

## **Pink-Collar Representation and Budget Outcomes in U. S. States**

### **Online Appendix**

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## Appendix A: Coding and Descriptive Statistics

### **Budget Categories**

*Education:* spending on elementary and secondary school, universities, and libraries

*Social services:* spending on public welfare, hospitals, health social insurance, employment security administration, veteran services, housing and community development

*Transportation and infrastructure services:* spending on transportation, natural resources, sewerage, and waste management

*Public safety:* spending on law enforcement, jails, prisons, and other public safety

*Government administration:* spending on public employees, pensions, and benefits, plus a collection of smaller, miscellaneous, spending areas: interest on general debt, miscellaneous or unallocated expenditures, utility and liquor store expenditures and insurance trust.

### **Discussion of Occupational Coding Process**

Adopting the Census' approach, we take the individual jobs that legislators list and code them into occupation categories (such that a hairdresser and a stylist would both be coded into the category of "hairdressers, hairstylists, and cosmetologists"). These occupations are binned into occupational classes such that a hairdresser and a manicurist would both be classified as working in the personal care occupational category.

Using this method, we successfully coded 94% of our data into occupational categories. Because Clark and Hansen's data includes multiple jobs for legislators, the coding scheme we develop is not mutually exclusive. That is, if a legislator previously worked as a truck driver, and then became an administrative assistant, she would be coded as having both a blue-collar and a pink-collar background.

After coding each individual legislator's previous occupation or occupations, we then calculate the share of legislature that have pink- or blue-collar backgrounds.

### **Descriptive Statistics of All Variables Included in Analyses**

We include a table detailing this information on page II of Appendix A, Table A4.

### **Sample of States**

Our paper includes the following states in our analyses: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

**Table A1. Occupational Categories, Share of Women, and Median Earnings**

Occupational Category	Pink- or blue-collar	% women in category	Median earnings
Healthcare Support Occupations	pink-collar	85.6	\$29,848
Personal Care and Service Occupations	pink-collar	74.5	\$26,054
Education, Training, and Library Occupations	pink-collar	71.3	\$50,307
Office and Administrative Support Occupations	pink-collar	70.4	\$37,050
Community and Social Service Occupations	pink-collar	64.6	\$45,541
Healthcare Practitioners and Technical Occupations		72.8	\$62,232
Legal Occupations		51.0	\$90,413
Management, Business, Science, and Arts Occupations		49.2	\$66,057
Food Preparation and Serving Related Occupations		46.7	\$23,747
Arts, Design, Entertainment, Sports, and Media Occupations		43.5	\$52,499
Computer, Engineering, and Science Occupations		24.0	\$81,256
Sales and Related Occupations		41.5	\$45,567
Building and Grounds Cleaning and Maintenance Occupations	blue-collar	33.2	\$27,562
Production, Transportation, and Material Moving Occupations	blue-collar	20.4	\$37,318
Protective Service Occupations	blue-collar	19.9	\$51,703
Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance Occupations	blue-collar	4.1	\$41,963

**Table A2. Share of Each Occupation in Dataset**

Occupation	Percent of All			Percent of Pink-collar		
	Legislators	Women	Men	Legislators	Women	Men
Service	5.19	9.00	4.09	26.89	28.04	26.18
Education	11.90	17.92	10.19	61.70	55.81	65.24
Health Support	1.63	4.60	.77	8.45	14.34	4.94
Personal Care	.80	1.84	.50	4.16	5.73	3.22
Administration	.73	1.03	.65	3.81	3.20	4.17

**Table A3. Full list of jobs included in the occupational categories that make up pink and blue-collar workers**

Pink-collar jobs	Blue-collar jobs
Animal trainers	Adhesive bonding machine operators and tenders
Archivists, curators, and museum technicians	Agricultural inspectors
Baggage porters, bellhops, and concierges	Air traffic controllers and airfield operations specialists
Barbers	Aircraft mechanics and service technicians
Bill and account collectors	Aircraft pilots and flight engineers
Billing and posting clerks	Aircraft structure, surfaces, rigging, and systems assemblers
Bookkeeping, accounting, and auditing clerks	Ambulance drivers and attendants, except emergency medical technicians
Brokerage clerks	Animal breeders
Cargo and freight agents	Animal control workers
Childcare workers	Automotive and watercraft service attendants
Clergy	Automotive body and related repairers
Communications equipment operators, all other	Automotive glass installers and repairers
Computer operators	Automotive service technicians and mechanics
Correspondence clerks	Avionics technicians
Counselors	Bailiffs, correctional officers, and jailers
Couriers and messengers	Bakers
Court, municipal, and license clerks	Boilermakers
Credit authorizers, checkers, and clerks	Brickmasons, blockmasons, and stonemasons
Customer service representatives	Bridge and lock tenders
Data entry keyers	Bus and truck mechanics and diesel engine specialists
Dental assistants	Bus drivers
Desktop publishers	Butchers and other meat, poultry, and fish processing workers
Directors, religious activities and education	Cabinetmakers and bench carpenters
Dispatchers	Carpenters
Elementary and middle school teachers	Carpet, floor, and tile installers and finishers
Eligibility interviewers, government programs	Cement masons, concrete finishers, and terrazzo workers
Embalmers and funeral attendants	Chemical processing machine setters, operators, and tenders
File clerks	Cleaners of vehicles and equipment
Financial clerks, all other	Cleaning, washing, and metal pickling equipment operators and tenders
First-line supervisors of gaming workers	Coin, vending, and amusement machine servicers and repairers
First-line supervisors of office and administrative support workers	Commercial divers
First-line supervisors of personal service workers	Computer control programmers and operators
Gaming cage workers	Computer, automated teller, and office machine repairers

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Gaming services workers	Construction and building inspectors
Hairdressers, hairstylists, and cosmetologists	Construction laborers
Healthcare support workers, all other, including medical equipment preparers	Control and valve installers and repairers
Hotel, motel, and resort desk clerks	Conveyor operators and tenders
Human resources assistants, except payroll and timekeeping	Cooling and freezing equipment operators and tenders
Information and record clerks, all other	Crane and tower operators
Insurance claims and policy processing clerks	Crossing guards
Interviewers, except eligibility and loan	Crushing, grinding, polishing, mixing, and blending workers
Librarians	Cutting workers
Library assistants, clerical	Cutting, punching, and press machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic
Library technicians	Derrick, rotary drill, and service unit operators, oil, gas, and mining
Loan interviewers and clerks	Detectives and criminal investigators
Mail clerks and mail machine operators, except postal service	Dredge, excavating, and loading machine operators
Massage therapists	Drilling and boring machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic
Medical assistants	Driver/sales workers and truck drivers
Medical transcriptionists	Drywall installers, ceiling tile installers, and tapers
Meter readers, utilities	Earth drillers, except oil and gas
Miscellaneous community and social service specialists, including health educators and community health workers	Electric motor, power tool, and related repairers
Miscellaneous entertainment attendants and related workers	Electrical and electronics installers and repairers, transportation equipment
Miscellaneous personal appearance workers	Electrical and electronics repairers, industrial and utility
Morticians, undertakers, and funeral directors	Electrical power-line installers and repairers
Motion picture projectionists	Electrical, electronics, and electromechanical assemblers
New accounts clerks	Electricians
Nonfarm animal caretakers	Electronic equipment installers and repairers, motor vehicles
Nursing, psychiatric, and home health aides	Electronic home entertainment equipment installers and repairers
Occupational therapy assistants and aides	Elevator installers and repairers
Office and administrative support workers, all other	Engine and other machine assemblers
Office clerks, general	Etchers and engravers
Office machine operators, except computer	Explosives workers, ordnance handling experts, and blasters
Order clerks	Extruding and drawing machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic

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Other education, training, and library workers	Extruding, forming, pressing, and compacting machine setters, operators, and tenders
Other teachers and instructors	Fabric and apparel patternmakers
Payroll and timekeeping clerks	Fence erectors
Personal care aides	Fire inspectors
Personal care and service workers, all other	Firefighters
Pharmacy aides	First-line supervisors of construction trades and extraction workers
Phlebotomists	First-line supervisors of correctional officers
Physical therapist assistants and aides	First-line supervisors of farming, fishing, and forestry workers
Postal service clerks	First-line supervisors of fire fighting and prevention workers
Postal service mail carriers	First-line supervisors of housekeeping and janitorial workers
Postal service mail sorters, processors, and processing machine operators	First-line supervisors of landscaping, lawn service, and groundskeeping workers
Postsecondary teachers	First-line supervisors of mechanics, installers, and repairers
Preschool and kindergarten teachers	First-line supervisors of police and detectives
Probation officers and correctional treatment specialists	First-line supervisors of production and operating workers
Procurement clerks	First-line supervisors of protective service workers, all other
Production, planning, and expediting clerks	Fish and game wardens
Proofreaders and copy markers	Fishing and hunting workers
Receptionists and information clerks	Flight attendants
Recreation and fitness workers	Food and tobacco roasting, baking, and drying machine operators and tenders
Religious workers, all other	Food batchmakers
Reservation and transportation ticket agents and travel clerks	Food cooking machine operators and tenders
Residential advisors	Food processing workers, all other
Secondary school teachers	Forest and conservation workers
Secretaries and administrative assistants	Forging machine setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic
Shipping, receiving, and traffic clerks	Furnace, kiln, oven, drier, and kettle operators and tenders
Social and human service assistants	Furniture finishers
Social workers	Glaziers
Special education teachers	Graders and sorters, agricultural products
Statistical assistants	Grinding, lapping, polishing, and buffing machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic
Stock clerks and order fillers	Grounds maintenance workers
Switchboard operators, including answering service	Hazardous materials removal workers
Teacher assistants	Heat treating equipment setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic

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Telephone operators	Heating, air conditioning, and refrigeration mechanics and installers
Tellers	Heavy vehicle and mobile equipment service technicians and mechanics
Tour and travel guides	Helpers, construction trades
Ushers, lobby attendants, and ticket takers	Helpers--extraction workers
Veterinary assistants and laboratory animal caretakers	Helpers--installation, maintenance, and repair workers
Weighers, measurers, checkers, and samplers, recordkeeping	Helpers--production workers
Word processors and typists	Highway maintenance workers
	Hoist and winch operators
	Home appliance repairers
	Industrial and refractory machinery mechanics
	Industrial truck and tractor operators
	Inspectors, testers, sorters, samplers, and weighers
	Insulation workers
	Janitors and building cleaners
	Jewelers and precious stone and metal workers
	Laborers and freight, stock, and material movers, hand
	Lathe and turning machine tool setters, operators, and tenders, metal and plastic
	Laundry and dry-cleaning workers
	Layout workers, metal and plastic

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**Table A4. Descriptive Statistics of Variables**

Variable	Observations	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ln(Education/Transportation)	308	0.66	0.38	-0.42	1.82
ln(Social Services/Transportation)	308	1.35	0.44	-0.08	2.40
ln(Public Safety/Transportation)	308	-0.72	0.43	-2.23	0.36
ln(Admin. & Misc./Transportation)	308	1.10	0.46	0.01	2.25
Education Spending	308	0.19	0.04	0.10	0.27
Social Service Spending	308	0.37	0.06	0.20	0.55
Education and Social Service Spending	308	0.56	0.07	0.34	0.73
Pink-Collar Women	308	0.07	0.04	0	0.2
Pink-Collar Legislators	308	0.19	0.07	0	0.38
Percent of Women	308	0.23	0.07	0	0.43
Blue-Collar Legislators	308	0.13	0.08	0.02	0.67
Women in Labor Force	308	73.09	3.82	66.7	82.2
% Workers Rep. by Unions	308	12.66	5.89	3.3	27.5
Unemployment	308	6.65	2.23	2.9	13.7
Poverty Rate	308	12.99	3.12	6.8	23.1
% of Non-White in Poverty	308	0.49	0.15	0.19	0.77
Total GDP	308	388474.3	407501.5	22077.4	2262771
Democratic governor (=1)	308	0.44	0.50	0	1
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	308	0.28	0.45	0	1
Professionalism	308	0.23	0.13	0.05	0.63
Term Limits (=1)	308	0.25	0.43	0	1
Pink-collar Democrats	308	0.12	0.06	0	0.27
Pink-collar Republicans	308	0.07	0.04	0	0.17
Pink-collar Democrat Women	308	0.05	0.03	0	0.14
Pink-collar Republican Women	308	0.02	0.01	0	0.07
Percent of Democrats	308	0.49	0.14	0.19	0.89
Non-Pink-Collar Women	308	0.16	0.06	0	0.30
House Ideology	276	0.03	0.71	-1.47	1.17
Senate Ideology	276	0.05	0.66	-1.38	1.09

Note: \*We do not have House ideology data for the following states and years: AK 2009-2010, CT 2009-2010, FL 2009, IN 2009-2010, KS 2012, KY 2009-2014, MA 2009-2014, MI 2009-2010, ND 2009-2010, OK 2009, and TN 2009-2010. Senate ideology data were missing from the following states and years: AK 2009-2010, CT 2009, FL 2009-2010, IN 2009-2010, KS 2012, KY 2009-2014, MA 2013-2014, MI 2009-2010, ND 2009-2010, OK 2009, and MN 2009-2014. As a result, instead of having 308 observations we have 276 for both of these variables.

## Appendix B: Results and Additional Model Specifications

**Table B1. Spending Share Across All Categories, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink Collar	1.20*** (0.33)	1.74*** (0.31)	0.93*** (0.25)	0.45^ (0.26)
Percent Women	-0.67^ (0.37)	-0.43 (0.35)	0.58* (0.28)	-0.82** (0.29)
Blue Collar	-2.44*** (0.38)	-3.27*** (0.36)	-1.78*** (0.29)	-2.01*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.03** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.43^ (0.22)	-0.43* (0.21)	0.29^ (0.16)	0.29^ (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.01 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.12 (0.30)	0.63* (0.28)	1.03*** (0.22)	1.01*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.17*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.66* (0.66)	-0.78 (0.62)	-0.04 (0.49)	-1.67** (0.52)
Observations	0.34	0.54	0.66	0.68
R <sup>2</sup>	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B2. Spending Share Across All Categories, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink Collar Women	3.69*** (0.74)	3.84*** (0.71)	2.49*** (0.56)	0.25 (0.60)
Percent Women	-1.71*** (0.44)	-1.42*** (0.42)	-0.10 (0.33)	-0.82* (0.36)
Blue Collar	-2.92*** (0.37)	-3.88*** (0.35)	-2.13*** (0.28)	-2.13*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03** (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.64** (0.21)	-0.74*** (0.20)	0.12 (0.16)	0.22 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.04 (0.04)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.31 (0.29)	0.37 (0.28)	0.88*** (0.22)	0.94*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.31*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.29* (0.66)	-0.55 (0.63)	0.17 (0.50)	-1.77*** (0.53)
Observations	0.34	0.32	0.25	0.27
R <sup>2</sup>	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B3. Education and Social Service Spending as Combined Category, All Pink-Collar, OLS Models**

Variables	Education Spending	Social Service Spending	Education and Social Service Spending Combined
Pink-collar	0.06 <sup>^</sup> (0.03)	0.24*** (0.04)	0.30*** (0.05)
Percent Women	-0.05 (0.04)	0.04 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.06)
Blue-collar	-0.05 (0.04)	-0.32*** (0.05)	-0.37*** (0.06)
Women in Labor force	0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 <sup>^</sup> (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Unemployment	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Poverty Rate	0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.06** (0.02)	-0.10*** (0.03)	-0.16*** (0.03)
Total GDP	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.00 (0.00)	0.01 <sup>^</sup> (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 <sup>^</sup> (0.01)
Professionalism	-0.12*** (0.03)	0.04 (0.04)	-0.08 <sup>^</sup> (0.04)
Term limits (=1)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)
Constant	0.11 <sup>^</sup> (0.06)	0.32*** (0.09)	0.44*** (0.10)
$R^2$	0.39	0.44	0.51
Observations	319	319	319

Results are from ordinary least squares regressions. The dependent variable in Model 1 and 2 is the share of education and social spending respectively. The depend variable in Model 3 is the shares of education and social service spending combined. Standard errors in parentheses. <sup>^</sup>

p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B4. Education and Social Service Spending as Combined Category, Pink-Collar Women, OLS Models**

Variables	Education Spending	Social Service Spending	Education and Social Service Spending Combined
Pink-collar Women	0.28*** (0.07)	0.56*** (0.10)	0.84*** (0.11)
Percent Women	-0.13** (0.04)	-0.11 <sup>^</sup> (0.06)	-0.24*** (0.07)
Blue-collar	-0.08* (0.03)	-0.41*** (0.05)	-0.48*** (0.06)
Women in Labor force	0.00* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Unemployment	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Poverty Rate	0.00 (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)	0.01*** (0.00)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.07*** (0.02)	-0.14*** (0.03)	-0.21*** (0.03)
Total GDP	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.01 <sup>^</sup> (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Professionalism	-0.13*** (0.03)	0.00 (0.04)	-0.13** (0.04)
Term limits (=1)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
Constant	0.15* (0.06)	0.36*** (0.09)	0.51*** (0.10)
$R^2$	0.41	0.45	0.54
Observations	319	319	319

Results are from ordinary least squares regressions. The dependent variable in Model 1 and 2 is the share of education and social spending respectively. The depend variable in Model 3 is the shares of education and social service spending combined. Standard errors in parentheses. <sup>^</sup>

p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B5. Year-Level Fixed Effects, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.28*** (0.33)	1.77*** (0.31)	1.00*** (0.25)	0.47^ (0.26)
Percent Women	-0.77* (0.37)	-0.49 (0.35)	0.57* (0.28)	-0.82** (0.29)
Blue-collar	-2.13*** (0.39)	-3.17*** (0.37)	-1.60*** (0.29)	-1.99*** (0.31)
Women in Labor Force	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.07*** (0.02)	0.04* (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02^ (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.37^ (0.22)	-0.42* (0.20)	0.32^ (0.16)	0.29^ (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.02 (0.05)	0.04 (0.05)	0.01 (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.17 (0.29)	0.62* (0.28)	1.04*** (0.22)	1.08*** (0.23)
Term Limits (=1)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.04 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
Constant	-2.54*** (0.75)	-0.79 (0.71)	-0.21 (0.57)	-1.13^ (0.60)
<i>Year Fixed Effects</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>				
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Year level fixed effects are included for all analyses, baseline = 2003. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category.

Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001



**Table B6. Year-Level Fixed Effects, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	3.75*** (0.73)	3.89*** (0.70)	2.59*** (0.55)	0.31 (0.59)
Percent Women	-1.82*** (0.44)	-1.49*** (0.42)	-0.13 (0.33)	-0.84* (0.35)
Blue-collar	-2.65*** (0.37)	-3.83*** (0.36)	-1.98*** (0.28)	-2.13*** (0.30)
Women in Labor Force	0.04*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.07*** (0.02)	0.03^ (0.02)	0.04** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02^ (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.60** (0.21)	-0.75*** (0.20)	0.13 (0.16)	0.21 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00*** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.05 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.04 (0.05)	0.06 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.36 (0.28)	0.35 (0.27)	0.89*** (0.22)	1.02*** (0.23)
Term Limits (=1)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.29*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-2.12** (0.75)	-0.49 (0.73)	0.05 (0.57)	-1.20* (0.61)
<i>Year Fixed Effects</i>	✓	✓	✓	✓
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>				
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Year level fixed effects are included for all analyses, baseline = 2003. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category.

Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B7. 2008 and Earlier Sample, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.39*** (0.41)	1.84*** (0.37)	1.19*** (0.31)	0.65* (0.32)
Percent Women	-1.11* (0.49)	-0.67 (0.43)	0.44 (0.37)	-1.73*** (0.38)
Blue-collar	-2.93*** (0.51)	-3.99*** (0.46)	-2.41*** (0.39)	-2.02*** (0.40)
Women in Labor force	0.04** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
Unemployment	0.07* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.00 (0.02)	0.01 (0.02)
Poverty Rate	0.03^ (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.55^ (0.28)	-0.60* (0.25)	0.06 (0.21)	0.47* (0.22)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.11* (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.13** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.12^ (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.17** (0.05)
Professionalism	-0.42 (0.39)	0.21 (0.35)	0.66* (0.29)	1.26*** (0.31)
Term limits (=1)	0.35*** (0.08)	0.10 (0.07)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.23*** (0.06)
Constant	-2.24* (0.89)	-0.85 (0.79)	-0.32 (0.67)	-2.01** (0.70)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.37	0.59	0.68	0.70
Observations	169	169	169	169

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Sample restricted to 2008 and earlier. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B8. 2008 and Earlier Sample, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Women	3.86*** (0.91)	3.99*** (0.83)	3.16*** (0.69)	0.96 (0.74)
Percent Women	-2.11*** (0.55)	-1.67*** (0.50)	-0.38 (0.41)	-1.95*** (0.44)
Blue-collar	-3.41*** (0.50)	-4.53*** (0.46)	-2.80*** (0.38)	-2.18*** (0.41)
Women in Labor force	0.03** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	0.01^ (0.00)	0.03*** (0.01)
Unemployment	0.06* (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)
Poverty Rate	0.03^ (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.76** (0.27)	-0.86*** (0.25)	-0.12 (0.21)	0.39^ (0.22)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.10^ (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)	0.12** (0.04)	-0.03 (0.04)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.12^ (0.07)	0.09 (0.06)	0.05 (0.05)	0.17** (0.05)
Professionalism	-0.59 (0.38)	-0.01 (0.34)	0.52^ (0.29)	1.19*** (0.31)
Term limits (=1)	0.40*** (0.08)	0.18** (0.07)	0.37*** (0.06)	0.26*** (0.06)
Constant	-1.76* (0.89)	-0.43 (0.81)	0.07 (0.67)	-1.95** (0.72)
$R^2$	0.39	0.59	0.69	0.70
Observations	169	169	169	169

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Sample restricted to 2008 and earlier. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table B9. Post 2008 Sample, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.19* (0.54)	1.67** (0.54)	0.67^ (0.40)	-0.09 (0.43)
Percent Women	0.12 (0.57)	0.09 (0.57)	0.88* (0.42)	-0.06 (0.45)
Blue-collar	-1.77** (0.59)	-2.78*** (0.59)	-1.23** (0.44)	-1.95*** (0.47)
Women in Labor force	0.03* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Unemployment	0.05* (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.06*** (0.02)
Poverty Rate	0.04* (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.35 (0.34)	-0.39 (0.35)	0.49^ (0.26)	0.18 (0.27)
Total GDP	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	-0.01 (0.07)	-0.00 (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.08 (0.08)	-0.01 (0.08)	-0.04 (0.06)	0.09 (0.07)
Professionalism	0.20 (0.44)	1.05* (0.44)	1.48*** (0.33)	0.97** (0.35)
Term limits (=1)	0.21* (0.10)	-0.01 (0.10)	0.20** (0.07)	0.16* (0.08)
Constant	-2.52* (1.21)	-0.71 (1.21)	-0.45 (0.90)	-0.79 (0.96)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.38	0.51	0.68	0.67
Observations	150	150	150	150

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Sample restricted to 2009 and later. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table Bro. Post 2008 Sample, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Women	3.05* (1.21)	3.18** (1.23)	1.36 (0.91)	-1.35 (0.96)
Percent Women	-0.81 (0.73)	-0.79 (0.74)	0.50 (0.55)	0.45 (0.58)
Blue-collar	-2.28*** (0.56)	-3.45*** (0.57)	-1.51*** (0.42)	-1.87*** (0.45)
Women in Labor force	0.04* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
Unemployment	0.05* (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	0.04** (0.02)	0.05*** (0.02)
Poverty Rate	0.04** (0.02)	0.05** (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.59^ (0.32)	-0.74* (0.33)	0.35 (0.24)	0.20 (0.26)
Total GDP	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	0.02 (0.05)	0.07 (0.06)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.06 (0.08)	0.01 (0.09)	-0.03 (0.06)	0.07 (0.07)
Professionalism	-0.02 (0.44)	0.79^ (0.45)	1.37*** (0.33)	1.04** (0.35)
Term limits (=1)	0.27** (0.09)	0.09 (0.09)	0.23*** (0.07)	0.16* (0.07)
Constant	-2.32^ (1.21)	-0.64 (1.23)	-0.41 (0.91)	-1.01 (0.96)
$R^2$	0.39	0.50	0.68	0.67
Observations	150	150	150	150

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Sample restricted to 2009 and later. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table B11. State Fixed Effects, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.04** (0.38)	0.90* (0.37)	0.67^ (0.35)	0.54 (0.38)
Percent Women	-0.03 (0.37)	-0.06 (0.35)	0.00 (0.33)	0.45 (0.36)
Blue-collar	-0.21 (0.31)	-0.18 (0.30)	0.17 (0.29)	0.05 (0.31)
Women in Labor Force	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.01^ (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Unemployment	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.02* (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.43 (0.41)	-0.07 (0.40)	-0.56 (0.38)	-0.19 (0.41)
Total GDP	0.00* (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Democratic Governor (=1)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.01 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Constant	-0.09 (0.79)	0.46 (0.76)	-1.57* (0.72)	-0.96 (0.78)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
$R^2$				
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. State level fixed effects are included for all analyses.

Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B12. State Fixed Effects, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	2.72*** (0.65)	1.90** (0.63)	1.69** (0.59)	0.61 (0.65)
Percent Women	-0.64 (0.40)	-0.47 (0.39)	-0.38 (0.37)	0.35 (0.40)
Blue-collar	-0.49^ (0.30)	-0.42 (0.29)	-0.01 (0.27)	-0.08 (0.30)
Women in Labor Force	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.01^ (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)
Unemployment	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.02** (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.53 (0.40)	-0.18 (0.39)	-0.63^ (0.37)	-0.26 (0.40)
Total GDP	0.00* (0.00)	0.00** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)
Democratic Governor (=1)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	0.00 (0.02)	-0.00 (0.02)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.00 (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)	0.04 (0.03)
Constant	0.22 (0.77)	0.71 (0.75)	-1.37^ (0.71)	-0.84 (0.78)
State Fixed Effects	✓	✓	✓	✓
$R^2$				
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. State level fixed effects are included for all analyses.

Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table B13. Spending Across Categories, Not Controlling for Percentage of Women, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.10*** (0.33)	1.67*** (0.31)	1.01*** (0.25)	0.33 (0.26)
Blue-collar	-2.34*** (0.38)	-3.21*** (0.35)	-1.87*** (0.28)	-1.88*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.02** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.01^ (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01^ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.50* (0.22)	-0.47* (0.20)	0.35* (0.16)	0.21 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.10 (0.30)	0.64* (0.28)	1.01*** (0.22)	1.03*** (0.24)
Term limits (=1)	0.25*** (0.06)	0.02 (0.06)	0.29*** (0.05)	0.13** (0.05)
Constant	-1.43* (0.65)	-0.63 (0.61)	-0.24 (0.49)	-1.39** (0.52)
$R^2$	0.34	0.32	0.26	0.27
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. As compared to the main model, see Table B1, this model does not control for the percentage of women in the legislature. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$



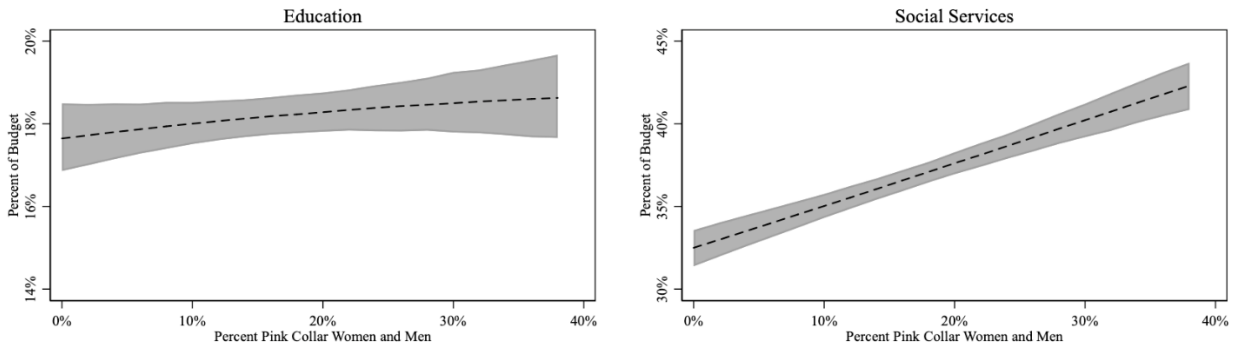
**Table B14. Spending Across Categories, Not Controlling for Percentage of Women, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Women	2.04*** (0.62)	2.48*** (0.59)	2.39*** (0.46)	-0.54 (0.49)
Blue-collar	-2.61*** (0.37)	-3.63*** (0.35)	-2.11*** (0.27)	-1.98*** (0.29)
Women in Labor force	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.73*** (0.21)	-0.81*** (0.20)	0.12 (0.16)	0.17 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.05 (0.04)	0.08* (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.02 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.01 (0.05)	0.02 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.24 (0.29)	0.42 (0.28)	0.89*** (0.22)	0.98*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.27*** (0.06)	0.08 (0.05)	0.30*** (0.04)	0.17*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.17^ (0.67)	-0.45 (0.64)	0.18 (0.50)	-1.71** (0.53)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.34	0.53	0.65	0.68
Observations	319	319	319	319

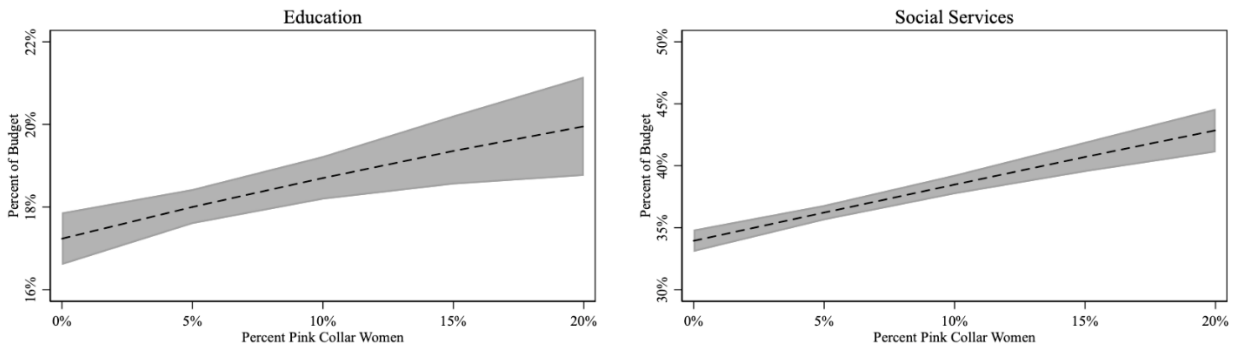
Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. As compared to the main model, see Table B2, this model does not control for the percentage of women in the legislature. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Figure B1. Spending Across Categories, Not Controlling for Percentage of Women**

**All Pink Collar**



**Women Pink Collar**



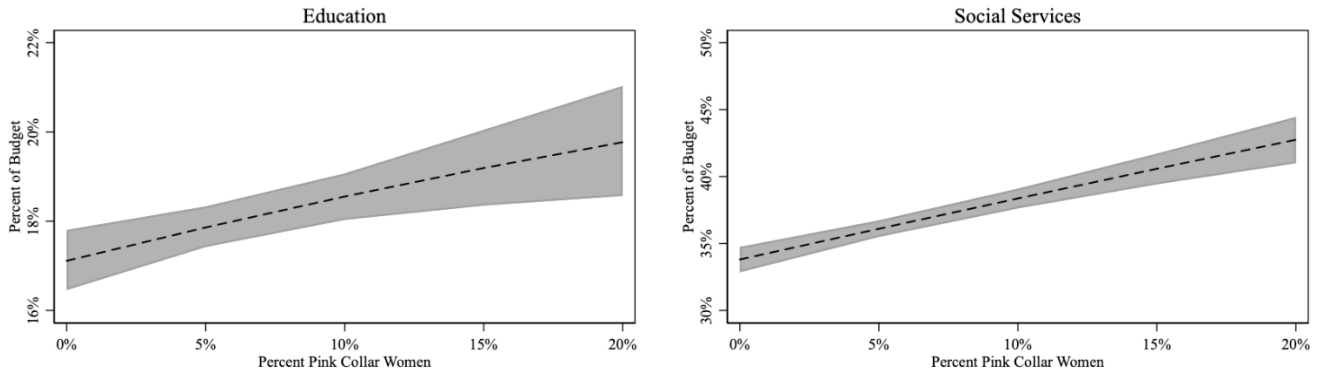
**Table B15. Spending Across Categories When Controlling for Non-Pink-Collar Women, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Women	1.97** (0.61)	2.42*** (0.58)	2.39*** (0.46)	-0.57 (0.49)
Non-Pink-Collar Women	-1.71*** (0.44)	-1.42*** (0.42)	-0.10 (0.33)	-0.82* (0.36)
Blue-collar	-2.92*** (0.37)	-3.88*** (0.35)	-2.13*** (0.28)	-2.13*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03** (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.64** (0.21)	-0.74*** (0.20)	0.12 (0.16)	0.22 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.04 (0.04)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.06* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.03 (0.05)	0.05 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.31 (0.29)	0.37 (0.28)	0.88*** (0.22)	0.94*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.33*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.31*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.29* (0.66)	-0.55 (0.63)	0.17 (0.50)	-1.77*** (0.53)
$R^2$	0.34	0.32	0.25	0.27
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. As compared to the main model, see Table B2, this model does not control for the percentage of women in the legislature, instead it controls for the percentage of non-pink-collar women. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Figure B2. Spending Across Categories When Controlling for Non-Pink-Collar Women, Pink-Collar Women

### Women Pink Collar



**Table B16. Spending Across Categories, No Occupational Controls**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Percent Women	0.07 (0.40)	0.60 (0.41)	1.13*** (0.30)	-0.33 (0.31)
Women in Labor Force	0.01 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	-0.03*** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	-0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	0.15 (0.20)	0.34 (0.21)	0.71*** (0.15)	0.83*** (0.16)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.08^ (0.05)	0.12** (0.05)	0.09** (0.03)	0.03 (0.04)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.06 (0.06)	0.10^ (0.06)	0.04 (0.04)	0.17*** (0.04)
Professionalism	0.23 (0.31)	1.08*** (0.32)	1.28*** (0.23)	1.34*** (0.24)
Term limits (=1)	0.21*** (0.06)	-0.05 (0.06)	0.21*** (0.05)	0.08^ (0.05)
Constant	-1.20^ (0.70)	-0.20 (0.72)	0.28 (0.53)	-1.16* (0.55)
$R^2$	0.21	0.34	0.59	0.63
Observations	319	319	319	319

**Table B17. Spending Across Categories, Pink-Collar Excluding the Education Sector**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink Collar, No Education Sector	1.33* (0.55)	3.42*** (0.50)	1.65*** (0.40)	1.42*** (0.42)
Percent Women	-0.58 (0.38)	-0.44 (0.34)	0.59* (0.28)	-0.88** (0.29)
Blue Collar	-2.48*** (0.39)	-3.06*** (0.35)	-1.70*** (0.29)	-1.86*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.03*** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	-0.01* (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.04*** (0.01)	-0.02^ (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.63** (0.21)	-0.73*** (0.19)	0.13 (0.16)	0.21 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00* (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.05 (0.04)	0.07^ (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.04 (0.06)	0.12* (0.05)	0.04 (0.04)	0.16*** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.36 (0.30)	0.18 (0.27)	0.80*** (0.22)	0.86*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.14** (0.05)	0.32*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.69* (0.67)	-0.42 (0.61)	0.11 (0.50)	-1.43** (0.52)
$R^2$	0.34	0.31	0.25	0.27
Observations	319	319	319	319

**Table B18. Spending Across Categories, Pink-Collar Women, Excluding the Education Sector**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-Collar Women, No Education Sector	3.30** (1.15)	4.89*** (1.09)	2.27** (0.86)	0.72 (0.90)
Percent Women	-1.03* (0.42)	-0.97* (0.40)	0.35 (0.32)	-0.86** (0.33)
Blue Collar	-2.78*** (0.38)	-3.76*** (0.36)	-2.04*** (0.28)	-2.13*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.01^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.71*** (0.22)	-0.84*** (0.20)	0.08 (0.16)	0.20 (0.17)
Total GDP	0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.06 (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.03 (0.05)	0.07 (0.05)	0.02 (0.04)	0.12** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.40 (0.30)	0.21 (0.28)	0.82*** (0.22)	0.92*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.38*** (0.06)	0.18** (0.06)	0.34*** (0.04)	0.20*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.79** (0.66)	-0.97 (0.63)	-0.16 (0.50)	-1.76*** (0.52)
$R^2$	0.34	0.33	0.26	0.27
Observations	319	319	319	319

**Appendix C: The Role of Party in Pink-Collar Representation**

**Table C1. Descriptive Statistics of Pink-Collar Legislators Across Political Parties**

Party	Percent of All			Percent of Pink-collar		
	Legislators	Women	Men	Legislators	Women	Men
Democrat	49.96	60.60	46.51	61.63	66.51	58.68
Republican	49.91	38.32	53.36	38.21	33.37	41.14
All Legislators	100	22.31	77.69	100	37.84	62.16



**Table C2. Correlation Matrix of Political Party, Pink-Collar Legislators, and Pink-Collar Women Legislators**

	Pink-Collar	Pink-Collar Women	Democrat	Democrat Gov.	Dem. Controlled Chamber
Pink-Collar	1.000				
Pink-Collar Women	0.7539	1.000			
Democrat	0.0032	0.0224	1.000		
Democrat Gov.	0.1287	0.0811	0.2863	1.000	
Dem. Controlled Chamber	-0.0902	0.0337	0.7341	0.2306	1.000

*Note:* Table presents the correlation between the Democratic representation and pink-collar representation that we include in our analyses.

**Table C3. All Pink-Collar Legislators by Political Party, Democrats**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Democrats	1.93*** (0.40)	2.09*** (0.38)	1.58*** (0.30)	1.07*** (0.31)
Percent Women	-0.64^ (0.36)	-0.31 (0.35)	0.60* (0.27)	-0.84** (0.29)
Blue-collar	-2.31*** (0.38)	-3.24*** (0.36)	-1.66*** (0.28)	-1.89*** (0.30)
Women in Labor force	0.02* (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.00)	0.01* (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03** (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03* (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.00 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.48* (0.21)	-0.56** (0.20)	0.26 (0.16)	0.30^ (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	-0.00 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.05 (0.05)	-0.03 (0.05)	-0.04 (0.04)	0.09* (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.19 (0.29)	0.50^ (0.28)	0.98*** (0.22)	1.00*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.28*** (0.06)	0.07 (0.06)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.15** (0.05)
Constant	-1.12^ (0.67)	-0.33 (0.64)	0.43 (0.50)	-1.30* (0.53)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.36	0.54	0.67	0.69
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table C4. All Pink-Collar Legislators by Political Party, Republicans**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Republicans	-0.43 (0.73)	1.57* (0.69)	-0.56 (0.54)	-1.25* (0.56)
Percent Women	-0.41 (0.38)	-0.23 (0.36)	0.80** (0.29)	-0.63* (0.29)
Blue-collar	-2.74*** (0.38)	-3.65*** (0.36)	-2.02*** (0.28)	-2.14*** (0.29)
Women in Labor force	0.04*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.01)	0.01* (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.02^ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04*** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01^ (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.67** (0.23)	-0.59** (0.22)	0.08 (0.17)	0.11 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.06 (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.02 (0.06)	0.06 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)
Professionalism	-0.31 (0.30)	0.52^ (0.29)	0.86*** (0.23)	0.84*** (0.24)
Term limits (=1)	0.37*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.34*** (0.05)	0.23*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.98** (0.67)	-1.58* (0.64)	-0.25 (0.50)	-1.63** (0.52)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.32	0.51	0.64	0.69
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table C5. Pink-Collar Women by Political Party, Democrats**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Democratic Women	3.85*** (0.84)	4.17*** (0.81)	3.58*** (0.62)	1.24^ (0.67)
Percent Women	-1.41*** (0.42)	-1.15** (0.40)	-0.14 (0.31)	-1.05** (0.34)
Blue-collar	-2.80*** (0.37)	-3.76*** (0.35)	-2.07*** (0.27)	-2.14*** (0.29)
Women in Labor force	0.03** (0.01)	0.02** (0.01)	-0.02** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.00)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03** (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.05*** (0.01)	-0.02^ (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.62** (0.21)	-0.72*** (0.20)	0.14 (0.15)	0.22 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00^ (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.03 (0.04)	0.06 (0.04)	0.05 (0.03)	0.00 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	-0.02 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.04)	0.11** (0.04)
Professionalism	-0.26 (0.29)	0.41 (0.28)	0.92*** (0.21)	0.95*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.32*** (0.06)	0.12* (0.06)	0.29*** (0.04)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.27^ (0.66)	-0.50 (0.63)	0.38 (0.49)	-1.57** (0.53)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.36	0.54	0.68	0.69
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table C6. Pink-Collar Women by Political Party, Republicans**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Republican Women	3.14 <sup>^</sup> (1.62)	2.65 <sup>^</sup> (1.56)	-1.28 (1.22)	-3.13* (1.25)
Percent Women	-0.74 <sup>^</sup> (0.40)	-0.34 (0.39)	0.87** (0.30)	-0.45 (0.31)
Blue-collar	-2.82*** (0.38)	-3.77*** (0.37)	-1.96*** (0.29)	-2.02*** (0.29)
Women in Labor force	0.04*** (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.01** (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 <sup>^</sup> (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.64** (0.22)	-0.74*** (0.21)	0.14 (0.16)	0.23 (0.17)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.07 <sup>^</sup> (0.04)	0.10* (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)	0.01 (0.03)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.04 (0.06)	0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.04)	0.07 (0.05)
Professionalism	-0.31 (0.30)	0.37 (0.29)	0.91*** (0.22)	0.98*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.37*** (0.06)	0.17** (0.06)	0.32*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-2.03** (0.66)	-1.32* (0.64)	-0.35 (0.50)	-1.84*** (0.51)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.32	0.50	0.26	0.27
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. <sup>^</sup> p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table C7. Change in Share of Spending Across all Categories, Democrats in Legislature, No Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Percentage Democrats	0.41* (0.20)	0.37^ (0.19)	0.21 (0.15)	0.31* (0.15)
Percent Women	-0.43 (0.37)	-0.04 (0.36)	0.78** (0.28)	-0.59* (0.29)
Blue-collar	-2.29*** (0.44)	-3.36*** (0.42)	-1.82*** (0.33)	-1.94*** (0.34)
Women in Labor force	0.03*** (0.01)	0.03** (0.01)	-0.01^ (0.01)	0.03*** (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.00 (0.01)	0.01^ (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.02*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.02* (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.04*** (0.01)	0.07*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.67** (0.21)	-0.79*** (0.20)	0.06 (0.16)	0.28^ (0.16)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Professionalism	-0.27 (0.30)	0.46 (0.29)	0.96*** (0.22)	0.95*** (0.23)
Term limits (=1)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.15** (0.06)	0.32*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.82** (0.66)	-1.16^ (0.64)	-0.21 (0.50)	-1.88*** (0.52)
$R^2$	0.32	0.50	0.64	0.68
Observations	319	319	319	319

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^  $p < .10$ , \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

**Table C8. Controlling for Shor and McCarty's Measure of Ideological Medians in the State House and Senate, All Pink-Collar**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar	1.33*** (0.36)	1.88*** (0.33)	1.14*** (0.26)	0.52^ (0.29)
Percent Women	-0.48 (0.40)	-0.22 (0.36)	0.73* (0.29)	-0.77* (0.31)
Blue-collar	-3.42*** (0.48)	-4.05*** (0.44)	-2.26*** (0.35)	-2.02*** (0.38)
Women in Labor force	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01 (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	-0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02^ (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.76** (0.26)	-0.85*** (0.24)	0.05 (0.19)	0.24 (0.21)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08^ (0.04)	0.08* (0.03)	-0.01 (0.04)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.12 (0.08)	0.03 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.00 (0.06)
House Ideology	0.14* (0.07)	0.13* (0.06)	-0.04 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)
Senate Ideology	0.01 (0.07)	-0.12^ (0.07)	0.01 (0.05)	-0.17** (0.06)
Professionalism	-0.26 (0.32)	0.28 (0.29)	0.86*** (0.23)	0.79** (0.25)
Term limits (=1)	0.30*** (0.07)	0.04 (0.06)	0.26*** (0.05)	0.16** (0.05)
Constant	-1.72* (0.73)	-0.10 (0.67)	0.11 (0.54)	-1.11^ (0.58)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.36	0.57	0.67	0.69
Observations	287	287	287	287

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001

**Table C9. Controlling for Shor and McCarty's Measure of Ideological Medians in the State House and Senate, Pink-Collar Women**

Variables	ln(Education/ Transportation)	ln(Social Services/ Transportation)	ln(Public Safety/ Transportation)	ln(Admin. & Misc./ Transportation)
Pink-collar Women	3.79*** (0.78)	3.88*** (0.73)	2.86*** (0.58)	0.34 (0.63)
Percent Women	-1.52*** (0.46)	-1.23** (0.43)	-0.05 (0.34)	-0.82* (0.37)
Blue-collar	-3.88*** (0.48)	-4.57*** (0.45)	-2.62*** (0.35)	-2.10*** (0.39)
Women in Labor force	0.03** (0.01)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.02* (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
% Workers Rep by Union	0.01* (0.01)	0.02*** (0.01)	0.00 (0.00)	0.03*** (0.00)
Unemployment	0.03* (0.01)	0.02 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)
Poverty Rate	0.03** (0.01)	0.06*** (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.02* (0.01)
% Non-White Poverty	-0.99*** (0.25)	-1.15*** (0.24)	-0.14 (0.19)	0.17 (0.21)
Total GDP	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00 (0.00)	-0.00** (0.00)
Democratic Gov. (=1)	0.06 (0.04)	0.08^ (0.04)	0.07* (0.03)	-0.00 (0.04)
Dem. Controlled Chamber (=1)	0.12 (0.08)	0.02 (0.07)	-0.04 (0.06)	-0.01 (0.06)
House Ideology	0.13* (0.07)	0.11^ (0.06)	-0.05 (0.05)	0.03 (0.05)
Senate Ideology	-0.00 (0.07)	-0.14* (0.07)	-0.01 (0.05)	-0.18** (0.06)
Professionalism	-0.46 (0.31)	0.03 (0.29)	0.69** (0.23)	0.74** (0.25)
Term limits (=1)	0.36*** (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)	0.31*** (0.05)	0.19*** (0.05)
Constant	-1.31^ (0.73)	0.22 (0.68)	0.39 (0.54)	-1.16^ (0.59)
R <sup>2</sup>	0.38	0.56	0.68	0.69
Observations	287	287	287	287

Results are from seemingly unrelated regressions. Coefficients correspond to log ratio of each different category relative to transportation category. Standard errors in parentheses. ^ p<.10, \* p<.05, \*\* p<.01, \*\*\* p<.001