

The Contribution Conundrum of Republican Female Congressional Donors

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Although the number of female congressional donors has grown overtime, Republican female donors have significantly lagged behind Democratic female donors. For example, according to Open Secrets, Republican female donors made up just 24 percent of all major female donors who contributed to a candidate or party in 2020. Previous work points to the fact that Democratic female donors are more networked and are drawn to contribute in support of the larger number of female congressional candidates who run for office as Democrats. However, it does not explain why Republican female donors who do contribute, do so in the absence of such benefits, especially when it comes to making contributions to congressional campaigns. Using donors' responses to the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies of 2016 and 2018 in a series of logistic models, we investigate policy differences between Republican and Democratic female congressional donors in order to explain what drives existing Republican women to contribute. The results suggest Republican female donors are motivated to contribute by a distinct set of policy concerns, which overlap with the policy concerns of male donors in their party, but are not the same in some instances—particularly in regards to gun control. Additionally, unlike female Democratic donors, female Republican donors are not drawn to contribute to congressional races because of more gender-specific issues, like abortion or sexism concerns. We theorize the current homogeneity of Republican female donors' preferences does more to polarize the Republican Party's donor pool than moderate it.

The number of female political donors has been increasing overtime. According to data from the Center for Responsive Politics, the number of female donors rose from 382,747 in 2012 to over 1.4 million in 2020. Although the number of female Republican donors has followed this increase, their numbers lag well behind the number of Democratic female donors. In 2016, 155,305 women contributed more than \$200 to Republican candidates or party committees whereas 368,068 women contributed the same to Democratic candidates or party committees. In 2020, 292,159 women contributed to Republican candidates and party committees but 972,783 women supported Democratic candidates and party committees. The fact that fewer women contribute to political campaigns in the Republican Party is a well-documented trend since the 1980s (Sideny, Verba, Schlozman, Brady 1995; Brown, Powell, and Wilcox 1995; Francia, Green, Herrnson, Powell, and Wilcox 2003).

Two primary explanations have been proposed for this disparity. First, female donors in the Republican party are less incentivized to contribute because the Republican party has fewer female candidates and party leaders prioritize candidate ideology over other candidate characteristics (Thomsen and Swers 2017). Second, female donor networks are weaker in the Republican party making it less likely that Republican female donors will utilize gender considerations when contributing (Crespin and Deitz 2010; Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman 2018). While these factors certainly help explain some of the disparity, the likelihood that there is more to this story is high. In particular, what motivates existing Republican female congressional donors to contribute in the absence of the networking benefits enjoyed by Democratic female donors remains unclear. Do their policy preferences differ from male congressional donors in their party and do those differences help explain their participation? How much do the policy preferences of Republican female congressional donors differ from

Democratic female congressional donors and what do those differences tell us about their participation?

Female Congressional Donors

Early studies of political donors identified a gender gap between men and women when it came to making campaign contributions (Verba, Schlozman, Brady 1995; Brown, Powell, and Wilcox 1995). Francia, Green, Herrnson, Powell, and Wilcox (2003)'s study of congressional donors also revealed a gender gap in both frequency of participation and in motivations for contributing.¹ Francia et. al.'s (2003) 1996 congressional donor survey demonstrated women are less driven by material benefits and are more likely to contribute in pursuit of purposive goals in accordance with specific issues, like abortion rights and environmental protections (55). This early survey also showed higher participation rates for Democratic women along with indications this might be because of more developed fundraising networks within the Democratic Party, maintained by groups such as EMILY's list (87). Subsequent studies have confirmed that interest group organizations in Democratic party help elect Democratic female candidates and promote women's rights more generally by providing donors with clear targets for their contributions and a means to channel contributions to those targets (Thompsen and Swers 2015; Crespin and Dietz 2010). Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman (2015) further find that Republican donors are not aware of similar PACs and women's organizations in the Republican Party, such as the Susan B. Anthony list.

¹ Subsequent studies confirmed lower participation by Republican women in presidential political contributing (Magleby, Goodliffe, and Olsen 2018).

While structural asymmetries are likely culprits for the ongoing gender gap's prevalence in the Republican Party, it may also be the case that for Republican female donors, their party identity dominates their motivations more so than gendered considerations and that this is due to ideological asymmetries between the two parties. Previous work suggests Republican congressional donors are different from Democratic congressional donors. Not only are Republican donors more ideologically homogenous (Grossman and Hopkins 2016), they are also less likely to contribute to their parties' national committees and more likely to contribute directly to congressional candidates (La Raja and Schaffner 2018) because they perceive "large differences between the Republican Party and Republican candidates for Congress" (52)—this results in their contributing directly to candidates "by a margin of 3 to 1" (52). Republican congressional donors also tended to be more highly conservative than more moderate contributors who do supply monies to the Republican national committees (La Raja and Schaffner 2018). Using the 1996 congressional donor survey, Grossman and Hopkins (2016) confirm that Republican congressional donors are more likely to rate the candidate's ideology as an important motivation for giving and in general to agree that donors are motivated by ideological goals—and Thomsen and Swers (2017) find this is specifically true for Republican female donors. Thus, we can expect female congressional donors in the Republican Party to be more conservative than female Republican voters and, possibly, other female Republican donors who target their contributing to other candidates and interest group organizations. And we can expect them to be more likely to prioritize the ideological orientations of the candidates they support more so than their gender identities.

While there are no studies of heterogeneity among female donors, Barnes and Cassese's (2016) examination of the gender gap among female citizens provides some additional guidance

about expectations when coupled with the known differences between donors in each party that have already been discussed. Using data from the American National Election Study in 2012 (ANES), Barnes and Cassese (2016) find Republican women are more moderate than Republican men with respect to subsidized child care, education spending, health care, gay rights, and the millionaire tax. Additionally, they discovered an especially large gap for gun control with Republican women much more disposed to support it. They uncovered no significant differences between Republican female and male citizens on abortion, defense spending, or immigration but when they compared female and male Republican primary voters, they found females to be more conservative on abortion than males. In a closer examination of heterogeneity among Republican women using both mediation analysis and structural equation modeling (SEM), they attribute the differences they uncover between Republican men and women to beliefs about the appropriate scope of government, with women being more supportive of government intervention, and views of modern sexism—specifically, “a belief that gender-based inequality is due to women’s personal choices rather than systematic discrimination” (Cassese blog post; Barnes and Cassese 2016). This study provides good reason to expect female Republican congressional donors will be more moderate than male Republican congressional donors on at least some issues, such as gun control and healthcare. That said, Republican female donors, like all donors, are more politically engaged and ideologically extreme than Republican females in the electorate. Thus, it is reasonable to expect to see large gaps between Democratic and Republican female congressional donors on many of the same issues and even instances when Republican female

donors are actually more conservative than Republican male congressional donors, especially when it comes to views of modern sexism.²

Data and Methods

Using data from the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) of 2016 and 2018, we examine how policy and partisan preferences differ between Republican female congressional donors and Democratic female congressional donors as well as between Republican female congressional donors and Republican male congressional donors. We utilize a series of logistic regressions to determine how these preferences correspond to membership in each group so that group differences can be compared and so that the decision to contribute to a congressional campaign by each group of donors can be better understood. For these models, we employ the subpopulation of political donors in the survey sample³, in addition to the application of the usual survey weights—this means the models that are run are restricted to the specified donor population but the standard errors are calculated based upon the entire survey sample. While there is considerable overlap in the questions posed on each survey, we also include models utilizing a few questions which were only asked on the CCES of 2018. The first dependent variable represents partisan differences between female congressional donors with Republican female donors coded 1, and Democratic female donors coded 0; for the second dependent variable, Republican female congressional donors are coded 1 and Republican male congressional donors are coded 0.

² Other differences should arise not simply because the study by Barnes and Cassese (2016) examines opinions in the electorate but also because the policy questions on the Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES) differ from those on ANES.

³ We use the option “subpop” in Stata.

These choices are intentional as the outcome variable reflects both a behavior, the choice to contribute to a congressional campaign, as well as group membership. The logic is to see if issue positions affect the likelihood of contributing and in the case of the first set of models, contributing to one team or the other. In effect, when the predicted probabilities are examined, the distance between the opinions of both groups will be clear as well as what leads an individual to contribute as a Republican female donor. It is important to note that not only are specific issues examined but specific sub-positions under the heading of larger issues, such as abortion at 20 weeks or solutions to immigration, such as a border wall, are in question. This means that the likelihood of one very specific issue stance drastically impacting the probability of a Republican female contributing to a congressional campaign will be low based upon the fact that someone's behavior can rarely be attributed to one very specific stance and only that stance within a particular issue category. In other words, someone might be pro-life and that might drive behavior but once nuances in the law are examined we can expect that probability to be watered down a bit in terms of its influence on behavior even for strong single-issue individuals. The good news is that the models can tell us if our respondents have nuanced views within larger issue categories that might reflect more moderation than simple questions about immigration or abortion might cover up. This nuance is important for our purposes because we want to see if Republican female congressional donors are uniformly aligned with their party's issue positions or whether they in fact reflect greater issue heterogeneity than male Republican congressional donors in their party. We are also examining whether, on some issues, they might not be so distant from Democratic female donors who contribute to congressional campaigns as one might imagine for this set of Republicans. If so, this would be surprising because previous research suggests these Republican female donors likely rank among the most conservative donors in the

Party, because they are congressional donors (La Raja and Schaffner 2016; Grossman and Hopkins 2016).

We include a number of control variables in all of the models. Whether or not someone chooses to contribute to a campaign is often dependent upon their income (*Family Income*) and ideological preferences (*Ideology*). Previous work suggests donors are often wealthier and more ideologically extreme than the average voter. Additionally, we include a dummy variable representing the race of the donor (*Minority*)—although most campaign donors are white, in the Democratic Party a larger share of minorities contributes than in the Republican Party (Magleby et al. 2018). Congressional donors in both parties tend to be older (Francia et al 2003), and thus age is also included. Another important predictor of political contributing is political engagement. We utilized a two-parameter logistic item response model to create my measure of political engagement. We include four component terms indicating whether the respondent: 1) attended a political meeting in the past year or not; 2) volunteered for a campaign over the past year; 3) displayed a political sign during the past year; and 4) is interested in the news most of the time (*Political Engagement*).⁴ The higher the respondent's latent score the more politically engaged the respondent is. Party contributing also makes it more likely the donor will contribute to Democratic congressional campaigns but less likely to contribute to Republican congressional campaigns (La Raja and Schaffner 2016)—thus, total party contributions are included as a control (*Party Contributions*). Interest group contributions are also added as donors who are more integrated into the Extended Party Network (Desmarais, La Raja, and Kowal 2015, 194; Koger, Masket, and Noel 2009), including those who are members and contributors to multiple interest group organizations, are more likely to contribute to congressional campaigns, although

⁴ See similarly constructed scale in Rhodes et. al. (2016).

partisan differences in this behavior are not yet fully known (Baker 2021; Francia et. al. 2003; *Interest Group Contributions*). Lastly, the importance of religion to the respondent may also impact their motivation to contribute to congressional campaigns, especially in the case of Republican donors contributing to Republican candidates (*Religion Importance*).

Using these control variables along with the dependent variables described above, we examine group differences across six policy areas, including abortion, immigration, the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals Act (DACA), healthcare, gun control, and the environment in separate logistic models for each policy position. We also employ two questions about feminism. For the policy questions, the 2016 and 2018 CCESs divided what was formerly one question with a single ordinal scale response into multiple questions for each policy area with the response options being to support or oppose the policy position in the question. In the case of abortion, the questions we utilize ask whether abortions should be made illegal, whether they should be permitted in instances of rape or incest, whether they should be banned after the 20th week of pregnancy, whether employers should be allowed to decline coverage of abortions, and whether women always should be allowed to have access to abortions as a matter of choice. The first immigration question from the 2018 CCES we utilize asks whether an additional \$25 billion should be spent on border security including building a wall between the US and Mexico. There was not a similar question about the wall on the 2016 CCES but it did include a question asking whether border security should be increased. As the policy outcomes of both approaches are effectively similar, have chosen to merge these two questions.⁵ The second immigration question relates to DACA asking if child born in the US to undocumented parents should be given a

⁵ This is the only instance in which two questions on each survey were the most dissimilar. The rest of the questions are either worded the same way or are worded very similarly. For a few questions, they are only included on the CCES of 2018 as noted above.

pathway to citizens in 10 years if they “meet citizenship requirements and commit no crimes.” The DACA questions differed slightly in their wording between the two surveys but addressed the same issue quite clearly and thus, the responses were pooled together. Additionally, we utilize three questions on healthcare asking whether the Affordable Care Act should be repealed; whether it should be partially repealed in terms of removing individual mandates; and whether it should be partially repealed by removing individual mandates and reducing payments to Medicaid by 25 percent. We also employ three different gun control questions, respectively asking about background checks for all gun sales, banning assault style rifles, and whether the government should make it easier for people to obtain concealed-carry gun permits. Lastly, three different environmental policy questions from both surveys are used asking whether the EPA should have the power to regulate carbon dioxide emissions, whether the EPA should be able to strengthen its enforcement of the Clear Air and Water Acts even if it costs jobs, and whether the government should lower the required fuel efficiency for average automobile from 35mpg to 25mpg. To round out our inquiry and to determine if gendered views are in play for Republican female donors, we also include two questions about sexism from the 2018 CCES. The first question asks whether the respondent strongly agrees or strongly disagrees on a 5 point ordinal scale if when women lose to men in fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against. This scale was flipped so that higher numbers represent the conservative response of strongly agree. Posing the same ordinal response options, the second sexism question asks whether feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men. Higher numbers already represent the conservative position of strongly agree that feminist demands are not reasonable.

In the sample, there are 634 Republican female donors who contributed to congressional campaigns. Among all 2,195 Republican female donors in the sample, 28 percent contributed

directly to congressional candidates, 36 percent contributed to a party committee, and 13 percent contributed to an interest group.

Results

The first set of models examines the predicted probabilities associated with being a Republican female congressional donor as opposed to a Democratic female congressional donor based upon the respondent's issue positions. They are displayed in Table 1 and Figures 1-?. These results will be compared issue by issue with the probabilities associated with being a Republican female congressional donor rather than a Republican male congressional donor. The results for this second set of models appear in Table 2 and Figures 1-?.

On the issue of abortion, the strongest driver for a Republican female making a contribution to a congressional campaign among all of the positions provided on abortion is opposing the federal government's funding of abortions. This issue position is associated with a 21 percent predicted probability of contributing, all else equal. Additionally, those supporting the position that employers should be allowed to decline coverage of abortions had an 18 percent probability of contributing. That said, Republican female congressional donors are closer to Democratic female congressional donors than one might imagine with only a 16 percent probability of contributing for those saying women should never be allowed to have an abortion and an 8 percent difference between those supporting and opposing always allowing women to have abortions (see Figure 1). And these mixed results align well when male and female Republican congressional donors are compared. In fact, in Table 2 it is clear, although conservative stances on abortion policy strongly predict being a Republican female congressional donor, there are some exceptions. Thirty-six percent of those contributing oppose

only permitting abortions in the case of rape and incest versus 26 percent who support this restriction. Similarly, 36 percent oppose allowing employers' to decline abortion coverage of abortions whereas 29 percent support this denial of coverage. Those opposing both issue stances have a higher probability of contributing as Republican females suggesting they are slightly more moderate than Republican males when it comes to the particulars of abortion regulations (see Table 2)—in other words, female donors are not fully aligned with male donors on every type of abortion-related restriction.

With regard to immigration, those in support of more border security have a 22 percent chance of contributing to a congressional campaign as a Republican woman and only 7 percent chance of contributing for those who oppose this, suggesting a wide gap exists on the issue for Democratic and Republican female congressional donors. When male and female Republican congressional donors are compared, there is no difference between them on this issue. Both results suggest female Republican donors are aligning with their party on this issue. However, on the issue of DACA providing a pathway for citizenship to those who were born in the United States, the difference between those supporting and opposing was only 5 percent (see Table 1) suggesting more moderation on this issue for Republican female congressional donors—in other words, they are closer to Democratic female donors on this issue, and, they are 4 percent more likely to support a pathway to citizenship as a reason for contributing than Republican male congressional donors (see Table 2).

For healthcare, those hoping to repeal the Affordable Care Act had a 24 percent chance of contributing to a congressional campaign as a Republican female donor. At first blush, this would appear to be a clear driver of contributing but follow-up questions about supporting repeals of only parts of ACA revealed slightly lower predicted probabilities of 17 and 18 percent

associated with contributing for Republican female donors suggesting that their stances on healthcare are more nuanced. They also opposed repealing portions of it at slightly higher rates than Republican men (9 and 8 percent respectively)—although it is unclear whether this means they did not like the reforms in question or whether they simply supported an outright repeal.

On gun control, Republican female congressional donors appear to be closer to Democratic female congressional donors than Republican male congressional donors (see Tables 1 and 2). Supporting or opposing background checks and banning assault rifles did not strongly predict contributing as a Republican female donor in contrast to contributing as a Democratic female donor. Support for making concealed carrying easier was associated with a 20 percent chance of contributing as a Republican female donor but it is fair to say that depending upon the policy solution, the likelihood of contributing varies quite a bit. And in contrast to Republican male congressional donors, female donors were much more supportive of background checks with those supporting those checks exhibiting a 34 percent chance of contributing. Similarly, they were much more supportive of banning assault rifles with a position in support of the ban associated with a 40 percent probability of contributing. On these two gun control issues, Republican women were much more moderate than Republican men (see Table 2). The only gun related issue in which there appeared to be more overlap between Republican men and women was the issue of making concealed carry easier—support or opposition to this stance made little difference in the probability of contributing as a female or male Republican congressional donor (see Table 2).

For environmental issues, some of the largest differences in the probability of contributing to congressional campaigns as a Republican female donor as opposed to a Democratic female donor are uncovered. Those opposing EPA regulations of CO₂ emissions and

the EPA strengthening regulation of clean air and water standards were respectively 22 percent more likely to contribute and 24 percent more likely to contribute as a Republican female donor (see Table 1). The only exception was for reducing fuel efficiency standards in automobiles. Opposition to vehicles with lower fuel efficiency increased the chance of contributing as a Republican female. Conversely, these issues also did not strongly differentiate the likelihood of being a female or male Republican congressional contributor (see Table 2). The results suggest Republican male and female donors were similarly supportive of having fuel efficient vehicles and against EPA regulations for CO₂, water and air.

For the sexism questions, those who strongly agreed that when women lose to men, they complain it was discrimination had an 11 percent higher chance of contributing as a Republican woman than those who strongly disagreed (see Table 1). And they were 11 percent more likely to strongly disagree that feminists have reasonable demands (see Table 1). When men and women are compared, the results are mixed (see Table 2). Those who strongly disagree that women complain and use discrimination as an excuse are 9 percent more likely to contribute as a Republican woman than those who strongly agree suggesting Republican women are more likely to disagree than Republican men. But as for views of feminism, those strongly disagreeing feminists have reasonable demands are 8 percent more likely to contribute as Republican women—this implies Republican female donors have a slightly more conservative view of feminism than Republican male donors.

Differing Issue Stances, But Still Ideologically Loyal

When thinking about the policy space which Republican female congressional donors occupy, it is useful to consider the policies where the results showed they diverge from their

Party and where they align with their Party in respect to whether those stances ultimately lead them to contribute. In terms of divergence, they were more moderate on certain abortion stances but this did not include federal funding of abortions. They were also more moderate in regard to DACA and on certain gun control issues. However, they aligned more closely with their Party on healthcare, border security, and environmental regulation—this is interesting given Barnes and Cassese’s (2016) examination of the gender gap in the Republican Party, which showed a bit more tolerance for government intervention among female Republicans than male Republicans in policy areas like education and healthcare. Further, these results—including support for repealing ACA, opposition federal funding of abortions, and opposition to greater EPA enforcement—are all about limiting government intervention and arose as the leading drivers of contributing. Support for greater border security was the only policy in which government intervention was viewed positively as a reason to contribute. And it makes sense that more extreme issue stances would be greater drivers of contributing than more moderate issue stances.

Additionally, this set of issues makes it clear that female Republican congressional donors are not using a gendered lens as part of their choice to contribute. Even for abortion, the issue appears to be more about federal funding and government involvement than the individual choice to have an abortion—the stance that women should never be allowed to have abortions did not significantly affect the probability of contributing as a Republican versus Democratic female congressional donor. Republican female congressional donors’ positions on sexism confirm this finding which is in keeping with previous studies (Barnes and Cassese 2016). They were much more conservative than Democratic female donors concerning women citing sexual discrimination as an excuse when they fail and the reasonableness of feminism. And in the case of their overall view of feminism, they were more conservative than male congressional donors

in their Party. In sum, this set of female donors appears to be contributing primarily based upon the areas where they find issue alignment with their Party. And, as mentioned, all of the issues where alignment arose are also linked to the conservative goal of reducing the “size and scope of government” suggesting that these donors reflect the party asymmetry uncovered by previous studies revealing activists and donors in the Republican Party to be mainly concerned with “ideological fidelity” rather than “single-issue causes” or “demographic representation” as in the case of Democratic donors and activists (Grossman and Hopkins 2016, 115).

Yet despite growing ideological homogeneity in the Republican Party and the fact that Republican female congressional donors certainly remain loyal to aspects of that ideology, the results suggest a degree of heterogeneity in their issue preferences. Although their moderate issue stances are not major drivers of their chances of contributing, the substantive effects are still significant. This is surprising given that these female donors are not ideologically moderate members of the Party per se when their overall ideological positions are considered. In this sample, their average score on the five-point ideological scale is 4.07 versus 4.05 for Republican male congressional donors and 3.94 for Republican women who do not make political contributions. As the Republican Party becomes more ideologically homogenous and party asymmetry grows (Grossman and Hopkins 2016; La Raja and Schaffner 2015), this raises the question of whether the policy space that would be needed to attract more female activists and donors is also shrinking. It is still reasonable to assume that Republican women might participate more and contribute more frequently if Republican candidates were not so ideologically homogeneous, let alone gender homogeneous.

More broadly, if we examine these women as donors in comparison to other donors, they are similar to other congressional donors in their Party in that they are not likely to be either

party contributors or interest group contributors. These control variables were not significant in almost all of the models. Both findings suggest a disconnect from the sort of network observed in the Democratic Party by previous studies (Crowder-Meyer and Cooperman 2018; Crespin and Deitz 2010; Francia et. al. 2003). Conversely, they differ from male Republican congressional donors in terms of the importance religion has on their probability of contributing. They are 18 percent more likely to contribute if they say religion is very important versus not important at all. This result is surprising given their relative moderation on the issue of abortion. It may be the case that as the fight over abortion has shifted to the state-level, Republican female donors do not associate it strongly with their decision to contribute to specific congressional candidates and those candidates may be more likely to be pro-life by default as polarization has increased (Kreitzer, Matthews, and Schilling 2021). The timing of the survey in 2016 and 2018 may also impact the relevance of abortion as an issue—with a Republican President elected and a Republican majority in the Senate, judicial nominations were no longer a major concern. For both of these reasons, these donors may have moved on from the issue of abortion to focus on other issue areas in which conservatives might view limiting the role of government to be a priority. Additional data would be needed to confirm this theory.

Although the number of female Republican donors is increasing overtime, almost doubling between 2016 and 2020, it is not clear how much of this increase can be attributed to the efforts of the Trump campaign and the National Republican Committee, which did heavily target female donors during Trump’s re-election bid in 2020 with some success (Orr 2019). And despite these increases, women continue to make-up a minority of donors, particularly at the congressional level. In 2018, for example, female donors made up just 28 percent of donors to Republican female candidates and 25 percent of donors to Republican male congressional

candidates (Haley 2018). This statistic also underscores that Republican female donors care more about the candidate's ideology than candidate's gender at least in congressional races. In contrast, being a female congressional candidate provides fundraising gains in the Democratic Party (Crespin and Deitz 2010, Thomsen and Swers 2017). There is also some evidence that female Republican donors tend to support "even more conservative candidates than male Republican donors" (Swers and Thomsen 2017). But these are the women who are already participating and the results suggest their participation revolves around issues they are against that mostly relate to reducing government intervention in different policy areas rather than offering them a set of issues they can support, like certain gun control measures. And this may be indicative of the ways in which party asymmetry leaves other non-participating conservative women behind, although only additional surveys can confirm whether this is the case. In the meantime, this set of female donors appears to be contributing more to the polarization of their Party, than moderating it. But nuances in their underlying issue preferences point to the possibility that an expanding female Republican donor pool would broaden the policy space occupied by the Party and generate more heterogeneity of candidates and issues in the process.

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Table 1: Republican Female Congressional Donors Versus Democratic Female Congressional Donors, Predicted Probabilities

Main Independent Variables	Support	Oppose	Absolute Difference
Never Abortion	16%	16%	0%
Rape/Incest	17%	13%	4%
Ban After 20th Week	16%	11%	5%
Employer Decline Coverage	18%	10%	8%
Prohibit Federal Funds for Abortion	21%	10%	11%
Always Allow Abortion	12%	20%	8%
More Border Security	22%	7%	15%
DACA pathway to citizenship	14%	19%	5%
Repeal ACA	24%	7%	17%
Repeal Parts of ACA (2018 only)	17%	14%	3%
Repeal Parts of ACA plus lower taxes (2018 only)	18%	13%	5%
Require Background Checks for Gun Purchases	16%	16%	0%
Make Conceal Carry Easier	20%	12%	8%
Ban Assault Rifles	14%	20%	6%
EPA Regulate CO2 Emissions	11%	22%	11%
Strengthen EPA regulation air and water	8%	24%	16%
Reduce Fuel Efficiency Auto Standards	11%	21%	10%
Sexism 1: When they lose to men, women complain it was discrimination			
Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree	10%	21%	11%
Sexism 2: Feminists have reasonable demands			
Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree	9%	20%	11%

NOTE: DV = 1 if Republican female congressional donor and 0 for Democratic female congressional donors; Sexism questions have scales with higher vales representing conservative positions (2018 only)

Table 2: Republican Female Congressional Donors Versus Republican Male Congressional Donors, Predicted Probabilities

Main Independent Variables	Support	Oppose	Absolute Difference
Never Abortion	32%	30%	2%
Rape/Incest	26%	36%	10%
Ban After 20th Week	30%	31%	1%
Employer Decline Coverage	29%	36%	7%
Prohibit Federal Funds for Abortion	30%	28%	2%
Always Allow Abortion	31%	31%	0%
More Border Security	31%	31%	0%
DACA pathway to citizenship	33%	29%	4%
Repeal ACA	30%	32%	2%
Repeal Parts of ACA (2018 only)	25%	34%	9%
Repeal Parts of ACA plus lower taxes (2018 only)	26%	34%	8%
Require Background Checks for Gun Purchases	34%	21%	13%
Make Conceal Carry Easier	30%	32%	2%
Ban Assault Rifles	40%	27%	13%
EPA Regulate CO2 Emissions	30%	31%	1%
Strengthen EPA regulation air and water	29%	31%	2%
Reduce Fuel Efficiency Auto Standards	30%	31%	1%
Sexism 1: When they lose to men, women complain it was discrimination			
Strongly Disagree to Strongly Agree	36%	27%	9%
Sexism 2: Feminists have reasonable demands			
Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree	24%	32%	8%

NOTE: DV = 1 if Republican female congressional donor and 0 for Republican male congressional donors; Sexism questions have scales with higher vales representing conservative positions (2018 only)

Figure 1: Abortion, GOP Versus Dem Female Congressional Donors Predicted Probabilities

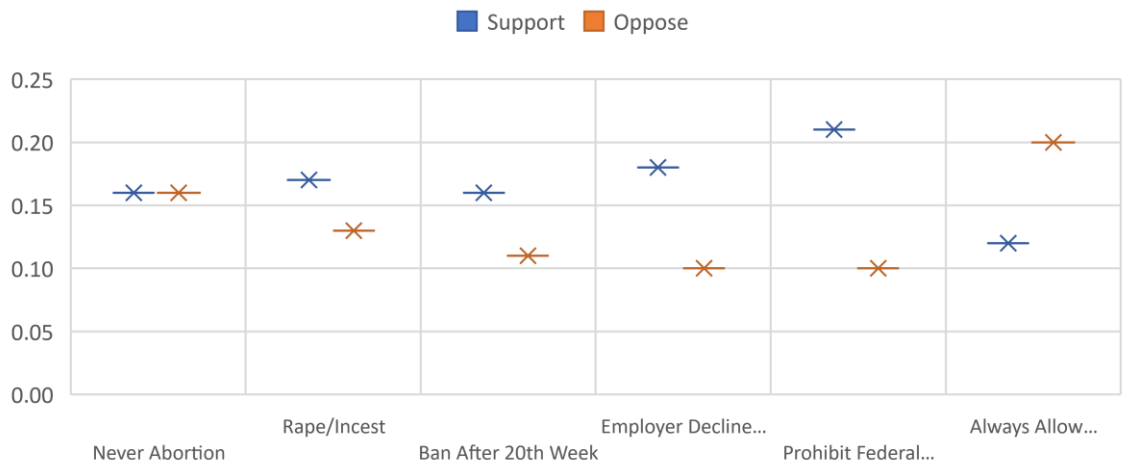
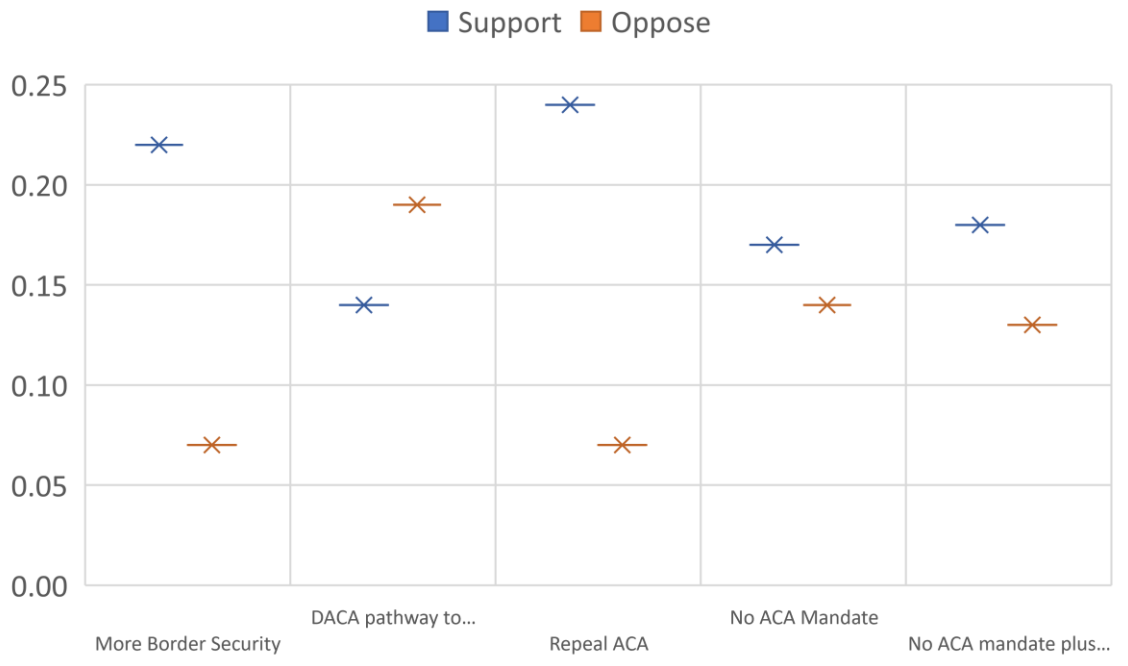


Figure 2: Immigration and Healthcare Dem v. GOP Female Donors Predicted Probabilities



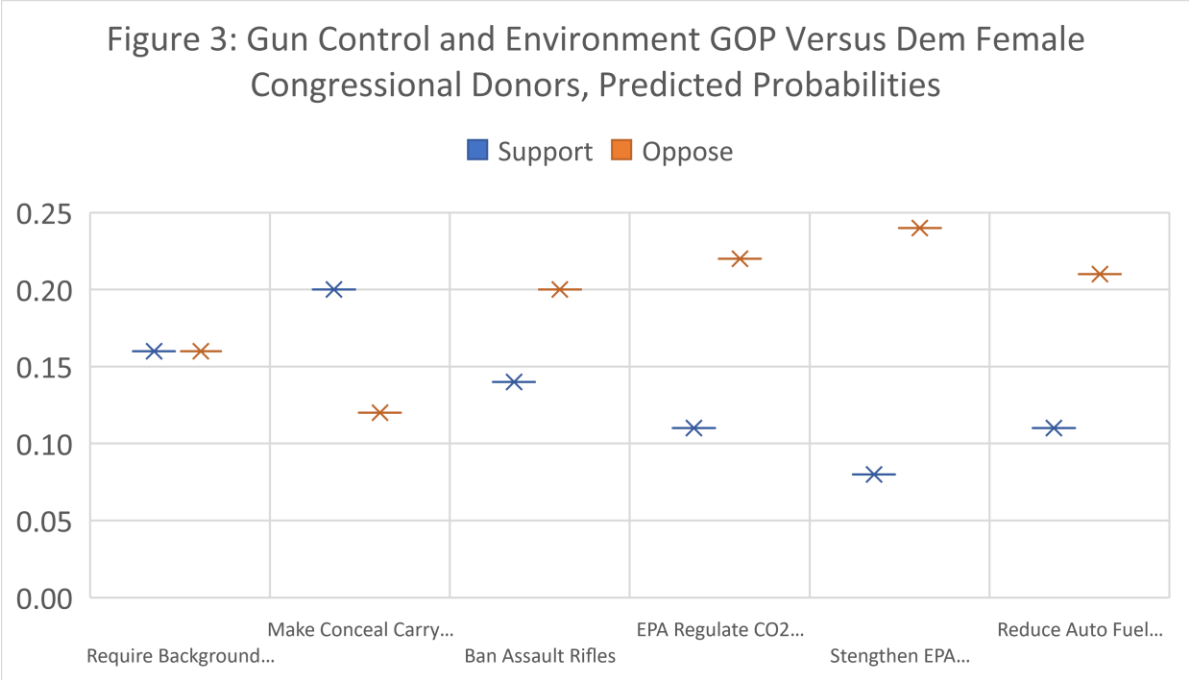


Figure 4: When Women Lose, They Complain It Was Discrimination

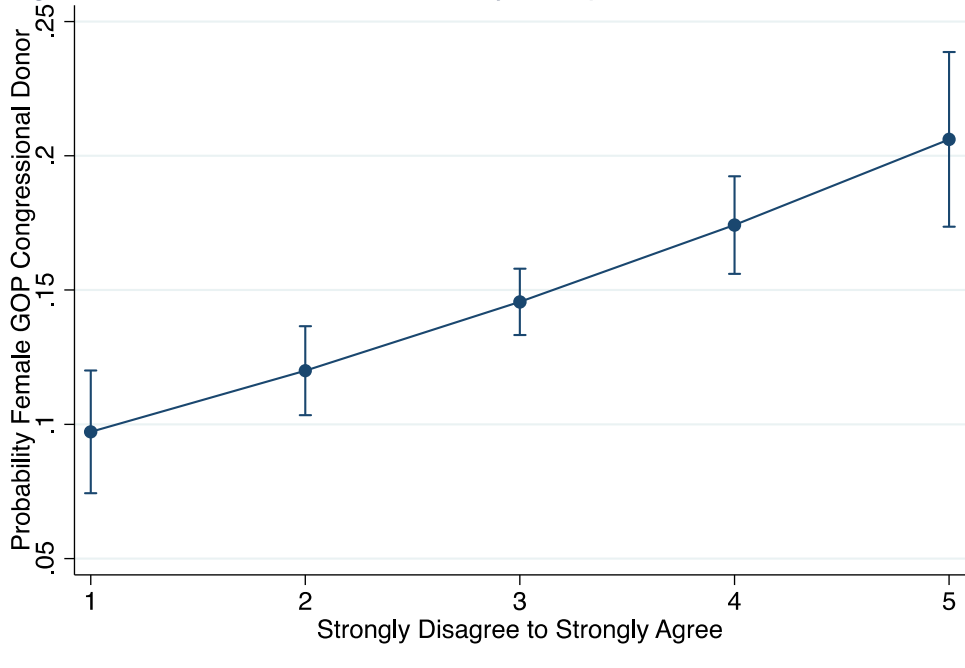


Figure 5: Feminist's Demands Reasonable

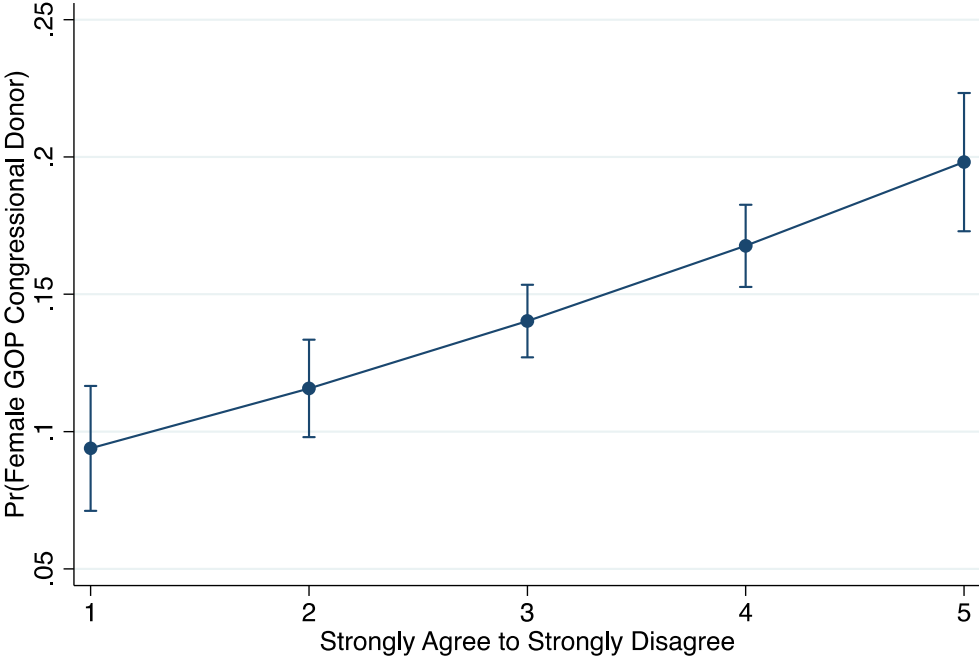


Figure 6: Abortion, GOP Female Versus Male Congressional Donors Predicted Probabilities



Figure 7: Immigration and Healthcare, GOP Female Versus Male Congressional Donors Predicted Probabilities

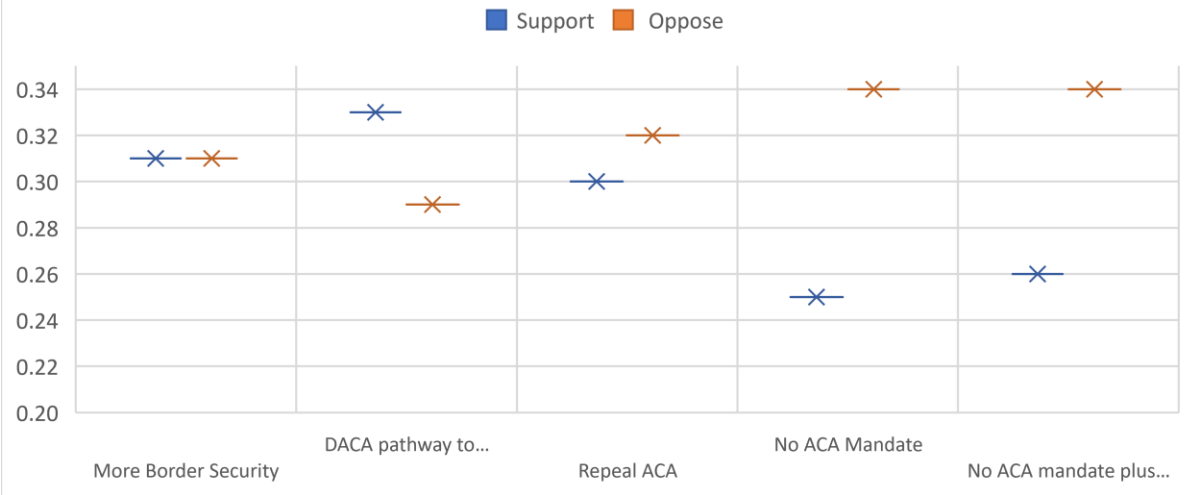


Figure 8: Gun Control and Environment, GOP Female and Male Congressional Donors Predicted Probabilities

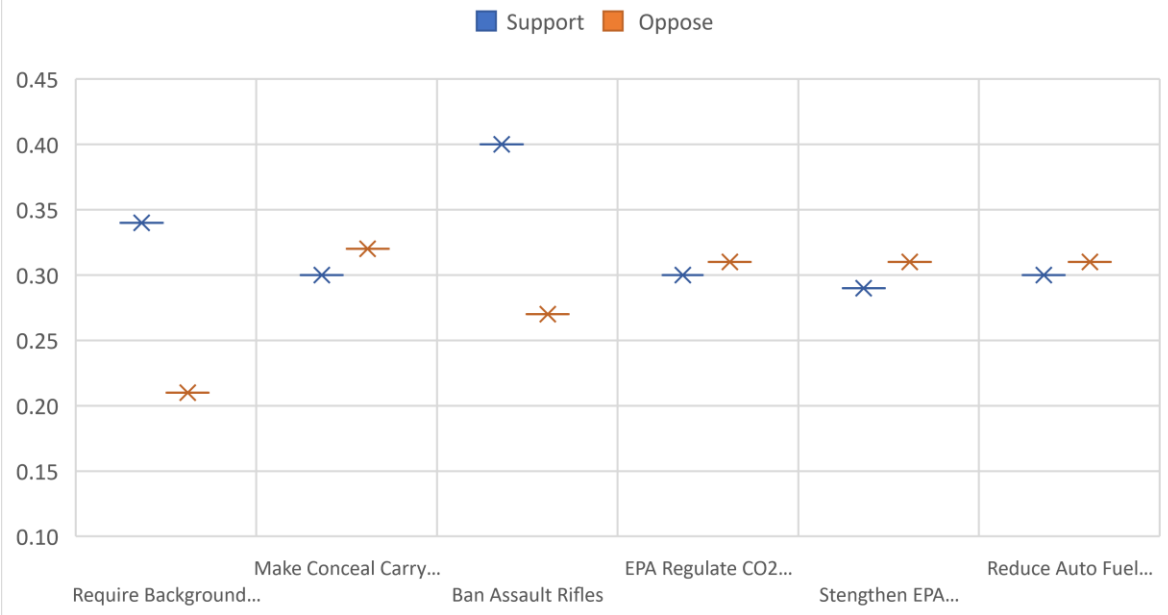


Figure 9: When Women Lose, They Complain Discrimination

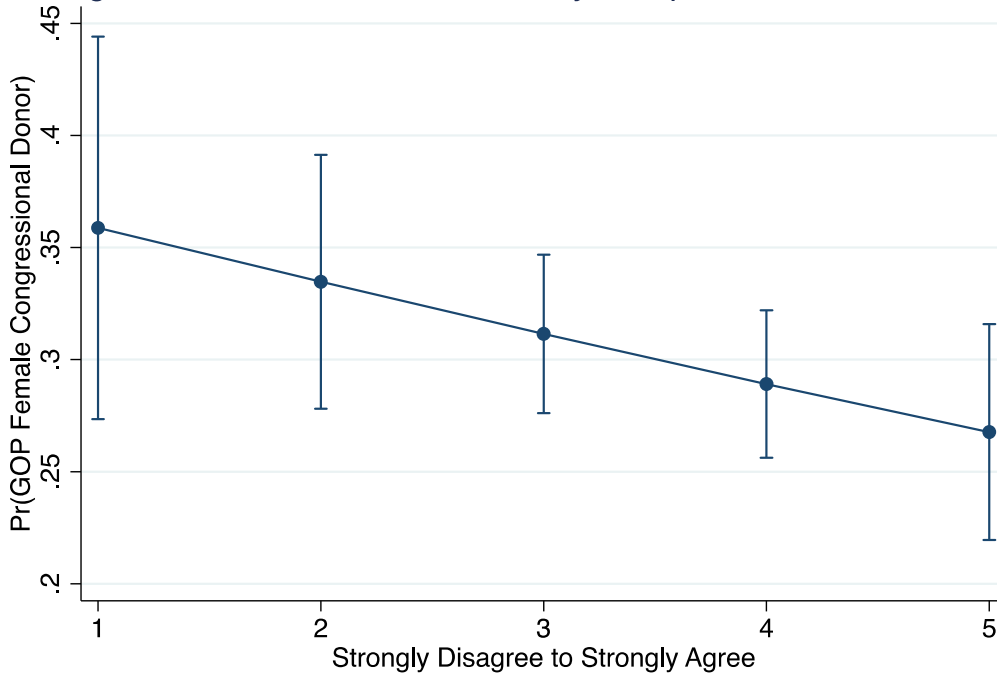


Figure 10: Feminists' Demands Reasonable

