

Organizational Capacity and Candidate Emergence: the Case of Union Members as Candidates for Public Office

Hyun Woo Lim

Research Question and Motivation

Why Candidate Emergence?

Candidate emergence is a crucial first step of representation.
(Fox and Lawless 2011; Fraga, Juenke and Shah 2020; Maisel and Stone 1997)

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Legislators' personal preferences, experiences, and identities often influence their policy making, accessibility, and representation.

(Burden 2007; Carnes 2018; Lowande, Ritchie and Lauterbach 2019)

Background

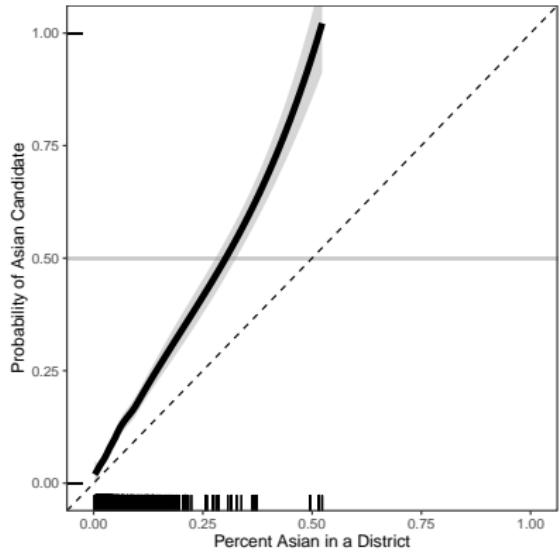
What explains candidate emergence?

Strength in numbers

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Strength in numbers

Asian American Candidates



Strength in Numbers

Both "voter demand" and "candidate supply" sides of candidate emergence literature speak to strength in numbers as predictive of candidate emergence.

(Branton 2009; Juenke, Gonzalez, and Shah 2016)

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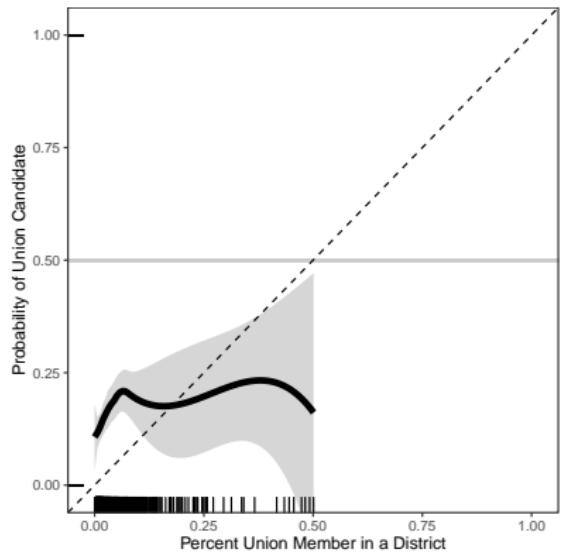
(Branton 2009; Juenke, Gonzalez, and Shah 2016)

The likelihood of minority descriptive representation increases as the district-level minority population increases.

(Barreto, Segura, and Woods 2004; Branton 2009; Lublin 1997)

What explains candidate emergence?

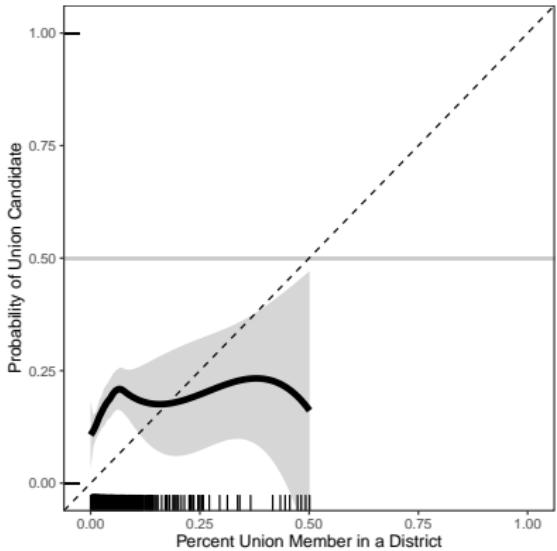
Candidates with Union Experience



What explains candidate emergence?

Institutions &
organizations

Candidates with Union Experience



Organizations and Institutions

Organizations can promote political involvement of their members.

(Andrews et al. 2010; Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995; Tate 2018)

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Parties and interest groups engage in candidate selection and nomination.

(See Bawn et al. 2012; Frendreis, Gibson and Vertz 1990; Seligman 1961)

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Elites' personal encouragements (i.e., as organizational incentives) can facilitate people to enter politics.

(Broockman 2014; Carnes 2018; Fox and Lawless 2010)

Skepticism: Organizations and Institutions?

Whether and how can parties and organizations provide selective incentives to foster candidate emergence?

(See Maisel 2001; Carson, Engstrom and Roberts 2007; Cox and Katz 2002)

Theory

Theorizing

Organizations **incentivize** their members to run

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Organizations **incentivize** their members to run
with **organizational capacity**

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How does candidate emergence operate within organizations?

Theory

I argue that organizations can facilitate their members to run for office when organizations incentivize their members by providing political capital (**indirect support**) and monetary resources (**direct support**) with their **organizational capacity**.

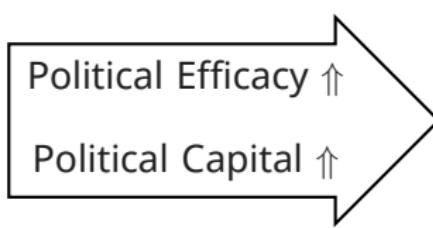
Theoretical Mechanism



Direct Support



Indirect Support



Candidate
Emergence

Indirect Support



Professional Services



Education



Training Programs



Elections/Campaigns



Events



Other

Case Selection: Unions and Candidates with Union Experience (Union Candidates)

Political activity of organizations

(Ahlquist and Levi, 2013; Jackson and Engel, 2003)

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Variations in organizational activities and capacities at the local level

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Practicality and transparency

(Aaron 1960; Wilcox and Iida 2010)

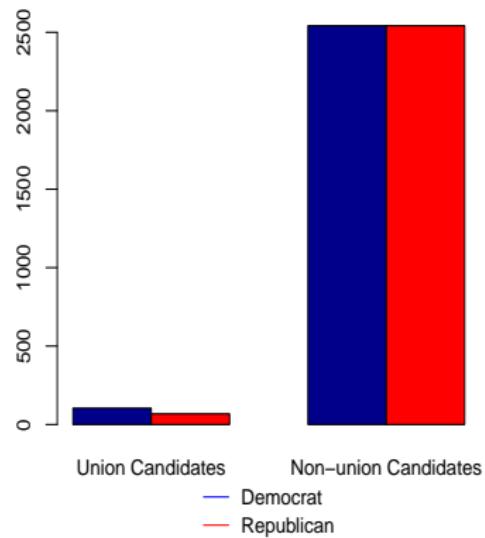
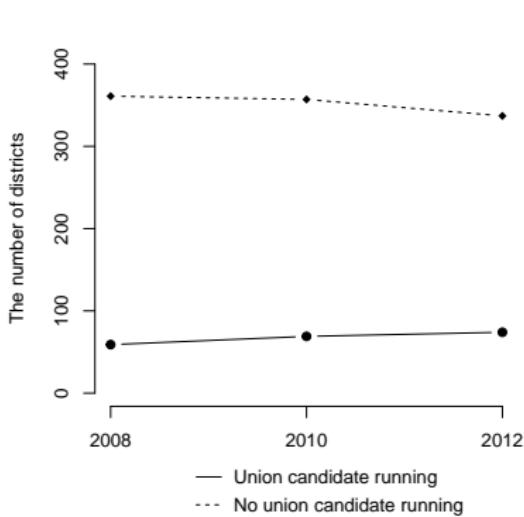
Hypotheses

- 1) Unions' aggregated support → Union candidate emergence
- 2) Unions' direct support → Union candidate emergence
- 3) Unions' indirect support → Union candidate emergence

Data

Outcome Variable

A binary variable that shows whether there is at least one union candidate who runs for U.S. House primaries in a district or not in 2008, 2010, and 2012



Explanatory Variables

Aggregated Support

Aggregated political spending (logged \$)

Direct Support

Political spending (logged \$) on campaign contributions, lobbying, and donations

Indirect support

Political spending (logged \$) on campaigns and elections, education, training, consulting and professional services, events, and other activities

Explanatory Variables

Aggregated Support

Aggregated political spending (logged \$)

Direct Support (*30% of Spending*)

Political spending (logged \$) on campaign contributions, lobbying, and donations

Indirect support (*70% of Spending*)

Political spending (logged \$) on campaigns and elections, education, training, consulting and professional services, events, and other activities

Measuring Indirect and Direct Support

- 1) Geo-code local unions' addresses and locate them in congressional districts

Union Name	Members	Year	Street Address	RPT ID
NATIONAL PRODUCTION	1737	2008	2210 MIDWEST ROAD	401105
A M P I EMPLOYEES UNION	159	2008	312 CENTER ST	388379
AERONAUTICAL EXAMINERS	187	2008	103 SPRING RIDGE COURT	406306
AERONAUTICAL EXAMINERS	99	2008	1128 TEBO ROAD	375783
AERONAUTICAL EXAMINERS	81	2008	ORANGE PARK	391176
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Measuring Indirect and Direct Support

- 1) Geo-code local unions' addresses and locate them in congressional districts
- 2) Classify each expenditure record

Disbursement Type	Purpose	Date	Amount	RPT ID
504	2007 YEAR END AUDIT	10/17/2008	8300	383832
502	DONATION	2/28/2008	10400	363172
502	Election 08' Political Training	4/15/2008	5587	369215
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- 3) Match unions' characteristics data and disbursement data

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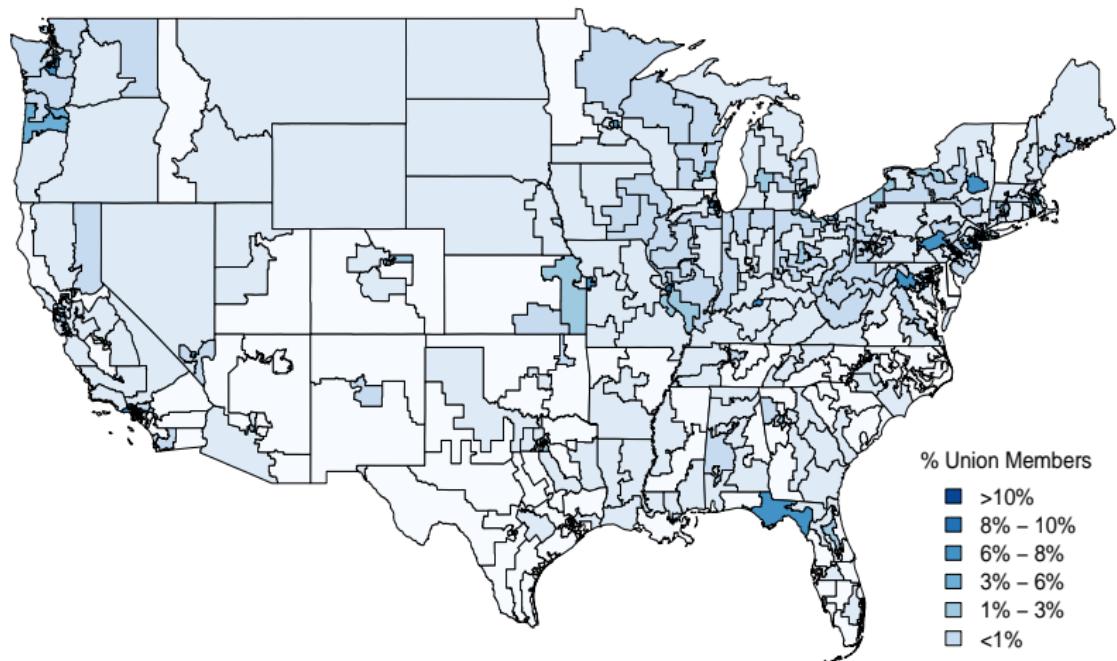
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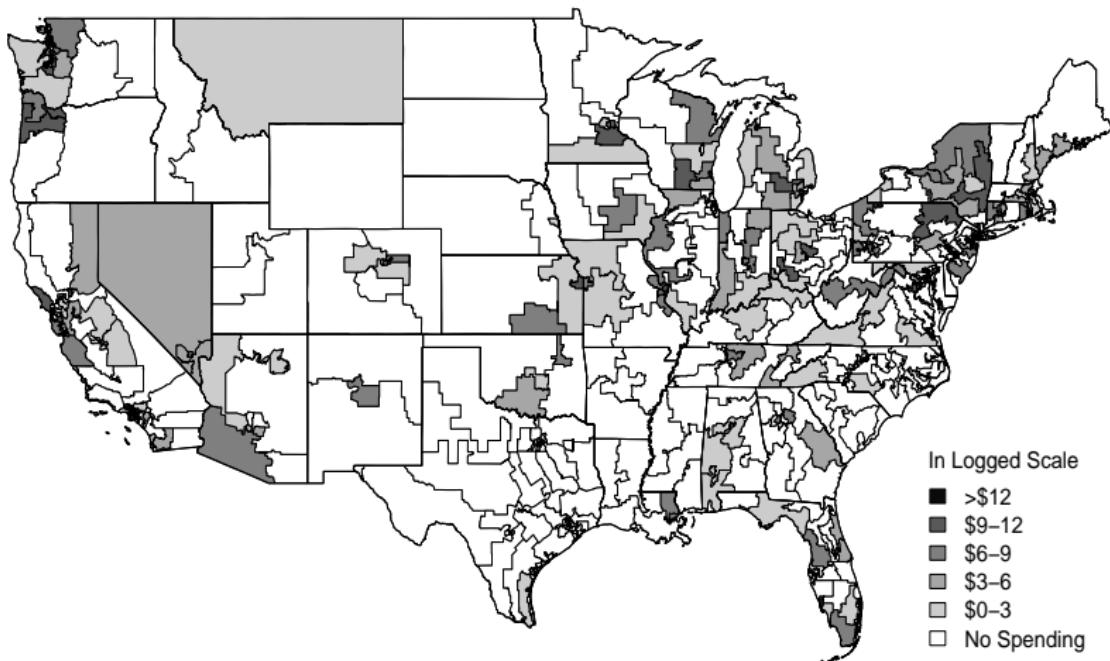
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- 4) Aggregate these data into congressional district-level during the pre-primary period
 - e.g. For 2010 primary elections, I aggregate spending from 2009 to 2010 ballot access date for primaries

Union Membership



Unions' Political Spending



Design

Design

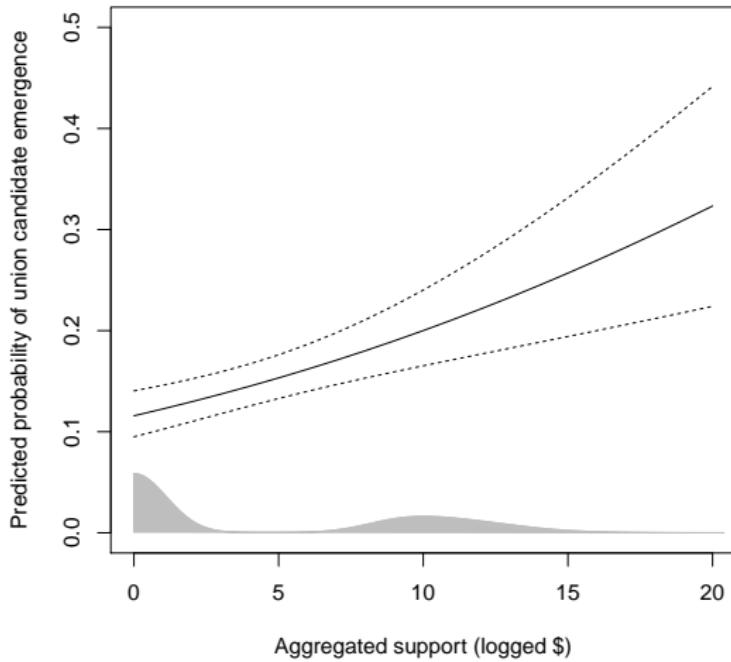
Logit regression

- Unit of analysis: District level
- Year and state fixed effects
- Dependent variable: At least one union candidate is running in a district (binary)
- Explanatory variables: Indirect, direct & aggregated support (logged \$ of unions' spending during pre-primaries)
- Control variables (district-level)

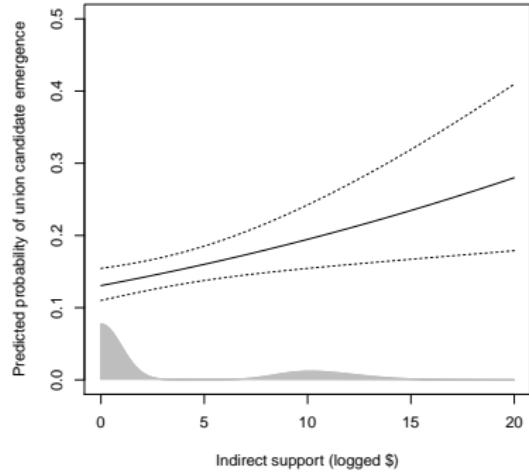
Robustness tests with other modeling strategies

Results

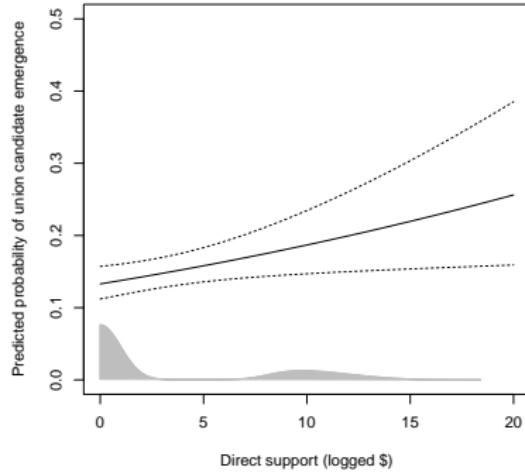
Marginal Effect of Unions' Aggregated Support on Union Candidate Emergence



Marginal Effect of Unions' Indirect and Direct Support on Union Candidate Emergence

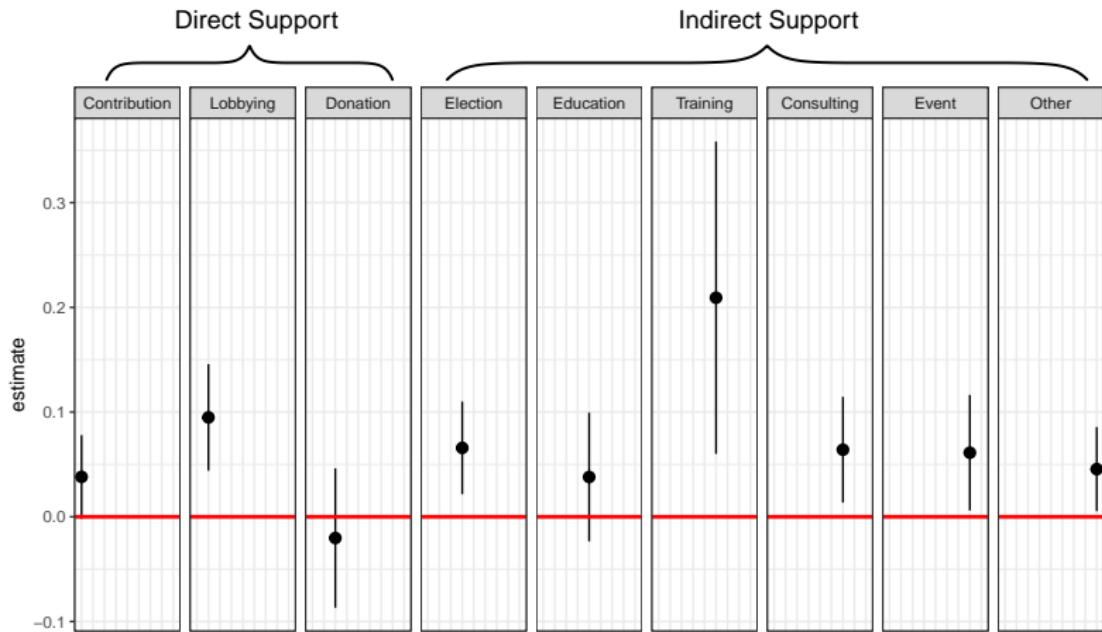


Indirect Support



Direct Support

Different Types of Unions' Expenditures and Union Candidate Emergence



Conclusion

Findings

Organizations can **incentivize** their members to run for office by providing indirect and direct support with **organizational capacity**.

Union candidates are more likely to emerge where unions provide higher levels of indirect and direct support during the pre-primary period.

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Organizations can **incentivize** their members to run for office by providing indirect and direct support with **organizational capacity**.

Union candidates are more likely to emerge where unions provide higher levels of indirect and direct support during the pre-primary period.

This paper provides the first evidence that organized interests can impact who can emerge as candidates **before elections start**.

Particularly, I was able to measure two types of organizational support using micro-level organizational activity data.

Implications

This paper's findings establish the importance of organizations and their capacity in candidate emergence.

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Union candidates can represent the working-class.

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The findings suggest an insight that can explain underrepresentation of certain groups in a society.

Questions

Thank You

Appendix

Examples

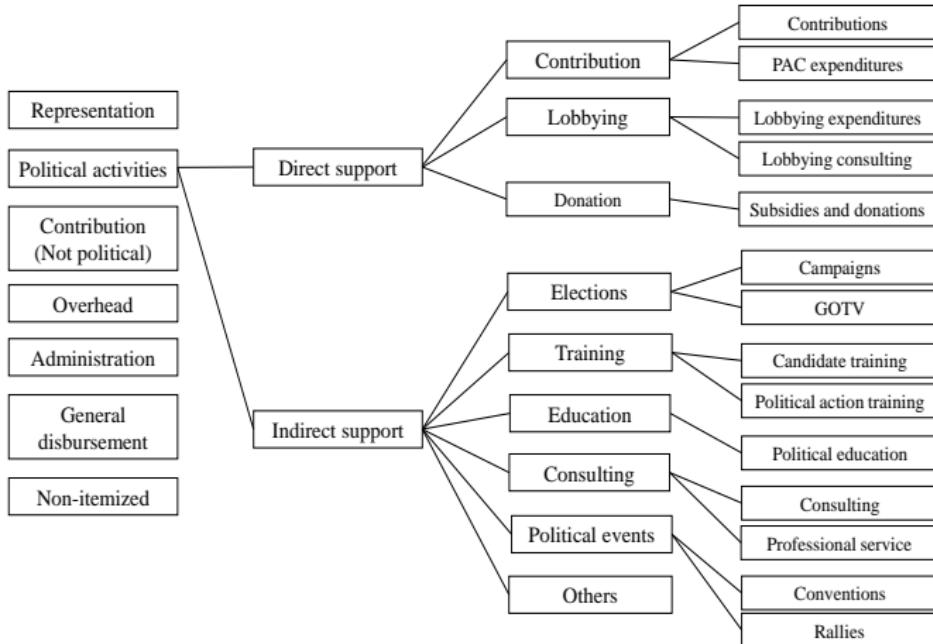
Results

Robustness Tests

Post-Candidate Emergence Analysis

Theoretical Perspectives

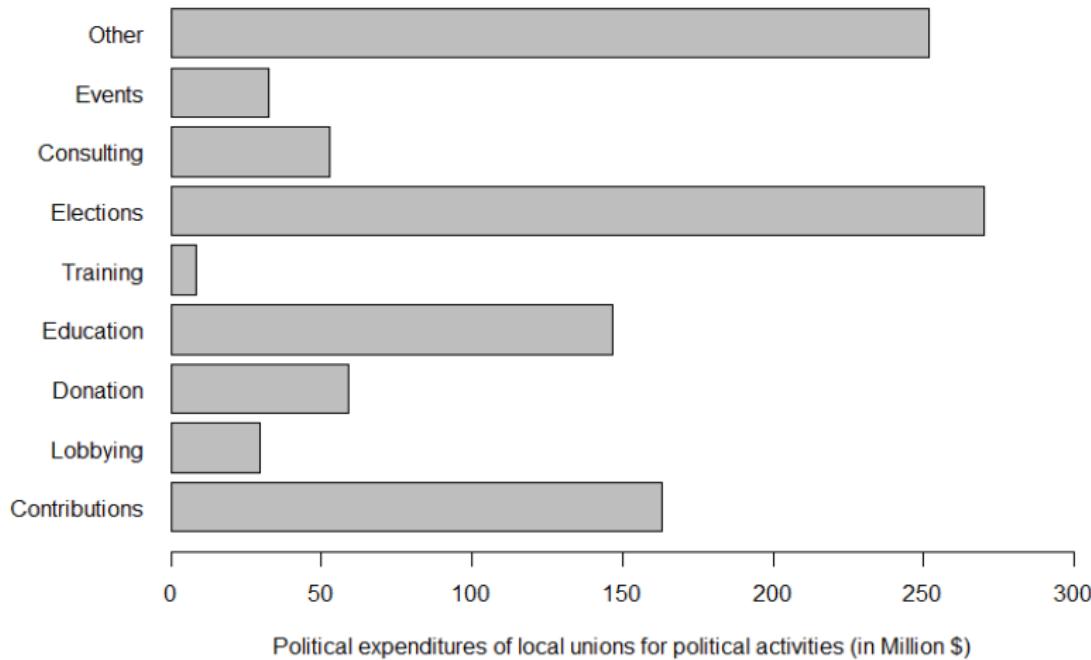
Descriptions of Unions' Expenditures



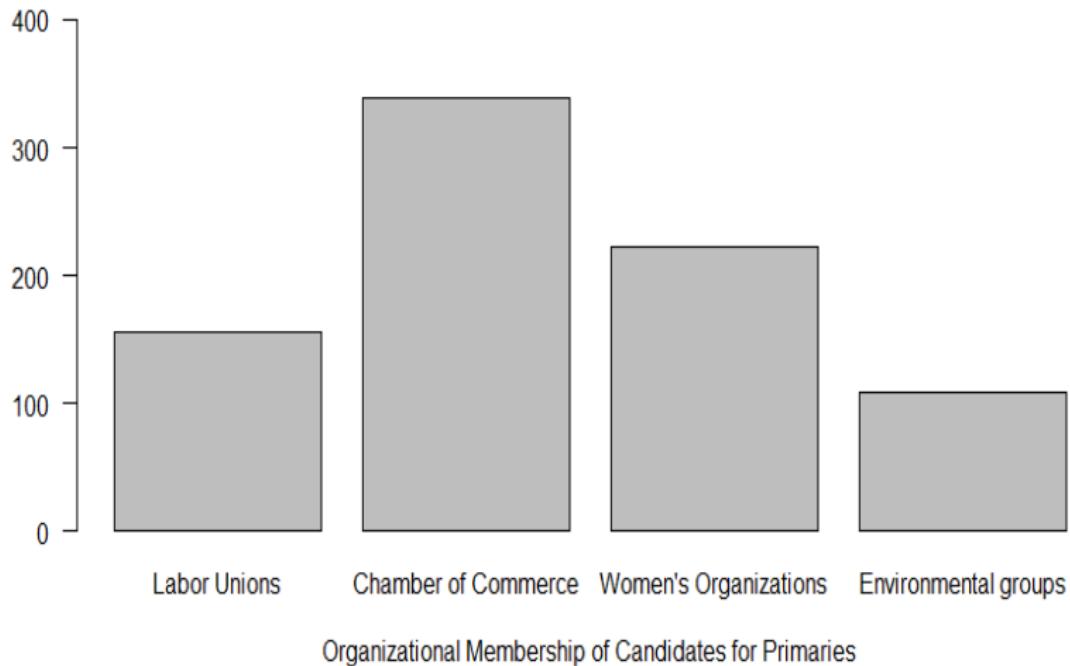
Examples of Direct and Indirect Support

Types	Categories	Examples
Direct support	Contribution	Contribution for federal, state, and local candidates, PAC spending
	Lobbying	Lobbying expenditures, lobbying consulting spending, lobby day
Indirect support	Donation	Donation, subsidies, COPE fund, fund, legislative action fund
	Education	Education, member education, education cost, political education, collective action education, project
	Election	Campaigns, GOTV, mails, Advertising, media, election, phone, polls, call, primary, grassroot
	Training	Candidate training, grassroot training, political action training
	Consulting	Consulting, legislative consulting, research, professional services
	Events	Fundraising events, conferences, dinner, convention, luncheon, meeting, rally, party
	Other	Computer software, advocating fee, t-shirt, air travel, hotel, sponsor, public policy, promoting

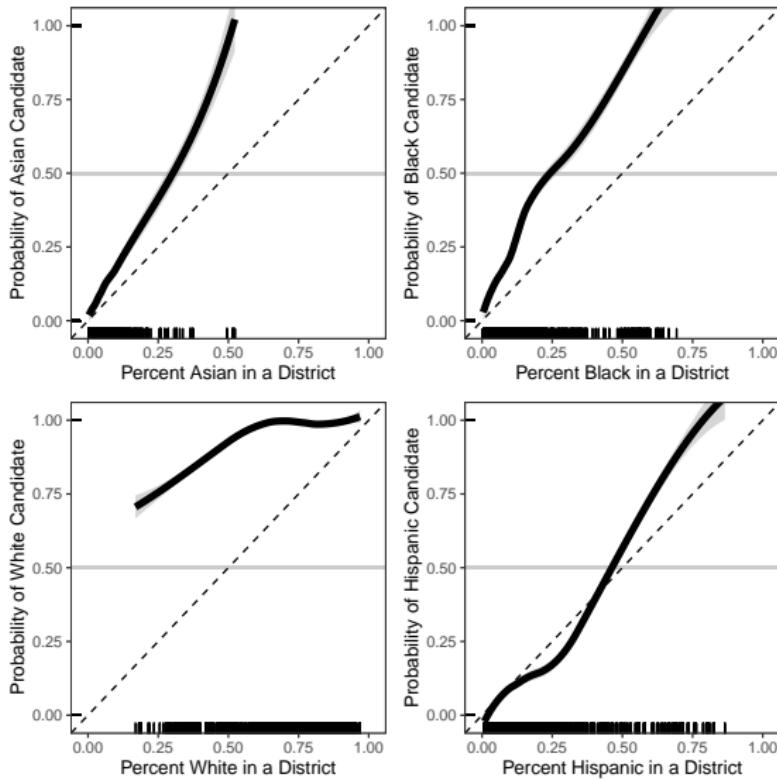
Unions' Political Spending for Different Purposes



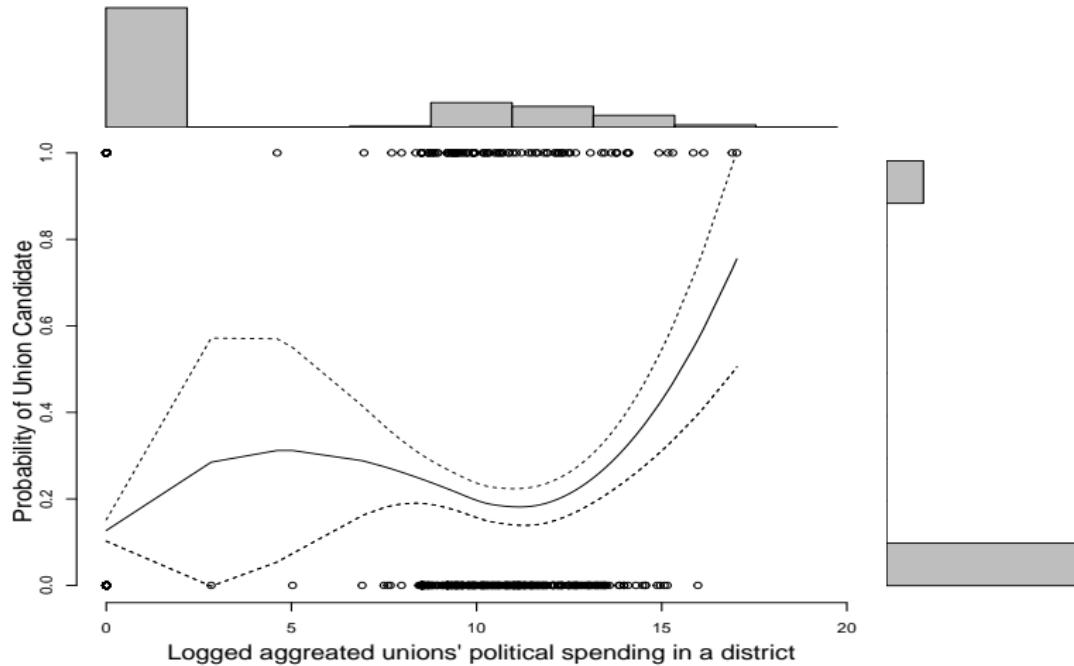
Candidates from Different Groups



Other Ethnic Candidates



Local Unions' Aggregated Support and Union Candidate Emergence



Where Do Union Candidates Run?

State	Number of districts where a union candidate running
CA	33
NY	15
TX	13
MI	11
IN	8
PA	8
WA	8
IL	6
FL	6
MA	6
OH	6
MN	6

Note: Other states also have union candidates from 2008 to 2012 U.S. House primaries: AL(1), AR(4), AZ(5), CO(1), CT(2), GA(3), HI(1), IA(3), KS(3), KY(1), LA(1), MD(5), ME(4), MO(3), MS(1), MT(2), NC(2), NE(1), NH(4), NJ(3), NV(1), OK(5), OR(1), SC(1), UT(1), VA(4), WI(2), WV(4)

Main Results

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Union Candidate Running		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Indirect Support (logged \$)	0.046*** (0.018)	0.052*** (0.019)	0.070*** (0.017)
Direct Support (logged \$)			
Aggregated Support (logged \$)			0.070*** (0.017)
Open Seat	0.626** (0.275)	0.612** (0.275)	0.609** (0.277)
Number of Unions	0.011** (0.004)	0.011*** (0.004)	0.012*** (0.004)
Number of Union Members (logged)	0.063 (0.111)	0.048 (0.111)	0.027 (0.112)
Median Household Income	0.122 (0.144)	0.112 (0.145)	0.138 (0.146)
Percent White	1.818* (0.944)	1.811* (0.942)	1.746* (0.939)
Percent BA or Higher	-3.188* (1.875)	-3.502* (1.888)	-3.565* (1.901)
Percent Agriculture	0.916 (5.450)	0.629 (5.486)	1.232 (5.499)
Percent Service	5.700 (4.742)	5.577 (4.703)	5.697 (4.748)
Number of Firms (logged)	-0.062 (0.041)	-0.054 (0.040)	-0.062 (0.041)
Urbanization Rate	-0.113 (0.887)	0.025 (0.888)	-0.154 (0.894)
Dem Presidential Vote Share	2.408** (1.103)	2.317** (1.104)	2.257** (1.108)
Observations	1,257	1,257	1,257
Pseudo R ²	0.040	0.041	0.048
Log Likelihood	-349.514	-348.808	-344.259
State and Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Union Concentration

	Dependent variable: Union Candidate Running		
		Aggregated Support (logged \$)	Union Concentration
Number of Union Members (logged)	0.070 *** (0.017)	0.872 (0.623)	
Number of Unions	-0.011 (0.112)	0.015 *** (0.005)	
Open Seat	0.582 ** (0.279)	2.280 ** (1.112)	
Dem Presidential Vote Share	0.154 (0.146)	Median Household Income	
Percent White	1.804 * (0.941)	Percent BA or Higher	-4.062 ** (1.932)
Percent Agriculture	0.154 (0.146)	Percent Service	1.092 (5.499)
Percent Service	5.682 (4.724)	Number of Firms (logged)	-0.057 (0.041)
Urbanization Rate	-0.218 (0.895)	Observations	1,257
Pseudo R ²	0.049	Pseudo R ²	0.049
Log Likelihood	-343.277	Log Likelihood	-343.277
State and Year Fixed Effects	✓	State and Year Fixed Effects	✓

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

Robustness Tests

Variables for matching: theoretical pre-treatment variables:

Number of unions, Number of union members, open seat, percent white, percent BA or higher, and Democratic Presidential vote share

Explanatory variable (i.e. treatment variable):

Binary: Whether there was either indirect or direct support (political spending) in a district

Continuous: Aggregated spending in a district (logged \$)

Dependent variable (binary): At least one union candidate is running in a district's House primaries or not.

Robustness Tests

Model	Estimate	Explanatory Variable	Paper
Matching with TSCS	0.209***	Binary	Imai, Kim and Wang (2018)
Propensity score matching	0.482***	Binary	Greifer (2018)
Mahalanobis distance matching	0.483***	Binary	King and Nielsen (2019)
Coarsened exact matching	0.166**	Binary	King and Nielsen (2019)
Covariate balancing generalized PS	0.051***	Continuous	Fong et al. (2018)
Logit with rare events	0.070**	Continuous	King and Zeng (2001)

Do Organizations Incentivize Their Members Once They Emerges as Candidates?

	Dependent variable:			
	Amount of Political Contribution from Unions (Logged \$)			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Union Candidate	1.678*** (0.329)	1.365*** (0.353)	0.856** (0.359)	0.536 (0.386)
Percent Union Member		196.308** (78.958)		239.916** (105.066)
Candidate Quality	1.299*** (0.155)	1.199*** (0.157)	1.373*** (0.168)	1.286*** (0.170)
Incumbent	7.662*** (0.135)	7.696*** (0.135)	6.917*** (0.145)	6.937*** (0.145)
Candidate' Ideology (CFscore)			-1.495*** (0.054)	-1.505*** (0.054)
Union Candidate : Percent Union Member		4.438* (2.339)		4.138* (2.380)
Constant	2.813* (1.481)	-7.470** (3.658)	2.440 (1.491)	-10.150** (5.170)
Observations	5,909	5,793	4,576	4,489
R ²	0.589	0.592	0.659	0.662
Adjusted R ²	0.471	0.475	0.522	0.525
District and Year Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓

Note:

* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01

What Explains Unions' Capacity?

Power resources

Internal solidarity, network embeddedness, narrative resources, and infrastructural resources

Strategic capabilities

Intermediating between contending interests to foster collaborative action, framing, articulating actions over time and space, and learning

(See Lévesque and Murray 2010, Clawson and Clawson 1999, Margaret 2003)

What Explains Unions' Political Spending during Pre-primaries?

Competitions with other groups

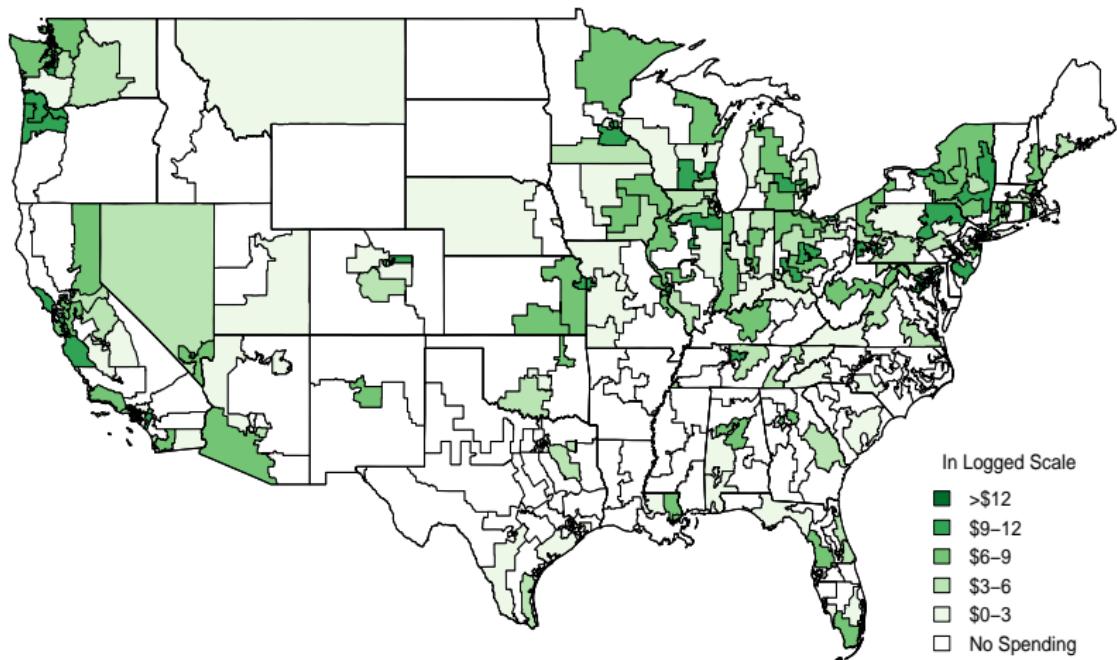
(Bawn et al., 2012; Bawn et al., 2019)

Political environment (Wilcox and Iida, 2010)

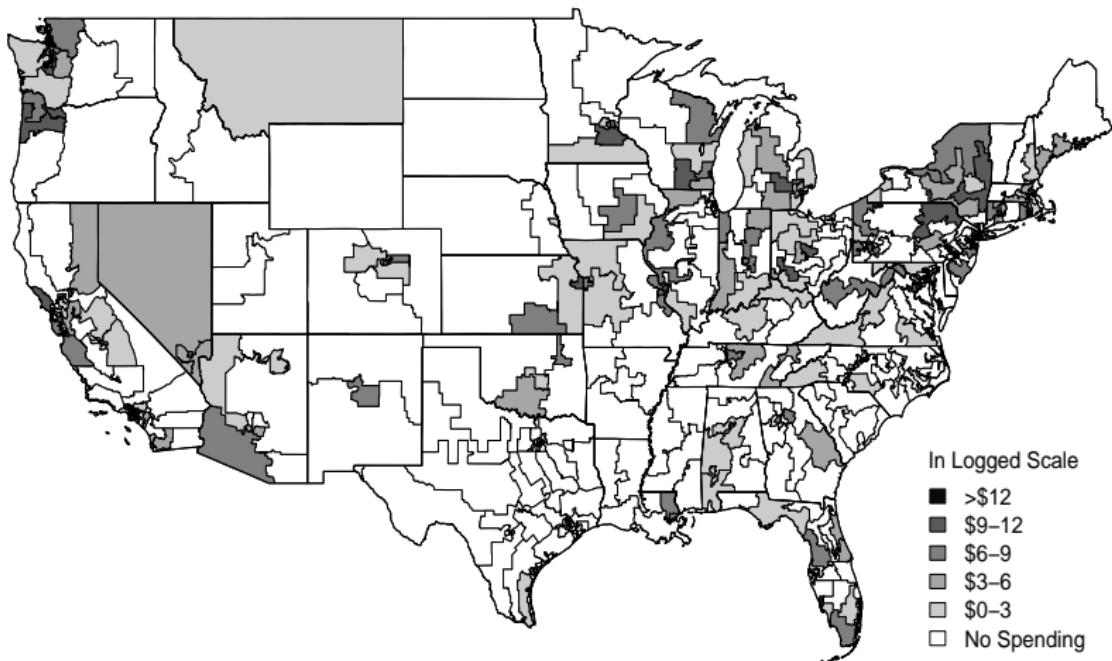
- Political environment and context (Wilcox and Iida, 2010)
- Passing Right-to-work laws (Feigenbaum, Hertel-Fernandez and Williamson, 2018)
- Open Seat (Bawn et al., 2012; Maisel and Stone, 1997)

Existence of union-friendly incumbents

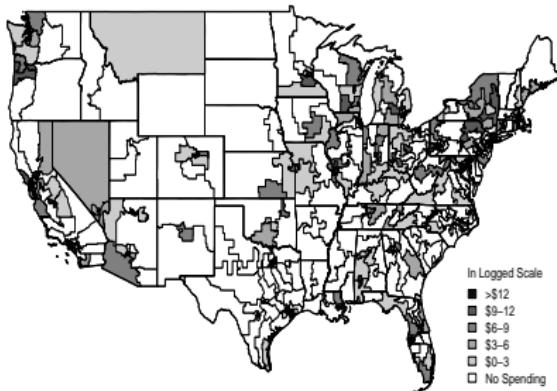
Unions' Yearlong Political Spending



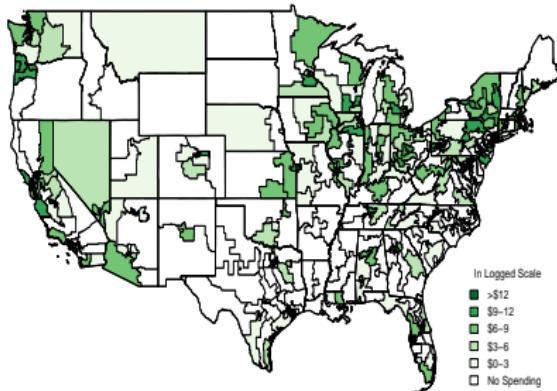
Unions' Political Spending



Pre-primary Spending vs. Yearlong Spending



Average Pre-primary Spending



Average Yearlong Spending