

# Analysis of early 2020 Democratic campaign co-donors

This notebook analyzes contribution data from Democratic presidential campaigns' FEC filings for the first quarter of 2019.

## Load candidate, committee, and filing data

```
In [1]: import pandas as pd
import fecfile
```

## Candidates

```
In [2]: candidates = pd.read_csv("../inputs/candidates.csv")
candidates
```

Out[2]:

|    | Candidate Name     | Candidate Sex | Committee Name               | committee_id |
|----|--------------------|---------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| 0  | Amy Klobuchar      | F             | Amy for America              | C00696419    |
| 1  | Andrew Yang        | M             | Friends of Andrew Yang       | C00659938    |
| 2  | Bernie Sanders     | M             | Bernie 2020                  | C00696948    |
| 3  | Beto O'Rourke      | M             | Beto for America             | C00699090    |
| 4  | Cory Booker        | M             | Cory 2020                    | C00695510    |
| 5  | Elizabeth Warren   | F             | Warren for President         | C00693234    |
| 6  | Jay Inslee         | M             | Inslee for America           | C00698050    |
| 7  | John Delaney       | M             | Friends of John Delaney      | C00508416    |
| 8  | John Hickenlooper  | M             | Hickenlooper 2020            | C00698258    |
| 9  | Julián Castro      | M             | Julián for the Future        | C00693044    |
| 10 | Kamala Harris      | F             | Kamala Harris for the People | C00694455    |
| 11 | Kirsten Gillibrand | F             | Gillibrand 2020              | C00694018    |
| 12 | Pete Buttigieg     | M             | Pete for America             | C00697441    |
| 13 | Tulsi Gabbard      | F             | Tulsi Now                    | C00693713    |
| 14 | Wayne Messam       | M             | Wayne Messam for America     | C00699280    |

## Filing metadata

Here, we load basic metadata about each filing, and also calculate what proportion of money raised from individual contributions has been itemized in each candidate/committee's filings:

```
In [3]: filings = pd.read_csv(
    ..../inputs/filings.csv",
    low_memory = False
)

filings
```

Out[3]:

|    | Candidate<br>Name  | committee_id | filing_id | report_title     | date_coverage_from | date_coverage_to | ar |
|----|--------------------|--------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|----|
| 0  | Amy Klobuchar      | C00696419    | 1326529   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-02-07         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 1  | Andrew Yang        | C00659938    | 1326379   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 2  | Bernie Sanders     | C00696948    | 1326070   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 3  | Beto O'Rourke      | C00699090    | 1326481   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-03-14         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 4  | Cory Booker        | C00695510    | 1326465   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 5  | Elizabeth Warren   | C00693234    | 1326299   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 6  | Jay Inslee         | C00698050    | 1326136   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-02-14         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 7  | John Delaney       | C00508416    | 1324749   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 8  | John Hickenlooper  | C00698258    | 1326014   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 9  | Julián Castro      | C00693044    | 1326324   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 10 | Kamala Harris      | C00694455    | 1326016   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-21         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 11 | Kirsten Gillibrand | C00694018    | 1326061   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 12 | Pete Buttigieg     | C00697441    | 1324922   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 13 | Tulsi Gabbard      | C00693713    | 1326558   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-11         | 2019-03-31       |    |
| 14 | Wayne Messam       | C00699280    | 1326345   | APR<br>QUARTERLY | 2019-01-01         | 2019-03-31       |    |

```
In [4]: def get_additional_metadata(filing_id):
        filing = fecfile.from_file(f"../inputs/filings/{int(filing_id)}.fec")
        data = dict((c, filing["filing"][c]) for c in [
            "col_a_individuals_itemized",
            "col_a_individuals_unitemized",
            "col_a_individual_contribution_total",
        ])
        data["filing_id"] = int(filing_id)
        return data
```

```
In [5]: additional_filing_metadata = pd.DataFrame([
        get_additional_metadata(filing_id)
        for filing_id in filings["filing_id"]
    ])

additional_filing_metadata.head()
```

Out[5]:

|   | col_a_individual_contribution_total | col_a_individuals_itemized | col_a_individuals_unitemized | filing_id |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------|
| 0 | 5232375.87                          | 3421762.07                 | 1810613.80                   | 13:       |
| 1 | 1776875.12                          | 342170.20                  | 1434704.92                   | 13:       |
| 2 | 18186300.21                         | 2904271.23                 | 15282028.98                  | 13:       |
| 3 | 9369861.40                          | 3827220.52                 | 5542640.88                   | 13:       |
| 4 | 5044390.15                          | 4238894.87                 | 805495.28                    | 13:       |

```
In [6]: (  
    filings  
    [[  
        "filing_id",  
        "Candidate Name",  
    ]]  
    .merge(  
        additional_filing_metadata  
        [[  
            "filing_id",  
            "col_a_individuals_itemized",  
            "col_a_individuals_unitemized",  
            "col_a_individual_contribution_total",  
        ]]  
        .assign(  
            prop_itemized = lambda df: (  
                df["col_a_individuals_itemized"] /  
                df["col_a_individual_contribution_total"]  
            ).round(3)  
        ),  
        how = "right",  
        on = "filing_id"  
    )  
    .sort_values("col_a_individuals_itemized", ascending = False)  
)
```

Out[6]:

|    | filing_id | Candidate<br>Name  | col_a_individuals_itemized | col_a_individuals_unitemized | col_a_individuals |
|----|-----------|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 10 | 1326016   | Kamala Harris      | 7603293.36                 | 4420828.19                   |                   |
| 4  | 1326465   | Cory Booker        | 4238894.87                 | 805495.28                    |                   |
| 3  | 1326481   | Beto O'Rourke      | 3827220.52                 | 5542640.88                   |                   |
| 0  | 1326529   | Amy Klobuchar      | 3421762.07                 | 1810613.80                   |                   |
| 2  | 1326070   | Bernie Sanders     | 2904271.23                 | 15282028.98                  |                   |
| 12 | 1324922   | Pete Buttigieg     | 2549602.40                 | 4536552.22                   |                   |
| 11 | 1326061   | Kirsten Gillibrand | 2497960.90                 | 499923.20                    |                   |
| 8  | 1326014   | John Hickenlooper  | 1813358.33                 | 200741.04                    |                   |
| 5  | 1326299   | Elizabeth Warren   | 1786711.53                 | 4229723.85                   |                   |
| 6  | 1326136   | Jay Inslee         | 1488634.36                 | 766821.05                    |                   |
| 13 | 1326558   | Tulsi Gabbard      | 881878.80                  | 1067196.12                   |                   |
| 9  | 1326324   | Julián Castro      | 719775.12                  | 373165.90                    |                   |
| 1  | 1326379   | Andrew Yang        | 342170.20                  | 1434704.92                   |                   |
| 7  | 1324749   | John Delaney       | 331244.84                  | 73056.33                     |                   |
| 14 | 1326345   | Wayne Messam       | 31960.00                   | 11571.62                     |                   |

## Contributors

Here, we extract contributions to the committees from individuals, and assign `donor_id`s: a combination of the contributor's listed first name, last name, and five-digit ZIP code.

```
In [7]: def make_donor_ids(df):
        return (
            df
            .assign(
                donor_id = lambda df: (
                    df
                    .assign(
                        zip5 = lambda df: (
                            df["contributor_zip_code"]
                            .fillna("-----")
                            .str.slice(0, 5)
                        )
                    )
                )
            )
            [[
                "contributor_first_name",
                "contributor_last_name",
                "zip5",
            ]]
            .apply(lambda x: (
                x
                .fillna("")
                .astype(str)
                # Remove periods, commas, extra whitespace
                .str.replace(r"[\.,\s]+", " ")
                .str.strip()
                # Convert everything to upper-case
                .str.upper()
            ))
            .apply("|".join, axis = 1)
        )
    )
)
```

```
In [8]: def extract_indiv_contributions(filing_id):
        filing = fecfile.from_file(f"../inputs/filings/{int(filing_id)}.fec")
        df = pd.DataFrame(filing["itemizations"]["Schedule A"])
        return (
            df
            # Extract only individual contributions
            .loc[lambda df: df["entity_type"] == "IND"]
            # Remove memo lines
            .loc[lambda df: df["memo_code"] == ""]
            .pipe(make_donor_ids)
            .assign(
                filing_id = int(filing_id)
            )
            [[
                "filer_committee_id_number",
                "filing_id",
                "transaction_id",
                "contribution_date",
                "contribution_amount",
                "contribution_aggregate",
                "donor_id",
                "contributor_first_name",
                "contributor_last_name",
                "contributor_zip_code",
            ]]
        )
```

```

In [9]: all_indiv_contribs = (
    pd.concat([
        extract_indiv_contributions(filing_id)
        for filing_id in filings["filing_id"]
    ])
    .merge(
        (
            filings
            [[
                "filing_id",
                "committee_id",
            ]]
        ),
        how = "left",
        on = "filing_id",
    )
    .merge(
        (
            candidates
            [[
                "committee_id",
                "Candidate Name",
            ]]
        ),
        how = "left",
        on = "committee_id",
    )
)

len(all_indiv_contribs)

```

Out[9]: 92830

```
In [10]: all_indiv_contribs.head()
```

Out[10]:

|   | filer_committee_id_number | filing_id | transaction_id | contribution_date            | contribution_amount | cc |
|---|---------------------------|-----------|----------------|------------------------------|---------------------|----|
| 0 | C00696419                 | 1326529   | 561500         | 2019-02-20<br>00:00:00-05:00 | 2800.0              |    |
| 1 | C00696419                 | 1326529   | 564400         | 2019-02-19<br>00:00:00-05:00 | 2800.0              |    |
| 2 | C00696419                 | 1326529   | 564500         | 2019-02-18<br>00:00:00-05:00 | 250.0               |    |
| 3 | C00696419                 | 1326529   | 565000         | 2019-02-19<br>00:00:00-05:00 | 100.0               |    |
| 4 | C00696419                 | 1326529   | 566000         | 2019-02-19<br>00:00:00-05:00 | 25.0                |    |



## Aggregate contributions to donor-campaign level

The raw FEC data includes one row for each contribution, so contributors can show up multiple times for a given campaign. Here, we aggregate the data so that it has just one row per contributor-campaign combination:

```
In [11]: # There appear to be some donors who've been refunded to $200 or Less
(
    all_indiv_contribs
    .loc[lambda df: df["contribution_aggregate"] <= 200]
    ["donor_id"]
    .nunique()
)
```

Out[11]: 519

```
In [12]: contributor_totals = (
    all_indiv_contribs
    # Line below removes donors who appear to have been refunded
    # to $200 aggregate or Less
    .loc[lambda df: df["contribution_aggregate"] > 200]
    .groupby([
        "donor_id",
        "Candidate Name"
    ])
    ["contribution_amount"]
    .sum()
    .reset_index()
)

contributor_totals.head()
```

Out[12]:

|   | donor_id                   | Candidate Name     | contribution_amount |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 0 | 0-DEREK EILER 30306        | Pete Buttigieg     | 250.0               |
| 1 | A - DANA SMITH SMITH 80534 | Bernie Sanders     | 250.0               |
| 2 | A ALEX LARI 10128          | Kirsten Gillibrand | 2700.0              |
| 3 | A C HUDGINS 10025          | Cory Booker        | 250.0               |
| 4 | A J AGUILA 07631           | Andrew Yang        | 250.0               |

## Distinct donor counts, by candidate

```
In [13]: distinct_donor_counts = (  
    contributor_totals  
    ["Candidate Name"]  
    .value_counts()  
    .to_frame("Distinct Donor IDs")  
)  
  
distinct_donor_counts
```

Out[13]:

| Distinct Donor IDs |      |
|--------------------|------|
| Bernie Sanders     | 9321 |
| Kamala Harris      | 7489 |
| Beto O'Rourke      | 4879 |
| Pete Buttigieg     | 4045 |
| Elizabeth Warren   | 3177 |
| Cory Booker        | 3063 |
| Amy Klobuchar      | 2867 |
| Kirsten Gillibrand | 1723 |
| Jay Inslee         | 1214 |
| John Hickenlooper  | 1090 |
| Tulsi Gabbard      | 801  |
| Andrew Yang        | 659  |
| Julián Castro      | 576  |
| John Delaney       | 372  |
| Wayne Messam       | 33   |

**Find donors who gave to any two candidates, and any three candidates**

```

In [14]: candidate_pairs = (
    contributor_totals
    .rename(columns = {
        "Candidate Name": "candidate"
    })
    [[
        "donor_id",
        "candidate"
    ]]
    .pipe(lambda df: (
        df
        .merge(
            df,
            how = "left",
            on = "donor_id",
            suffixes = [ "_x", "_y" ],
        )
    ))
    # This filter prevents us from double-counting candidate-combinations
    .loc[lambda df: df["candidate_x"] < df["candidate_y"]]
    .sort_values([
        "candidate_x",
        "candidate_y",
        "donor_id"
    ])
)

candidate_pairs.head(10)

```

Out[14]:

|       | donor_id             | candidate_x   | candidate_y    |
|-------|----------------------|---------------|----------------|
| 8287  | COLLIER PERRY 76567  | Amy Klobuchar | Andrew Yang    |
| 18921 | JEAN YNGVE 46304     | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 23339 | KAREN ALLIN 30305    | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 24146 | KATHY GIBBONS 20008  | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 29269 | MARK MOLLOY 50214    | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 29344 | MARK ROTHACHER 84117 | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 29456 | MARK WIZNITZER 22205 | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 34001 | PARKE CAPSHAW 22902  | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders |
| 963   | ALICE JARCHO 10065   | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  |
| 1480  | AMY LOFGREN 85250    | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  |

```

In [15]: candidate_triplets = (
    contributor_totals
    .rename(columns = {
        "Candidate Name": "candidate"
    })
    [[
        "donor_id",
        "candidate"
    ]]
    .pipe(lambda df: (
        df
        .merge(
            df,
            how = "left",
            on = "donor_id",
            suffixes = [ "_x", "_y" ],
        )
        .merge(
            df.rename(columns = { "candidate": "candidate_z" }),
            how = "left",
            on = "donor_id",
        )
    ))
    # This filter prevents us from double-counting candidate-combinations
    .loc[lambda df: df["candidate_x"] < df["candidate_y"]]
    .loc[lambda df: df["candidate_y"] < df["candidate_z"]]
    .sort_values([
        "candidate_x",
        "candidate_y",
        "candidate_z",
        "donor_id"
    ])
)

candidate_triplets.head(10)

```

Out[15]:

|       | donor_id               | candidate_x   | candidate_y    | candidate_z        |
|-------|------------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 10547 | COLLIER PERRY 76567    | Amy Klobuchar | Andrew Yang    | Elizabeth Warren   |
| 43322 | PARKE CAPSHAW 22902    | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders | John Hickenlooper  |
| 37377 | MARK MOLLOY 50214      | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders | Kamala Harris      |
| 43323 | PARKE CAPSHAW 22902    | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders | Kirsten Gillibrand |
| 29581 | KAREN ALLIN 30305      | Amy Klobuchar | Bernie Sanders | Pete Buttigieg     |
| 31040 | KEENAN KELSEY 94939    | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  | Cory Booker        |
| 5635  | BILL SIMS 75209        | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  | Elizabeth Warren   |
| 39698 | MICHAEL AUERBACH 10013 | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  | Elizabeth Warren   |
| 2275  | ANDREW FREDMAN 33156   | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  | John Hickenlooper  |
| 2445  | ANDREW MELLETT 90004   | Amy Klobuchar | Beto O'Rourke  | John Hickenlooper  |

## Identify the most common two-candidate combinations

Here, we count how many times donors has given to both Candidate X and Candidate Y, irrespective of any other contributions they might have made:

```
In [16]: pair_counts = (
    candidate_pairs
    .groupby([
        "candidate_x",
        "candidate_y",
    ])
    .size()
    .to_frame("count")
    .sort_values("count", ascending = False)
    .reset_index()
)

pair_counts.to_csv(
    "../outputs/candidate-pair-counts.csv",
    index = False
)

pair_counts.loc[lambda df: df["count"] >= 50]
```

Out[16]:

|    | candidate_x      | candidate_y        | count |
|----|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| 0  | Kamala Harris    | Pete Buttigieg     | 170   |
| 1  | Cory Booker      | Kamala Harris      | 166   |
| 2  | Beto O'Rourke    | Pete Buttigieg     | 144   |
| 3  | Amy Klobuchar    | Kamala Harris      | 141   |
| 4  | Bernie Sanders   | Elizabeth Warren   | 138   |
| 5  | Kamala Harris    | Kirsten Gillibrand | 130   |
| 6  | Beto O'Rourke    | Kamala Harris      | 128   |
| 7  | Elizabeth Warren | Kamala Harris      | 121   |
| 8  | Amy Klobuchar    | Pete Buttigieg     | 112   |
| 9  | Cory Booker      | Kirsten Gillibrand | 80    |
| 10 | Elizabeth Warren | Pete Buttigieg     | 75    |
| 11 | Amy Klobuchar    | Kirsten Gillibrand | 72    |
| 12 | Bernie Sanders   | Tulsi Gabbard      | 65    |
| 13 | Amy Klobuchar    | Beto O'Rourke      | 65    |
| 14 | Amy Klobuchar    | Elizabeth Warren   | 52    |

## Identify the most common three-candidate combinations

```

In [17]: triplet_counts = (
    candidate_triplets
    .groupby([
        "candidate_x",
        "candidate_y",
        "candidate_z",
    ])
    .size()
    .to_frame("count")
    .sort_values("count", ascending = False)
    .reset_index()
)

triplet_counts.to_csv(
    "../outputs/candidate-triplet-counts.csv",
    index = False
)

triplet_counts.loc[lambda df: df["count"] >= 10]

```

Out[17]:

|    | candidate_x      | candidate_y      | candidate_z        | count |
|----|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|
| 0  | Cory Booker      | Kamala Harris    | Kirsten Gillibrand | 33    |
| 1  | Amy Klobuchar    | Kamala Harris    | Kirsten Gillibrand | 27    |
| 2  | Beto O'Rourke    | Kamala Harris    | Pete Buttigieg     | 26    |
| 3  | Amy Klobuchar    | Kamala Harris    | Pete Buttigieg     | 22    |
| 4  | Amy Klobuchar    | Beto O'Rourke    | Pete Buttigieg     | 19    |
| 5  | Elizabeth Warren | Kamala Harris    | Pete Buttigieg     | 17    |
| 6  | Amy Klobuchar    | Elizabeth Warren | Kamala Harris      | 17    |
| 7  | Amy Klobuchar    | Cory Booker      | Kamala Harris      | 17    |
| 8  | Elizabeth Warren | Kamala Harris    | Kirsten Gillibrand | 16    |
| 9  | Cory Booker      | Kamala Harris    | Pete Buttigieg     | 14    |
| 10 | Amy Klobuchar    | Beto O'Rourke    | Kamala Harris      | 10    |
| 11 | Cory Booker      | Elizabeth Warren | Kamala Harris      | 10    |
| 12 | Amy Klobuchar    | Elizabeth Warren | Kirsten Gillibrand | 10    |
| 13 | Amy Klobuchar    | Cory Booker      | Kirsten Gillibrand | 10    |
| 14 | Amy Klobuchar    | Jay Inslee       | Pete Buttigieg     | 10    |

**Count number of donors who gave to at least three female candidates**

```
In [18]: (
contributor_totals
.loc[lambda df: df["Candidate Name"].isin(
    candidates
    .loc[lambda df: df["Candidate Sex"] == "F"]
    ["Candidate Name"]
)]
.groupby([ "donor_id" ])
["Candidate Name"]
.nunique()
.loc[lambda x: x >= 3]
.pipe(len)
)
```

Out[18]: 44

**Calculate number of donors, per candidate, that gave to multiple campaigns**

```

In [19]: (
    candidate_pairs
    .melt(
        id_vars = [ "donor_id" ],
        value_name = "candidate"
    )
    .groupby([ "candidate" ])
    [ "donor_id" ]
    .nunique()
    .sort_values(ascending = False)
    .to_frame("Multiple-Candidate Donors")
    .join(
        distinct_donor_counts,
        how = "left"
    )
    .assign(**{
        "Per 1k": lambda df: (
            df["Multiple-Candidate Donors"] * 1000 /
            df["Distinct Donor IDs"]
        ).round(1)
    })
)

```

Out[19]:

|                    | Multiple-Candidate Donors | Distinct Donor IDs | Per 1k |
|--------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|--------|
| candidate          |                           |                    |        |
| Kamala Harris      | 722                       | 7489               | 96.4   |
| Pete Buttigieg     | 512                       | 4045               | 126.6  |
| Elizabeth Warren   | 420                       | 3177               | 132.2  |
| Beto O'Rourke      | 394                       | 4879               | 80.8   |
| Amy Klobuchar      | 386                       | 2867               | 134.6  |
| Cory Booker        | 313                       | 3063               | 102.2  |
| Bernie Sanders     | 296                       | 9321               | 31.8   |
| Kirsten Gillibrand | 277                       | 1723               | 160.8  |
| Jay Inslee         | 128                       | 1214               | 105.4  |
| Tulsi Gabbard      | 79                        | 801                | 98.6   |
| John Hickenlooper  | 68                        | 1090               | 62.4   |
| Julián Castro      | 52                        | 576                | 90.3   |
| Andrew Yang        | 22                        | 659                | 33.4   |
| John Delaney       | 18                        | 372                | 48.4   |
| Wayne Messam       | 2                         | 33                 | 60.6   |

## Calculate total number of donors observed giving to multiple campaigns



```
In [20]: donor_candidate_counts = (  
    contributor_totals  
    .groupby(["donor_id"])  
    .size()  
    .to_frame("num_candidates")  
    .reset_index()  
)  
  
(  
    donor_candidate_counts  
    ["num_candidates"]  
    .value_counts()  
    .sort_index()  
)
```

```
Out[20]: 1    37620  
        2     1401  
        3      203  
        4       55  
        5        8  
        6         3  
        Name: num_candidates, dtype: int64
```

... and as a proportion of the total:

```
In [21]: (  
    donor_candidate_counts  
    ["num_candidates"]  
    .value_counts(normalize = True)  
    .sort_index()  
)
```

```
Out[21]: 1    0.957496  
        2    0.035658  
        3    0.005167  
        4    0.001400  
        5    0.000204  
        6    0.000076  
        Name: num_candidates, dtype: float64
```