Supplementary Materials

Who Supports Global Economic Engagement?
The Sources of Preferences in American Foreign Economic Policy

In these supplementary materials we provide detailed descriptions of our variables (appendix 1), a list of Congressional results used in our analyses (appendix 2), and supplemental analyses (appendix 3).

Appendix 1: Variable Descriptions

Votes

All roll call votes were obtained using the Voteworld program (http://ucdata.berkeley.edu:7101/new_web/VoteWorld/voteworld/) or (www.voteview.com). A vote in favor of foreign aid or free-trade was coded as a 1, a vote in opposition coded as a 0.

HighSkill

% of district of working age (16+) in executive, managerial, administrative, and professional occupations. Data obtained from US Census. Working age persons defined by the US Census as the civilian workforce plus military population.

DW-NOMINATE

Scaled measure of liberal/conservative legislator orientation based on roll call voting, with higher scores indicating a more conservative legislator. Score obtained from Voteworld.

President Support & Same Party

Coded as a 1 if the president took a pro-aid or pro-trade position and the legislator was of the president's party. In our sample, the president never opposed aid or trade liberalization. Thus a 0 corresponds to the president not taking a position and/or the legislator being of the opposite party. Alternative coding where only votes that the president took a position were included produce similar results (see below). Data from Rohde and Congressional Quarterly.

Money-center Bank PAC Percent

The percentage of Political Action Committee campaign contributions made to a candidate by a money- center bank in the previous election cycle. Money center banks are classified by the FFIEC (Federal Financial Institutions Examinations Council) report 'Country Exposure Lending Survey' on a yearly basis. Data obtained from the FEC (ftp://ftp.fec.gov/FEC) using the 'Contributions from Committees to Candidates' files ('pas'). For the 96th Congress we used data obtained directly through the FEC or manually inputted from paper bound FEC publications. Previous scholars have not used the FEC's 96th Congress campaign contribution data. Several legislators had problems in the FEC data, such as having negative amounts or ratio's of PAC to total PAC's greater than one. We exclude these few legislators, though our results do not change if we fix these ratio values at 0 or 1.

Labor PAC Percent

The percentage of Political Action Committee campaign contributions made by FEC classified "Labor" organizations. Data obtained from Federal Election Commission through ftp://ftp.fec.gov/FEC using the candidate summary files ("cansum").

Corporate PAC Percent

The percentage of Political Action Committee campaign contributions made by FEC classified 'Labor' organizations. Data obtained from Federal Election Commission through ftp://ftp.fec.gov/FEC using the candidate summary files ("cansum").

Agricultural Production

Market value of agricultural products (livestock and crops) taken from county level data collected by the 1978, 1982, 1987, 1992, 1997 and 2002 Census of Agriculture. Converted into 2000 constant dollars and divided by 10,000. For counties that straddle congressional districts we use the geographic concordance procedure described above.

Party

Political party; 0=Democrat 1=Republican; legislators with an independent affiliation are coded as missing.

Foreign Born Percent

% of total population born in a foreign country. Data obtained from (Adler) and 108th Congressional District Summary Files, Census of Population and Housing DVD-ROM.

African-American Percent

% of total population African-American. Data obtained from (Adler) and 108th Congressional District Summary Files, Census of Population and Housing DVD-ROM.

Unemployed Percent

% of working age person identifying as unemployed; data obtained from (Adler) and 108th Congressional District Summary files, Census of Population and Housing DVD-ROM.

Unemployment Change

Data from BLS Local Area Unemployment Statistics (http://www.bls.gov/lau/). For each year we calculated the state's unemployment changes from years previous. Then, within a session, we took the average of this change.

District Median Income

Median household income obtained from (Adler) and 108th congressional district Summary Files, Census of Population and Housing DVD-ROM. Specifications in the reported models use the natural logarithm (ln) of this variable.

State Welfare Spending per Capita

Data for state welfare expenditures from http://www2.census.gov/pub/outgoing/govs/special60/ using the Government Finances .zip file. State welfare per native multiplied by 100,000. Yearly data averaged for each Congressional session.

Additional Measures used in supplementary material

Percentage of Two Party Presidential Vote Republican

We take the total vote for the Republican presidential candidate and divide it by the total vote for either the Republican or Democratic parties. Data for the 95th-106th Congresses obtained from Joshua Clinton. Data for the 107th and 108th Congresses from www.polidata.org.

Percent College Degree

Percentage of working age population 25+ with a four year college degree. Census.

New Yorker magazine subscription rates

County level subscription data to the “cosmopolitan” magazine The New Yorker obtained from AccessABC for 2004. County level data imputed to district level going back in time (previous years not available) using GIS software as described in Broz 2005.

Appendix 2: US House of Representatives Votes Used

For each aid category we list the Congressional session and roll call numbers used by Voteworld (until the 106th Congress) or the Congressional Record for later Congresses.

Economic Aid
960319 960323 960780 960781 960838 960943 970032 980426 1020161 1030228 1040353 1040430 1080427

Trade
970788 980417 980782 980874 990320 990704 1000068 1000301 1000302 1020111 1020689 1030237 1030558 1031094 1050564 1050677 1051086 1051141 1060055 1060305 1060916 1070481 1080432 1080434 1080375(1081049) 1080413(1081087)

Bilateral/Region Specific Economic Aid Votes
960749 960783 960939 960940 960942 990192 1000447 1000450 1010023 1010115 1010285 1010486 1020789 1030220 1030221 1030227 1030799 1030800 1040411 1040414 1041084 1050352

Military
960061 960910 970243 980608 980609 980612 990541 1000416 1030407 1040342 1041081 1041082 1041093

Additional "less directly focused" votes is in supplementary materials

Trade Votes
960436 960529 980415 990386 1000074 1000406 1000551 1000747 1000900 1010786 1020690 1050676

Additional Aid Votes (non-bilateral or military)
960390 960396 1000422 1000452 1010363 1040416 1050353

Appendix 3: Supplemental Analyses

Replication of Table 1 with education measure, magazine readership, and Ladewig measures

Aid and Trade: Panel Probit with Population Average Effects and Vote Fixed Effects (omitted)

	aid1	trade1	aid2	trade2	aid3	trade3	aid4	trade4	aid5	trade5	aid6	trade6
%HighSkill	7.160**	2.941**	5.651**	3.927**	5.060**	2.641**	3.826**	3.424**				
	[0.869]	[0.706]	[1.122]	[0.793]	[0.578]	[0.545]	[0.926]	[0.647]				
College%	-1.854**	-0.352	-1.634*	-0.712								
	[0.596]	[0.566]	[0.676]	[0.566]								
NewYorkerMag					0.425	-0.247	-0.0558	-0.536				
					[0.571]	[0.701]	[0.586]	[0.661]				
lnCapitalEstab									0.570**	0.298*	0.164	0.0683
									[0.112]	[0.135]	[0.138]	[0.161]
lnLaborManuf									-0.355**	-0.275*	-0.229*	-0.169
									[0.0788]	[0.121]	[0.0907]	[0.126]
DW-NOM	-2.798**	1.272**	-2.813**	0.764**	-2.819**	1.268**	-2.816**	0.756**	-2.641**	1.337**	-2.740**	0.731**
	[0.106]	[0.0725]	[0.160]	[0.106]	[0.106]	[0.0719]	[0.161]	[0.104]	[0.101]	[0.0882]	[0.156]	[0.107]
PrezSupport	-0.0172	0.655**	0.00225	0.667**	-0.0173	0.655**	0.000437	0.669**	0.0114	0.661**	0.0274	0.678**
	[0.0795]	[0.0403]	[0.0789]	[0.0408]	[0.0804]	[0.0401]	[0.0796]	[0.0407]	[0.0778]	[0.0402]	[0.0780]	[0.0403]
Unemploy%			-1.403	-1.401			-1.701	-1.411			-3.208	-2.642+
			[2.284]	[1.415]			[2.302]	[1.425]			[2.250]	[1.351]
UnempChg_2yr			0.0385	-0.0385			0.0557+	-0.0341			0.0538	-0.0364
			[0.0331]	[0.0240]			[0.0330]	[0.0241]			[0.0333]	[0.0241]
LogMdnIncm			0.154	-0.0301			0.127	-0.0792			0.634**	0.525**
			[0.234]	[0.202]			[0.236]	[0.206]			[0.189]	[0.191]
%ForBorn			1.614**	1.036**			1.721**	1.048**			1.267*	0.748+
			[0.490]	[0.374]			[0.503]	[0.379]			[0.525]	[0.392]
West			0.0780	0.554**			-0.0125	0.539**			-0.0342	0.506**
			[0.106]	[0.0870]			[0.100]	[0.0875]			[0.102]	[0.0913]
Midwest			0.0890	0.229**			0.0605	0.227**			0.00916	0.195*
			[0.101]	[0.0778]			[0.101]	[0.0782]			[0.100]	[0.0803]
South			-0.239*	0.115			-0.291**	0.101			-0.260**	0.110
			[0.100]	[0.0829]			[0.0979]	[0.0831]			[0.0981]	[0.0857]
%Black			0.453	0.343+			0.500	0.319			0.578+	0.400*
			[0.312]	[0.205]			[0.314]	[0.205]			[0.323]	[0.202]
MktValAgProd			-2.058	17.56**			-3.152	17.17**			-6.151	14.91**
			[4.795]	[4.856]			[4.826]	[4.888]			[5.110]	[4.929]
BankPAC%			8.169**	1.419			8.115**	1.440			7.246**	1.476
			[1.955]	[2.288]			[1.937]	[2.264]			[1.943]	[2.427]
CorpPAC%			0.561*	-0.388+			0.508+	-0.368+			0.507+	-0.435*
			[0.270]	[0.221]			[0.270]	[0.222]			[0.272]	[0.220]
LabPAC%			0.107	-1.453**			0.0897	-1.445**			0.0801	-1.515**
			[0.236]	[0.213]			[0.238]	[0.211]			[0.234]	[0.211]
Constant	-1.297**	-1.565**	-2.876	-0.968	-1.332**	-0.875**	-2.567	0.000924	-1.857*	-0.301	-6.043**	-4.548*
	[0.146]	[0.159]	[2.327]	[2.091]	[0.148]	[0.138]	[2.347]	[2.140]	[0.791]	[0.732]	[2.082]	[2.005]
Observations	5131	10653	5048	10577	5116	10626	5033	10550	5131	10653	5048	10577

Standard errors in brackets
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Bilateral/Region Specific and Military Aid Votes

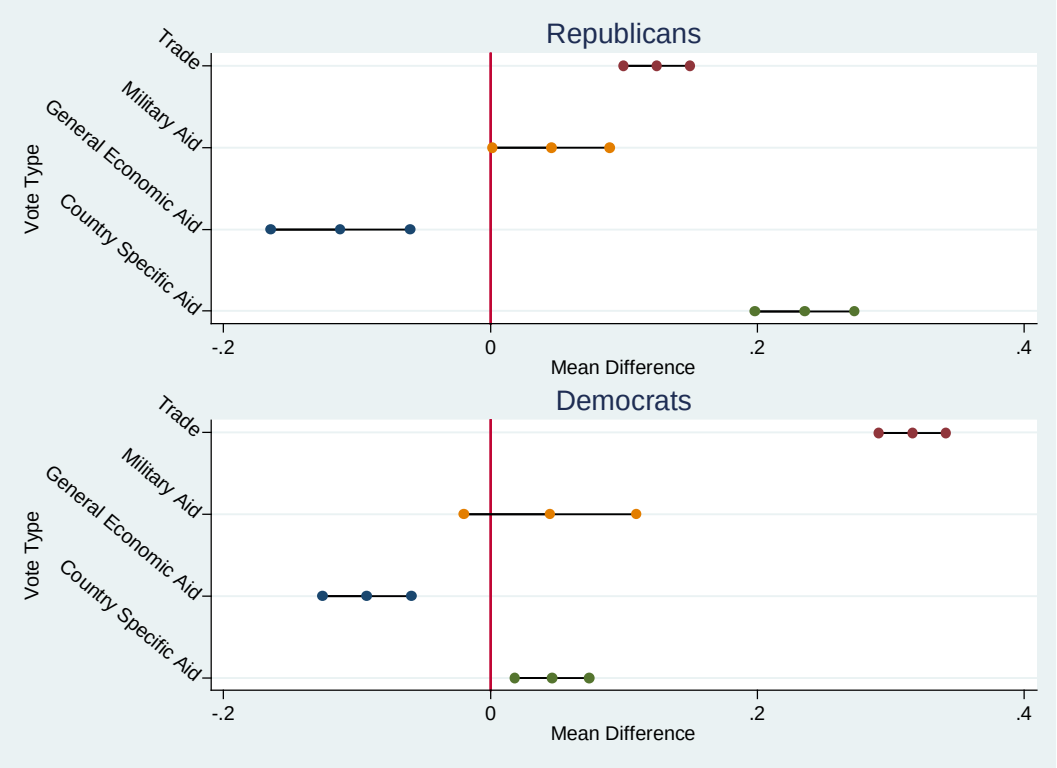
Replication of Table 1 from main paper; Panel Probit with Population Average Effects and Vote Fixed Effects (omitted)

	Bilateral/Region Specific			Military Aid		
	cty1	cty2	cty3	mil1	mil3	mil4
%HighSkill	2.223**	-0.160	0.0916	-0.401	-0.648	-1.049+
	[0.371]	[0.510]	[0.525]	[0.381]	[0.559]	[0.561]
DW-NOM	-1.234**	-1.391**	-1.388**	0.640**	0.535**	0.515**
	[0.0554]	[0.0918]	[0.0912]	[0.0499]	[0.0842]	[0.0841]
PrezSupport	0.911**	0.933**	0.936**	1.032**	1.020**	1.059**
	[0.0558]	[0.0569]	[0.0569]	[0.0847]	[0.0872]	[0.0868]
Unemploy%		-2.164*	-2.288+		-2.873*	-0.0485
		[1.064]	[1.196]		[1.304]	[1.384]
UnempChg_2yr		-0.0195	-0.0217		0.00367	0.00455
		[0.0215]	[0.0216]		[0.0281]	[0.0287]
LogMdnIncm		0.605**	0.520**		-0.247+	0.142
		[0.134]	[0.153]		[0.149]	[0.163]
%ForBorn		-0.686**	-0.448		-0.0759	-0.0200
		[0.255]	[0.282]		[0.268]	[0.287]
West			-0.133*			-0.0274
			[0.0616]			[0.0619]
Midwest			0.0504			-0.102
			[0.0652]			[0.0666]
South			-0.0361			0.246**
			[0.0638]			[0.0685]
%Black		-0.390*	-0.430**		-0.141	-0.390*
		[0.154]	[0.159]		[0.162]	[0.171]
MktValAgProd		-1.846	-2.656		-6.770*	-2.714
		[2.856]	[3.028]		[3.410]	[3.477]
BankPAC%		1.527+	1.406		0.987	0.765
		[0.906]	[0.909]		[0.857]	[0.823]
CorpPAC%		0.253	0.306		1.342**	1.246**
		[0.203]	[0.204]		[0.227]	[0.222]
LabPAC%		0.0932	0.0966		0.547**	0.549**
		[0.175]	[0.175]		[0.181]	[0.177]
Constant	-1.184**	-6.907**	-6.069**	-1.165**	1.055	-3.029+
	[0.105]	[1.345]	[1.547]	[0.110]	[1.524]	[1.677]
Observations	8815	8714	8714	5195	5163	5163

Standard errors in brackets
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Mean differences in aid or trade support by presidential position taking and congressperson's party.

Figure displays for each vote category the difference in average support rates between when *PrezSupport=0* and *PrezSupport=1*. Calculations are done separately by party and display 95% confidence intervals. For trade policy this difference is substantially larger for Democrats than Republicans. For country/regional specific aid this differences is larger for Republicans. Multivariate results using interactions between a party dummy variable and *PrezSupport* tell a similar story.



Alternative coding of Presidential position variable

Table presents Model 3 from Table 1 of main paper using alternative coding of PrezSupport variable (only votes where the president took a position are included).

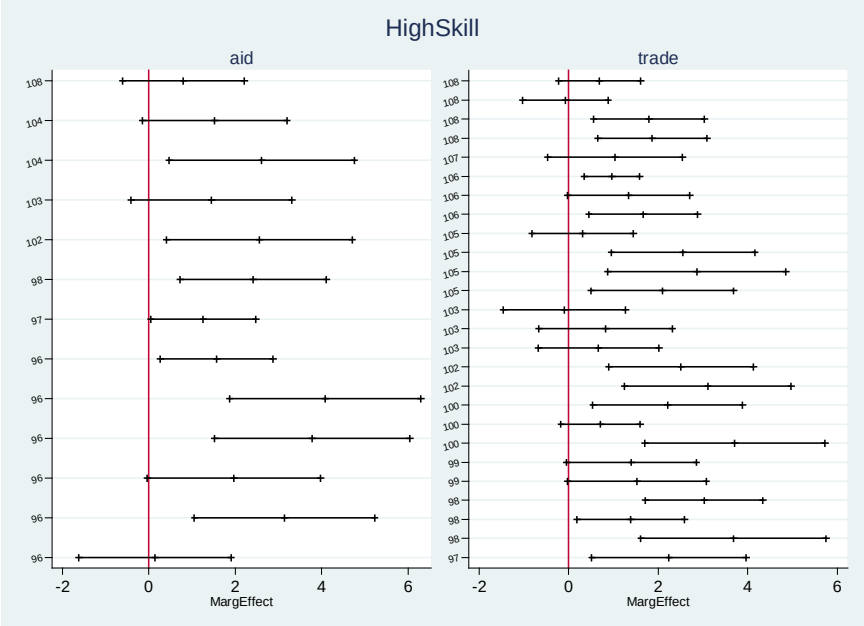
	Bilateral Aid	Trade	Military Aid	General Economic Aid
%HighSkill	0.0211	2.981**	-1.605	3.265**
	[0.660]	[0.639]	[0.982]	[0.967]
DW-NOM	-1.015**	0.675**	-0.233	-2.423**
	[0.103]	[0.106]	[0.186]	[0.195]
PrezSupp_TP	0.896**	0.680**	1.391**	0.0735
	[0.0478]	[0.0401]	[0.107]	[0.0741]
Unemploy%	-4.416**	-1.808	1.580	-1.269
	[1.601]	[1.494]	[2.566]	[2.715]
UnempChg_2yr	-0.0130	-0.0377	-0.00505	0.0808*
	[0.0250]	[0.0247]	[0.0389]	[0.0371]
LogMdnIncm	0.731**	-0.00537	-0.0646	0.452+
	[0.184]	[0.200]	[0.278]	[0.263]
%ForBorn	-0.296	1.014**	-0.0262	3.208**
	[0.326]	[0.355]	[0.731]	[0.761]
West	-0.0786	0.545**	0.204+	0.0106
	[0.0755]	[0.0865]	[0.109]	[0.121]
Midwest	0.0670	0.190*	0.271*	0.117
	[0.0779]	[0.0775]	[0.117]	[0.126]
South	0.0160	0.0917	0.833**	-0.228+
	[0.0776]	[0.0812]	[0.125]	[0.121]
%Black	-0.502*	0.262	-0.903**	0.625+
	[0.202]	[0.207]	[0.327]	[0.365]
MktValAgProd	3.891	16.18**	3.127	-2.619
	[3.542]	[4.880]	[4.873]	[5.576]
BankPAC%	0.502	1.587	1.906	3.855+
	[1.193]	[2.463]	[2.692]	[2.320]
CorpPAC%	0.856**	-0.316	1.539**	0.395
	[0.261]	[0.235]	[0.387]	[0.351]
LabPAC%	0.223	-1.385**	0.492	0.239
	[0.205]	[0.221]	[0.316]	[0.273]
Constant	-8.575**	-1.058	-1.943	-4.996+
	[1.864]	[2.071]	[2.854]	[2.716]
Observations	4724	9371	1953	3417

Standard errors in brackets
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

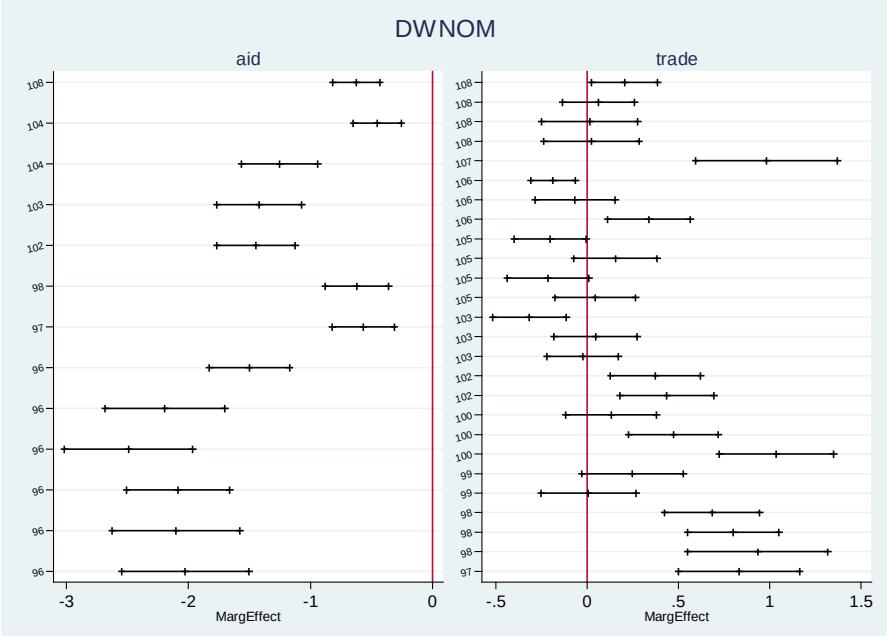
Individual vote analyses

Marginal effects for the *%HighSkill* and *DW-NOM* variables for each aid and trade vote using the model 4 in Table 1 except without *PrezSupport* variable, with the vote's session given along the y-axes. Marginal effects evaluated at the mean of the variable using the mfx2 program in STATA.

Marginal Effects for HighSkill% by Individual Vote

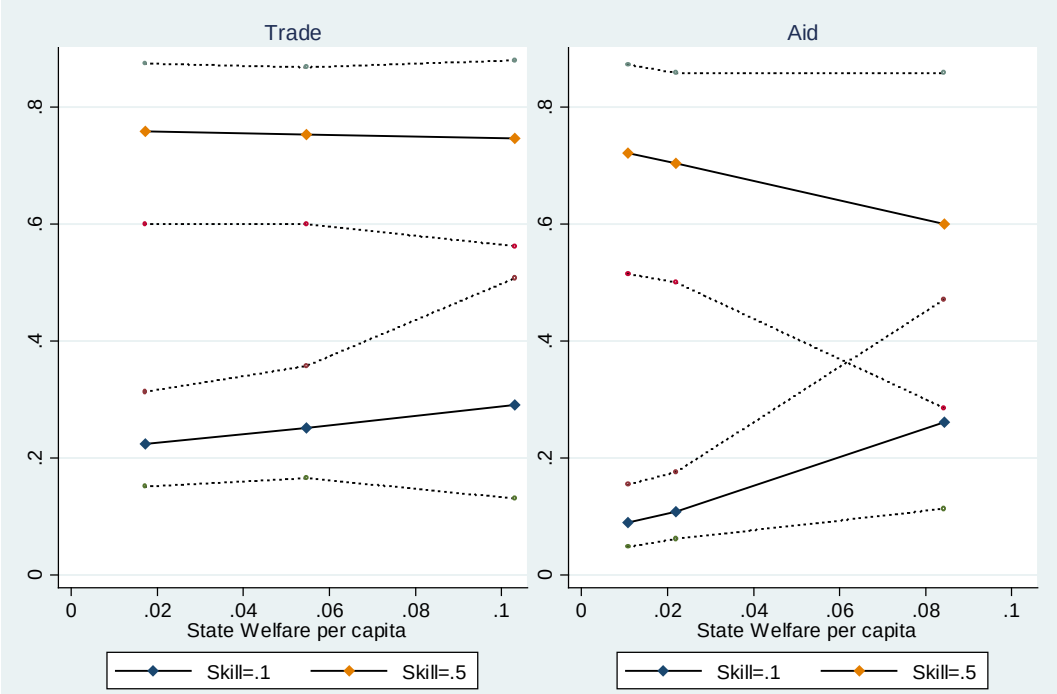


Marginal Effects for DW-Nominate score by Individual Vote



Public Finance Interaction Effects

Using model 4 of Table 1 we calculate predicted probabilities of aid and trade support for two different values of the skill variable across the range of the welfare spending distributions. We observe no interactive effect for trade and a slight interaction effect for aid. We observe for of an interactive effect for aid when instead of using the DWNOM measure of ideology we instead use our district measure.



IV's held at sample means; regional FE's at South; Prez at 0
Values for welfare per capita are 10th 50th and 90th percentiles from the estimation sample

Regression analysis conditional on electoral strength of legislator

Excluding legislators based on their degree of electoral support does not change our results. Here we exclude legislators receiving greater than 70% or 80% of the general election vote.

	aidAll	aid80	aid70	trAll	tr80	tr70
%HighSkill	3.747**	4.579**	3.697**	3.290**	3.992**	4.510**
	[0.910]	[0.919]	[1.007]	[0.642]	[0.682]	[0.749]
DW-NOM	-2.801**	-2.767**	-2.695**	0.758**	0.655**	0.583**
	[0.160]	[0.165]	[0.176]	[0.105]	[0.108]	[0.119]
PrezSupport	0.0153	-0.0139	-0.0922	0.670**	0.657**	0.683**
	[0.0780]	[0.0854]	[0.108]	[0.0406]	[0.0432]	[0.0496]
Unemploy%	-1.519	0.431	-1.985	-1.514	-1.079	-1.836
	[2.298]	[2.588]	[3.300]	[1.421]	[1.539]	[1.866]
UnempChg_2yr	0.0522	0.0431	0.0363	-0.0365	-0.0185	-0.00900
	[0.0328]	[0.0359]	[0.0404]	[0.0239]	[0.0266]	[0.0296]
LogMdnIncm	0.140	0.138	0.186	-0.0600	-0.203	-0.291
	[0.236]	[0.250]	[0.271]	[0.203]	[0.220]	[0.262]
%ForBorn	1.696**	1.672**	1.376*	1.003**	0.725+	1.168**
	[0.498]	[0.568]	[0.621]	[0.373]	[0.392]	[0.428]
West	-0.0192	-0.0101	-0.0280	0.548**	0.549**	0.479**
	[0.100]	[0.103]	[0.114]	[0.0871]	[0.0895]	[0.0943]
Midwest	0.0566	0.0186	-0.0163	0.226**	0.243**	0.261**
	[0.101]	[0.104]	[0.116]	[0.0779]	[0.0805]	[0.0841]
South	-0.295**	-0.251*	-0.211+	0.107	0.135	0.144
	[0.0972]	[0.107]	[0.126]	[0.0826]	[0.0887]	[0.1000]
%Black	0.495	0.752+	0.675	0.327	-0.139	-0.255
	[0.313]	[0.448]	[0.574]	[0.206]	[0.242]	[0.318]
MktValAgProd	-3.116	-1.161	-1.839	17.22**	14.78**	14.79**
	[4.825]	[5.802]	[6.415]	[4.889]	[4.838]	[5.264]
BankPAC%	8.235**	6.943**	6.594**	1.441	1.328	1.429
	[1.959]	[2.452]	[2.515]	[2.278]	[2.531]	[3.174]
CorpPAC%	0.533*	0.490+	0.533	-0.382+	-0.196	0.0563
	[0.269]	[0.293]	[0.345]	[0.222]	[0.232]	[0.263]
LabPAC%	0.0916	0.0747	0.251	-1.457**	-1.377**	-1.277**
	[0.237]	[0.256]	[0.291]	[0.212]	[0.231]	[0.240]
Constant	-2.705	-2.907	-3.066	-0.548	0.816	1.377
	[2.344]	[2.501]	[2.725]	[2.113]	[2.294]	[2.742]
Observations	5048	4138	3164	10577	8732	6747

Standard errors in brackets
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01

Pooled sample of high and low focus aid and trade votes

Including additional aid (non-bilateral/region specific) and trade votes that did not completely meet our sampling criteria does not change our results. Here we reproduce table 1 including these additional votes.

	aid1	trade1	aid2	trade2	aid3	trade3
%HighSkill	4.673**	2.511**	3.024**	2.729**	4.070**	2.601**
	[0.477]	[0.431]	[0.800]	[0.592]	[0.941]	[0.738]
DW-NOM	-2.936**	1.109**	-2.782**	0.751**	-2.789**	0.756**
	[0.0853]	[0.0681]	[0.132]	[0.123]	[0.134]	[0.124]
PrezSupport	-0.0501	0.728**	-0.0290	0.751**	-0.0211	0.751**
	[0.0756]	[0.0394]	[0.0757]	[0.0409]	[0.0762]	[0.0412]
WelfPerCap					9.312+	0.0813
					[4.840]	[3.285]
WelfPerCapXSkl					-27.66+	1.662
					[16.53]	[7.956]
Unemploy%			-0.767	-1.406	-0.909	-1.428
			[1.886]	[1.357]	[1.966]	[1.357]
UnempChg_2yr			0.0230	-0.0215	0.0255	-0.0223
			[0.0299]	[0.0186]	[0.0305]	[0.0186]
LogMdnIncm			0.279	-0.0432	0.308	-0.0405
			[0.211]	[0.191]	[0.219]	[0.192]
%ForBorn			1.498**	0.628+	1.552**	0.625+
			[0.423]	[0.321]	[0.433]	[0.321]
West			0.0463	0.723**	0.0873	0.739**
			[0.0850]	[0.116]	[0.0923]	[0.123]
Midwest			0.0879	0.243**	0.121	0.254**
			[0.0875]	[0.0699]	[0.0954]	[0.0789]
South			-0.234**	0.0610	-0.191*	0.0751
			[0.0835]	[0.0742]	[0.0942]	[0.0892]
%Black			0.587*	0.204	0.668*	0.205
			[0.283]	[0.185]	[0.290]	[0.186]
MktValAgProd			-2.496	7.631+	-2.637	7.558+
			[4.201]	[4.424]	[4.270]	[4.446]
BankPAC%			6.310**	1.431	6.096**	1.427
			[1.159]	[1.495]	[1.157]	[1.496]
CorpPAC%			0.278	0.261	0.239	0.265
			[0.225]	[0.199]	[0.226]	[0.200]
LabPAC%			0.210	-0.778**	0.189	-0.773**
			[0.213]	[0.171]	[0.218]	[0.173]
Constant	-1.209**	-1.451**	-3.961+	-0.542	-4.551*	-0.561
	[0.130]	[0.126]	[2.099]	[1.965]	[2.192]	[1.973]
Observations	7934	15566	7815	15443	7814	15443

Standard errors in brackets
+ p<0.10, * p<0.05, ** p<0.01