

Codebook for “Trade, Foreign Direct Investment and Immigration Policy Making in the US Senate”

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Variables in Main Data Sets

Dataset names: post1945_1_rep.dta, post1945_2_rep.dta, post1945_3_rep.dta, post1945_4_rep.dta, post1945_5_rep.dta

Variable Name	Description
id	Voteview identification number for senator
year	Year
count	Total number of votes in the year
d_dvmean	Change in senators voting behavior (main dependent variable)
d_persalaried	Change in the % salaried workers in the state (from the <i>Census of Manufacturers</i>)
d_tariff	Change in tariff level (from Clemens and Williamson 2004)
d_meancapopen	Change in average world capital openness (from Quinn and Toyoda 2008)
d_tariff_meancap	Change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
rep	Indicator for Republican senator
d_mean_ci_capopen	Change in average world capital openness (from Chinn and Ito 2008)
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
d_tariff_rep	Change in tariffs*Republican
d_meancapopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican
d_tariff_meancap_rep	Change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican
d_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican
d_union	Change in % of labor force in the state represented by a union (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>)
d_unemp	Change in unemployment (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>)
d_foreign	Change in foreign born in the state (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>)
d_lag_foreign	Change in foreign born in the state lagged 5 years (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>)
d_welfare	Change in welfare spending by the state per capital (from the <i>Census of Governments</i>)
d_welfimpact	Change in welfare spending * change in foreign born

d_gpdtril	Change in state GDP (trillions) (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i>)
trhigh_chigh_qt	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
trhigh_chigh_qt_dt	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Change in tariffs
trhigh_chigh_qt_dfm_qt	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Change in capital openness
trhigh_caphigh_qt_d_t_qi	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Change in tariffs* Change in capital openness
trhigh_chigh_ci	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
trhigh_chigh_ci_dt	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Change in tariffs
trhigh_chigh_ci_dfm_ci	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Change in capital openness
trhigh_caphigh_ci_d_t_qi	Indicator for high levels of trade openness (low tariffs) and high levels of world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Change in tariffs* Change in capital openness
d_perlow	Change in low-skill immigration (data from IPUMS)
d_illegal	Change in undocumented immigration (from <i>Statistical Abstract of the United States</i> , Passel and Cohn 2011, Passel and Woodrow 1984)
d_dvmean_noomnihs	Change in senator's voting behavior excluding omnibus bills and bills on high-skill immigration
nonwhite	Senator who is a minority (i.e. African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American) (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series</i> 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)
years_served_sen	Years senator has served in the Senate (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series</i> 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)
electionyear	Election year for senator (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series</i> 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)
years_since_election	Years since the last election for the senator (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series</i> 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)

years_since_election2	Years since the last election for the senator squared (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series</i> 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)
rep2	Indicator for Republicans and Southern Democrats
variablename_rep2	Same variables as above but interacted with indicator for Republicans and Southern Democrats rather than Republicans only
lowtax	Indicator for senators having above average score on taxation from the National Taxpayers Union
variablename_lowtax	Same variables as above but interacted with indicator for low-tax preference rather than Republicans only
dwnom1	DW Nominate Score – first dimension(from Voteview)
variablename_dwnom1	Same variables as above but interacted with DW Nominate Score – first dimension
congress	Congress (i.e. 110 th congress)
icpsrcode	ICPSR code for state

Variables in Single Vote Data Sets

Dataset names: post1945singlevotes_1_rep.dta, post1945singlevotes_2_rep.dta, post1945singlevotes_3_rep.dta, post1945singlevotes_4_rep.dta, post1945singlevotes_5_rep.dta

Variable Name	Description
id	Voteview identification number for senator
year	Year
DV1	Proportion of votes for openness
persalaried	% salaried workers in state
cw_free	Tariff level
meancapopen	Average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda)
tariff_meancap	Tariff level*average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda)
rep	Republican
tariff_rep	Tariff level*Republican
meancapopen_rep	Average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda)*Republican
tariff_meancap_rep	Tariff level*average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda)*Republican
mean_ci_capopen	Average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito)
tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Tariff level*average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito)
mean_ci_capopen_rep	Average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito)*Republican
tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Tariff level*average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito)*Republican
nonwhite	Senator who is a minority (i.e. African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American) (From <i>United States Congressional</i>

	<i>Biographical Data Series 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428) and updated by the author)</i>
years_served_sen	Years senator has served in the Senate (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428)</i> and updated by the author)
electionyear	Election year for senator (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428)</i> and updated by the author)
years_since_election	Years since the last election for the senator (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428)</i> and updated by the author)
years_since_election2	Years since the last election for the senator squared (From <i>United States Congressional Biographical Data Series 1789-1979 (ICPSR 7428)</i> and updated by the author)
union	% of labor force in a union
unemp	Unemployment rate
foreign	% foreign born
lag_foreign	% foreign born lagged 5 years
welfare	Welfare spending
welfimpact	Welfare spending * % foreign born
gdpbilreal	Real GDP in billions
rep2	Indicator for Republicans and Southern Democrats
variablename_rep2	Same variables as above but interacted with indicator for Republicans and Southern Democrats rather than Republicans only
lowtax	Indicator for senators having above average score on taxation from the National Taxpayers Union
variablename_lowtax	Same variables as above but interacted with indicator for low-tax preference rather than Republicans only
dwnom1	DW Nominate Score – first dimension(from Voteview)
variablename_dwnom1	Same variables as above but interacted with DW Nominate Score – first dimension
congress	Congress (i.e. 110 th congress)
icpsrcode	ICPSR code for state
key	Indicator for key bills (see Appendix A for definition)
votetype	Indicator for type of vote (i.e. final passage==1, procedural, amendment, see Voteview codebook for more details)

Variables in Other Datasets

Dataset name: wide_sen_rep.dta (used to create Table A1)

Variable Name	Description
votesame	Indicator for whether 2 senators voted the same way
sameparty	Indicator for whether 2 senators are in the same party

Dataset name: senyearagg2.dat (used to create Figure 1)

Variable Name	Description
year	Year
DV1	Proportion of votes for openness
factor1	Immigration policy score from Peters (2015)

Dataset name: fake_dems_trade_qt_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, upper left)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Change in tariff level (observed) from smallest to largest in data
d_meancapopen	Mean change in average world capital openness (from Quinn and Toyoda 2008)
d_tariff_meancap	Change in tariff level * mean change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==0
d_tariff_rep	Change in tariffs*Republican==0
d_meancapopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican==0
d_tariff_meancap_rep	Change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican==0

Dataset name: fake_dems_fm_qt_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, upper right)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Mean change in tariff level
d_meancapopen	Change in average world capital openness (from Quinn and Toyoda 2008) (observed) from smallest to largest
d_tariff_meancap	Mean change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==0
d_tariff_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Republican==0
d_meancapopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican==0
d_tariff_meancap_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican==0

Dataset name: fake_reps_trade_qt_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, upper left)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Change in tariff level (observed) from smallest to largest in data
d_meancapopen	Mean change in average world capital openness (from

	Quinn and Toyoda 2008)
d_tariff_meancap	Change in tariff level * mean change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==1
d_tariff_rep	Change in tariffs*Republican
d_meancapopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican
d_tariff_meancap_rep	Change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican

Dataset name: fake_dems_fm_qt_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, upper right)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Mean change in tariff level
d_meancapopen	Change in average world capital openness (from Quinn and Toyoda 2008) (observed) from smallest to largest
d_tariff_meancap	Mean change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==1
d_tariff_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Republican
d_meancapopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican
d_tariff_meancap_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Change in average world capital openness (Quinn and Toyoda measure)*Republican

Dataset name: fake_dems_trade_ci_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, lower left)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Change in tariff level (observed) from smallest to largest in data
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==0
d_mean_ci_capopen	Mean change in average world capital openness (from Chinn and Ito 2008)
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Change in tariff level * mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
d_tariff_rep	Change in tariffs*Republican==0
d_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican==0
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in tariffs*mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican==0

Dataset name: fake_dems_fm_ci_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, lower left)

Variable Name	Description
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d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Mean change in tariff level
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==0
d_mean_ci_capopen	Change in average world capital openness (observed) (from Chinn and Ito 2008)
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Mean change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
d_tariff_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Republican==0
d_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican==0
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Mean change in tariffs* change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican==0

Dataset name: fake_reps_trade_ci_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, lower right)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Change in tariff level (observed) from smallest to largest in data
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==1
d_mean_ci_capopen	Mean change in average world capital openness (from Chinn and Ito 2008)
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Change in tariff level * mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
d_tariff_rep	Change in tariffs*Republican
d_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in tariffs*mean change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican

Dataset name: fake_reps_fm_ci_alldata.dta (used to create Figure 2, lower right)

Variable Name	Description
d_persalaried	Mean change in the % salaried workers
d_tariff	Mean change in tariff level
rep	Indicator for Republican senator==1
d_mean_ci_capopen	Change in average world capital openness (observed) (from Chinn and Ito 2008)
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen	Mean change in tariff level * change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)
d_tariff_rep	Mean change in tariffs*Republican
d_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican
d_tariff_mean_ci_capopen_rep	Mean change in tariffs* change in average world capital openness (Chinn and Ito measure)*Republican

Dataset names: fake_dems_trade_qt_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422.dta,
fake_dems_fm_qt_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422.dta,
fake_dems_trade_qt_hightrade_highfm_20120422.dta,
fake_dems_fm_qt_hightrade_highfm_20120422.dta,
fake_reps_trade_qt_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422,
fake_reps_trade_qt_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
fake_reps_fm_qt_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422,
fake_reps_fm_qt_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
fake_dems_trade_ci_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422,
fake_dems_trade_ci_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
fake_dems_fm_ci_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422,
fake_dems_fm_ci_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
fake_reps_trade_ci_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422,
fake_reps_trade_ci_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
fake_reps_fm_ci_lowtrade_lowfm_20120422, fake_reps_fm_ci_hightrade_highfm_20120422,
Variables in defined as above but use observed values for the each of the variable; from smallest to largest for tariffs (files with “trade” in the name) and average world capital mobility (files with “fm” in the name) and mean level for all others. Files with “dems” in the name are for Democrats and files with “reps” in the name are for Republicans.

Dataset name: votesperyear.csv (used for Figure A1)

Variable Name	Description
votesyear	Total number of votes for the year
year	Year
poolebillnum	Bill number given by Voteview
count	Total number of votes in the year

Dataset name: number of votes.csv (used for Figure A1)

Variable Name	Description
propimvote	Votes on immigration as a proportion of all votes
year	Year
congress	Congress
totvotes	Total number of votes in the congress
imvotes	Total number of votes on immigration
openvotes	Total number of votes for open immigration

Dataset name: senyearpartyagg.dta (used for Figure A2&A3)

Variable Name	Description
propopen	Proportion of votes for openness
year	Year
party	Political party (see Voteview for details)
DV1	Number of votes for openness
count	Number of total votes in year

Dataset names: idealpoints89 for merge.dta, idealpoints99 for merge.dta, idealpoints104 for merge.dta, sensumpost1945_rep.dta (used for Figure A4)

Variable Name	Description
id	Voteview identification number for senator
year	Year
ideal_xx	Ideal point for senator created from all votes except the immigration votes
prop	Proportion of votes for openness
name	Name of senator
congress	Congress
DV1	Number of votes for openness
count	Number of votes

Dataset name: lobbying_immi_byfirm_os_rep.dta

Variable Name	Description
uniqid	CRP id for firm
year	Year
immiissue	Number of issues lobbied on that are on immigration
nonimmiissue	Number of issues lobbied on that are not on immigration
agriculture_seasonal	Whether any issues are on agricultural or seasonal immigration

Dataset name: Lobbying_data_for_sv_paper_rep.dta

Variable Name	Description
earlytarsched	Identification code for industry
year	Year
num_firms	Number of firms lobbying in the industry
immiissue	Number of issues lobbied on that are on immigration
nonimmiissue	Number of issues lobbied on that are not on immigration
amount	Total amount spent on lobbying
totissue	Total number of issues lobbied on
dirinvest	Total foreign direct investment
pop	Total population in industry
forborn	Total number of foreign born in industry
perimmiissue	% of issues lobbied on that are on immigration
perlow	% of issues that are on low-skill immigration
perhigh	% of issues on high-skill immigration
peramount	Perimmiissue*amount
perimmiemploy	% foreign born working in industry as percent of total population in industry
tariff1	Tariff level for industry
Loginvest	Ln(direct investment)
l_tariff1	Tariff level lagged 1 year

l5_tariff1	Tariff level lagged 5 years
l_loginvest	Ln(direct investment) lagged 1 year
L2_loginvest	Ln(direct investment) lagged 2 years