

Online Appendix

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Appendix Tables

Table A1: Change in the Origin of Education Interest Group Contributions and Their Partisan Destinations, Including Independent Expenditures

	2006-2009				2014-2017			
	% Ed Group \$ from TU	TU % of Amt to Dems	% Ed Group \$ from Ref. Groups	Reform Groups % of Amt to Repubs	% Ed Group \$ from TU	TU % of Amt to Dems	% Ed Group \$ From Ref. Groups	Reform Groups % of Amt to Repubs
Alabama	100	96	0	0	95	60	5	97
Alaska	100	85	0	0	100	73	0	0
Arizona	100	96	0	0	20	90	80	73
Arkansas	100	92	0	0	42	94	58	99
California	89	99	11	8	27	97	73	3
Colorado	99.9	96	0.1	29	72	99	28	74
Connecticut	99.5	94	0.5	0	99	89	1	0
Delaware	99.5	63	0.5	90	100	94	0	0
Florida	96	95	4	99	96	99	4	97
Georgia	99.9	74	0.1	100	34	80	66	86
Hawaii	100	88	0	0	98	96	2	16
Idaho	100	85	0	0	100	96	0	0
Illinois	100	73	0	0	86	76	14	29
Indiana	100	93	0	0	98	96	2	98
Iowa	100	100	0	0	100	100	0	0
Kansas	100	80	0	0	100	83	0	0
Kentucky	100	75	0	0	100	93	0	0
Louisiana	100	80	0	0	86	92	14	34
Maine	100	100	0	0	99.4	99	0.6	100
Maryland	100	98	0	0	98	99	2	0
Massachusetts	100	100	0	0	91	25	9	0
Michigan	99	87	1	96	77	98	23	96
Minnesota	100	97	0	0	100	98	0	0
Mississippi	100	65	0	0	71	33	29	1
Missouri	57	84	43	24	87	96	13	80
Montana	100	100	0	0	100	99	0	0
Nebraska	100	12	0	0	93	22	7	0
Nevada	100	92	0	0	88	97	12	34
New Hampshire	100	100	0	0	99.7	100	0.3	100
New Jersey	100	74	0	0	91	89	9	30
New Mexico	100	99	0	67	100	98	0	0
New York	91	69	9	28	93	85	7	11
North Carolina	99.6	98	0.4	33	96	95	4	95
North Dakota	100	75	0	0	100	100	0	0
Ohio	100	87	0	0	91	79	9	34
Oklahoma	100	83	0	0	61	71	39	81
Oregon	93	92	7	0	92	98	8	23
Pennsylvania	100	75	0	0	99	88	1	3
Rhode Island	100	98	0	0	100	98	0	0
South Carolina	100	89	0	0	72	65	28	70
South Dakota	100	87	0	0	100	72	0	0
Tennessee	95	88	5	40	29	48	71	87
Texas	92	71	8	100	97	73	3	28
Utah	100	80	0	0	87	40	13	8
Vermont	100	77	0	0	100	84	0	0
Virginia	100	88	0	0	100	96	0	0
Washington	92	95	8	4	70	91	30	33
West Virginia	100	96	0	0	100	97	0	0
Wisconsin	100	72	0	0	69	84	31	99
Wyoming	94	78	6	100	100	65	0	0

Table A2: Change in the Origin of Education Interest Group Contributions and Their Partisan Destinations, Not Including Nonpartisan Candidates

	2006-2009				2014-2017			
	% Ed Group \$ from TU	TU % of Amt to Dems	% Ed Group \$ from Ref. Groups	Reform Groups % of Amt to Repubs	% Ed Group \$ from TU	TU % of Amt to Dems	% Ed Group \$ From Ref. Groups	Reform Groups % of Amt to Repubs
Alabama	100	74	0	0	95	60	5	97
Alaska	100	91	0	0	100	73	0	0
Arizona	100	71	0	0	95	90	5	0
Arkansas	100	93	0	0	98	94	2	34
California	99.7	87	0.3	11	84	99	16	35
Colorado	99.8	97	0.2	100	87	99	13	70
Connecticut	99.9	92	0.1	0	98	84	2	0
Delaware	100	65	0	0	100	94	0	0
Florida	99.6	97	0.4	100	96	99	4	97
Georgia	100	70	0	0	34	80	66	86
Hawaii	100	73	0	0	98	96	2	16
Idaho	100	72	0	0	100	96	0	0
Illinois	100	77	0	0	90	76	10	30
Indiana	100	92	0	0	98	96	2	98
Iowa	100	97	0	0	100	100	0	0
Kansas	100	77	0	0	100	83	0	0
Kentucky	100	75	0	0	100	93	0	0
Louisiana	100	89	0	0	86	92	14	34
Maine	100	96	0	0	99	99	1	100
Maryland	100	99	0	0	98	99	2	0
Massachusetts	100	100	0	0	99	99	1	0
Michigan	95	94	5	100	96	99	4	75
Minnesota	100	88	0	0	100	98	0	0
Mississippi	100	86	0	0	70	33	30	1
Missouri	100	85	0	0	86	95	14	80
Montana	100	96	0	0	100	100	0	0
Nebraska	100	89	0	0	100	81	0	0
Nevada	100	90	0	0	88	99	12	37
New Hampshire	100	90	0	0	99	100	1	100
New Jersey	99.9	61	0.1	0	91	89	9	30
New Mexico	100	98	0	0	100	98	0	0
New York	99.6	66	0.4	58	93	85	7	11
North Carolina	100	97	0	0	95	97	5	95
North Dakota	100	83	0	0	100	100	0	0
Ohio	100	61	0	0	99	91	1	59
Oklahoma	100	91	0	0	95	71	5	73
Oregon	100	98	0	0	92	99	8	23
Pennsylvania	100	85	0	0	99	88	1	3
Rhode Island	100	97	0	0	100	98	0	0
South Carolina	100	74	0	0	72	65	28	70
South Dakota	100	90	0	0	100	72	0	0
Tennessee	99.9	87	0.1	100	46	48	54	90
Texas	100	87	0	0	97	73	3	28
Utah	100	82	0	0	98	79	2	100
Vermont	100	100	0	0	100	84	0	0
Virginia	100	77	0	0	100	96	0	0
Washington	99	90	1	29	78	94	22	35
West Virginia	100	95	0	0	100	97	0	0
Wisconsin	100	90	0	0	95	100	5	98
Wyoming	100	83	0	0	100	65	0	0

Table A3: Year of First Policy Passage for States Passing Indicated Policies from 1999 to 2015

State	Private School Choice	Retrenchment	Charter Law
Alabama	2013	2010	2015
Arizona		2011	
Arkansas	2015		
Florida	1999		
Georgia	2007		
Idaho		2003	
Illinois	1999		
Indiana	2009	2011	2001
Iowa		2013	2002
Kansas	2014	2013	
Louisiana	2008		
Maine			2011
Maryland			2003
Michigan		2011	
Mississippi	2012		
Montana	2015		
Nevada	2015		
New Hampshire	2012		
North Carolina	2013		
Ohio	2003		
Oklahoma	2010	2001	1999
Oregon			1999
Pennsylvania	2001		
Rhode Island	2006		
South Carolina	2013	2000	
Tennessee		2011	2002
Utah	2005	2001	
Virginia	2012		
Washington			2012
Wisconsin	2013	2011	

Table A4: Variables and Data Sources

Variables	Definition and Coding	Source
Share of All Candidates Receiving Donations	Proportion of all candidates for state offices funded by the indicated education interest group	National Institute on Money in Politics (followthemoney.org)
Share of Contributions Going to Partisan Allies	Proportion of total campaign contributions that teachers unions (education reform groups) give to Democrats (Republicans)	National Institute on Money in Politics (followthemoney.org)
Policy Coalition Polarization	Proportion of reform group donations that go to Republicans - Proportion of teachers union donations that go to Republicans	National Institute on Money in Politics (followthemoney.org)
Private School Choice	1 = State passes any type of program that provides public funding for children to attend private school, including vouchers, tax credits, tax deductions, education savings accounts, etc. from 1999-2015. 0 = State does not pass such a policy during this period.	EdChoice's "ABCs of School Choice" reports.
Charter Law	1 = State passes a law allowing charter schools to operate in the state from 1999-2015. 0 = State does not pass such a policy during this period.	Education Commission of the States
Retrenchment	1 = State passes a law restricting teachers labor rights from 1999-2015. Includes laws restricting collective bargaining, establishing "right-to-work," and prohibiting automatic dues deductions from paychecks or for PAC contributions. 0 = State does not pass such a policy during this period.	Various sources, including the National Council of State Legislatures
Post	1 = Time after law passes in a particular state, 0 = Law not in place at this time	Same sources as those listed for policies of interest
Number of private school choice programs	Cumulative number of private school choice programs in place, including those from before 1999	EdChoice's "ABCs of School Choice" reports.
NEA Membership Rate	Ratio of members of the National Education Association, the nation's largest public sector union, to all public school teachers.	Data share with us from [NAME REDACTED] and collected by [NAME REDACTED] via NEA documents

Table A4: Variables and Data Sources (continued)

Variables	Definition and Coding	Source
Republican Control of the Legislature	1 = Republicans control both chambers of state legislature, 0 = Republicans do not control both chambers	National Council of State Legislatures

Table A5: Impact of Policy on the Share of All Campaign Contributions and Share Going to Partisan Allies

	Share of All Campaign Contributions		Share of Contribution Dollars to Partisan Allies	
	(1) Reform Groups	(2) Teachers Unions	(3) Reform Groups	(4) Teachers Unions
Private School Choice Law	-0.000238 (0.000535)	-0.00147 (0.00143)	0.202** (0.0727)	0.00640 (0.0288)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.394	0.647	0.529	0.551
Charter Law	0.000622 (0.000679)	-0.00150 (0.00250)	0.0341 (0.0932)	-0.0124 (0.0213)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.396	0.646	0.511	0.551
Retrenchment Law	0.000955 (0.00111)	-0.000938 (0.00129)	0.0943 (0.109)	-0.0330 (0.0417)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.407	0.646	0.514	0.552

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. In columns 3 and 4, the dependent variables are the share of contribution dollars going to Republicans, for reformers, and to Democrats, for teachers unions. All models include state and year fixed effects and control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All covariates are lagged one year.

Table A6: Impact of Policy on Share of All Candidates Funded and Share Going to Partisan Allies, Including Independent Expenditures

	Share of All Candidates Receiving Donations		Share of Contributions Going to Partisan Allies	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Reform Groups	Teachers Unions	Reform Groups	Teachers Unions
Private School Choice Law	-0.00549 (0.0211)	-0.0369 (0.0485)	0.216** (0.0708)	-0.0278 (0.0324)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.471	0.816	0.568	0.500
Charter Law	0.0227 (0.0297)	-0.0603 (0.0525)	0.00181 (0.0770)	-0.0532 (0.0508)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.473	0.816	0.548	0.500
Retrenchment Law	0.0310 (0.0366)	-0.0335 (0.0430)	0.124 (0.0885)	-0.0418 (0.0508)
<i>N</i>	832	832	833	833
<i>R</i> ²	0.478	0.816	0.553	0.500

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. In columns 3 and 4, the dependent variables are the percent of candidates supported that are Republicans, for reformers, and percent that are Democrats, for teacher's unions. All models include state and year fixed effects and control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All covariates are lagged one year.

Table A7: Impact of Initial Private School Choice Policy Passage on the Change in the Share of Partisan Allies Funded

	Reform Groups		Teachers Unions'	
	(1) 2 Yr Change	(2) 4 Yr Change	(3) 2 Yr Change	(4) 4 Yr Change
Private School Choice Passage	0.107 (0.102)	0.293* (0.113)	-0.0349 (0.0447)	-0.00727 (0.0226)
N	735	539	735	539
R^2	0.084	0.055	0.028	0.099

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. Models only include states passing private school choice during the time period. All models include year fixed effects and control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures.

Table A8: Impact of Retrenchment on the Share of All Candidates Funded by Teachers Unions and the Share of all Contribution Dollars From Teachers Unions, Lagging Retrenchment Passage Two or More Years

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
	2 Yr Lag	3 Yr Lag	4 Yr Lag	5 Yr Lag	6 Yr Lag
<i>Dependent Variable = Share of All Candidates Receiving Donations</i>					
Retrenchment Law	-0.0460 (0.0517)	-0.0331 (0.0437)	-0.0221 (0.0412)	0.00430 (0.0445)	0.0136 (0.0512)
<i>N</i>	832	783	735	686	637
<i>R</i> ²	0.813	0.834	0.852	0.873	0.878
<i>Dependent Variable = Share of All Campaign Contribution Dollars</i>					
Retrenchment Law	-0.00237 (0.00184)	-0.00267 (0.00185)	-0.00435 [†] (0.00217)	-0.00771 [†] (0.00429)	-0.00888* (0.00434)
<i>N</i>	832	783	735	686	637
<i>R</i> ²	0.648	0.655	0.655	0.661	0.665

[†] $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All models include state and year fixed effects and control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All controls are lagged one year.

Table A9: Impact of Policy on Policy Coalition Polarization

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Private School Choice Law	0.182** (0.0599)		
Charter Law		0.0331 (0.0719)	
Retrenchment Law			0.0622 (0.0836)
N	833	833	833
R^2	0.498	0.473	0.474

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All models control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All models include state and year fixed effects. Table corresponds to Figure 5.

Table A10: Impact of Policy on Policy Coalition Polarization, Including Independent Expenditures

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Private School Choice Law	0.173** (0.0557)		
Charter Law		0.0255 (0.0724)	
Retrenchment Law			0.0944 (0.0838)
N	833	833	833
R^2	0.511	0.488	0.492

† $p < 0.1$, * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors clustered by state in parentheses. All models control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All models include state and year fixed effects. Table corresponds to Figure 5.

Appendix Figures

Figure A1: Treatment and Control Group Policy Coalition Polarization Trends

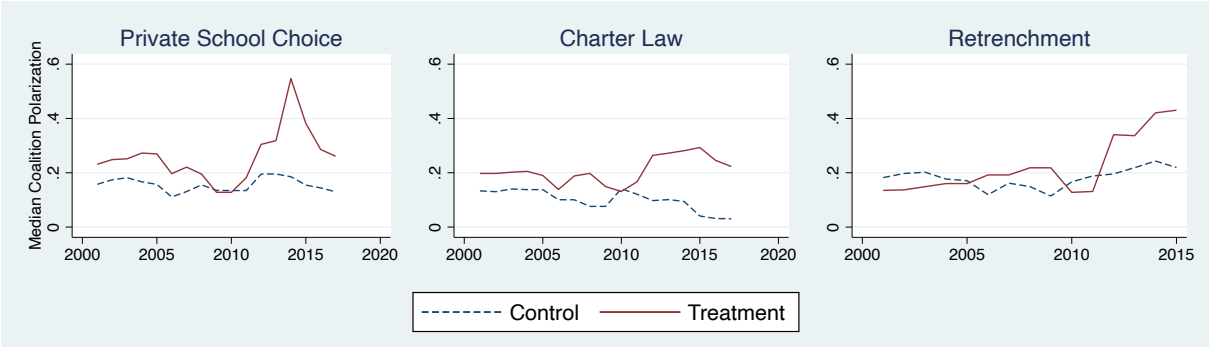
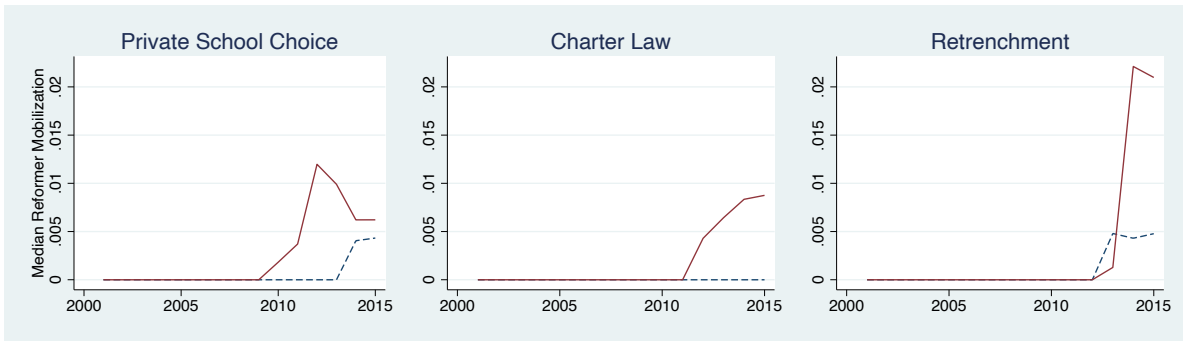
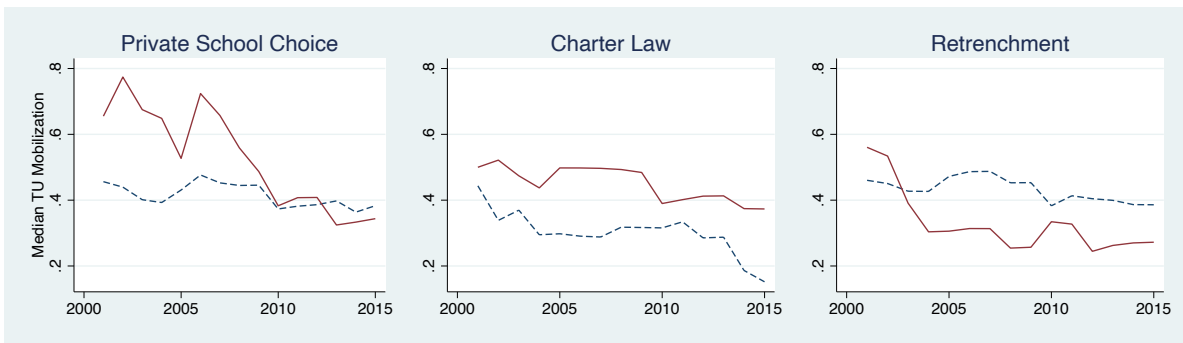


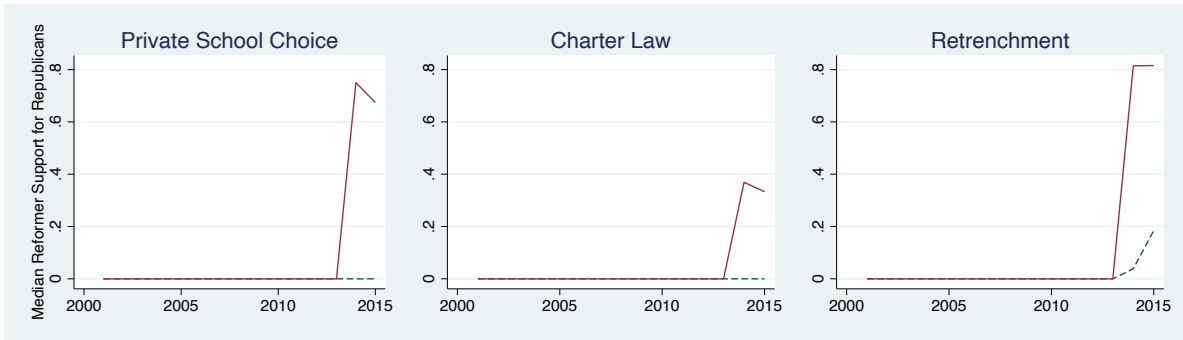
Figure A2: Treatment and Control Group Outcome Trends



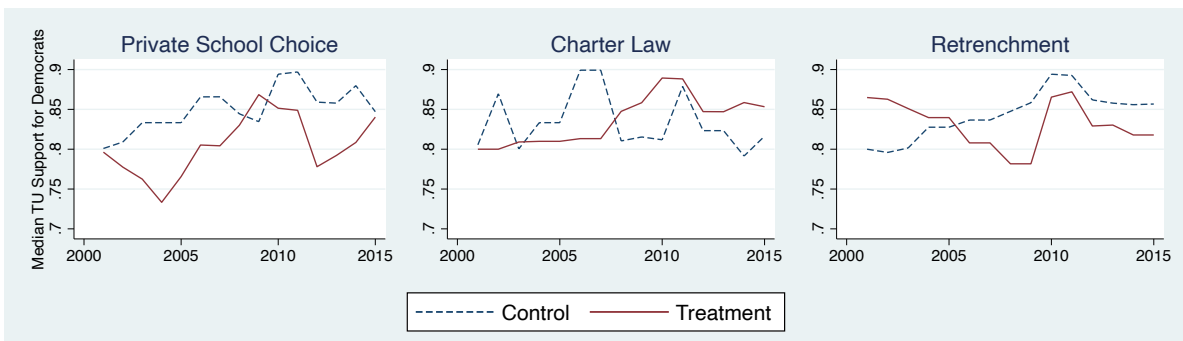
(a) Share of all State Candidates Supported by Reform Groups



(b) Share of all State Candidates Supported by Teachers Unions

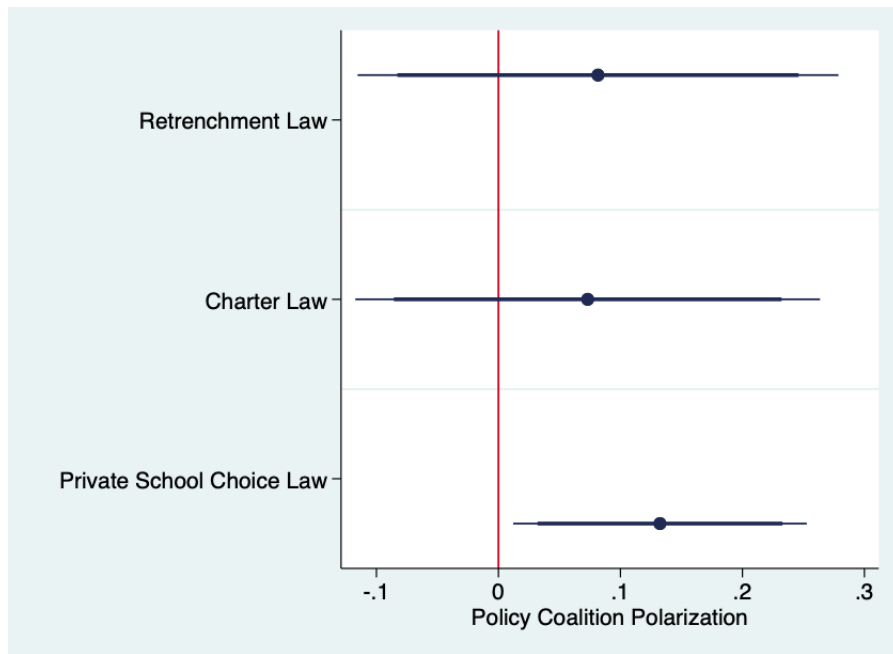


(c) Share of Reform Contributions Going to Republicans



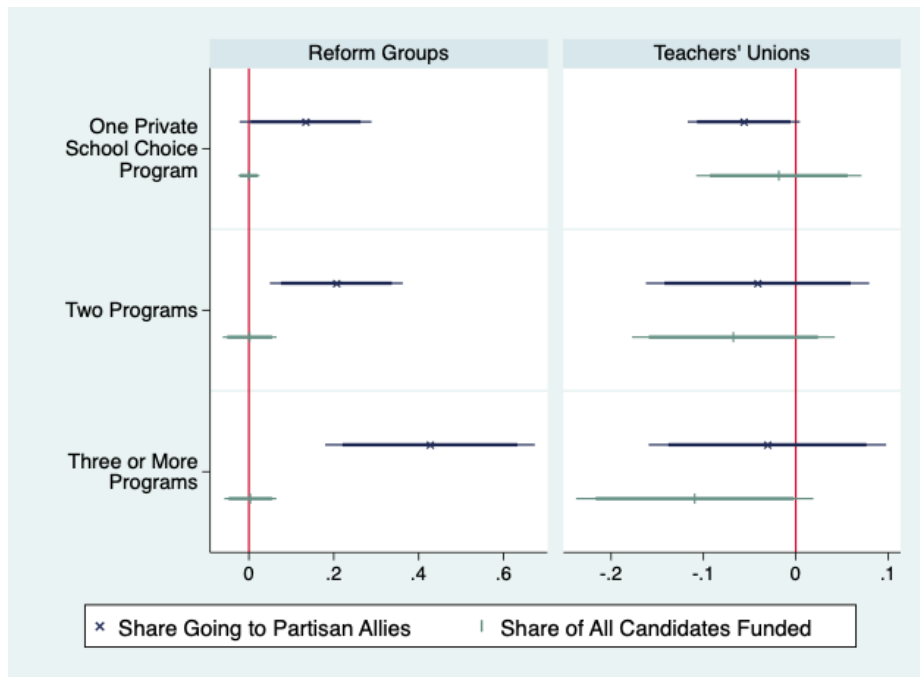
(d) Share of Teachers Unions Contributions Going to Democrats

Figure A3: Impact of Policy on Policy Coalition Polarization in Contribution Dollars

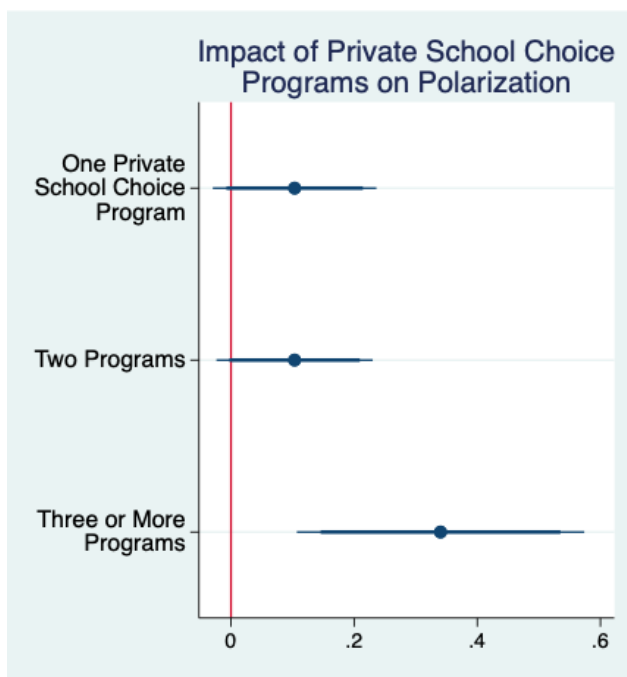


Each coefficient is from a separate model. Coefficients displayed with 95% and 90% confidence intervals. All models control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All models include state and year fixed effects. All covariates are lagged one year.

Figure A4: Impact of the Number of Private School Choice Programs on Various Interest Group Outcomes



(a)



(b)

Coefficients with the same marker are from the same model. Coefficients displayed with 95% and 90% confidence intervals. Private school choice programs are included as dummies, with the baseline being no private school choice program. All models control for NEA membership rates and Republican-controlled legislatures. All models include state and year fixed effects. All covariates are lagged one year.