# Online Appendix B: Bill Titles

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Congress | Bill Num-ber | Bill Title |
| 111 | HR-5875 | Emergency Border Security Supplemental Appropriations |
|  |  | Act, 2010 |
| 111 | HR-5840 | Sanctuary City Prevention Act of 2010 |
| 111 | HR-5528 | To enhance the integrity of the United States against the |
|  |  | threat of terrorism. |
| 111 | HR-5265 | Combat Illegal Immigration Through Employment Verifi- |
|  |  | cation Act |
| 111 | HR-5256 | Southern Border Security Act of 2010 |
| 111 | HR-5173 | Secure the Border Act of 2010 |
| 111 | HR-4627 | Criminal Penalties for Unauthorized Employment Act of |
|  |  | 2010 |
| 111 | HR-4622 | Secure Borders Act of 2010 |
| 111 | HR-4321 | CIR ASAP Act of 2009 |
| 111 | HR-3308 | Secure America Through Verification and Enforcement Act |
|  |  | of 2009 |
| 111 | HR-3289 | Unlawful Border Entry Prevention Act of 2009 |
| 111 | HR-2406 | Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act of |
|  |  | 2009 |
| 111 | HR-2083 | Border Sovereignty and Protection Act |
| 111 | HR-2076 | Border Security and Responsibility Act 2009 |
| 111 | HR-1900 | Border Security, Cooperation, and Act Now Drug War Pre- |
|  |  | vention Act |
| 111 | HR-1753 | One Strike Act |
| 111 | HR-1668 | Border Control and Contractor Accountability Act of 2009 |
| 111 | HR-1199 | Scott Gardner Act |
| 111 | HR-98 | Illegal Immigration Enforcement and Social Security Pro- |
|  |  | tection Act of 2009 |
| 112 | HR-5957 | To prohibit the Secretary of Homeland Security from grant- |
|  |  | ing deferred action or otherwise suspending the effective- |
|  |  | ness or enforcement of the immigration laws. |
| 112 | HR-5953 | Prohibiting Back-door Amnesty Act |
| 112 | HR-3482 | To prohibit Federal funding for lawsuits seeking to inval- |
|  |  | idate specified State laws that support the enforcement of |
|  |  | Federal immigration laws. |
| 112 | HR-3256 | Deport Convicted Foreign Criminals Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-2199 | Deport Convicted Foreign Criminals Act |
| 112 | HR-2057 | Mobilizing Against Sanctuary Cities Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-2000 | Secure America Through Verification and Enforcement Act |
|  |  | of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-1932 | Keep Our Communities Safe Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-1921 | Build the Fence Now Act of 2011 |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 112 | HR-1764 | To prohibit appropriated funds from being used in contra- |
|  |  | vention of section 642(a) of the Illegal Immigration Reform |
|  |  | and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. |
| 112 | HR-1459 | Scott Gardner Act |
| 112 | HR-1299 | Secure Border Act of 2012 |
| 112 | HR-1196 | LEAVE Act |
| 112 | HR-1134 | Enforce the Law for Sanctuary Cities Act |
| 112 | HR-1091 | Unlawful Border Entry Prevention Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-932 | Criminal Alien Removal Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-915 | Jaime Zapata Border Enforcement Security Task Force Act |
| 112 | HR-100 | CLEAR Act of 2011 |
| 112 | HR-45 | Criminal Alien Accountability Act |
| 113 | HR-1901 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to provide |
|  |  | for extensions of detention of certain aliens ordered re- |
|  |  | moved, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-2264 | To provide for enhanced Federal, State, and local assistance |
|  |  | in the enforcement of the immigration laws, to amend the |
|  |  | Immigration and Nationality Act, to authorize appropria- |
|  |  | tions to carry out the State Criminal Alien Assistance Pro- |
|  |  | gram, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-2278 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to improve |
|  |  | immigration law enforcement within the interior of the |
|  |  | United States, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-5053 | To amend the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Pro- |
|  |  | tection Reauthorization Act of 2008 to provide for the ex- |
|  |  | pedited removal of unaccompanied alien children who are |
|  |  | not victims of a severe form of trafficking in persons and |
|  |  | who do not have a fear of returning to their country of na- |
|  |  | tionality or last habitual residence, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-5114 | To facilitate the expedited processing of minors entering |
|  |  | the United States across the southern border and for other |
|  |  | purposes. |
| 113 | HR-5137 | To modify the treatment of unaccompanied alien children |
|  |  | who are in Federal custody by reason of their immigration |
|  |  | status, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-5143 | To amend the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Pro- |
|  |  | tection Reauthorization Act of 2008 to provide for the ex- |
|  |  | pedited removal of unaccompanied alien children who are |
|  |  | not victims of a severe form of trafficking in persons and |
|  |  | who do not have a fear of returning to their country of na- |
|  |  | tionality or last habitual residence, and for other purposes. |
| 113 | HR-5272 | To prohibit certain actions with respect to deferred action |
|  |  | for aliens not lawfully present in the United States, and for |
|  |  | other purposes. |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 113113113 | HR-5368HR-5761HR-639 | To direct the Secretary of State to develop a strategy to ad-dress the factors driving large numbers of unaccompanied alien children from El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala to seek admission to the United States, and for other pur- poses.To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to ex- pand the definition of an unauthorized alien to include aliens who have not been admitted to and are not lawfully present in the United States, and for other purposes.To reform immigration detention procedures, and for otherpurposes. |
| 114 | HR-1148 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to improve |
|  |  | immigration law enforcement within the interior of the |
|  |  | United States, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-1149 | To amend the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Pro- |
|  |  | tection Reauthorization Act of 2008 to provide for the ex- |
|  |  | pedited removal of unaccompanied alien children who are |
|  |  | not victims of a severe form of trafficking in persons and |
|  |  | who do not have a fear of returning to their country of na- |
|  |  | tionality or last habitual residence, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-1153 | To modify the treatment of unaccompanied alien children |
|  |  | who are in Federal custody by reason of their immigration |
|  |  | status, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-206 | To prohibit the use of funds to carry out memoranda issued |
|  |  | by the Secretary of Homeland Security and the President, |
|  |  | and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-2848 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to penalize |
|  |  | aliens who overstay their visas, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-29 | To prohibit the use of funds for granting deferred action or |
|  |  | other immigration relief to aliens not lawfully present in |
|  |  | the United States. |
| 114 | HR-2942 | To require the Secretary of Homeland Security to detain |
|  |  | any alien who is unlawfully present in the United States |
|  |  | and is arrested for certain criminal offenses. |
| 114 | HR-2964 | To provide for enhanced Federal, State, and local assistance |
|  |  | in the enforcement of the immigration laws, to amend the |
|  |  | Immigration and Nationality Act, to authorize appropria- |
|  |  | tions to carry out the State Criminal Alien Assistance Pro- |
|  |  | gram, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-3002 | To prohibit the receipt of Federal financial assistance by |
|  |  | sanctuary cities, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-3011 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to increase |
|  |  | the penalties applicable to aliens who unlawfully reenter |
|  |  | the United States after being removed. |
| 114 | HR-3073 | To prohibit the receipt of Federal financial assistance by |
|  |  | sanctuary cities, and for other purposes. |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 114 | HR-31 | To prohibit the use of funds to implement the immigration |
|  |  | policies set forth in the memoranda issued by the Secretary |
|  |  | of Homeland Security on November 20, 2014, or the mem- |
|  |  | oranda issued by the President on November 21, 2014, and |
|  |  | for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-3165 | To provide for the apprehension, detention, and removal |
|  |  | of certain aliens arrested by the District of Columbia, and |
|  |  | for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-32 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to ex- |
|  |  | pand the definition of an unauthorized alien to include |
|  |  | aliens who have not been admitted to and are not lawfully |
|  |  | present in the United States, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-3437 | To ensure State and local compliance with all Federal im- |
|  |  | migration detainers on aliens in custody and for other pur- |
|  |  | poses. |
| 114 | HR-3928 | To authorize the Capitol Police to enforce the immigration |
|  |  | laws, and for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-4007 | To amend the Immigration and Nationality Act to require |
|  |  | U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, upon the re- |
|  |  | quest of a law enforcement official, to make a prompt de- |
|  |  | termination of whether to issue a detainer in the case of an |
|  |  | alien arrested for a violation of Federal, State, or local law. |
| 114 | HR-4597 | To provide resources and incentives for the enforcement of |
|  |  | immigration laws in the interior of the United States and |
|  |  | for other purposes. |
| 114 | HR-4720 | To amend the William Wilberforce Trafficking Victims Pro- |
|  |  | tection Reauthorization Act of 2008 to provide for the ex- |
|  |  | pedited removal of unaccompanied alien children who are |
|  |  | not victims of a severe form of trafficking in persons and |
|  |  | who do not have a fear of returning to their country of na- |
|  |  | tionality or last habitual residence, and for other purposes. |

## Table B1: Bills from 111st-114th Congress used to create our bill co-sponsorship dependent variable.

**Online Appendix C: Alternative Models**

Table C1: OLS Results (Rep. Henry Cuellar Removed). Punitive immigration bill cospon- sorship and contributions from private prison political action committees

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

(1) (2)

Cosponsored Bill 65.170 190.550

*− −*

(146.215) (167.635)

Democratic Representative 202.640*∗∗* 347.722*∗∗∗* (96.975) (108.593)

*− −*

DHS/Judicial Committee 37.052 60.779

(160.000) (161.893)

Committee Chair 211.841*∗∗* 186.817*∗∗* (95.599) (94.295)

Border State 164.826 190.256

(135.545) (134.519)

Home State 902.288*∗∗∗* 912.424*∗∗∗* (303.705) (303.186)

Private Detention Facility in District 562.105*∗∗* 545.069*∗∗*

(250.037) (244.809)

Non-Freshman 141.389 142.001

*− −*

(103.974) (103.280)

Margin of Victory 153.269 193.018

(242.270) (242.916)

Retiring 297.240*∗∗∗* 305.879*∗∗∗* (103.113) (103.684)

*− −*

Democratic Presidential Vote 1.568 0.018

(5.587) (5.480)

Percent Hispanic 507.285 570.591

*− −*

(868.832) (876.290)

Unemployed Population 0.004 0.004

*− −*

(0.004) (0.004)

114th Congress 214.046*∗∗* 257.295*∗∗* (106.140) (103.066)

113th Congress 179.243*∗∗* 143.210*∗∗* (78.178) (72.873)

*− −*

112th Congress 24.329 12.062

*−*

(104.001) (102.688)

Democrat X Cosponsored Bill 639.274*∗∗∗* (243.153)

Constant 476.698 595.636

(367.684) (363.611)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C2: OLS Results (DW-Nominate Models). Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contributions from private prison political action committees.

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

(1) (2)

Cosponsored Bill 56.013 231.764

*−*

(143.570) (147.624)

Ideology (Liberal to Conservative) 48.111 239.386*∗*

(143.311) (143.750)

DHS/Judicial Committee 89.908 126.479

(168.001) (170.200)

Committee Chair 203.309*∗* 178.630*∗* (105.650) (105.046)

Border State 158.695 192.404

(139.952) (139.135)

Home State 906.137*∗∗∗* 912.658*∗∗∗* (301.723) (302.217)

Private Detention Facility in District 991.485*∗∗* 968.584*∗∗*

(486.393) (480.603)

Non-Freshman 83.473 98.871

*− −*

(122.064) (120.689)

Margin of Victory 183.307 254.806

(245.900) (248.604)

Retiring 343.991*∗∗∗* 349.722*∗∗∗* (117.023) (117.240)

*− −*

Democratic Presidential Vote 3.543 2.021

(6.773) (6.630)

Percent Hispanic 615.468 550.723

(1,383.924) (1,373.934)

Unemployed Population 0.010 0.010

*− −*

(0.008) (0.008)

114th Congress 252.249*∗∗* 303.929*∗∗∗* (109.757) (108.179)

113th Congress 160.565*∗∗* 115.514

*− −*

(77.683) (73.618)

112th Congress 9.139 36.202

*−*

(106.522) (105.463)

Ideology X Cosponsored Bill 843.472*∗∗∗* (285.577)

*−*

Constant 368.275 385.829

(414.492) (411.850)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C3: OLS Results. Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contributions from private prison political action committees (Prison in district for full and/or part of the session)

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

(1) (2)

Cosponsor Punitive Immigration Bill 77.027 197.518

*− −*

(146.752) (168.283)

Democrat 147.980 286.679*∗∗*

*− −*

(112.319) (125.623)

DHS/Judicial Committee 80.374 102.119

(168.241) (169.269)

Committee Chair 185.908*∗* 161.051

(99.656) (98.259)

Border State 152.504 178.415

(140.827) (139.665)

Home State 892.007*∗∗∗* 902.411*∗∗∗*

(303.074) (302.446)

Private Detention Facility in District (full or part) 915.547*∗∗* 896.517*∗*

(461.012) (458.882)

Incumbent 91.689 92.359

*− −*

(119.137) (118.563)

Margin of Victory 170.159 208.868

(246.612) (247.152)

Retiring 325.456*∗∗∗* 333.853*∗∗∗*

*− −*

(113.516) (113.506)

Presidential Vote 2.011 0.534

(5.621) (5.515)

Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen 570.236 495.387

(1,366.698) (1,364.434)

Number Unemployed over age 16 0.010 0.010

*− −*

(0.007) (0.007)

114th Congress 239.815*∗∗* 281.630*∗∗∗* (109.834) (106.542)

113th Congress 151.840*∗* 117.265

*− −*

(78.166) (73.287)

112th Congress 13.020 22.298

*−*

(103.630) (102.568)

Democrat X Cosponsored Bill 608.756*∗∗*

(238.409)

Constant 514.323 628.443*∗*

(372.477) (367.631)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C4: Tobit Results. Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contributions from private prison political action committees

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

(1) (2)

Cosponsored Bills (Count) 45.455 599.434

*−*

(674.296) (765.852)

Democratic Representative 417.617 1,239.073

*− −*

(731.412) (802.784)

DHS/Judicial Committee 527.500 630.222

(786.600) (786.612)

Committee Chair 1,608.642*∗∗∗* 1,451.374*∗∗∗* (526.759) (523.126)

Border State 584.096 714.110

(870.805) (875.473)

Home State 4,415.728*∗∗∗* 4,435.341*∗∗∗* (1,076.045) (1,076.898)

Private Detention Facility in District 3,040.571*∗∗∗* 2,923.841*∗∗∗*

(992.763) (986.946)

Non-Freshman 238.485 256.314

*− −*

(653.646) (649.366)

Margin of Victory 1,128.696 1,400.281

(1,182.277) (1,188.490)

Retiring 3,760.919*∗∗∗* 3,732.114*∗∗∗* (1,264.894) (1,263.681)

*− −*

Democratic Presidential Vote 7.242 2.001

*−*

(30.141) (29.614)

Percent Hispanic 1,005.570 1,522.314

*− −*

(6,291.523) (6,284.776)

Unemployed Population 0.041 0.040

*− −*

(0.040) (0.040)

114th Congress 536.490 300.983

*− −*

(584.700) (597.104)

113th Congress 2,719.869*∗∗∗* 2,472.993*∗∗∗* (633.775) (633.453)

*− −*

112th Congress 1,841.154*∗∗∗* 1,624.262*∗∗∗* (616.215) (618.549)

*− −*

Democrat X Cosponsored Bills 2,948.082*∗∗* (1,206.274)

Log(scale) 8.734*∗∗∗* 8.730*∗∗∗* (0.098) (0.099)

Constant 5,747.115*∗∗* 5,090.284*∗∗* (2,603.489) (2,571.596)

*− −*

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C5: OLS Results (Logged DV). Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contri- butions from private prison political action committees

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC (Logged) $ (1) (2)

Cosponsored Bill 0.089 0.145

*−*

(0.201) (0.222)

Democratic Representative 0.008 0.278

*− −*

(0.200) (0.210)

DHS/Judicial Committee 0.151 0.193

(0.231) (0.231)

Committee Chair 0.451*∗∗∗* 0.403*∗∗* (0.172) (0.172)

Border State 0.130 0.179

(0.234) (0.235)

Home State 1.417*∗∗∗* 1.437*∗∗∗* (0.413) (0.412)

Private Detention Facility in District 1.027*∗∗∗* 0.991*∗∗∗*

(0.335) (0.328)

Non-Freshman 0.098 0.099

*− −*

(0.175) (0.174)

Margin of Victory 0.252 0.327

(0.326) (0.326)

Retiring 0.615*∗∗∗* 0.631*∗∗∗*

*− −*

(0.196) (0.197)

Democratic Presidential Vote 0.002 0.001

*−*

(0.008) (0.008)

Percent Hispanic 0.725 0.874

*− −*

(1.800) (1.810)

Unemployed Population 0.00001 0.00001

*− −*

(0.00001) (0.00001)

114th Congress 0.257 0.176

*− −*

(0.183) (0.185)

113th Congress 0.715*∗∗∗* 0.647*∗∗∗* (0.166) (0.166)

*− −*

112th Congress 0.549*∗∗∗* 0.480*∗∗∗* (0.168) (0.167)

*− −*

Democrat X Cosponsored Bill 1.182*∗∗* (0.461)

Constant 1.324*∗∗* 1.545*∗∗* (0.664) (0.666)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C6: GLM Logit Results; binary dependent variables (1=Donate, 0=Did Not Donate). Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contributions from private prison political action committees

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

(1) (2)

Cosponsored Bill 0.107 0.118

*−*

(0.204) (0.225)

Democratic Representative 0.035 0.248

*−*

(0.228) (0.249)

DHS/Judicial Committee 0.149 0.193

(0.231) (0.232)

Committee Chair 0.493*∗∗∗* 0.446*∗∗∗* (0.166) (0.167)

Border State 0.089 0.137

(0.259) (0.263)

Home State 1.172*∗∗∗* 1.192*∗∗∗* (0.289) (0.289)

Private Detention Facility in District 0.733*∗∗∗* 0.715*∗∗∗*

(0.200) (0.202)

Non-Freshman 0.074 0.075

*− −*

(0.196) (0.196)

Margin of Victory 0.266 0.353

(0.336) (0.336)

Retiring 0.926*∗∗* 0.939*∗∗*

*− −*

(0.368) (0.368)

Democratic Presidential Vote 0.003 0.001

*−*

(0.009) (0.009)

Percent Hispanic 0.882 1.111

*− −*

(1.856) (1.878)

Unemployed Population 0.00001 0.00001

*− −*

(0.00001) (0.00001)

114th Congress 0.438*∗∗* 0.369*∗* (0.187) (0.194)

*− −*

113th Congress 0.940*∗∗∗* 0.884*∗∗∗* (0.202) (0.205)

*− −*

112th Congress 0.720*∗∗∗* 0.658*∗∗∗* (0.197) (0.199)

*− −*

Democrat X Cosponsored Bill 0.933*∗∗* (0.394)

Constant 1.527*∗* 1.297

*− −*

(0.797) (0.800)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

## Table C7: OLS Results (Count Variable as IV). Punitive immigration bill cosponsorship and contributions from private prison political action committees

 *Dependent variable:*

PAC $

Cosponsored Bill (Count) 70.215

*−*

(44.154)

Democratic Representative 178.837

*−*

(112.141)

DHS/Judicial Committee 105.735

(166.017)

Committee Chair 182.804*∗*

(97.939)

Border State 194.504

(139.515)

Home State 902.561*∗∗∗*

(306.104)

Private Detention Facility in District 1,000.013*∗∗* (481.946)

Non-Freshman 79.574

*−*

(119.972)

Margin of Victory 203.826

(248.799)

Retiring 350.349*∗∗∗*

*−*

(118.048)

Democratic Presidential Vote 2.449

(5.430)

Percent Hispanic 504.760

(1,400.847)

Unemployed Population 0.010

*−*

(0.008)

Congress 114 247.400*∗∗*

(105.926)

Congress 113 194.351*∗∗∗*

*−*

(75.179)

Congress 112 13.354

*−*

(107.623)

Constant 523.439

(384.024)

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

# Online Appendix D: Match Balance Tables

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Means Treated | Means Control | Mean Diff. | Var. Ratio | eQQ Mean | eQQ Max |
| Distance | 0.45 | 0.05 | 0.40 | 7.06 | 0.39 | 0.74 |
| Ideology (Liberal to Conservative) | -0.20 | -0.39 | 0.19 | 1.08 | 0.19 | 0.22 |
| DHS/Judicial Committee | 0.07 | 0.15 | -0.07 |  | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Committee Chair | 0.30 | 0.11 | 0.19 |  | 0.19 | 0.19 |
| Border State | 0.19 | 0.26 | -0.07 |  | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Home State | 0.09 | 0.06 | 0.03 |  | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Private Facility in District | 0.21 | 0.07 | 0.14 | 4.52 | 0.10 | 1.00 |
| Incumbent | 0.87 | 0.89 | -0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Margin of Victory | 0.27 | 0.38 | -0.12 | 0.90 | 0.12 | 0.23 |
| Retiring | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.03 |  | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Presidential Vote | 48.39 | 33.99 | 14.41 | 0.69 | 14.00 | 19.00 |
| Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen | 0.05 | 0.06 | -0.01 | 1.20 | 0.02 | 0.06 |
| Unemployed over age 16 | 36008.78 | 36922.85 | -914.07 | 0.62 | 1720.64 | 19077.00 |
| 114th Congress | 0.01 | 0.24 | -0.23 |  | 0.23 | 0.23 |
| 113th Congress | 0.04 | 0.26 | -0.21 |  | 0.21 | 0.21 |
| 112th Congress | 0.16 | 0.24 | -0.08 |  | 0.08 | 0.08 |
| 111th Congress | 0.78 | 0.26 | 0.51 |  | 0.51 | 0.51 |

## Table D1: Democratic MC data balance table pre-match

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Means Treated | Means Control | Mean Diff. | Var. Ratio | eQQ Mean | eQQ Max |
| Distance | 0.45 | 0.44 | 0.01 | 1.07 | 0.02 | 0.11 |
| Ideology (Liberal to Conservative) | -0.20 | -0.22 | 0.02 | 1.48 | 0.03 | 0.18 |
| DHS/Judicial Committee | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.05 |  | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Committee Chair | 0.30 | 0.33 | -0.03 |  | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Border State | 0.19 | 0.16 | 0.04 |  | 0.04 | 0.04 |
| Home State | 0.09 | 0.06 | 0.03 |  | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Private Facility in District | 0.21 | 0.13 | 0.07 | 2.76 | 0.06 | 1.00 |
| Incumbent | 0.87 | 0.93 | -0.06 |  | 0.06 | 0.06 |
| Margin of Victory | 0.27 | 0.32 | -0.05 | 0.98 | 0.07 | 0.25 |
| Retiring | 0.07 | 0.08 | -0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Presidential Vote | 48.39 | 47.17 | 1.22 | 0.83 | 2.42 | 7.00 |
| Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen | 0.05 | 0.06 | -0.01 | 0.82 | 0.02 | 0.12 |
| Unemployed over age 16 | 36008.78 | 35738.20 | 270.57 | 0.57 | 2338.55 | 19077.00 |
| 114th Congress | 0.01 | 0.02 | -0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| 113th Congress | 0.04 | 0.04 | 0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| 112th Congress | 0.16 | 0.11 | 0.06 |  | 0.06 | 0.06 |
| 111th Congress | 0.78 | 0.84 | -0.06 |  | 0.06 | 0.06 |

Table D2: Democratic MC data balance table post-match

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Means Treated | Means Control | Mean Diff. | Var. Ratio | eQQ Mean | eQQ Max |
| Distance | 0.63 | 0.45 | 0.18 | 0.79 | 0.18 | 0.22 |
| Ideology (Liberal to Conservative) | 0.51 | 0.42 | 0.09 | 0.95 | 0.09 | 0.13 |
| DHS/Judicial Committee | 0.20 | 0.09 | 0.11 |  | 0.11 | 0.11 |
| Committee Chair | 0.37 | 0.39 | -0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Border State | 0.25 | 0.13 | 0.12 |  | 0.12 | 0.12 |
| Home State | 0.14 | 0.09 | 0.04 |  | 0.04 | 0.04 |
| Private Facility in District | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 1.66 | 0.02 | 1.00 |
| Incumbent | 0.79 | 0.80 | -0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Margin of Victory | 0.32 | 0.29 | 0.03 | 1.00 | 0.03 | 0.11 |
| Retiring | 0.05 | 0.06 | -0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Presidential Vote | 57.11 | 54.81 | 2.30 | 0.99 | 2.46 | 11.00 |
| Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen | 0.03 | 0.03 | -0.00 | 0.35 | 0.01 | 0.17 |
| Unemployed over age 16 | 31665.22 | 31379.19 | 286.03 | 1.01 | 393.88 | 5520.00 |
| 114th Congress | 0.27 | 0.27 | -0.00 |  | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| 113th Congress | 0.20 | 0.34 | -0.15 |  | 0.15 | 0.15 |
| 112th Congress | 0.29 | 0.24 | 0.06 |  | 0.06 | 0.06 |
| 111th Congress | 0.24 | 0.15 | 0.09 |  | 0.09 | 0.09 |

Table D3: Republican MC data balance table pre-match

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Means Treated | Means Control | Mean Diff. | Var. Ratio | eQQ Mean | eQQ Max |
| Distance | 0.63 | 0.63 | -0.00 | 0.99 | 0.01 | 0.10 |
| Ideology (Liberal to Conservative) | 0.51 | 0.50 | 0.02 | 1.01 | 0.02 | 0.10 |
| DHS/Judicial Committee | 0.20 | 0.19 | 0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Committee Chair | 0.37 | 0.35 | 0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Border State | 0.25 | 0.24 | 0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Home State | 0.14 | 0.16 | -0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| Private Facility in District | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 1.60 | 0.03 | 1.00 |
| Incumbent | 0.79 | 0.76 | 0.03 |  | 0.03 | 0.03 |
| Margin of Victory | 0.32 | 0.33 | -0.01 | 0.92 | 0.02 | 0.17 |
| Retiring | 0.05 | 0.06 | -0.01 |  | 0.01 | 0.01 |
| Presidential Vote | 57.11 | 58.08 | -0.97 | 0.99 | 1.58 | 20.40 |
| Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 1.07 | 0.00 | 0.14 |
| Unemployed over age 16 | 31665.22 | 31113.33 | 551.89 | 0.79 | 819.16 | 5520.00 |
| 114th Congress | 0.27 | 0.23 | 0.04 |  | 0.04 | 0.04 |
| 113th Congress | 0.20 | 0.17 | 0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |
| 112th Congress | 0.29 | 0.33 | -0.04 |  | 0.04 | 0.04 |
| 111th Congress | 0.24 | 0.26 | -0.02 |  | 0.02 | 0.02 |

Table D4: Republican MC data balance table post-match

**Online Appendix E: Donations in 2008 Election Cycle as IV**

Table E1: Bivariate Results: Contributions in the 2008 election cycle and Bill Cosponsorship of Punitive Immigration Legislation in Subsequent Congresses)

 *DV: Bill Cosponsor (111th - 114th Congress)*

(1) (2)

Contributions in 2008 Election Cycle 0.0001 0.0003

*− −*

(0.0002) (0.0002)

Democrat 3.744*∗∗∗* 2.739*∗∗∗*

*− −*

(0.447) (1.013)

DHS/Judicial Committee 0.650

(0.682)

Committee Chair 1.833*∗∗*

(0.848)

Border State 1.309*∗*

(0.740)

Home State 0.583

(0.879)

Private Detention Facility in District (full or part) 0.458

(0.836)

Margin of Victory 3.588*∗∗*

*−*

(1.614)

Presidential Vote 0.057

(0.036)

Percent Hispanic Non-Citizen 7.274

*−*

(4.656)

Number Unemployed over age 16 0.00003

*−*

(0.00003)

Democrat X Contributions in 2008 Election Cycle 0.001

(0.001)

Constant 1.512*∗∗∗* 0.218

(0.304) (2.546)

Observations 183 183

Log Likelihood *−*70.809 *−*59.573

*Note: ∗*p*<*0.1; *∗∗*p*<*0.05; *∗∗∗*p*<*0.01

*Note: Analysis limited to members of Congress who were present from the 110th to 114th congress.*

*DV= 1=Bill Cosponsor (111th-114th Congress), 0=Otherwise; IV=Contributions in 2008 Election Cycle (before 111th).*