellevue Republicans

*Democratic Clubs*

Cascade Democratic Women's Club  
 Chelan County Democratic Women  
 Cowlitz County Democratic Women  
 Evergreen Democratic Women's Club

Forward Democratic Women's Club  
 Jane Jefferson Democratic Women's Club  
 Kitsap County Democratic Women's Club  
 Mason County Democratic Women's League  
 North Sound Women's Democratic Club  
 Pilchuck Democratic Women's Club  
 Region Six Federation of Democratic Women  
 Thurston County Democratic Women's Club  
 Vancouver Democratic Women's Club  
 Washington State Federation of Democratic Women Club  
 Whatcom County Democratic Women's Club  
 Yakima Democratic Women's Club

### **West Virginia**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Cabell Huntington Republican Women  
 Gilmer County Republican Women  
 Huntington Cabell Republican Women  
 Kanawhas County Republican Women  
 Mercer County Republican Women's Club  
 Putnam County Republican Women's Club  
 Republican Women of Hancock County  
 Tyler County Republican Women's Committee

#### *Democratic Clubs*

Berkeley County Women's Democratic Club  
 Roane County Democratic Women's Club  
 West Virginia Federation of Democratic Women  
 Wetzel Democratic Women

### **Wisconsin**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Buffalo County Women's Republican Club  
 Dane County Republican Women  
 Eau Claire County Republican Women  
 Grant County Federation of Republican Women  
 Lacrosse County Republican Women  
 Lakeland Area Republican Women's Club  
 Marathon County Republican Women  
 Republican Women - Racine County  
 West; Rock County Republican Women  
 Rusk County Republican Women  
 Waukesha County Republican Women  
 Waupaca County Republican Women

### **Wyoming**

#### *Republican Clubs*

Albany County Republican Women's Club  
 Casper Republican Women's Club  
 Crook County Republican Women's Club  
 Laramie County Republican Women's Club  
 Natrona County Republican Women  
 Sheridan County Republican Women  
 Sweetwater County Republican Women  
 Wyoming Federation of Republican Women

## APPENDIX E

## CENTER FOR AMERICAN WOMEN AND POLITICS 2014 WOMEN'S PAC DATA

## Women's PACs in the States

State Name	Number of Women's PACs	PAC Names
Arizona	2	Arizona List, Arizona Women's Political Caucus*
California	8	Black Women Organized for Political Action (BWOPA)*, California List, Democratic Activists for Women Now (DAWN), HOPE-PAC*, Los Angeles African American Women's PAC*, National Women's Political Caucus California, Seneca Network State PAC**, Women In Leadership PAC
Colorado	1	Colorado Blue Flower Fund
Delaware	1	Women's Democratic Club of Delaware PAC
Florida	2	NWPC Florida, Ruth's List Florida
Georgia	1	Georgia's WIN List
Hawaii	1	The Patsy T Miak PAC
Idaho	1	GRACIE's List
Iowa	1	DAWN's List
Kansas	1	Kansas Advancing Women
Louisiana	1	Louisiana Legislative Women's Political Caucus PAC*
Maryland	1	Democratic Women's PAC of Maryland
Massachusetts	1	Massachusetts Women's Political Caucus PAC*
Michigan	1	MI List
Minnesota	2	Voices of Conservative Women**, Women Winning*

Missouri	2	Greater Kansas City Women's Political Caucus*, MOLLI's List
Montana	1	Montana Women Pipeline Project
New Jersey	3	LUPEPAC*, PAM's List, WPC-NJ*,
New York	2	Eleanor Roosevelt Legacy Committee, Women's TAP Fund*
North Carolina	1	Lillian's List
Ohio	1	Hope Chest
Oregon	1	Women's Investment Network (WIN-PAC)
Pennsylvania	1	PA Women's Campaign Fund
South Carolina	1	Southeastern Institute for Women in Politics*
Tennessee	1	Tennessee Democratic Women's PAC
Texas	3	Annie's List, National Women's Political Caucus of Texas*, Texas Latina List
Virginia	1	The Farm Team of Virginia*
Washington	2	National Women's Political Caucus of Washington*, Native Women's Political Caucus*
Wisconsin	1	VOICEPAC Wisconsin

\*Denotes a nonpartisan or multipartisan PAC

\*\*Denotes a Republican PAC

+All other PACs support Democratic women

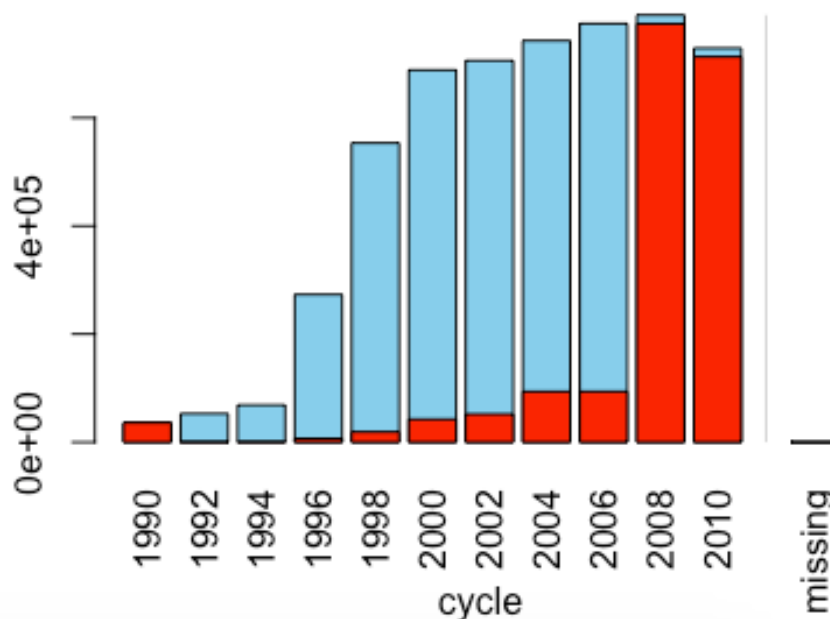
++ Women in Leadership PAC California, NWPC Florida, WPC-NJ, Women's TAP Fund in New York, the National Women's Political Caucus of Washington, and Women Winning in Minnesota are nonpartisan but support only pro-choice women. As such, these PACs fund mainly Democratic women. This is also the case with several other bipartisan PACs. Generally, more women run for office as Democrats, so there are more Democrats for these PACs to support. Several nonpartisan PACs have a mission to elect African-American or Latina women. These candidates are especially likely to be Democratic.

Table created from data from the Center for American Women and Politics 2014 women's PAC information sheet.

## APPENDIX F

## 'ELECTION TYPE' VARIABLE MISSINGNESS GRAPHS

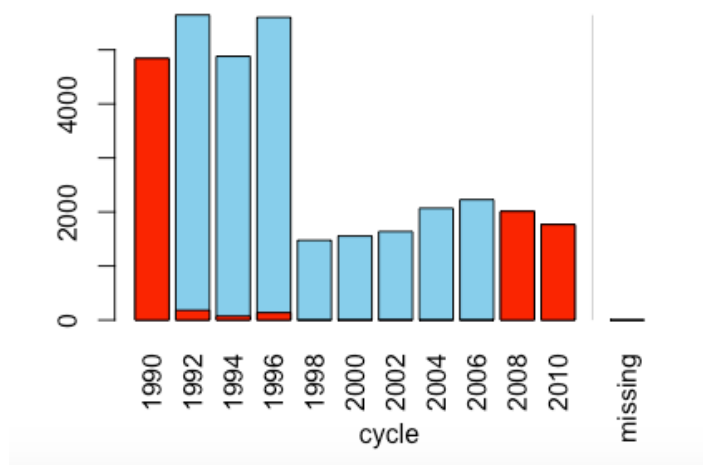
**Graph 1: Missingness x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing), red = missing**



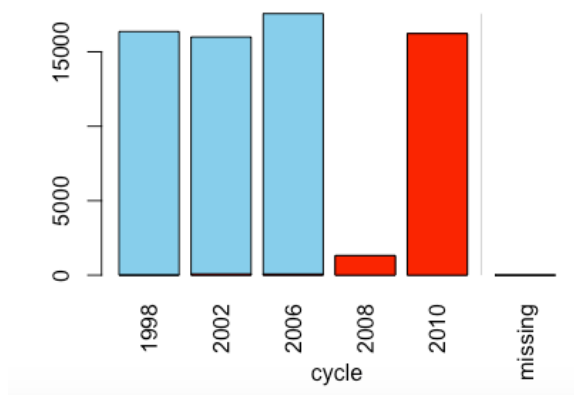
Missing data can be grouped into four missingness mechanisms. These are missingness completely at random, missingness at random, missingness that depends on unobserved predictors, and missingness that depends on the value itself (Gelman & Hill 2006). The missingness of the election type variable is best described as missingness at random. While the absence of this variable is not completely random, its missingness depends only on available information. No unobserved variable is believed to be causing the missingness. Rather, the failure of some states to report election type data in some years determines most of the missingness. Therefore, missingness is related to state and election cycle.

**Graphs 2 through 51: Missingness data by state, x = cycle, y = observations of election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

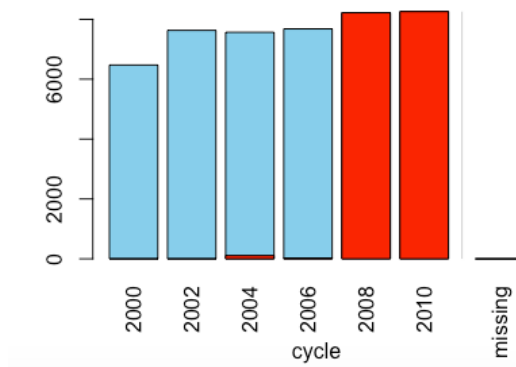
**Graph 2: Alaska, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



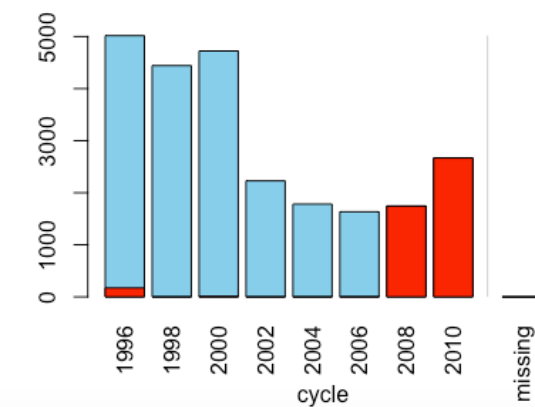
**Graph 3: Alabama, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



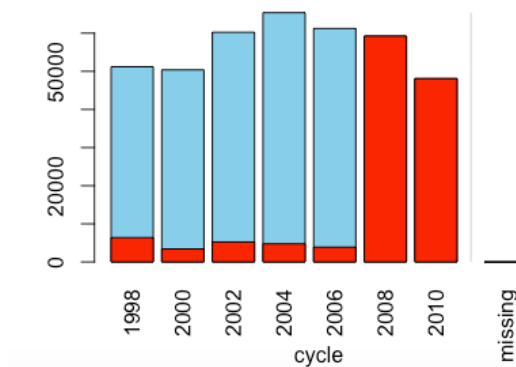
**Graph 4: Arkansas, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



**Graph 5: Arizona, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

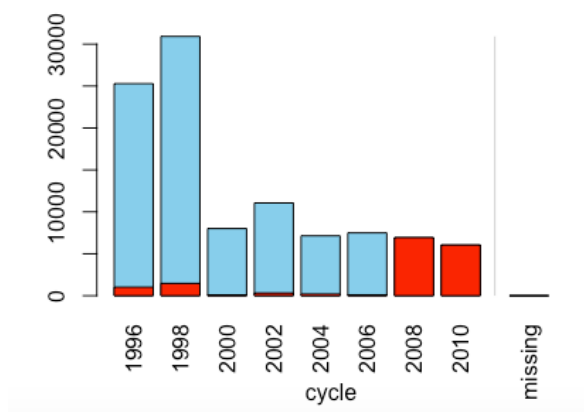


**Graph 6: California, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

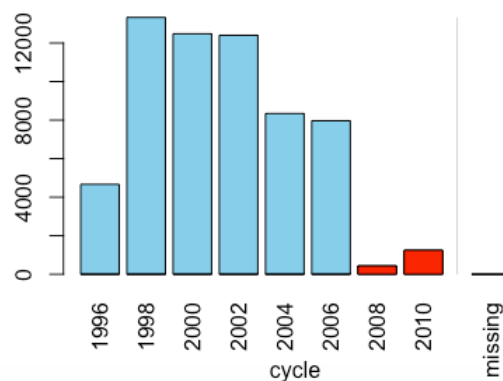


**Graph 7: Colorado, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

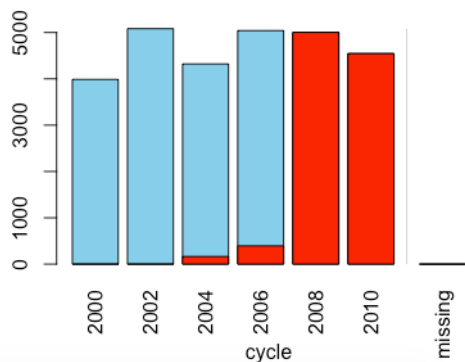




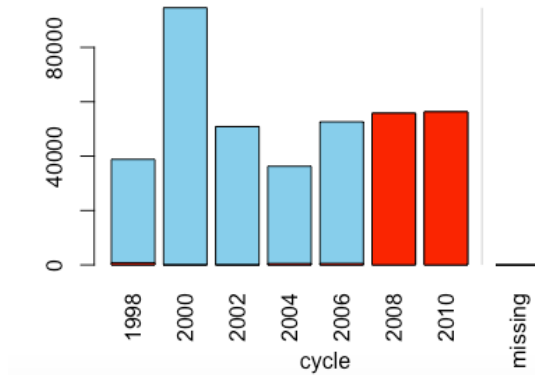
**Graph 8: Connecticut, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



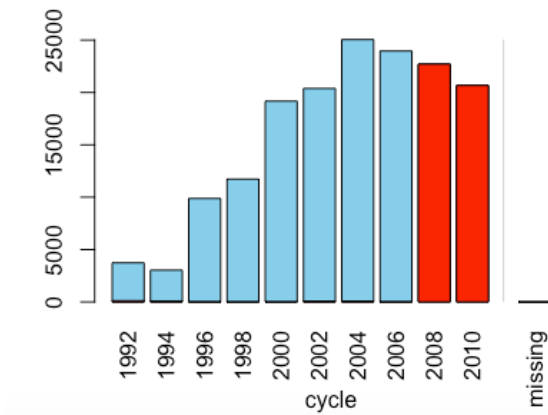
**Graph 9: Delaware, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



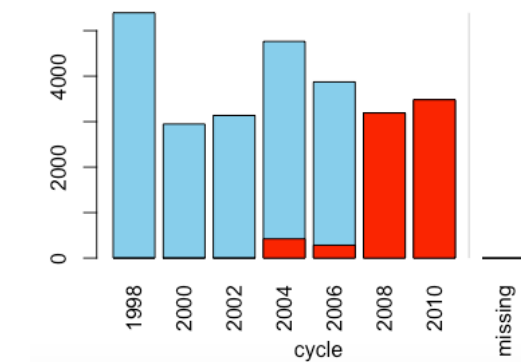
**Graph 10: Florida, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



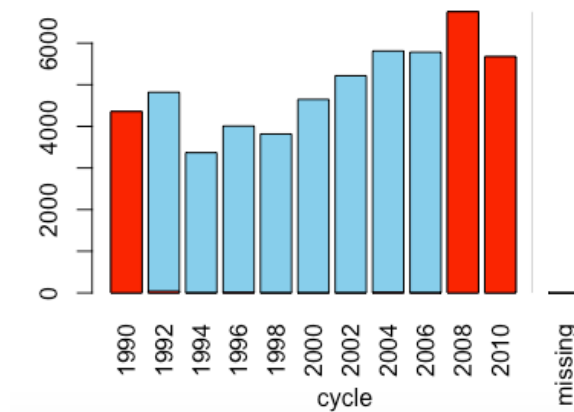
**Graph 11: Georgia, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



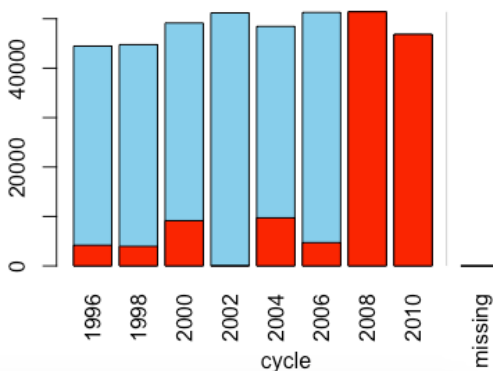
**Graph 12: Hawaii, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



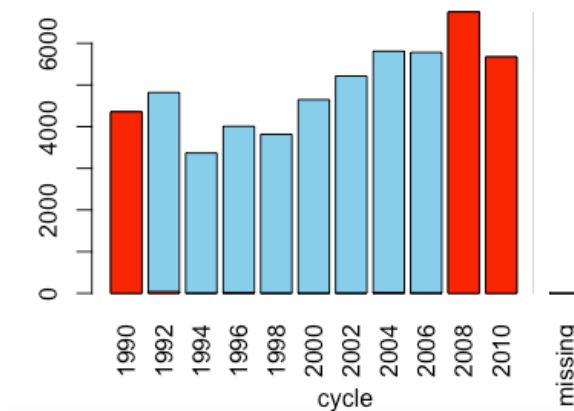
**Graph 13: Idaho, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



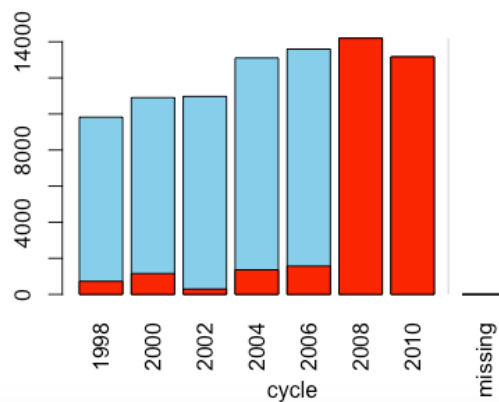
**Graph 14: Illinois, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



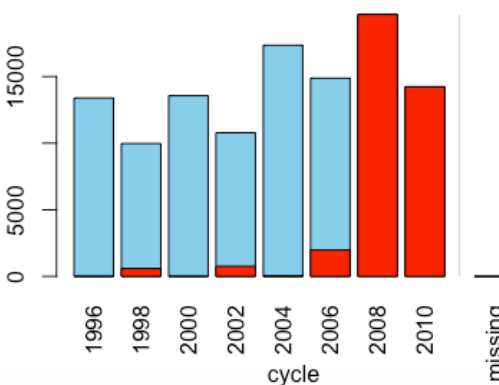
**Graph 15: Indiana, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



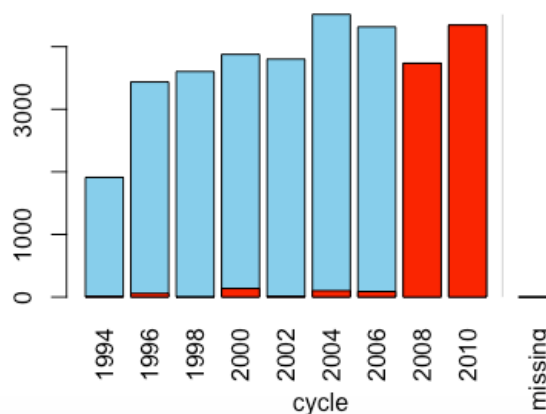
**Graph 16: Iowa, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



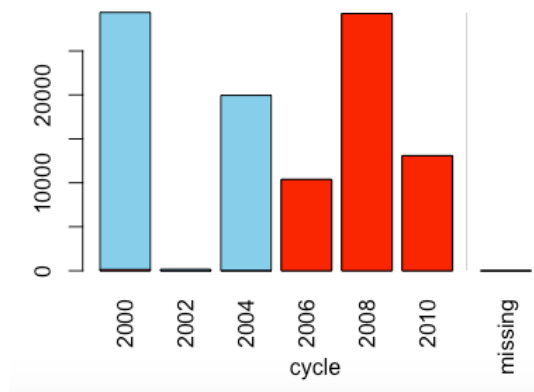
**Graph 17: Kansas, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



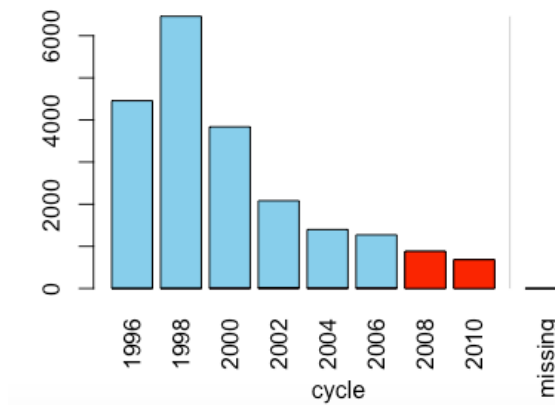
**Graph 18: Kentucky, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



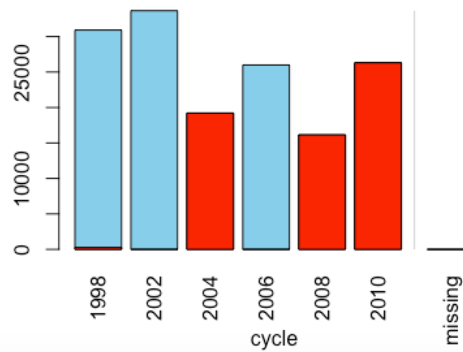
**Graph 19: Louisiana, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



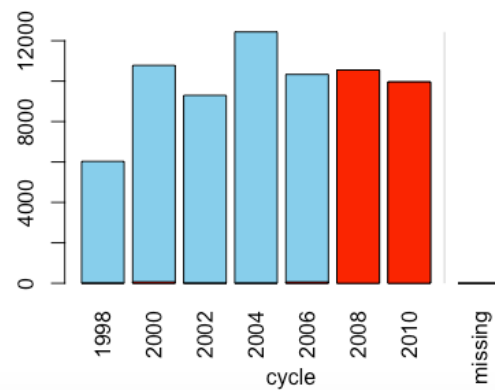
**Graph 20: Maine, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



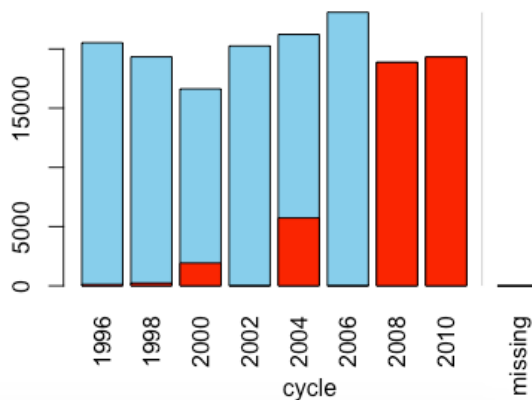
**Graph 21: Maryland, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



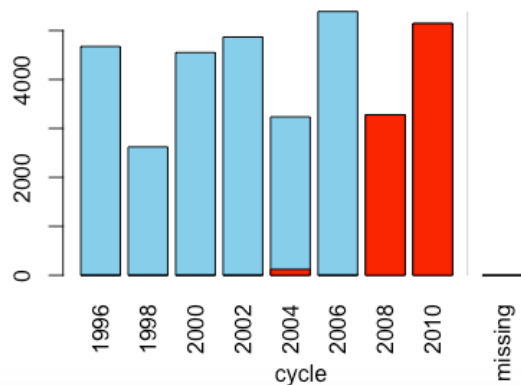
**Graph 22: Massachusetts, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



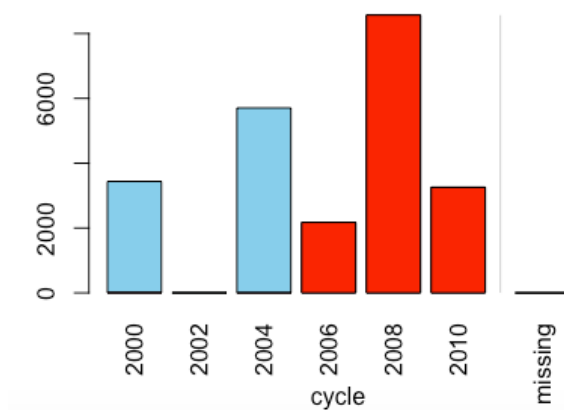
**Graph 23: Michigan, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



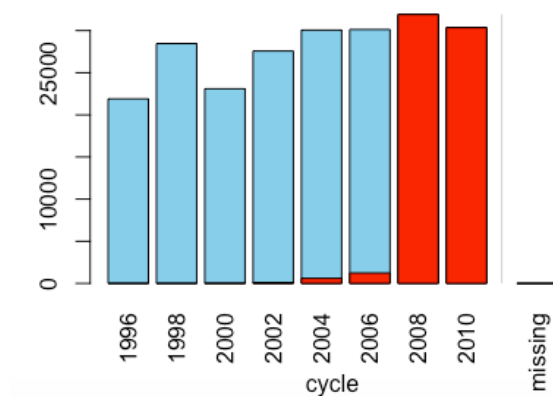
**Graph 24: Minnesota, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



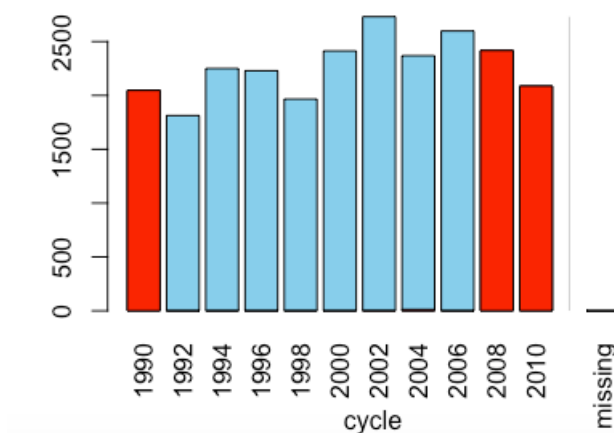
**Graph 25: Mississippi, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



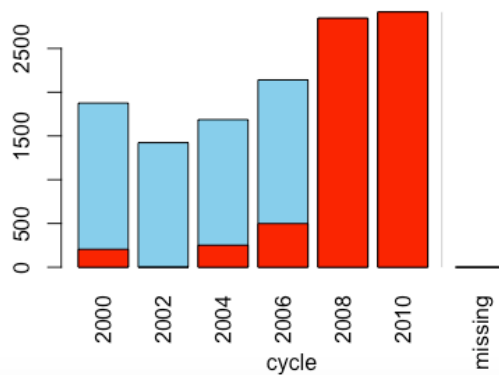
**Graph 26: Missouri, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



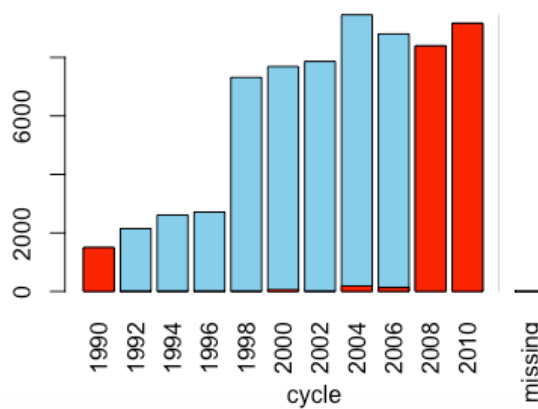
**Graph 27: Montana, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



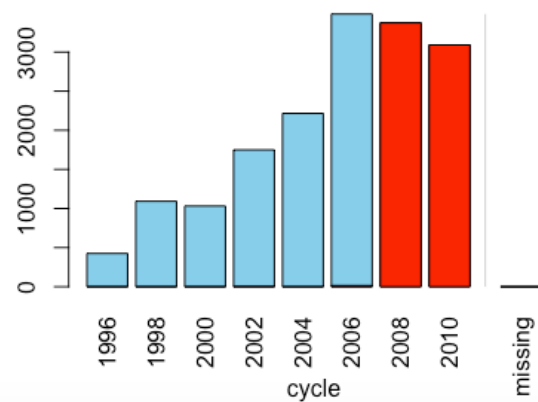
**Graph 28: Nebraska, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



**Graph 29: Nevada, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

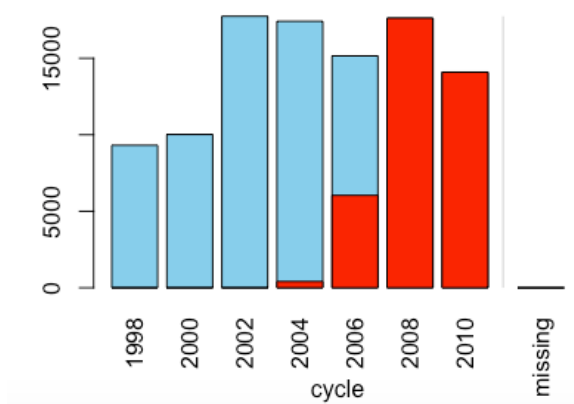


**Graph 30: New Hampshire, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

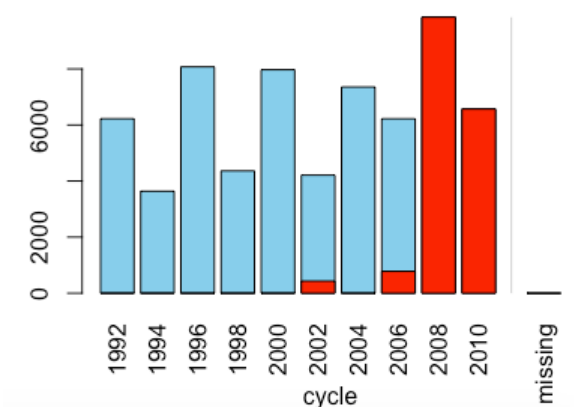


**Graph 31: New Jersey, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**

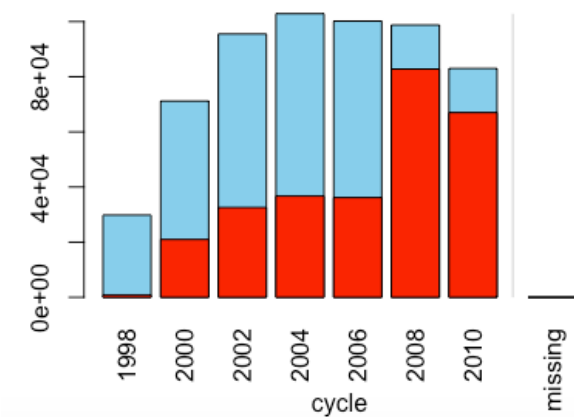




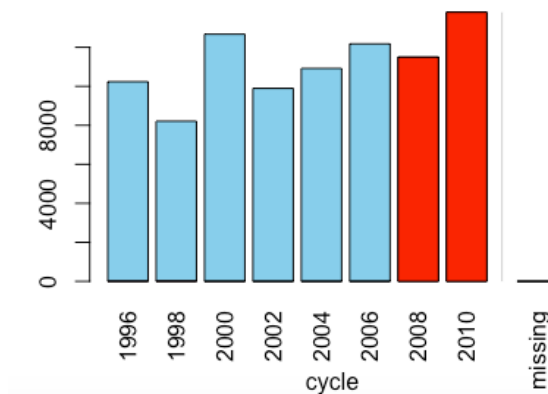
**Graph 32, New Mexico, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



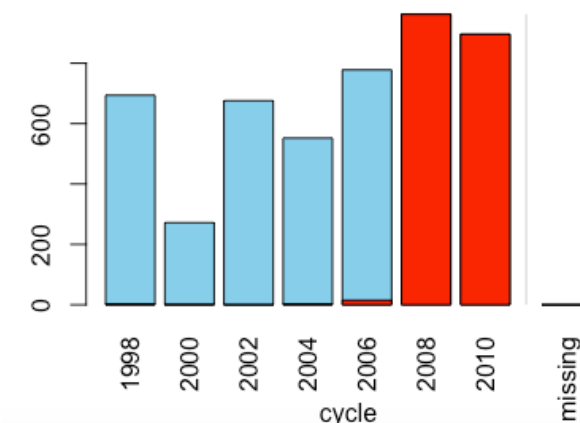
**Graph 33: New York, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



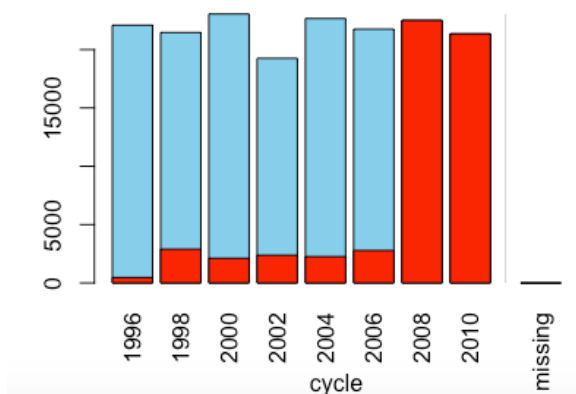
**Graph 34: North Carolina, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



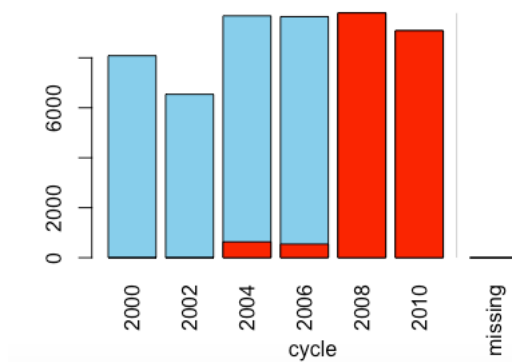
**Graph 35: North Dakota, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



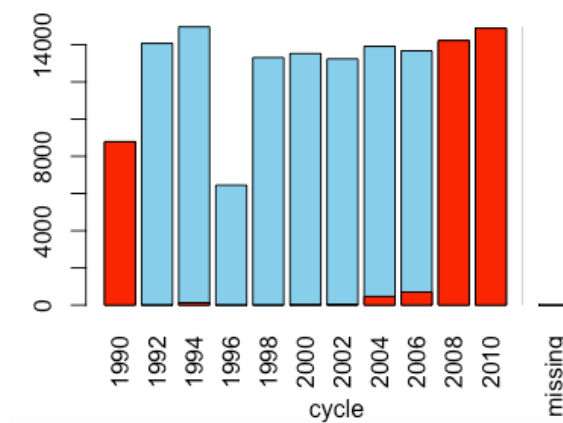
**Graph 36: Ohio, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



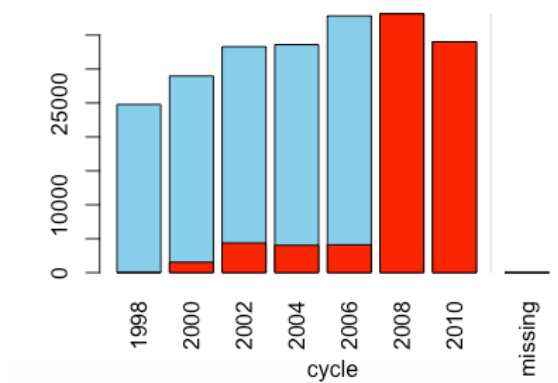
**Graph 37: Oklahoma, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



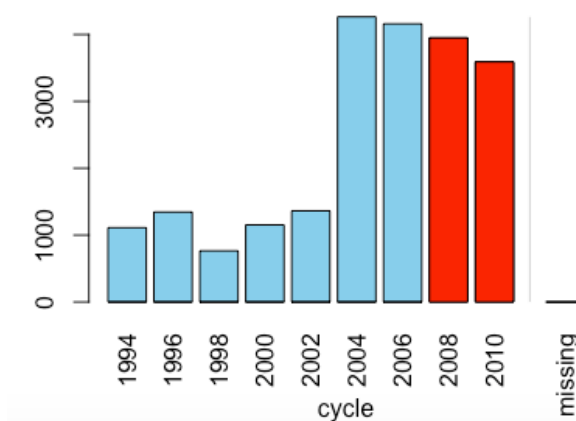
**Graph 38: Oregon, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



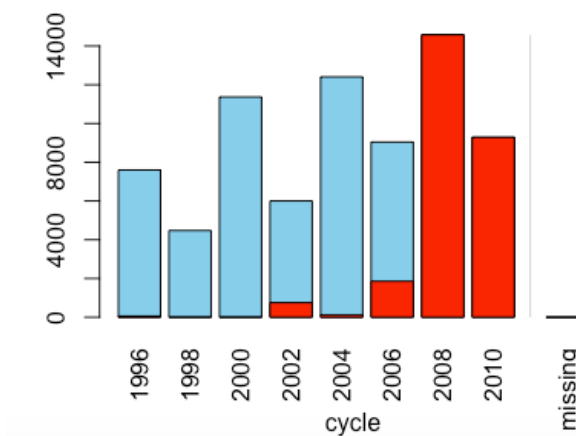
**Graph 39: Pennsylvania, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



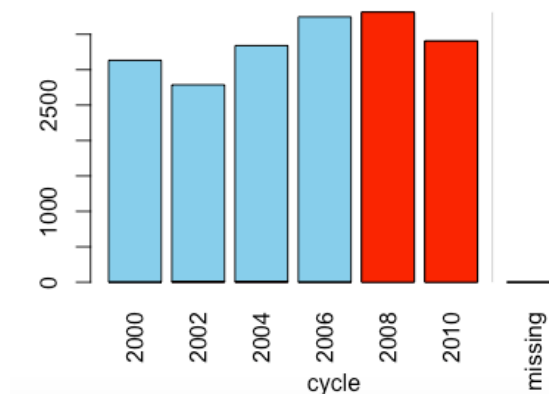
**Graph 40: Rhode Island, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



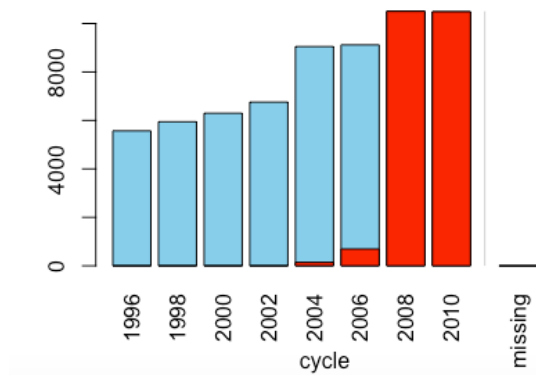
**Graph 41: South Carolina, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



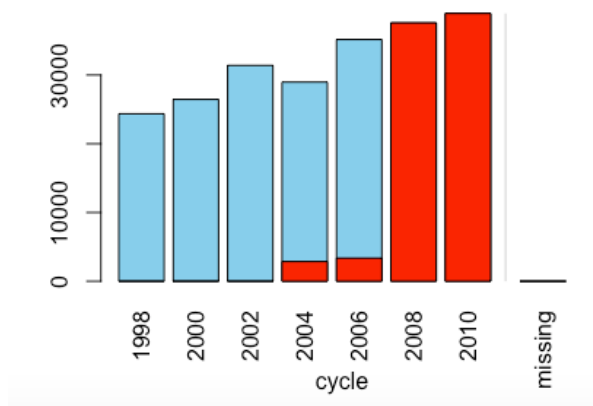
**Graph 42: South Dakota, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



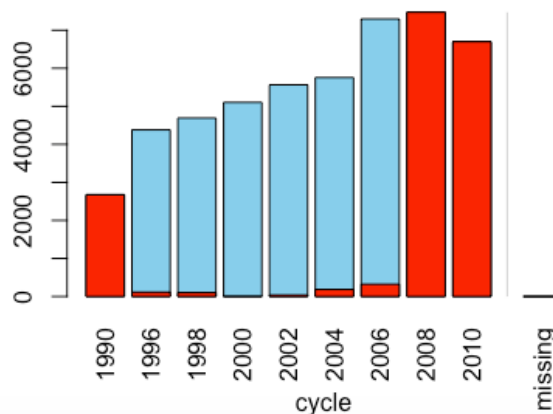
**Graph 43: Tennessee, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



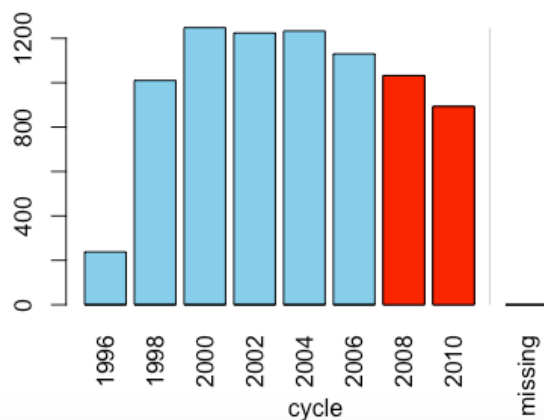
**Graph 44: Texas, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



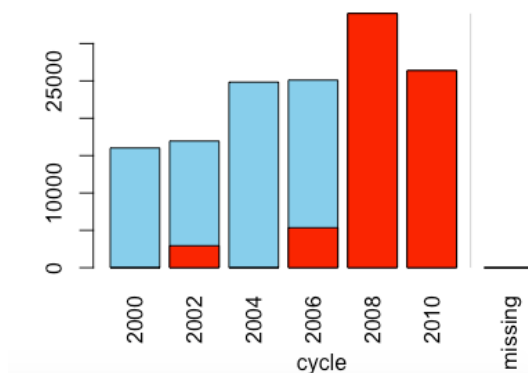
**Graph 45: Utah, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



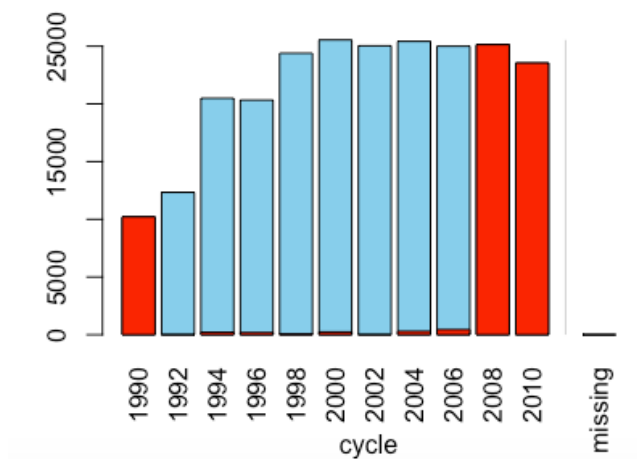
**Graph 46: Vermont, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



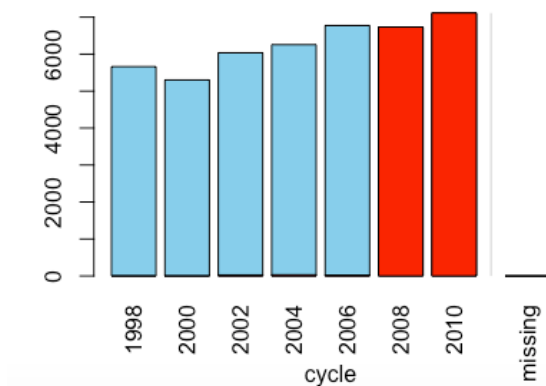
**Graph 47: Virginia, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



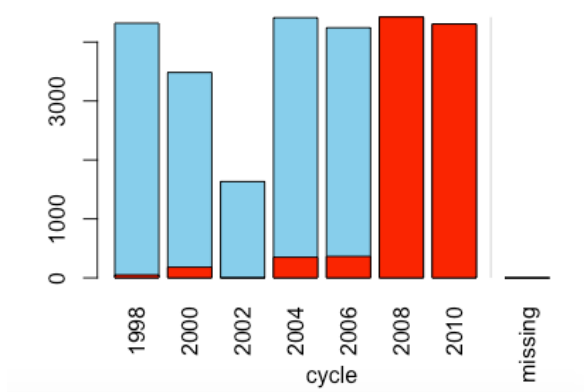
**Graph 48: Washington, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



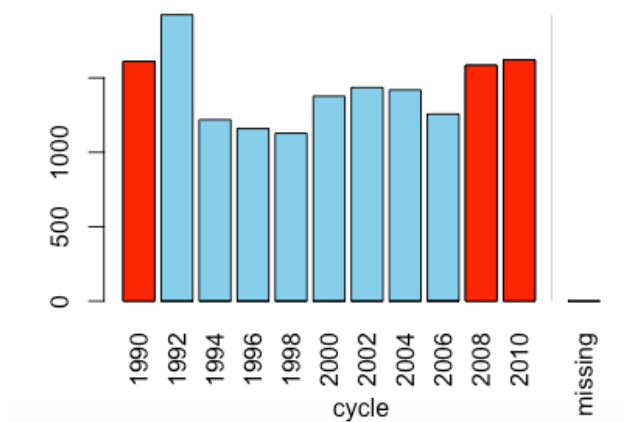
**Graph 49: West Virginia, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



**Graph 50: Wisconsin, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**



**Graph 51: Wyoming, x = cycle, y = election type (P = primary, G = general, S = special, NA = missing)**





## APPENDIX G

### R SCRIPTS

All data files originally downloaded from [data.stanford.edu/dime](http://data.stanford.edu/dime)

\*Notes: the following code uploads the data into RStudio, drops all elections data with the exception of data from upper and lower chamber state legislative elections, and compiles the donation data from all years together into one list.

```
> contribDB_1990 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_1990.csv")
> stateonly = subset(contribDB_1990, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_1992 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_1992.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly92 = subset(contribDB_1992, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_1994 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_1994.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly94 = subset(contribDB_1994, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_1996 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_1996.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly96 = subset(contribDB_1996, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_1998 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_1998.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly98 = subset(contribDB_1998, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2000 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2000.csv")
> stateonly00 = subset(contribDB_2000, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2002 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2002.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly02 = subset(contribDB_2002, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2004 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2004.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly04 = subset(contribDB_2004, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2006 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2006.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly06 = subset(contribDB_2006, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2008 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2008.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
> stateonly08 = subset(contribDB_2008, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> contribDB_2010 <- read_csv("~/Desktop/Chapter 3 Dissertation/contribDB_2010.csv",
+   col_types = cols(amount = col_number()))
```

```
> stateonly10 = subset(contribDB_2010, seat == "state:upper" | seat == "state:lower")
> stateonly90thru10 = rbind(stateonly, stateonly92, stateonly94, stateonly96,
stateonly98, stateonly00, stateonly02, stateonly04, stateonly06, stateonly08,
stateonly10)
```

\*Notes: the following actions create two new lists, one with only committee donation data and one with only individual donation data.

```
> stateonly90thru10C = subset(stateonly90thru10$contributor_type == "C")
> stateonly90thru10I = subset(stateonly90thru10$contributor_type == "I")

> sum(stateonly90thru10C$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(stateonly90thru10I$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> median(stateonly90thru10C$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> median(stateonly90thru10I$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
```

\*Notes: changed 0 donation amounts to NA to improve analysis.

```
stateonly90thru10C[stateonly90thru10C == 0] <- NA
```

\*Note: the following actions create lists of Democratic and Republican non-party affiliated women's donor groups for analysis in Chapter Five.

Democratic women's PACs:

```
> DWPACS <- stateonly90thru10C[grepl("EMMAS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ARIZONA LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("HARRIETS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("CALIFORNIA LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ARIZONA LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("MI LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("MICHIGAN LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("LILIANS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("RUTHS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("HARRIETS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("FLORIDA EMILYS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("EMILYS LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("GEORGIA WIN LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ANNIES LIST",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("GRACIES LIST" ...
```

(Truncated...full code includes all non-party affiliated Democratic women's donor groups that are PACs. See list in Appendix B.)

```
> median(DWPACSLIST$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(DWPACSLIST$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(DWPACSLIST$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
```

\*Note: List creation: Democratic women's recruitment and encouragement organizations:

```
> DWGroupsnonList <- stateonly90thru10C[grepl("MARY MCKINNON FUND",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WOMEN ON ALERT",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("PROFESSIONAL WOMENS CLUB
OF OHIO", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ARKANSAS WOMENS
ACTION FUND", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("LEE COUNTY 100
WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
LEAGUE", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WILLAMETTE WOMEN
DEMOCRATS PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("DAWN",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("DEMOCRATIC ACTIVISTS WOMEN
NOW", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("DEMOCRATIC WOMEN
LEADERS FUND", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WOMEN
BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("WOMEN FOR ORANGE COUNTY", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("DEMOCRATIC WOMENS FORUM", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("FRIENDS OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN IN INDIANA COUNTY",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("SALUTE TO DEMOCRATIC WOMEN
CANDIDATES", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WIZARD WOMEN",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WOMEN FOR CHANGE",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("MAD WOMEN",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("LOOK FORWARD FOR
DEMOCRATIC WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("DEMOCRATIC WOMEN POWER PAC",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("FUND FOR DEMOCRATIC
WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ICDP WOMENS
CAUCUS", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WATERBURY WOMENS
POLITICAL ACTION GROUP", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("FRIENDS OF DEMOCRATIC WOMEN",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("SOUTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC
LEGISLATIVE WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("MISSOURI
```

```
WOMENS ACTION FUND", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("MONTANA WOMENS PIPELINE PROJECT",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("TENNESSEE DEMOCRATIC
WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("ROAD WOMEN",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]])...
```

(Truncated...full code includes all non-party affiliated Democratic women's donor groups that are Recruitment and encouragement organizations. See Appendix B.)

```
> median(DWGroupsnonPAC$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(DWGroupsnonPAC$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(DWGroupsnonPAC$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
> DWGroupsall = rbind(DWPACS, DWPACSnonPAC)
```

```
> median(DWGroupsall$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(DWGroupsall $amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(DWGroupsall$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
```

\*Note: List creation: Republican women's PACs:

```
> RWPACS <- stateonly90thru10C[grepl("CANYON LAKE REPUBLICAN WOMENS PAC",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("CASTRO COUNTY REPUBLICAN
WOMENS PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("DENTON
REPUBLICAN WOMENS CLUB PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("ELLIS COUNTY REPUBLICAN WOMENS PAC",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("HISPANIC REPUBLICAN WOMEN
OF SAN ANTONIO PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("KAUFMAN COUNTY REPUBLICAN WOMENS PAC",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("LAKE CONROE REPUBLICAN
WOMENS PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("MEMORIAL WEST
REPUBLICAN WOMENS PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("NORT...
```

(Truncated...full code includes all non-party affiliated Republican women's donor groups that are PACS. See Appendix B.)

```
> median(RWPACS$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(RWPACS$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(RWPACS$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
```

Republican women's recruitment and encouragement organizations:

```
> RWGroupsnonPAC<- stateonly90thru10C[grepl("PARADISE REPUBLICAN WOMENS
CLUB PAC", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("POLITICAL
ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN TO ELECT REPUBLICANS",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("OHIO REPUBLICAN WOMENS
CAMPAIGN FUND", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("TODAYS
REPUBLICAN WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) |
grepl("REPUBLICAN WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("GOP WOMEN MATTER",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("VOICES OF CONSERVATIVE
WOMEN", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]), grepl("FOR WOMEN ONLY",
stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("WEST GEORGIA REPUBLICAN
WOMEN FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT", stateonly90thru10C[["organization_name"]])...
```

(Truncated...full code includes all non-party affiliated Republican women's donor groups that are Recruitment and encouragement organizations. See Appendix B.)

```
> median(RWGroupsnonPAC$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(RWGroupsnonPAC$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(RWGroupsnonPAC$amount,na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
>RWGroupsall = rbind(RWPACS, RWGroupsnonPAC)
```

```
> median(RWGroupsall$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(RWGroupsall$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(RWGroupsall$amount,na.rm = TRUE)
```

\*Notes: The same method was used to create lists of Republican and Democratic party-affiliated women's donor groups. These lists are very long. See Appendix C for the full list.

```
> median(DWPartyGroups$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(DWPartyGroups$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(DWPartyGroups$amount,na.rm = TRUE)
```

```
> median(RWPartyGroups$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> range(RWPartyGroups$amount, na.rm = TRUE)
> sum(RWPartyGroups$amount,na.rm = TRUE)
```

\*Note: finding missing values of election\_type variable (primary, general, special)

```
> sum(is.na (stateonly90thru10C$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly90$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly92$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly94$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly96$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly98$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly00$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly02$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly04$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly06$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly08$election_type))
> sum(is.na (stateonly10$election_type))

> install.package(mice)
> library(mice)
> md.pattern(stateonly90thru10C)
> install.package(VIMGUI)
> library(VIMGUI)

> AK = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "AK")
> sum(is.na(AK$election_type))
> AL = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "AL")
> sum(is.na(AL$election_type))
> AR = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "AR")
> sum(is.na(AR$election_type))
> AZ = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "AZ")
> subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "AZ")
> CA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "CA")
> sum(is.na(CA$election_type))
> CO = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "CO")
> sum(is.na(CO$election_type))
> CT = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "CT")
> sum(is.na(CT$election_type))
> DE = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "DE")
> sum(is.na(DE$election_type))
> FL = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "FL")
> sum(is.na(FL$election_type))
```

```

> GA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "GA")
> sum(is.na(GA$election_type))
> HI = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "HI")
> sum(is.na(HI$election_type))
> ID = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "ID")
> sum(is.na(ID$election_type))
> IL = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "IL")
> sum(is.na(IL$election_type))
> IN = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "IN")
> sum(is.na(IN$election_type))
> IA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "IA")
> sum(is.na(IA$election_type))
> KS = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "KS")
> sum(is.na(KS$election_type))
> KY = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "KY")
> sum(is.na(KY$election_type))
> LA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "LA")
> sum(is.na(LA$election_type))
> ME = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "ME")
> sum(is.na(ME$election_type))
> MD = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MD")
> sum(is.na(MD$election_type))
> MA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MA")
> sum(is.na(MA$election_type))
> MI = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MI")
> sum(is.na(MI$election_type))
> MN = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MN")
> sum(is.na(MN$election_type))
> MS = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MS")
> sum(is.na(MS$election_type))
> MO = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MO")
> sum(is.na(MO$election_type))
> MT = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "MT")
> sum(is.na(MT$election_type))
> NE = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NE")
> sum(is.na(NE$election_type))
> NV = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NV")
> sum(is.na(NV$election_type))
> NH = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NH")
> sum(is.na(NH$election_type))

```

```

> NJ = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NJ")
> sum(is.na(NJ$election_type))
> NM = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NM")
> sum(is.na(NM$election_type))
> NY = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NY")
> sum(is.na(NY$election_type))
> NC = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "NC")
> sum(is.na(NC$election_type))
> ND = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "ND")
> sum(is.na(ND$election_type))
> OH = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "OH")
> sum(is.na(OH$election_type))
> OK = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "OK")
> sum(is.na(OK$election_type))
> OR = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "OR")
> sum(is.na(OR$election_type))
> PA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "PA")
> sum(is.na(PA$election_type))
> RI = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "RI")
> sum(is.na(RI$election_type))
> SC = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "SC")
> sum(is.na(SC$election_type))
[1] 26636
> SD = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "SD")
> sum(is.na(SD$election_type))
> TN = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "TN")
> sum(is.na(TN$election_type))
> TX = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "TX")
> sum(is.na(TX$election_type))
> UT = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "UT")
> sum(is.na(UT$election_type))
> VT = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "VT")
> sum(is.na(VT$election_type))
> VA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "VA")
> sum(is.na(VA$election_type))
> WA = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "WA")
> sum(is.na(WA$election_type))
> WV = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "WV")
> sum(is.na(WV$election_type))
> WI = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "WI")

```



```
> sum(is.na(WI$election_type))
> WY = subset(stateonly90thru10C, recipient_state == "WY")
> sum(is.na(WY$election_type))
```

\*Notes: I used this code to create the bar graph for all states as well as an individual bar graph for each of the 50 states.

```
> stateonly90thru10CMissing <- stateonly90thru10C[, c("cycle", "election_type",
"recipient_state")]
> unlist(stateonly90thru10CMissing)
> stateonly90thru10CMissingDF <- as.data.frame(stateonly90thru10CMissing)
> barMiss(stateonly90thru10CMissingDF)
```

\*Notes: Example of state bar graph code:

```
> AKMissing <- AK[, c("cycle", "election_type", "recipient_state")]
> unlist(AKMissing)
> AKMissingDF <- as.data.frame(AKMissing)
> barMiss(AKMissingDF)
```

\*Notes: Adding Candidate Gender and Eliminating Unneeded Columns

```
> install.packages("genderdata", repos = "http://packages.ropensci.org")
> stateonly90thru10sep <- separate(stateonly90thru10, recipient_name,
c("recipient_lname", "recipient_fname")) #function comes from tydr package
> stateonly90thru10sep$fakeyear <- 1970
#Notes: (to create estimated birth year for use with gender package)
```

```
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_memo <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_memo2 <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_transaction_id_orig <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_comid_orig <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_form_type <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10sep$efec_org_orig <- NULL
```

```
> genderresults <- gender_df(stateonly90thru10sep, name_col = "recipient_fname",
year_col = "fakeyear", method = "ssa")
> stateonly90thru10sep <- stateonly90thru10sep %>% left_join(genderresults, by =
c("recipient_fname" = "name", "fakeyear" = "year_min"))
```

\*Note: Begin recode for 2008 data -> transforming election\_type variable from NA to Primary (P) or General (G)

```
> stateonly08C = subset(stateonly08, contributor_type == "C")
> stateonly08Csep = separate(stateonly08C, recipient_name, c("recipient_lname",
"recipient_fname"))
> stateonly08Csep$fakeyear <- 1970
> stateonly08Csep <- stateonly08Csep %>% left_join(genderresults, by =
c("recipient_fname" = "name", "fakeyear" = "year_min"))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(recipient_state
== "AL" & date <= "2008-06-03", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(recipient_state
== "AL" & date >= "2008-06-04", "G", election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
08-26" & recipient_state == "AK", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-
08-27" & recipient_state == "AK", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
09-02" & recipient_state == "AZ", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-
09-03" & recipient_state == "AZ", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
05-20" & recipient_state == "AR", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-
05-21" & recipient_state == "AR", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-03" & recipient_state == "CA", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & recipient_state == "CA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & recipient_state == "CO", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-13" & recipient_state == "CO", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & recipient_state == "CT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-13" & recipient_state == "CT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-06" & recipient_state == "DE", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-09-07" & recipient_state == "DE", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-26" & recipient_state == "FL", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-27" & recipient_state == "FL", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-07-15" & recipient_state == "GA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-07-16" & recipient_state == "GA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-20" & recipient_state == "HI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-09-21" & recipient_state == "HI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-27" & recipient_state == "ID", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-05-28" & recipient_state == "ID", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-03-20" & recipient_state == "IL", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-02-21" & recipient_state == "IL", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-06" & recipient_state == "IN", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-05-07" & recipient_state == "IN", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-06-05" & recipient_state == "IA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-06-06" & recipient_state == "IA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & recipient_state == "KS", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & recipient_state == "KS", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-20" & recipient_state == "KY", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-05-21" & recipient_state == "KY", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in LA

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-06-10" & recipient_state == "ME", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-06-11" & recipient_state == "ME", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in MD – four year terms

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-16" & recipient_state == "MA", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-09-17" & recipient_state == "MA", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & recipient_state == "MI", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & recipient_state == "MI", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & recipient_state == "MN", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & recipient_state == "MN", "G", election_type))
```

```
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in MS

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & recipient_state == "MO", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & recipient_state == "MO", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & recipient_state == "MT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & recipient_state == "MT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-13" & recipient_state == "NE", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-14" & recipient_state == "NE", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & recipient_state == "NV", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-13" & recipient_state == "NV", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & recipient_state == "NH", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-10" & recipient_state == "NH", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in NJ

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & recipient_state == "NM", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & recipient_state == "NM", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & recipient_state == "NY", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-10" & recipient_state == "NY", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-06" & recipient_state == "NC", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-07" & recipient_state == "NC", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in ND

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-03-04" & recipient_state == "OH", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-03-05" & recipient_state == "OH", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-07-29" & recipient_state == "OK", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-07-30" & recipient_state == "OK", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-05-20" & recipient_state == "OR", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2008-05-21" & recipient_state == "OR", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-04-22" & recipient_state == "PA", "P", election_type))
```

```

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
04-23" & recipient_state == "PA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
09-09" & recipient_state == "RI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
09-10" & recipient_state == "RI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-10" & recipient_state == "SC", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-11" & recipient_state == "SC", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-03" & recipient_state == "SD", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-04" & recipient_state == "SD", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
08-07" & recipient_state == "TN", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
08-08" & recipient_state == "TN", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
03-04" & recipient_state == "TX", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
03-05" & recipient_state == "TX", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-24" & recipient_state == "UT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-
06-25" & recipient_state == "UT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))

```



```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & recipient_state == "VT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-10" & recipient_state == "VT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in VA

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-19" & recipient_state == "WA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-20" & recipient_state == "WA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-13" & recipient_state == "WV", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-14" & recipient_state == "WV", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & recipient_state == "WI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-09-10" & recipient_state == "WI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-19" & recipient_state == "WY", "P", election_type))
> stateonly08Csep = stateonly08Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-08-20" & recipient_state == "WY", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly08Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: Begin recode for 2010 data -> transforming election\_type variable from NA to Primary (P) or General (G)

\*Note: checking sum(!is.na) after each recode to make sure it worked

```
> stateonly10Csep = separate(stateonly10, recipient_name, c("recipient_lname", "recipient_fname"))
> stateonly10Csep = subset(stateonly10sep, contributor_type == "C")
```

```

> stateonly10Csep$fakeyear <- 1970
> stateonly10Csep <- stateonly10sep %>% left_join(genderresults, by =
c("recipient_fname" = "name", "fakeyear" = "year_min"))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(recipient_state
== "AL" & date <= "2010-06-01", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(recipient_state
== "AL" & date >= "2010-06-02", "G", election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-24" & recipient_state == "AK", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-25" & recipient_state == "AK", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-24" & recipient_state == "AZ", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-25" & recipient_state == "AZ", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
05-18" & recipient_state == "AR", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
05-19" & recipient_state == "AR", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
06-08" & recipient_state == "CA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
06-09" & recipient_state == "CA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-10" & recipient_state == "CO", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-11" & recipient_state == "CO", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

```

```

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-10" & recipient_state == "CT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-11" & recipient_state == "CT", "G", election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
09-14" & recipient_state == "DE", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
09-15" & recipient_state == "DE", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-24" & recipient_state == "FL", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-25" & recipient_state == "FL", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
07-20" & recipient_state == "GA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
07-21" & recipient_state == "GA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
09-18" & recipient_state == "HI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
09-19" & recipient_state == "HI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
05-25" & recipient_state == "ID", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
05-26" & recipient_state == "ID", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
02-02" & recipient_state == "IL", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
02-03" & recipient_state == "IL", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-04" & recipient_state == "IN", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-05" & recipient_state == "IN", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "IA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "IA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "KS", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "KS", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-18" & recipient_state == "KY", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-19" & recipient_state == "KY", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in LA

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "ME", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "ME", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "MD", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "MD", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "MA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "MA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "MI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "MI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-10" & recipient_state == "MN", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-11" & recipient_state == "MN", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in MS

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "MO", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "MO", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "MT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "MT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-11" & recipient_state == "NE", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-12" & recipient_state == "NE", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "NV", "P", election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "NV", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "NH", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "NH", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in NJ

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-08" & recipient_state == "NM", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-09" & recipient_state == "NM", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "NY", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "NY", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-22" & recipient_state == "NC", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-23" & recipient_state == "NC", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "ND", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "ND", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-04" & recipient_state == "OH", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-05" & recipient_state == "OH", "G", election_type))
```

```

> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
07-27" & recipient_state == "OK", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
07-28" & recipient_state == "OK", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

recipient_state == "OR", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
05-19" & recipient_state == "OR", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
05-18" & recipient_state == "PA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
05-19" & recipient_state == "PA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
09-14" & recipient_state == "RI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
09-15" & recipient_state == "RI", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
06-08" & recipient_state == "SC", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
06-09" & recipient_state == "SC", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
06-08" & recipient_state == "SD", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
06-09" & recipient_state == "SD", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-05" & recipient_state == "TN", "P", election_type))

```



```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-06" & recipient_state == "TN", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-04-13" & recipient_state == "TX", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-04-14" & recipient_state == "TX", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-06-22" & recipient_state == "UT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-06-23" & recipient_state == "UT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-24" & recipient_state == "VT", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-25" & recipient_state == "VT", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

\*Note: no leg elections in VA

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-08-17" & recipient_state == "WA", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-08-18" & recipient_state == "WA", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-05-11" & recipient_state == "WV", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-05-12" & recipient_state == "WV", "G", election_type))
> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))
```

```
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "WI", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "WI", "G", election_type))
```



```

> sum(!is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2010-
08-17" & recipient_state == "WY", "P", election_type))
> stateonly10Csep = stateonly10Csep %>% mutate(election_type = ifelse(date >= "2010-
08-18" & recipient_state == "WY", "G", election_type))
> sum(is.na(stateonly10Csep$election_type))

*Notes: The following scripts pertain to Chapter Three
> library("gender",
lib.loc="/Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Versions/3.3/Resources/library")

> library("plyr",
lib.loc="/Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Versions/3.3/Resources/library")
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL <- separate(stateonly90thru10I, recipient_name,
c("recipient_lname", "recipient_fname"))

> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$fakeyear <- 1970

> genderresults <- gender_df(stateonly90thru10IFINAL, name_col = "recipient_fname",
year_col = "fakeyear", method = "ssa")

> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_memo <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_org_orig <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_form_type <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_comid_orig <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_memo2 <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_comid_orig <- NULL
> stateonly90thru10IFINAL$efec_memo2 <- NULL

> stateonly90thru10IFINAL <- stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% left_join(genderresults, by
= c("recipient_fname" = "name", "fakeyear" = "year_min"))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AL", "P",
election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AL", "G",
election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
ifelse(date <= "2008-08-26" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AK", "P",
election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-27" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AK", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-02" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AZ", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AZ", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10septestIFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>%
  mutate(election_type = ifelse(date <= "2008-05-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state
  == "AR", "P", election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-21" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "AR", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CA", "G",
  election_type))
> sum(is.na(stateonly90thru10IFINALP$election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CO", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-13" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CO", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CT", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-13" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "CT", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "DE", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-07" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "DE", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-26" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "FL", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-27" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "FL", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-07-15" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "GA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-07-16" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "GA", "G",
  election_type))
> sum(is.na(stateonly90thru10IFINALP$election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "HI", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-21" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "HI", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-27" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "ID", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-28" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "ID", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-03-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IL", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-03-21" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IL", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IN", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-07" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IN", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "IA", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "KS", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "KS", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "KY", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-21" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "KY", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "ME", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-11" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "ME", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-16" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-17" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MA", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MI", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MI", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MN", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MN", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MO", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MO", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MT", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "MT", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-13" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NE", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-14" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NE", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-12" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NV", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-13" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NV", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NH", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NH", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NM", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NM", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NY", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NY", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-06" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NC", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-07" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "NC", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-03-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OH", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-03-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OH", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-07-29" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OK", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-07-30" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OK", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OR", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-21" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "OR", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-04-22" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "PA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-04-23" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "PA", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "RI", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "RI", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "SC", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-11" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "SC", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-03" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "SD", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "SD", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-07" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "TN", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-08" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "TN", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-03-04" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "TX", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-03-05" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "TX", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-06-24" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "UT", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-06-25" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "UT", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-09-09" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "VT", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-09-10" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "VT", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-08-19" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "WA", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-08-20" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "WA", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2008-05-13" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "WV", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2008-05-14" & cycle == "2008" & recipient_state == "WV", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(recipient_state == "AL" & cycle == "2010" & date <= "2010-06-01", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(recipient_state == "AL" & cycle == "2010" & date <= "2010-06-02", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-24" & recipient_state == "AK" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-25" & recipient_state == "AK" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-24" & recipient_state == "AZ" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-25" & recipient_state == "AZ" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-18" & recipient_state == "AR" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-19" & recipient_state == "AR" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "CA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "CA" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-10" & recipient_state == "CO" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-11" & recipient_state == "CO" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-10" & recipient_state == "CT" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-11" & recipient_state == "CT" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "DE" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "DE" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-24" & recipient_state == "FL" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```



```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-25" & recipient_state == "FL" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-07-20" & recipient_state == "GA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-07-21" & recipient_state == "GA" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-18" & recipient_state == "HI" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-19" & recipient_state == "HI" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-25" & recipient_state == "ID" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-26" & recipient_state == "ID", "G", election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-02-02" & recipient_state == "IL" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-02-03" & recipient_state == "IL" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-04" & recipient_state == "IN" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-05" & recipient_state == "IN" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "IA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "IA" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "KS" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "KS" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-18" & recipient_state == "KY" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-19" & recipient_state == "KY" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "ME" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "ME" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "MD" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "MD" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "MA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "MA", "G", election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "MI" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "MI" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-10" & recipient_state == "MN" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-11" & recipient_state == "MN" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-03" & recipient_state == "MO" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-04" & recipient_state == "MO" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "MT" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "MT" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-11" & recipient_state == "NE" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-12" & recipient_state == "NE" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "NV" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "NV" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "NH" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "NH" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-08" & recipient_state == "NM" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-09" & recipient_state == "NM" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "NY" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "NY" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-22" & recipient_state == "NC" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-23" & recipient_state == "NC" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "ND" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "ND" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-04" & recipient_state == "OH" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-05" & recipient_state == "OH" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-07-27" & recipient_state == "OK" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-07-28" & recipient_state == "OK" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-18" & recipient_state == "OR" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-19" & recipient_state == "OR" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-18" & recipient_state == "PA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-19" & recipient_state == "PA" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "RI" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "RI" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "SC" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "SC" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-08" & recipient_state == "SD" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-09" & recipient_state == "SD" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-05" & recipient_state == "TN" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-06" & recipient_state == "TN" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-04-13" & recipient_state == "TX" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-04-14" & recipient_state == "TX" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-06-22" & recipient_state == "UT" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-06-23" & recipient_state == "UT" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-24" & recipient_state == "VT" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-25" & recipient_state == "VT" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-17" & recipient_state == "WA" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-18" & recipient_state == "WA" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-05-11" & recipient_state == "WV" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-05-12" & recipient_state == "WV" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-09-14" & recipient_state == "WI" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))

```

```

> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-09-15" & recipient_state == "WI" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date <= "2010-08-17" & recipient_state == "WY" & cycle == "2010", "P",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALP = stateonly90thru10IFINAL %>% mutate(election_type =
  ifelse(date >= "2010-08-18" & recipient_state == "WY" & cycle == "2010", "G",
  election_type))
> stateonly90thru10IFINALPonly = subset(stateonly90thru10IFINALP, election_type ==
  "P")

> stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly = subset(stateonly90thru10IFINALPonly, cycle ==
  "2000" | cycle== "2002" | cycle == "2004" | cycle == "2006" | cycle == "2008" | cycle ==
  "2010")

> RecipientFileStateP = subset(RecipientFileState, ran.primary == "1")

> RecipientFileStateP00thru10 = subset(RecipientFileStateP, cycle == "2000" | cycle==
  "2002" | cycle == "2004" | cycle == "2006" | cycle == "2008" | cycle == "2010")
> colnames(RecipientFileStateP00thru10)[colnames(RecipientFileStateP00tru10)
  == "bonica.rid"] <- "bonica_rid"

> CandFileFinal = subset(RecipientFileStateP00tru10, seat == "state:upper" | seat ==
  "state:lower")

> stateonly00Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2000")

> CandFile00Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2000")

> PrimaryMerge00 = merge(stateonly00Primary, CandFile00Primary, by = "bonica_rid")

> stateonly02Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2002")

> CandFile02Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2002")

> PrimaryMerge02 = merge(stateonly02Primary, CandFile02Primary, by = "bonica_rid")

> stateonly04Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2004")

> CandFile04Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2004")

> PrimaryMerge04 = merge(stateonly04Primary, CandFile04Primary, by = "bonica_rid")

```

```

> stateonly06Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2006")

> CandFile06Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2006")

> PrimaryMerge06 = merge(stateonly06Primary, CandFile06Primary, by = "bonica_rid")

> stateonly08Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2008")

> CandFile08Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2008")

> colnames(stateonly08Primary)[colnames(stateonly08Primary) == "recipient_fname"] <-
  "lname"

> stateonly08Primary$lname <- tolower(stateonly08Primary$lname)

> PrimaryMerge08 = merge(stateonly08Primary, CandFile08Primary, by = "lname")

> stateonly10Primary = subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonly, cycle == "2010")

> CandFile10Primary = subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2010")

> colnames(stateonly10Primary)[colnames(stateonly10Primary) == "recipient_fname"] <-
  "lname"

> stateonly10Primary$lname <- tolower(stateonly10Primary$lname)

> PrimaryMerge10 = merge(stateonly10Primary, CandFile10Primary, by = "lname")

> PrimaryMerge00thru02 = rbind(PrimaryMerge00, PrimaryMerge02)

> PrimaryMerge04thru06 = rbind(PrimaryMerge04, PrimaryMerge06)

> PrimaryMerge00thru06 = rbind(PrimaryMerge00thru02, PrimaryMerge04thru06)

> PrimaryMerge08thru10 = rbind(PrimaryMerge08, PrimaryMerge10)

*Notes: working with grouping for the purpose of identifying races that included a
female candidate for Chapter Three analysis of primary elections.

> MergeGrouped00thru06 <- group_by_at(PrimaryMerge00thru06, vars(cycle.x,
  recipient_district, bonica_rid, recipient_party)) %>% mutate(womaninrace =
  as.numeric(any(cand.gender == "F")))

```

```

> MergeGroupedSm = subset(MergeGrouped00thru06, select = c(cycle.x,
recipient_district, bonica_rid, recipient_party, cand.gender, womaninrace, amount,
contributor_gender, num.givers.total, nmsp.candidate.status, Incum.Chall))

> FemaleinRace = subset(MergeGroupedSm) %>% filter(any(cand.gender == "F"))

> MergeGrouped08thru10 <- group_by_at(PrimaryMerge08thru10, vars(cycle.x, district,
lname, party)) %>% mutate(womaninrace = as.numeric(any(cand.gender == "F")))

> MergeGroupedSm810 = subset(MergeGrouped08thru10, select = c(cycle.x, district,
lname, name, party, cand.gender, womaninrace, amount, contributor_gender,
num.givers.total, nmsp.candidate.status, Incum.Chall))

> FemaleinRace2 = subset(MergeGroupedSm810) %>% filter(any(cand.gender == "F"))

> MergeGroupedSm810Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm810, district == "CA-52" |
district == "CA-70" | district == "CT-8" | district == "DE-22" | district == "DE-5" | district
== "FL-17" | district == "FL-33" | district == "ID-18" | district == "IN-44" | district == "KY-
34" | district == "MN-15B" | district == "NC-35" | district == "NM-30" | district == "NM-
57" | district == "NV-11" | district == "NV -7" | district == "NY-10" | district == "NY-142"
| district == "NY-22" | district == "NY-40" | district == "NY-44" | district == "NY-61" |
district == "NY-67" | district == "NY-80" | district == "OH-35" | district == "PA-74" |
district == "RI-11" | district == "SC-78" | district == "SC-98" | district == "TX-94" | district
== "WA-10" | district == "WI-43")

> MergeGroupedSm1Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "AK-11" |
recipient_district == "AK-13" | recipient_district == "AK-14" | recipient_district == "AK-
15" | recipient_district == "AK-16" | recipient_district == "AK-18" | recipient_district ==
"AK-23" | recipient_district == "AK-26" | recipient_district == "AK-27" |
recipient_district == "AK-40" | recipient_district == "AK-5" | recipient_district == "AK-7"
| recipient_district == "AK-8" | recipient_district == "AL-103" | recipient_district == "AL-
101" | recipient_district == "AL-104" | recipient_district == "AL-20" | recipient_district
== "AL-25" | recipient_district == "AL-34" | recipient_district == "AL-48" |
recipient_district == "AL-51" | recipient_district == "AL-5" | recipient_district == "AL-54"
| recipient_district == "AL-56" | recipient_district == "AL-58" | recipient_district == "AL-
60" | recipient_district == "AL-67" | recipient_district == "AL-71" | recipient_district ==
"AL-78" | recipient_district == "AL-96" | recipient_district == "AR-1" | recipient_district
== "AR-2" | recipient_district == "AR-23" | recipient_district == "AR-24" |
recipient_district == "AR-25" | recipient_district == "AR-32" | recipient_district == "AR-
33" | recipient_district == "AR-34" | recipient_district == "AR-36" | recipient_district ==
"AR-39" | recipient_district == "AR-42" | recipient_district == "AR-41" |
recipient_district == "AR-48" | recipient_district == "AR-54" | recipient_district == "AR-
55" | recipient_district == "AR-57" | recipient_district == "AR-7" | recipient_district ==
"AR-78" | recipient_district == "AR-79" | recipient_district == "AR-89" |

```



```
recipient_district == "AR-93")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm2Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "AZ-1" |
recipient_district == "AZ-11" | recipient_district == "AZ-13" | recipient_district == "AZ-
15" | recipient_district == "AZ-16" | recipient_district == "AZ-18" | recipient_district ==
"AZ-17" | recipient_district == "AZ-19" | recipient_district == "AZ-2" | recipient_district
== "AZ-20" | recipient_district == "AZ-21" | recipient_district == "AZ-22" |
recipient_district == "AZ-23" | recipient_district == "AZ-24" | recipient_district == "AZ-
25" | recipient_district == "AZ-26" | recipient_district == "AZ-27" | recipient_district ==
"AZ-28" | recipient_district == "AZ-29" | recipient_district == "AZ-3" | recipient_district
== "AZ-30" | recipient_district == "AZ-5" | recipient_district == "AZ-4" |
recipient_district == "AZ-7" | recipient_district == "AZ-8" | recipient_district == "CA-1" |
recipient_district == "CA-11" | recipient_district == "CA-12" | recipient_district == "CA-
13" | recipient_district == "CA-17" | recipient_district == "CA-19" | recipient_district ==
"CA-20" | recipient_district == "CA-23" | recipient_district == "CA-24" |
recipient_district == "CA-21" | recipient_district == "CA-22" | recipient_district == "CA-
27" | recipient_district == "CA-28" | recipient_district == "CA-36" | recipient_district ==
"CA-30" | recipient_district == "CA-38" | recipient_district == "CA-41" |
recipient_district == "CA-39" | recipient_district == "CA-42" | recipient_district == "CA-
43" | recipient_district == "CA-44" | recipient_district == "CA-45" | recipient_district ==
"CA-51" | recipient_district == "CA-52" | recipient_district == "CA-56" |
recipient_district == "CA-57" | recipient_district == "CA-58" | recipient_district == "CA-
59" | recipient_district == "CA-6" | recipient_district == "CA-60" | recipient_district ==
"CA-63" | recipient_district == "CA-65" | recipient_district == "CA-67" |
recipient_district == "CA-69" | recipient_district == "CA-70" | recipient_district == "CA-
74" | recipient_district == "CA-75" | recipient_district == "CA-76" | recipient_district ==
"CA-77" | recipient_district == "CA-78" | recipient_district == "CA-9")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm3Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "CO-12" |
recipient_district == "CO-14" | recipient_district == "CO-17" | recipient_district == "CO-
2" | recipient_district == "CO-21" | recipient_district == "CO-22" | recipient_district ==
"CO-23" | recipient_district == "CO-26" | recipient_district == "CO-31" |
recipient_district == "CO-32" | recipient_district == "CO-37" | recipient_district == "CO-
38" | recipient_district == "CO-4" | recipient_district == "CO-41" | recipient_district ==
"CO-42" | recipient_district == "CO-51" | recipient_district == "CO-55" |
recipient_district == "CO-62" | recipient_district == "CO-8" | recipient_district == "CT-
128" | recipient_district == "CT-127" | recipient_district == "CT-150" | recipient_district
== "CT-20" | recipient_district == "CT-23" | recipient_district == "CT-3" |
recipient_district == "CT-36" | recipient_district == "CT-41" | recipient_district == "CT-
46" | recipient_district == "CT-53" | recipient_district == "CT-7" | recipient_district ==
"DE-17" | recipient_district == "DE-2" | recipient_district == "DE-4" | recipient_district
== "DE-41" | recipient_district == "FL-10" | recipient_district == "FL-104" |
recipient_district == "FL-108" | recipient_district == "FL-109" | recipient_district == "FL-
115" | recipient_district == "FL-13" | recipient_district == "FL-18" | recipient_district ==
```

```
"FL-19" | recipient_district == "FL-20" | recipient_district == "FL-23" | recipient_district
== "FL-25" | recipient_district == "FL-26" | recipient_district == "FL-27" |
recipient_district == "FL-30" | recipient_district == "FL-36" | recipient_district == "FL-
39")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm4Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "FL-40" |
recipient_district == "FL-43" | recipient_district == "FL-44" | recipient_district == "FL-47"
| recipient_district == "FL-5" | recipient_district == "FL-50" | recipient_district == "FL-
52" | recipient_district == "FL-56" | recipient_district == "FL-53" | recipient_district ==
"FL-62" | recipient_district == "FL-70" | recipient_district == "FL-69" | recipient_district
== "FL-74" | recipient_district == "FL-8" | recipient_district == "FL-80" |
recipient_district == "FL-81" | recipient_district == "FL-83" | recipient_district == "FL-84"
| recipient_district == "FL-86" | recipient_district == "FL-87" | recipient_district == "FL-
88" | recipient_district == "FL-89" | recipient_district == "FL-9" | recipient_district ==
"FL-90" | recipient_district == "FL-93" | recipient_district == "FL-95" | recipient_district
== "GA-10" | recipient_district == "GA-102" | recipient_district == "GA-124" |
recipient_district == "GA-137" | recipient_district == "GA-134" | recipient_district ==
"GA-136" | recipient_district == "GA-140" | recipient_district == "GA-148" |
recipient_district == "GA-15" | recipient_district == "GA-159" | recipient_district ==
"GA-16" | recipient_district == "GA-160" | recipient_district == "GA-162" |
recipient_district == "GA-172" | recipient_district == "GA-178" | recipient_district ==
"GA-18" | recipient_district == "GA-20" | recipient_district == "GA-22" |
recipient_district == "GA-27" | recipient_district == "GA-28" | recipient_district == "GA-
3" | recipient_district == "GA-31" | recipient_district == "GA-34" | recipient_district ==
"GA-35")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm5Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "GA-36" |
recipient_district == "GA-37" | recipient_district == "GA-38" | recipient_district == "GA-
40" | recipient_district == "GA-42" | recipient_district == "GA-43" | recipient_district ==
"GA-44" | recipient_district == "GA-45" | recipient_district == "GA-5" | recipient_district
== "GA-6" | recipient_district == "GA-60" | recipient_district == "GA-61" |
recipient_district == "GA-66" | recipient_district == "GA-71" | recipient_district == "GA-
72" | recipient_district == "GA-8" | recipient_district == "GA-80" | recipient_district ==
"GA-81" | recipient_district == "GA-83" | recipient_district == "GA-86" |
recipient_district == "GA-85" | recipient_district == "GA-87" | recipient_district == "GA-
94" | recipient_district == "HI-10" | recipient_district == "HI-15" | recipient_district ==
"HI-19" | recipient_district == "HI-20" | recipient_district == "HI-23" | recipient_district
== "HI-30" | recipient_district == "HI-4" | recipient_district == "HI-43" |
recipient_district == "HI-6" | recipient_district == "IA-22" | recipient_district == "IA-23"
| recipient_district == "IA-31" | recipient_district == "IA-35" | recipient_district == "IA-
36" | recipient_district == "IA-41" | recipient_district == "IA-45" | recipient_district ==
"IA-48" | recipient_district == "IA-56" | recipient_district == "IA-69" | recipient_district
== "IA-82" | recipient_district == "IA-94")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm6Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "ID-1" |
recipient_district == "ID-10" | recipient_district == "ID-11" | recipient_district == "ID-12"
| recipient_district == "ID-13" | recipient_district == "ID-15" | recipient_district == "ID-
17" | recipient_district == "ID-18" | recipient_district == "ID-19" | recipient_district ==
"ID-22" | recipient_district == "ID-28" | recipient_district == "ID-3" | recipient_district
== "ID-31" | recipient_district == "ID-4" | recipient_district == "IL-1" | recipient_district
== "IL-103" | recipient_district == "IL-110" | recipient_district == "IL-13" |
recipient_district == "IL-24" | recipient_district == "IL-25" | recipient_district == "IL-27"
| recipient_district == "IL-29" | recipient_district == "IL-3" | recipient_district == "IL-30"
| recipient_district == "IL-31" | recipient_district == "IL-38" | recipient_district == "IL-
42" | recipient_district == "IL-51" | recipient_district == "IL-52" | recipient_district ==
"IL-54" | recipient_district == "IL-55" | recipient_district == "IL-6" | recipient_district ==
"IL-62" | recipient_district == "IL-63" | recipient_district == "IL-67" | recipient_district
== "IL-67" | recipient_district == "IL-7" | recipient_district == "IL-79" | recipient_district
== "IL-81" | recipient_district == "IL-95" | recipient_district == "IL-99" |
recipient_district == "IN-1" | recipient_district == "IN-12" | recipient_district == "IN-14"
| recipient_district == "IN-20" | recipient_district == "IN-36" | recipient_district == "IN-
6" | recipient_district == "IN-71" | recipient_district == "KS-10" | recipient_district ==
"KS-12" | recipient_district == "KS-14" | recipient_district == "KS-16" | recipient_district
== "KS-18" | recipient_district == "KS-20" | recipient_district == "KS-22" |
recipient_district == "KS-38" | recipient_district == "KS-5" | recipient_district == "KS-50"
| recipient_district == "KS-51" | recipient_district == "KS-53" | recipient_district == "KS-
60" | recipient_district == "KS-61" | recipient_district == "KS-64" | recipient_district ==
"KS-74" | recipient_district == "KS-93" | recipient_district == "KS-94" | recipient_district
== "KS-99" | recipient_district == "KY-16" | recipient_district == "KY-18" |
recipient_district == "KY-33" | recipient_district == "KY-36" | recipient_district == "KY-
37" | recipient_district == "KY-42" | recipient_district == "KY-57" | recipient_district ==
"KY-58" | recipient_district == "KY-79" | recipient_district == "KY-90" | recipient_district
== "KY-92" | recipient_district == "KY-95")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm7Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "LA-101"
| recipient_district == "LA-2" | recipient_district == "LA-93" | recipient_district == "LA-
98" | recipient_district == "LA-99" | recipient_district == "MD-11" | recipient_district ==
"MD-13" | recipient_district == "MD-14" | recipient_district == "MD-16" |
recipient_district == "MD-17" | recipient_district == "MD-18" | recipient_district ==
"MD-19" | recipient_district == "MD-1A" | recipient_district == "MD-20" |
recipient_district == "MD-21" | recipient_district == "MD-23A" | recipient_district ==
"MD-24" | recipient_district == "MD-25" | recipient_district == "MD-26" |
recipient_district == "MD-27" | recipient_district == "MD-27A" | recipient_district ==
"MD-30" | recipient_district == "MD-33A" | recipient_district == "MD-34A" |
recipient_district == "MD-35A" | recipient_district == "MD-36" | recipient_district ==
"MD-38B" | recipient_district == "MD-39" | recipient_district == "MD-40" |
recipient_district == "MD-41" | recipient_district == "MD-42" | recipient_district ==
"MD-43" | recipient_district == "MD-44" | recipient_district == "MD-47" |
```

```

recipient_district == "MD-5" | recipient_district == "MD-6" | recipient_district == "MD-
7" | recipient_district == "MD-8" | recipient_district == "MD-9A" | recipient_district ==
"MD-9B" | recipient_district == "ME-112" | recipient_district == "ME-27" |
recipient_district == "ME-4" | recipient_district == "ME-54" | recipient_district == "ME-
58" | recipient_district == "ME-74" | recipient_district == "ME-82" | recipient_district ==
"ME-83" | recipient_district == "MI-1" | recipient_district == "MI-10" | recipient_district
== "MI-102" | recipient_district == "MI-103" | recipient_district == "MI-104" |
recipient_district == "MI-105" | recipient_district == "MI-11" | recipient_district == "MI-
13" | recipient_district == "MI-14" | recipient_district == "MI-15" | recipient_district ==
"MI-17" | recipient_district == "MI-2" | recipient_district == "MI-20" | recipient_district
== "MI-27" | recipient_district == "MI-28" | recipient_district == "MI-3" |
recipient_district == "MI-32" | recipient_district == "MI-33" | recipient_district == "MI-
35" | recipient_district == "MI-36" | recipient_district == "MI-39" | recipient_district ==
"MI-4" | recipient_district == "MI-40" | recipient_district == "MI-42" | recipient_district
== "MI-45" | recipient_district == "MI-48" | recipient_district == "MI-5" |
recipient_district == "MI-50" | recipient_district == "MI-52" | recipient_district == "MI-
54" | recipient_district == "MI-56" | recipient_district == "MI-57" | recipient_district ==
"MI-6" | recipient_district == "MI-61" | recipient_district == "MI-68" | recipient_district
== "MI-69" | recipient_district == "MI-7" | recipient_district == "MI-70" |
recipient_district == "MI-73" | recipient_district == "MI-74" | recipient_district == "MI-
75" | recipient_district == "MI-8" | recipient_district == "MI-82" | recipient_district ==
"MI-84" | recipient_district == "MI-85" | recipient_district == "MI-87" |
recipient_district == "MI-92" | recipient_district == "MI-95" | recipient_district == "MI-
97" | recipient_district == "MI-98")

```

```

> MergeGroupedSm8Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "MN-
12B" | recipient_district == "MN-37B" | recipient_district == "MN-62" |
recipient_district == "MN-66A" | recipient_district == "MO-10" | recipient_district ==
"MO-100" | recipient_district == "MO-102" | recipient_district == "MO-103" |
recipient_district == "MO-11" | recipient_district == "MO-139" | recipient_district ==
"MO-143" | recipient_district == "MO-15" | recipient_district == "MO-152" |
recipient_district == "MO-157" | recipient_district == "MO-19" | recipient_district ==
"MO-23" | recipient_district == "MO-21" | recipient_district == "MO-25" |
recipient_district == "MO-24" | recipient_district == "MO-28" | recipient_district ==
"MO-35" | recipient_district == "MO-38" | recipient_district == "MO-39" |
recipient_district == "MO-4" | recipient_district == "MO-50" | recipient_district == "MO-
55" | recipient_district == "MO-57" | recipient_district == "MO-59" | recipient_district
== "MO-60" | recipient_district == "MO-69" | recipient_district == "MO-72" |
recipient_district == "MO-74" | recipient_district == "MO-77" | recipient_district ==
"MO-80" | recipient_district == "MO-84" | recipient_district == "MO-87" |
recipient_district == "MO-9" | recipient_district == "MO-93" | recipient_district == "MS-
100" | recipient_district == "MS-105" | recipient_district == "MS-15" | recipient_district
== "MS-24" | recipient_district == "MS-26" | recipient_district == "MS-28" |
recipient_district == "MS-43" | recipient_district == "MS-59" | recipient_district == "MS-

```

```

6" | recipient_district == "MS-65" | recipient_district == "MS-74" | recipient_district ==
"MT-1" | recipient_district == "MT-10" | recipient_district == "MT-22" |
recipient_district == "MT-25" | recipient_district == "MT-30" | recipient_district == "MT-
50" | recipient_district == "MT-54" | recipient_district == "MT-59" | recipient_district ==
"MT-62" | recipient_district == "MT-76" | recipient_district == "MT-9" |
recipient_district == "MT-86" | recipient_district == "MT-91" | recipient_district == "MT-
95" | recipient_district == "NC-102" | recipient_district == "NC-105" | recipient_district
== "NC-14" | recipient_district == "NC-18" | recipient_district == "NC-21" |
recipient_district == "NC-22" | recipient_district == "NC-24" | recipient_district == "NC-
23" | recipient_district == "NC-27" | recipient_district == "NC-29" | recipient_district ==
"NC-3" | recipient_district == "NC-31" | recipient_district == "NC-4" | recipient_district
== "NC-47" | recipient_district == "NC-49" | recipient_district == "NC-50" |
recipient_district == "NC-52" | recipient_district == "NC-60" | recipient_district == "NC-
69" | recipient_district == "NC-70" | recipient_district == "NC-72" | recipient_district ==
"NC-74" | recipient_district == "NC-8" | recipient_district == "NC-88" | recipient_district
== "NC-96" | recipient_district == "NE-4" | recipient_district == "NH-22" |
recipient_district == "NH-24" | recipient_district == "NH-4" | recipient_district == "NH-
86" | recipient_district == "NJ-12" | recipient_district == "NJ-21" | recipient_district ==
"NJ-23" | recipient_district == "NJ-27" | recipient_district == "NJ-31" | recipient_district
== "NJ-34")
> MergeGroupedSm9Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "NM-1" |
recipient_district == "NM-11" | recipient_district == "NM-12" | recipient_district ==
"NM-21" | recipient_district == "NM-23" | recipient_district == "NM-25" |
recipient_district == "NM-26" | recipient_district == "NM-27" | recipient_district ==
"NM-36" | recipient_district == "NM-37" | recipient_district == "NM-39" |
recipient_district == "NM-47" | recipient_district == "NM-48" | recipient_district ==
"NM-70" | recipient_district == "NV-10" | recipient_district == "NV-22" |
recipient_district == "NV-25" | recipient_district == "NV-36" | recipient_district == "NY-
22" | recipient_district == "NY-32" | recipient_district == "NY-36" | recipient_district ==
"NY-79" | recipient_district == "OH-10" | recipient_district == "OH-11" |
recipient_district == "OH-14" | recipient_district == "OH-2" | recipient_district == "OH-
21" | recipient_district == "OH-24" | recipient_district == "OH-32" | recipient_district ==
"OH-42" | recipient_district == "OH-52" | recipient_district == "OH-56" |
recipient_district == "OH-57" | recipient_district == "OH-60" | recipient_district == "OH-
61" | recipient_district == "OH-62" | recipient_district == "OH-65" | recipient_district ==
"OH-68" | recipient_district == "OH-73" | recipient_district == "OH-78" |
recipient_district == "OH-8" | recipient_district == "OH-86" | recipient_district == "OH-
87" | recipient_district == "OH-9" | recipient_district == "OH-96" | recipient_district ==
"OK-100" | recipient_district == "OK-13" | recipient_district == "OK-14" |
recipient_district == "OK-17" | recipient_district == "OK-18" | recipient_district == "OK-
23" | recipient_district == "OK-25" | recipient_district == "OK-30" | recipient_district ==
"OK-34" | recipient_district == "OK-40" | recipient_district == "OK-41" |
recipient_district == "OK-45" | recipient_district == "OK-46" | recipient_district == "OK-
47" | recipient_district == "OK-48" | recipient_district == "OK-49" | recipient_district ==

```

```
"OK-58" | recipient_district == "OK-61" | recipient_district == "OK-64" |
recipient_district == "OK-71" | recipient_district == "OK-83" | recipient_district == "OK-
84" | recipient_district == "OK-85" | recipient_district == "OK-87" | recipient_district ==
"OK-89" | recipient_district == "OK-9" | recipient_district == "OK-91" | recipient_district
== "OK-92" | recipient_district == "OK-94" | recipient_district == "OK-95" |
recipient_district == "OK-96" | recipient_district == "OK-97" | recipient_district == "OK-
98")
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm10Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "OR-15"
| recipient_district == "OR-16" | recipient_district == "OR-2" | recipient_district == "OR-
20" | recipient_district == "OR-24" | recipient_district == "OR-30" | recipient_district ==
"OR-32" | recipient_district == "OR-33" | recipient_district == "OR-38" |
recipient_district == "OR-4" | recipient_district == "OR-43" | recipient_district == "OR-
46" | recipient_district == "OR-5" | recipient_district == "OR-50" | recipient_district ==
"OR-8" | recipient_district == "PA-101" | recipient_district == "PA-107" |
recipient_district == "PA-11" | recipient_district == "PA-113" | recipient_district == "PA-
12" | recipient_district == "PA-126" | recipient_district == "PA-131" | recipient_district
== "PA-152" | recipient_district == "PA-175" | recipient_district == "PA-196" |
recipient_district == "PA-2" | recipient_district == "PA-20" | recipient_district == "PA-
24" | recipient_district == "PA-26" | recipient_district == "PA-29" | recipient_district ==
"PA-34" | recipient_district == "PA-38" | recipient_district == "PA-6" | recipient_district
== "PA-60" | recipient_district == "PA-67" | recipient_district == "PA-82" |
recipient_district == "PA-83" | recipient_district == "PA-9" | recipient_district == "RI-11"
| recipient_district == "RI-13" | recipient_district == "RI-15" | recipient_district == "RI-
21" | recipient_district == "RI-28" | recipient_district == "RI-38" | recipient_district ==
"RI-4" | recipient_district == "RI-43" | recipient_district == "RI-53" | recipient_district ==
"RI-7" | recipient_district == "RI-73" | recipient_district == "RI-83" | recipient_district ==
"SC-107" | recipient_district == "SC-116" | recipient_district == "SC-117" |
recipient_district == "SC-119" | recipient_district == "SC-123" | recipient_district == "SC-
17" | recipient_district == "SC-29" | recipient_district == "SC-30" | recipient_district ==
"SC-35" | recipient_district == "SC-41" | recipient_district == "SC-48" | recipient_district
== "SC-51" | recipient_district == "SC-60" | recipient_district == "SC-68" |
recipient_district == "SC-7" | recipient_district == "SC-78" | recipient_district == "SC-79"
| recipient_district == "SC-8" | recipient_district == "SC-88" | recipient_district == "SC-
92" | recipient_district == "SC-97" | recipient_district == "SD-10" | recipient_district ==
"SD-11" | recipient_district == "SD-12" | recipient_district == "SD-15" |
recipient_district == "SD-21" | recipient_district == "SD-24" | recipient_district == "SD-
30" | recipient_district == "SD-32" | recipient_district == "SD-35" | recipient_district ==
"SD-5" | recipient_district == "TN-14" | recipient_district == "TN-18" | recipient_district
== "TN-29" | recipient_district == "TN-3" | recipient_district == "TN-35" |
recipient_district == "TN-6" | recipient_district == "TN-67" | recipient_district == "TN-
80" | recipient_district == "TN-9" | recipient_district == "TN-96" | recipient_district ==
"TX-10" | recipient_district == "TX-101" | recipient_district == "TX-105" |
recipient_district == "TX-104" | recipient_district == "TX-117" | recipient_district == "TX-
```

```

133" | recipient_district == "TX-143" | recipient_district == "TX-147" | recipient_district
== "TX-15" | recipient_district == "TX-16" | recipient_district == "TX-17" |
recipient_district == "TX-18" | recipient_district == "TX-2" | recipient_district == "TX-20"
| recipient_district == "TX-25" | recipient_district == "TX-34" | recipient_district == "TX-
48" | recipient_district == "TX-50" | recipient_district == "TX-51" | recipient_district ==
"TX-53" | recipient_district == "TX-56" | recipient_district == "TX-6" | recipient_district
== "TX-63" | recipient_district == "TX-7" | recipient_district == "TX-72" |
recipient_district == "TX-73" | recipient_district == "TX-76" | recipient_district == "TX-
78" | recipient_district == "TX-80" | recipient_district == "TX-87" | recipient_district ==
"TX-91" | recipient_district == "TX-96" | recipient_district == "TX-98")

```

```

> MergeGroupedSm11Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "UT-14"
| recipient_district == "UT-26" | recipient_district == "UT-42" | recipient_district == "UT-
45" | recipient_district == "VA-2" | recipient_district == "VA-21" | recipient_district ==
"VA-37" | recipient_district == "VA-45" | recipient_district == "VA-49" |
recipient_district == "VA-88" | recipient_district == "VA-90" | recipient_district == "WA-
10" | recipient_district == "WA-11" | recipient_district == "WA-12" | recipient_district
== "WA-13" | recipient_district == "WA-16" | recipient_district == "WA-17" |
recipient_district == "WA-18" | recipient_district == "WA-2" | recipient_district == "WA-
22" | recipient_district == "WA-23" | recipient_district == "WA-26" | recipient_district
== "WA-27" | recipient_district == "WA-28" | recipient_district == "WA-35" |
recipient_district == "WA-36" | recipient_district == "WA-37" | recipient_district ==
"WA-39" | recipient_district == "WA-43" | recipient_district == "WA-44" |
recipient_district == "WA-45" | recipient_district == "WA-47" | recipient_district ==
"WA-49" | recipient_district == "WA-7" | recipient_district == "WA-8")

```

```

> MergeGroupedSm12Female = subset(MergeGroupedSm, recipient_district == "WI-10"
| recipient_district == "WI-20" | recipient_district == "WI-23" | recipient_district ==
"WI-25" | recipient_district == "WI-26" | recipient_district == "WI-32" |
recipient_district == "WI-36" | recipient_district == "WI-48" | recipient_district == "WI-
5" | recipient_district == "WI-54" | recipient_district == "WI-56" | recipient_district ==
"WI-69" | recipient_district == "WI-79" | recipient_district == "WI-80" |
recipient_district == "WI-85" | recipient_district == "WI-87" | recipient_district == "WI-
95" | recipient_district == "WI-96" | recipient_district == "WI-97" | recipient_district ==
"WI-99" | recipient_district == "WV-1" | recipient_district == "WV-12" |
recipient_district == "WV-13" | recipient_district == "WV-15" | recipient_district ==
"WV-16" | recipient_district == "WV-18" | recipient_district == "WV-22" |
recipient_district == "WV-23" | recipient_district == "WV-24" | recipient_district ==
"WV-25" | recipient_district == "WV-28" | recipient_district == "WV-29" |
recipient_district == "WV-30" | recipient_district == "WV-4" | recipient_district == "WV-
41" | recipient_district == "WV-42" | recipient_district == "WV-43" | recipient_district
== "WV-5" | recipient_district == "WV-51" | recipient_district == "WV-6" |
recipient_district == "WV-9" | recipient_district == "WY-11" | recipient_district == "WY-
16" | recipient_district == "WY-23" | recipient_district == "WY-3" | recipient_district ==

```

```
"WY-32" | recipient_district == "WY-37" | recipient_district == "WY-38" |
recipient_district == "WY-41" | recipient_district == "WY-5" | recipient_district == "WY-
51")
```

```
> Merge123 = rbind(MergeGroupedSm1Female, MergeGroupedSm2Female,
MergeGroupedSm3Female)
> Merge4567 = rbind(MergeGroupedSm4Female, MergeGroupedSm5Female,
MergeGroupedSm6Female, MergeGroupedSm7Female)
> Merge89101112 = rbind(MergeGroupedSm8Female, MergeGroupedSm9Female,
MergeGroupedSm10Female, MergeGroupedSm11Female, MergeGroupedSm12Female)
> Merge00thru06FINAL = rbind(Merge123, Merge4567, Merge89101112)
```

```
> colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)[colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)
=="name"] <- "bonica_rid"
```

```
> colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)[colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)
=="district"] <- "recipient_district"
```

```
> colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)[colnames(MergeGroupedSm810Female)
=="party"] <- "recipient_party"
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm810Female$name <- NULL
```

```
> MergeGroupedSm810Female$recipient_party <-
as.numeric(as.character(MergeGroupedSm810Female$recipient_party))
```

```
> Merge00thru10FINAL = rbind(Merge00thru06FINAL, MergeGroupedSm810Female)
```

```
> Merge00thru10FINALComplete <-
Merge00thru10FINAL[complete.cases(Merge00thru10FINAL), ]
```

```
> Merge00thru10FINALComplete <- head(mutate(Merge00thru10FINALComplete,
openseat = Incum.Chall == "O"), )
```

```
> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTest <- mutate(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTest,
incumbent = ifelse(Incum.Chall == "I", "1", "0"))
```

```
> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestNol = subset(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTest,
incumbent == "0")
```

```
> stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyFremoved0donations <-
subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyF, amount >= 5)
```

\*Note: sample t-test and box plot for comparison of means



```

> boxplot(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyFremoved0donations$amount ~
stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyFremoved0donations$gender, na.rm = TRUE)

>t.test(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyFremoved0donations$amount~stateonly00thru10
IFINALPonlyFremoved0donations$gender, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95, var.eq=0,
pair=F)

> stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyMremoved0donations <-
subset(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyM, amount >= 5)

> boxplot(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyMremoved0donations$amount ~
stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyMremoved0donations$gender, na.rm = TRUE)

>t.test(stateonly00thru10IFINALPonlyMremoved0donations$amount~stateonly00thru10
IFINALPonlyMremoved0donations$gender, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95,
var.eq=0, pair=F)

> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonors <-
subset(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfixed, contributor_gender == "F")

> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsI <-
subset(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonors, Incum.Chall == "I")
>t.test(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsI$amount~Merge00thru10FINA
LCompleteTestfemaledonorsI$cand.gender, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95, var.eq=0,
pair=F)

> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsO <-
subset(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonors, Incum.Chall == "O")
>t.test(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsO$amount~Merge00thru10FIN
ALCompleteTestfemaledonorsO$cand.gender, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95,
var.eq=0, pair=F)

> Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsC <-
subset(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonors, Incum.Chall == "C")
>t.test(Merge00thru10FINALCompleteTestfemaledonorsC$amount~Merge00thru10FIN
ALCompleteTestfemaledonorsC$cand.gender, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95,
var.eq=0, pair=F)

```

\*Note: the following code pertains to Chapter Four

```

> stateonly04thru10C = subset(stateonly90thru10C, cycle == "2004" | cycle == "2006" |
cycle == "2008" | cycle == "2010")

```

```

> stateonly04thru10C <- separate(stateonly04thru10C, recipient_name,
c("recipient_lname", "recipient_fname"))

> stateonly04thru10C$fakeyear <- 1970

> genderresults2 <- gender_df(stateonly04thru10C, name_col = "recipient_fname",
year_col = "fakeyear", method = "ssa")

> stateonly04thru10C <- stateonly04thru10C %>% left_join(genderresults2, by =
c("recipient_fname" = "name", "fakeyear" = "year_min"))

> stateonly04thru10Cwomen = subset(stateonly04thru10C, gender == "female")

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = subset(stateonly04thru10Cwomen,
election_type == "G")

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_memo <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_memo2 <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_transaction_id_orig <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_org_orig <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_comid_orig <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$efec_form_type <- NULL
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$score <- NULL

*manually imputing race for some candidates to test merge with CAWP data
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral$race <- "white"

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "LINCOLN" & recipient_fname ==
"GEORGIANNA", "black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "DAVIS" & recipient_fname == "BETTYE",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MASEK" & recipient_fname == "BEVERLY",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "NELSON" & recipient_fname == "MARY",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%

```

```
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ESCOTT" & recipient_fname == "SUNDRA",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "FIGURES" & recipient_fname == "VIVIAN",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BOYD" & recipient_fname == "BARBARA",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "KENNEDY" & recipient_fname == "YVONNE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "HALL" & recipient_fname == "LAURA", "black",
race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "COLEMAN-EVANS" & recipient_fname ==
"MERIKA", "black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "DUNN" & recipient_fname == "PRISCILLA",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MOORE" & recipient_fname == "MARY",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "COLEMAN-MADISON" & recipient_fname ==
"LINDA", "black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BROWN" & recipient_fname == "IRMA",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CHESTERFIELD" & recipient_fname ==
"LINDA", "black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
```

```
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ELLIOTT" & recipient_fname == "JOYCE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "AGUIRRE" & recipient_fname == "LINDA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "AGUIRRE" & recipient_fname == "AMANDA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CAJERO BEDFORD" & recipient_fname ==
"OLIVIA", "hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "LOPEZ" & recipient_fname == "LINDA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "LANDRUM" & recipient_fname == "LEAH",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ORTIZ" & recipient_fname == "DEBORAH",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "DUCHENY" & recipient_fname == "DENISE",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ESCUTIA" & recipient_fname == "MARTHA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "FIGUEROA" & recipient_fname == "LIZ",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ROMERO" & recipient_fname == "GLORIA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
```

```

mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "SOTO" & recipient_fname == "NELL",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "HORTON" & recipient_fname == "SHIRLEY",
"asian", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CHU" & recipient_fname == "JUDY", "asian",
race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MONTANEZ" & recipient_fname == "CINDY",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "PARRA" & recipient_fname == "NICOLE",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "GARCIA" & recipient_fname == "BONNIE",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CHAN" & recipient_fname == "WILMA",
"asian", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "NEGRETE MCLEOD" & recipient_fname ==
"GLORIA", "hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "REYES" & recipient_fname == "SARAH",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "OROPEZA" & recipient_fname == "JENNY",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "SANDOVAL" & recipient_fname == "PAULA",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%

```

```
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "COLEMAN" & recipient_fname == "FRAN",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MARSHALL" & recipient_fname ==
"ROSEMARY", "black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BUTCHER" & recipient_fname == "DOROTHY",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "PACCIONE" & recipient_fname == "ANGIE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "WILLIAMS" & recipient_fname == "SUZANNE",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "HARP" & recipient_fname == "TONI", "black",
race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "KIRKLEY-BEY" & recipient_fname == "MARIE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CARTER" & recipient_fname == "ANNETTE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "GONZALEZ" & recipient_fname == "MINNIE",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MARTINEZ" & recipient_fname == "LYDIA",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "MANTILLA" & recipient_fname == "EVELYN",
"hispanic", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
```

```

mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "WALKER" & recipient_fname == "TONI",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "HENRY" & recipient_fname == "MARGARET",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "PLANT" & recipient_fname == "HAZEL",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BULLARD" & recipient_fname == "LARCENIA",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "DAWSON" & recipient_fname == "MURIEL",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "WILSON" & recipient_fname == "FREDERICA",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "ROBERSON" & recipient_fname == "YOLLY",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "GIBSON" & recipient_fname == "AUDREY",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CUSACK" & recipient_fname == "JOYCE",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "JOYNER" & recipient_fname == "ARTHENIA",
"black", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BUCHER" & recipient_fname == "SUSAN",
"hispanic", race))

> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%

```

```
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "BENDROSS-MINDINGALL" & recipient_fname == "DOROTHY", "black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "CARROLL" & recipient_fname == "JENNIFER",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "THOMAS" & recipient_fname == "NADINE",
"black", race))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral = stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral %>%
mutate(race = ifelse(recipient_lname == "STOKES" & recipient_fname == "CONNIE",
"black", race))
```

```
> St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010 <- mutate_all(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010, toupper)
```

```
> names(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010)[names(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010) == "LName"] <- "
recipient_lname"
```

```
> names(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010)[names(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010) == "FName"] <- "
recipient_fname"
```

```
*Notes: alternate option for renaming columns =
colnames(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010)[6]<-"recipient_lname"
```

```
> WOCMerge <- left_join(stateonly04thru10CwomenGeneral, St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010,
by = c("recipient_lname" = "recipient_lname", "recipient_fname" = "recipient_fname"))
```

```
> WOCMergeEdit = WOCMerge[!duplicated(WOCMerge$transaction_id),]
```

```
> WOCMergeEdit[["Race"]][is.na(WOCMergeEdit[["Race"]])] <- "W"
```

```
> CandFileFinalWOC <- subset(CandFileFinal, cycle == "2004" | cycle == "2006" | cycle ==
"2008" | cycle == "2010")
```

```
> CandFileFinalWOC$FEC.ID <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$dwnom1 <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$dwnom2 <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$NID <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$candStatus <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$ps.dwnom1 <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$ps.dwnom2 <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$district.partisanship <- NULL
```



```

> CandFileFinalWOC$district.pres.vs <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$suffix <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$title <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$irt.cf.score <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$igcat <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$comtype <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$party.ind.exp.against <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$irt.comm.cost.for <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$irt.comm.cost.against <- NULL
> CandFileFinalWOC$irt.ind.exp.against <- NULL

> WOCCandFileMerge <- left_join(WOCMergeEdit, CandFileFinalWOC, by =
c("bonica_rid" = "bonica_rid", "cycle" = "cycle"))

> WOCCandFileMerge$prof <- 1

> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AK",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AL",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AZ",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "CA",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "CO",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "CT",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "DE",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "FL",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "GA",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "HI",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "ID",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "IL",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "IN",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "IA",
"No", prof))

```

```

> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "KS",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "KY",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "LA",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "ME",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MD",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MI",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AR",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MN",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MS",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MT",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NV",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NH",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NE",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NJ",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NM",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NY",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NC",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OH",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OK",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OR",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "PA",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "RI",
"No", prof))

```

```

> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "SC",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "SD",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "TN",
"No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "TX",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MA",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WA",
"Middle", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WI",
"Yes", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "UT" |
state == "VT" | state == "VA" | state == "ND", "No", prof))
> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WV",
"No", prof))

>WOCCandFileMerge$is.prof <- WOCCandFileMerge$prof == "Yes"

> WOCCandFileMerge$profdummy <- 1

> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(profdummy = ifelse(prof ==
"Middle", ".5", profdummy))

> WOCCandFileMerge = WOCCandFileMerge %>% mutate(profdummy = ifelse(prof ==
"No", "0", profdummy))

> > library(haven)

> X34297_0001_Data <- read_sav("~/Downloads/34297-0001-Data.sav")

> Klarner <- subset(`34297.0001.Data`, V05 == "2004" | V05 == "2006" | V05 == "2008"
| V05 == "2010")

> Klarner$V33<-round(Klarner$V33)

>Klarner$competdummy <- "Yes"

> Klarner$V40 <- NULL
> Klarner$V41 <- NULL
> Klarner$V42 <- NULL
> Klarner$V43 <- NULL

```

```

> Klarner$V19 <- NULL
> KlarnerG <- subset(Klarner, V16 == "G")
> names(KlarnerG)[names(KlarnerG) == "V05"] <- "cycle"
> names(KlarnerG)[names(KlarnerG) == "V44"] <- "recipient_lname"
> names(KlarnerG)[names(KlarnerG) == "V45"] <- "recipient_fname"
> View(KlarnerG)
> KlarnerG$V14 <- NULL
> KlarnerG$V15 <- NULL

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarner <- left_join(WOCCandFileMerge, KlarnerG, by =
c("recipient_lname" = "recipient_lname", "recipient_fname" = "recipient_fname",
"cycle" = "cycle"))

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarner =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarner[!duplicated(WOCCandFileMergeKlarner$transaction_id),]

WOCFinal2$itcont50 <- "1"
> WOCFinal2$indelimit <- "1"
> WOCFinal2$leg <- "1"
>
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "AL", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "AK", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "CA", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "DE", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "FL", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "GA", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "HI", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "IL", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "IN", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "IA", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "KY", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "MD", "0",
itcont50))

```

```

> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "MN", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "MS", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "MO", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NE", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NV", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NH", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NJ", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NY", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "NC", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "ND", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "RI", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "SC", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "SD", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "TN", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "VT", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(itcont50 = ifelse(recipient_state == "VA", "0",
itcont50))
> WOCFinal2$leg <- "0"
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "AZ", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "AR", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "CT", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "HI", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "ME", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "MN", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(leg = ifelse(recipient_state == "NE", "1", leg))
> WOCFinal2$partyfunding <- "0"
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "AL",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "AZ",

```

```

"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "ID",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "IA",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "KY",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "ME",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "MN",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "NM",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "NC",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "OH",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "RI",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "UT",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(partyfunding = ifelse(recipient_state == "WA",
"1", partyfunding))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "AL", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "IL", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "IN", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "MS", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "MO", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "NE", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "NM", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "ND", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "OR", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "PA", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "TX", "0",

```

```

indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "UT", "0",
indelimit))
> WOCFinal2 = WOCFinal2 %>% mutate(indelimit = ifelse(recipient_state == "VA", "0",
indelimit))

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerR = subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarner, recipient_party ==
"200")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerD = subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarner, recipient_party ==
"100")

```

\*Note: subsetting for general election winners only because CAWP race data only includes winners

```

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD = subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerD,
gen.elec.stat == "W")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR = subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerR,
gen.elec.stat == "W")

```

\*Note: example of list subsetting for t-test

```

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersRWB =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR, Race == "B" | Race == "W")

> t.test(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersRWB$amount~WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwi
nnersRWB$Race, mu=0, alt="two.sided", conf=0.95, var.eq=0, pair=F)

> RaceCommitteeR = lm(amount ~ Race + profdummy + Incum.Chall + competdummy,
data = WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR)

> RaceCommittedD = lm(amount ~ Race + is.prof + Incum.Chall + margin, data =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD)

```

\*Note: forcing R to Use White Women as the Comparison Group (level) in Regression

```

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR$Race <-
factor(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR$Race)

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR$Race <-
relevel(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR$Race, ref="W")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD$Race <-

```

```

factor(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD$Race)

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD$Race <-
relevel(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD$Race, ref="W")

> model2 = lm(amount ~ Race + profdummy + Incum.Chall + competdummy, data =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR)

> model3 = lm(amount ~ Race + profdummy + Incum.Chall + competdummy, data =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD)

>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinners, DWPAC == "TRUE")

>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPACwhite =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC, Race == "W")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPACasian =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC, Race == "AP")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPACblack =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC, Race == "B")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPACHispanic =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC, Race == "H")

>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPACR =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinners, RWPAC == "TRUE")

>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACRwhite =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACR, Race == "W")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACasian =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACR, Race == "AP")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACblack =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACR, Race == "B")

> WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACHispanic =
subset(WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACR, Race == "H")

>modelRWPAC = lm(amount ~ race + profdummy + Incum.Chall + competdummy, data =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerRwinnersWPACR)

```



```
>modelDWPAC = lm(amount ~ race + profdummy + Incum.Chall + competdummy, data
= WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerDwinnersWPAC)
```

```
>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersRParty =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR[grepl("REPUBLICAN PARTY",
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("REPUBLICANS",
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersR[["organization_name"]]) ,]
```

```
>WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersDParty =
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD[grepl("DEMOCRATIC PARTY",
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD[["organization_name"]]) | grepl("DEMOCRATIC",
WOCCandFileMergeKlarnerwinnersD[["organization_name"]]) ,]
```

\*analyzing the donation patterns of individual donors

```
> stateonly04thru10I = subset(stateonly90thru10IFINAL, cycle == "2004" | cycle ==
"2006" | cycle == "2008" | cycle == "2010")
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IG = subset(stateonly04thru10I, election_type == "G")
```

```
>stateonly04thru10IGwomen = subset(stateonly04thru10IG, gender == "female")
```

```
>St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010 <- mutate_all(St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010, toupper)
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOC <- left_join(stateonly04thru10IGwomen,
St_Leg_WOC_2004_2010, by = c("recipient_lname" = "recipient_lname",
"recipient_fname" = "recipient_fname"))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOC =
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOC[!duplicated(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOC$transac
tion_id),]
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal <- left_join(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOC,
CandFileFinalWOC, by = c("bonica_rid" = "bonica_rid", "cycle" = "cycle"))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal$prof <- 1
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AK", "No", prof))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AL", "No", prof))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "AZ", "Middle", prof))
```

```
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
```

[illegible]

```

mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NH", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NE", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NJ", "Middle", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NM", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NY", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "NC", "Middle", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OH", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OK", "Middle", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "OR", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "PA", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "RI", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "SC", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "SD", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "TN", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "TX", "Middle", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "MA", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WA", "Middle", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WI", "Yes", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "WV", "No", prof))
> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(prof = ifelse(state == "UT" | state == "VT" | state == "VA" | state == "ND", "No",
prof))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal$is.prof <-
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal$prof == "Yes"

```

```

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal$profdummy <- 1

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(profdummy = ifelse(prof == "Middle", ".5", profdummy))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal = stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal %>%
mutate(profdummy = ifelse(prof == "No", "0", profdummy))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarner <-
left_join(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinal, KlarnerG, by = c("recipient_lname" =
"recipient_lname", "recipient_fname" = "recipient_fname", "cycle" = "cycle"))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarner =
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarner[!duplicated(stateonly04thru10IGwomenW
OCfinalKlarner$transaction_id),]

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners =
subset(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarner, gen.elec.stat == "W")

> names(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners)[names(stateonly04thru1
0IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners) == "V35"] <- "margin"

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners$racefix <- "white"

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners =
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners %>% mutate(racefix = ifelse(Race
== "B", "black", racefix))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners =
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners %>% mutate(racefix = ifelse(Race
== "H", "hispanic", racefix))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners =
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners %>% mutate(racefix = ifelse(Race
== "AP", "asian", racefix))

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite<-
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite[!(stateonly04thru10IGwome
nWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite$Race=="B"),]

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite<-
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite[!(stateonly04thru10IGwom
enWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite$Race=="H"),]

```

```

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite<-
stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersRwhite[!(stateonly04thru10IGwom
enWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite$Race=="AP"),]

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersD =
subset(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners, recipient_party == "100")

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersR =
subset(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinners, recipient_party == "200")

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersDwhite =
subset(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite, recipient_party ==
"100")

> stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersRwhite =
subset(stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnerswhite, recipient_party ==
"200")

>stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersR[["Race"]][is.na(stateonly04thru
10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersR[["Race"]])] <- "W"

>stateonly04thru10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersD[["Race"]][is.na(stateonly04thru
10IGwomenWOCfinalKlarnerwinnersD[["Race"]])] <- "W"

```

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