Supplemental Information for The Cost of PAC Funding: Evidence on PAC Funding Refusal Across Candidate Race and Gender

The supplemental zip file contains:

- Supplemental Information for the paper
- DudleyNeff_Cleaned.dta
- DudleyNeff_ATE_and_SummaryStats.do

This document includes Appendices

- A: Experiment Design, Question Wording, and Coding Rules
- B: Respondent Demographics, Random Assignment, and Attention Checks
- C: Model Estimates
- D: Candidate Profiles
- E: Replication Materials

Appendix

A: Experiment Design, Question Wording, and Coding Rules

The question wording for the survey experiment is available here. The experiment was administered as a standalone survey. After consenting to participate, respondents were told that they must complete the survey to receive payment and that they would receive a unique code in order to verify participation. Then, they were given orienting text, "First, imagine this hypothetical candidate is running in a presidential primary election in your political party." Respondents were then shown one of the eight candidate profiles.[1] On the same page as the profile, respondents were asked "Would you support this candidate in the primary election?" The options were "yes" and "no." We chose not to include these analyses in the paper because we cannot offer any theoretically relevant justification for its inclusion nor a comprehensive discussion of what it means to support a candidate beyond voting for them, donating to their campaign, volunteering, or other political behavior.

Respondents were then asked a question to check that they were paying attention, "For this question, please select the word green." The response options were "red," "yellow," "blue," and "green." On the next page, respondents were presented with a grid along with a header text prompting them to "Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following assessments of the candidate." The statements were presented as rows of the grid. There were six statements, which were inspired by Dowling and Miller's 2016 experiment on voter evaluations of candidate funding. This study deviated slightly in order to better target our theoretically motivated assessments (ethical versus corrupt, working for the people as opposed to working for donors, capable of winning and skilled). The effect of PAC funding by candidate race and gender on responses to the question of support for the candidate follow the same trends as seen with the other outcomes.

<u>Vignette Page 1</u>
First, imagine this hypothetical candidate is running in a presidential primary election in your political party.

<Candidate profile>

Would you support this candidate in the primary election?
(1) Yes
(0) No

[1] We tested for balance across PAC funding status treatments using a logit model with a binary experimental treatment condition variable as the outcome. Covariates: gender, political party, education, employment, and age. The p-value for the chi-squared test statistic was 0.425. We performed the same test with a multinomial logistic regression for the PAC funding status by candidate race and gender using the same covariates. The p-value for the chi-squared test statistic was 0.413.

For this question, please select the word green.
(0) Red
(1) Yellow
(2) Blue
(3) Green

Vignette Page 2

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following assessments of the candidate.
Columns:
(3) Strongly agree
(2) Agree
(1) Somewhat agree
(0) Neutral
(-1) Somewhat disagree
(-2) Disagree
(-3) Strongly disagree
Rows:
He(She) seems like an ethical politician.
He(She) seems like he's working for people like me.
He(She) could win a primary race in my political party.
He(She) seems to care more about donors than voters.
He(She) appears to have the skills and experience necessary to win.
He(She) appears to be a corrupt politician.

Note: Candidate pronouns reflected the gender of the candidate profile (i.e., he for the Black male and White male; she for the Black female and White female).

Demographic questions follow

B: Respondent Demographics, Random Assignment, and Attention Checks

As a check to the random assignment to experimental condition, respondents were asked for demographic information including gender, age, political party, education, and employment status. Respondents were also asked for background information about political behavior including whether they had ever donated to or volunteered for a political campaign and whether they voted in the 2020 or 2016 elections. Significance tests indicate that none of these demographic or background variables differ significantly across experimental conditions. Table B1 presents the unweighted demographic statistics for the respondents in the final sample. Respondents were 53% male and almost 50% holds a 4 year degree. Sixty-five percent report being employed full-time. More than 60% of respondents were between the ages of 25 and 44. The response pool did skew liberal with 49% Democratic, 25% Republican, 19% Independent, and 6% other parties. We confirmed that random assignment successfully sorted respondents randomly into each of the 8 conditions.

To avoid low-quality responses from survey responders, social scientists can implement a number of survey features and checks (Ahler, Roush, and Sood 2021). Before starting the survey, reCaptcha was used to ensure Mturk workers were not using automated software to respond. The survey instrument contained 3 additional checks (2 in-survey questions and a time limit) to flag respondents who sped through the questions. Eight-hundred responses were dropped for failing these checks, which means an attrition rate of nearly 30%. The bulk of attrition (643 or 25%) was the result of dropping responses for being too short (under 3 minutes). Responses under three minutes did not receive payment. Therefore, it would be unethical to use responses for which respondents had not been paid. As we managed data quality as it pertains to the quality of the responses, we were also concerned about high attrition rates. On further inspection, we found

that many responses between 2 and 3 minutes may have been of sufficient quality to use (for instance, respondents passed attention checks and were not missing values on dependent variables). If we had dropped only responses from respondents who took less than 2 minutes, the attrition rate would have been 11%. However, data collected from respondents working so quickly could be of questionable quality (Ahler, Roush, and Sood 2021). We found that attrition was proportional across conditions. Therefore, we expect that random assignment and dropping too-short responses reduced the potentially biasing effect of respondents who did not take the time to thoroughly read and respond to questions.

Table B1: Demographic Statistics for Respondents

Variable	Obs	%
gender		
male	860	53%
female	788	47%
non-binary	14	<1%
declined to answer	4	<1%
party		
Republican	421	25%
Democrat	823	49%
Independent	324	19%
others or none	98	6%
education		
less than high school	6	<1%
high school grad	129	8%
some college	304	18%
2 yr degree	171	10%
4 yr degree	765	46%
post-grad degree	288	17%
declined to answer	3	<1%

employment		
full-time	1079	65%
part-time	253	15%
unemployed (looking)	83	5%
unemployed (not looking)	74	4%
retired	99	6%
student	56	3%
disabled	22	1%
age		
18-24	99	6%
25-34	561	34%
35-44	461	28%
45-54	252	15%
55-64	201	12%
65-74	80	5%
75-84	11	<1%
declined to answer	1	<1%
	1666	

C: Model Estimates

In this section, we present numeric results for the regressions used to create the graphs in the text. Table C1 displays the results for the unconditional models with the treatment (PAC-free or funded condition) predicting the respective outcomes. Table C2 displays the results for the conditional model with the treatment interacted with the race and gender of the candidate.

Table C1: Linear Regression For PAC Funding Status Predicting Outcomes

b (se)	Ethical	Corrupt	ForThePeople	ForDonors	Winner	Skilled
PAC-free	0.36***	-0.31***	0.32***	-0.58***	0.18**	0.22***
	(0.06)	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Constant	1.13***	-0.85***	1.00***	0.13*	1.09***	1.21***
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.04)
F	36.53***	14.58***	23.47***	53.03***	7.69**	13.02***

F-statistic is based on Wald test to determine if, for each candidate, the PAC-free and funded coefficients are significantly different from each other. The coefficient for the PAC-free estimate is also equal to the (AME) for refusing PAC funds.
* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table C2: Linear Regression For Interaction Between PAC Status and Candidate Race and Gender Predicting Outcomes

b (se)	Ethical	Corrupt	ForThePeople	ForDonors	Winner	Skilled
PAC-free	0.22	-0.36*	0.17	-0.75***	0	0.09
	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)
White Male	-0.23	0.14	-0.24	0.08	-0.19	-0.12
	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)
Black Female	0.07	-0.13	-0.07	-0.07	-0.18	-0.13
	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)
White Female	-0.18	0.14	-0.19	0.11	-0.24	-0.14
	(0.12)	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)
PAC-free # White Male	0.24	0.13	0.26	0.26	0.27	0.16
	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.17)
PAC-free # Black Female	-0.05	0.23	0.05	0.48*	0.04	0.02
	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.17)
PAC-free # White Female	0.39*	-0.18	0.3	-0.09	0.41*	0.34*
	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.17)
Constant	1.22***	-0.89***	1.13***	0.1	1.25***	1.30***
	(0.08)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.08)
F	3.48*	1.65	1.03	3.20*	2.03	1.85
AME						
Black Male	0.218	-0.363*	0.171	-0.75***	0	0.087
White Male	0.455***	-0.235	0.427***	-0.49**	0.271*	0.249*
Black Female	0.17	-0.128	0.219	-0.268	0.043	0.104
White Female	0.612***	-0.539***	0.47***	-0.838	0.412**	0.428***

F-statistic is based on Wald test to determine if the interaction between treatment and candidate race-gender is significantly different from zero. The Average Marginal Effect (AME) is calculated as the difference between PAC-free and Funded conditions for each candidate.
* $p<0.05$, ** $p<0.01$, *** $p<0.001$

D: Candidate Profiles

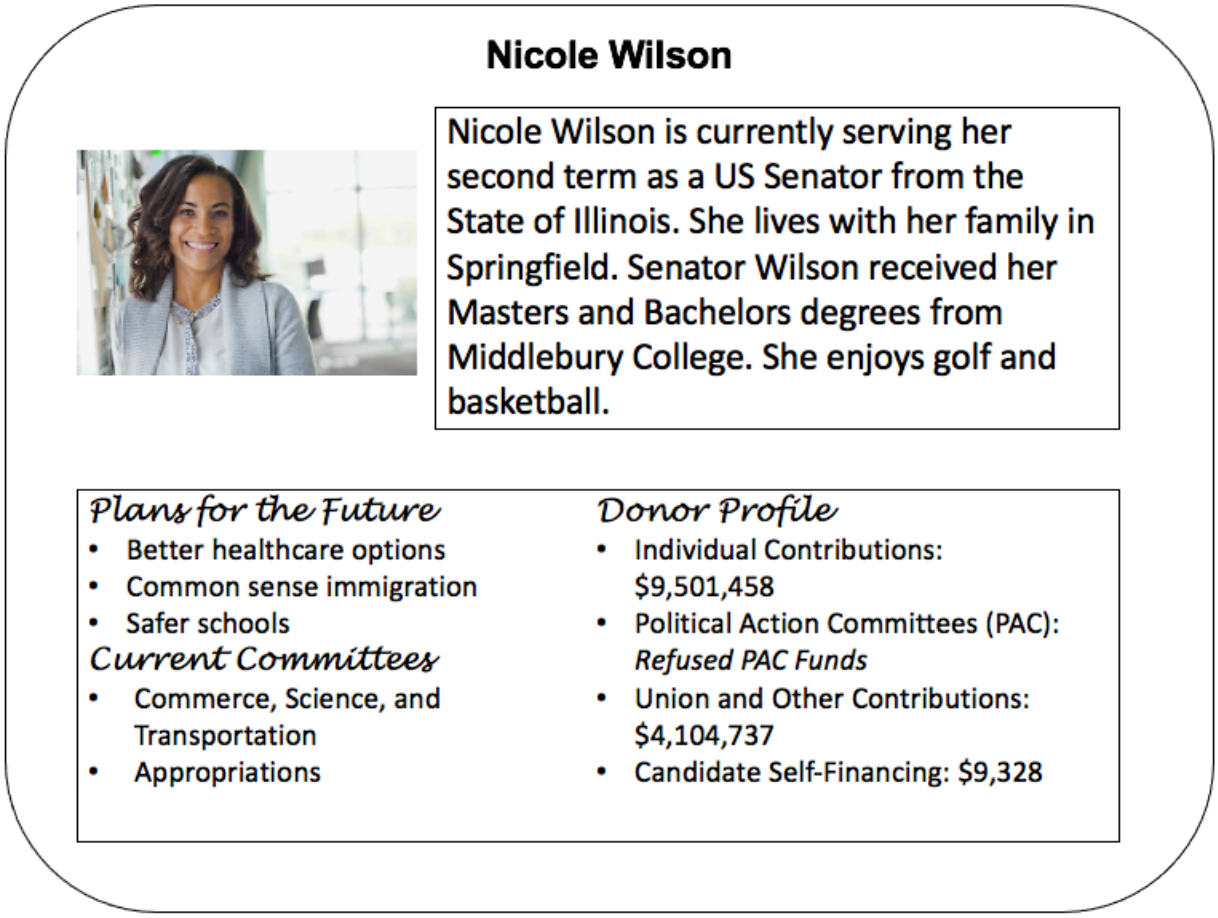

Fig. D1: PAC-free Black Female Sample Profile

Nicole Wilson

Nicole Wilson is currently serving her second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. She lives with her family in Springfield. Senator Wilson received her Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. She enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): $9,446,128
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D2: Funded Black Female Sample Profile

Joseph Thomas

Joseph Thomas is currently serving his second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. He lives with his family in Springfield. Senator Thomas received his Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. He enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

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Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): $9,446,128
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D3: Funded Black Male Sample Profile

Joseph Thomas

Joseph Thomas is currently serving his second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. He lives with his family in Springfield. Senator Thomas received his Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. He enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): *Refused PAC Funds*
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D4: PAC-Free Black Male Sample Profile

Joseph Thomas

Joseph Thomas is currently serving his second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. He lives with his family in Springfield. Senator Thomas received his Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. He enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): $9,446,128
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D5: Funded White Male Sample Profile

Joseph Thomas

Joseph Thomas is currently serving his second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. He lives with his family in Springfield. Senator Thomas received his Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. He enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): *Refused PAC Funds*
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D6: PAC-Free White Male Sample Profile

Nicole Wilson

Nicole Wilson is currently serving her second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. She lives with her family in Springfield. Senator Wilson received her Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. She enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): $9,446,128
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D7: Funded White Female Sample Profile

Nicole Wilson

Nicole Wilson is currently serving her second term as a US Senator from the State of Illinois. She lives with her family in Springfield. Senator Wilson received her Masters and Bachelors degrees from Middlebury College. She enjoys golf and basketball.

Plans for the Future

- Better healthcare options
- Common sense immigration
- Safer schools

Current Committees

- Commerce, Science, and Transportation
- Appropriations

Donor Profile

- Individual Contributions: $9,501,458
- Political Action Committees (PAC): *Refused PAC Funds*
- Union and Other Contributions: $4,104,737
- Candidate Self-Financing: $9,328

Fig. D8: PAC-Free White Female Sample Profile

E: Replication Materials

The data and code need to replicate the findings presented in the main text and appendices are available in the enclosed Stata files:

- DudleyNeff_Cleaned.dta. This file contains the observations used in the final sample.
- DudleyNeff_ATE.do. This file contains the Stata code needed to produce the treatment effects and summary statistics presented in the paper and appendices, including graphs and tables.