

The Missing Fingerprints:
U.S. Women Legislators and Development Aid

Web Appendix
Not for Print Publication

Contents

- A Balancing A.1**

- B Additional Details on Co-sponsorship Analysis A.2**

- C Additional Details on Hearing Analysis A.3**

- D Extended tables for main analysis A.5**
 - D.1 Roll-call A.5
 - D.2 Co-sponsorship A.6
 - D.3 Hearings A.7
 - D.4 USAID Contact A.8

- E Subset analysis using only Democrats A.9**
 - E.1 Roll-call A.9
 - E.2 Co-sponsorship A.10
 - E.3 Hearings A.11
 - E.4 USAID Contact A.12

- F Subset analysis using only Republicans A.13**
 - F.1 Roll-call A.13
 - F.2 Co-sponsorship A.14
 - F.3 Hearings A.15
 - F.4 USAID Contact A.16

- G Subset analysis using 106th Congress and later A.17**
 - G.1 Roll-call A.17
 - G.2 Co-sponsorship A.18
 - G.3 Hearings A.19

A Balancing

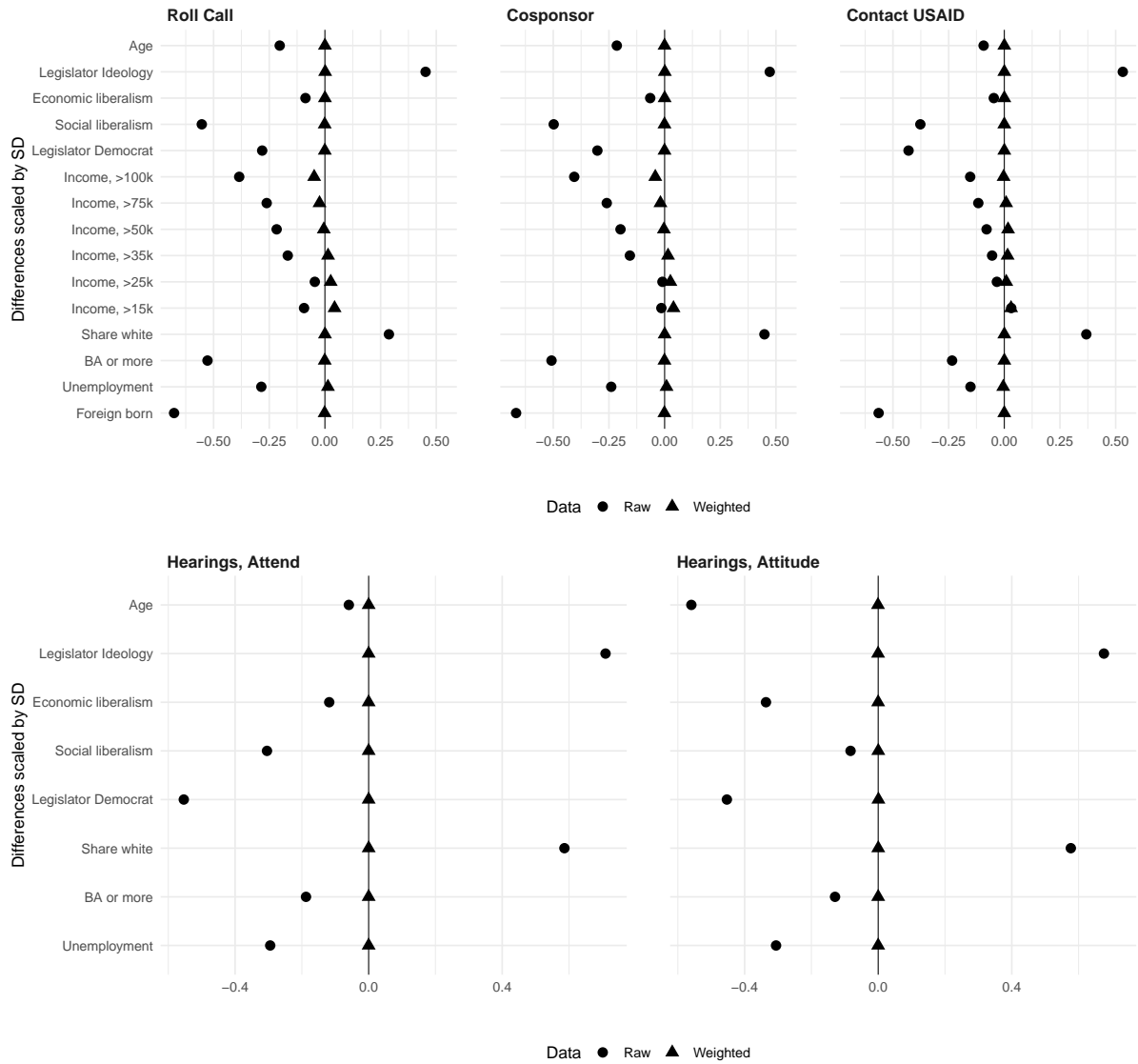


Figure A.1: Covariate balance between men and women legislators across data sets. Each panels a different data set used for analysis. The x-axis in each gives the standardized difference between men and women legislators; dots show the differences in the raw data, triangles for the reweighted data based on stratified entropy balancing.

B Additional Details on Co-sponsorship Analysis

To examine whether men and women co-sponsor aid legislation at different rates, we use the Cosponsorships Network Data by Fowler (2006a, b). Using this data, we are able to obtain the list of cosponsors on every piece of legislation to come before the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate from the 93rd Congress to the 110th Congress. Bills of potential interest were identified using information from the Policy Agendas Project. The Policy Agendas Project classifies each piece of legislation as falling under one of twenty-three potential topics, followed by a sub-topic classification. For example, a bill related to foreign aid may be classified as falling under the topic of “International Affairs” and the subtopic of “Foreign Aid.”

To identify which of these bills pertain to foreign aid (and the content of these bills), we conducted crowd-coding using MTurk workers. For each Congress, we randomly sampled one-third of the bills of potential interest for coding. Workers on MTurk were given brief descriptions of a given bill from the Congressional Archive. After reading this summary, workers were asked to identify: 1) whether the bill was related to foreign aid, and 2) if so, did the bill increase aid, decrease aid, or did not influence the amount of aid. Our procedure was designed to assign multiple workers to each bill. In cases where our workers reached a consensus, bills were coded based on this consensus. If consensus was not achieved, the researchers read the bill summary in question and made a determination about the appropriate coding. All in all, we ended up with 39 decrease and 135 increase bills.

C Additional Details on Hearing Analysis

The hearings used in this analysis are a collection of full-text transcripts released by U.S. Congress and cataloged in the ProQuest Congressional Database. The database contains a record of all Congressional hearing transcripts dating back to 1824, with the title, synopsis of the topics covered, date, members, and full text of the hearing. We first filtered this database to search for hearings dating back to 1970, then keyword-searched these hearings for “USAID” and “Millennium Challenge.” This cast a wide net, yielding approximately 120 hearings in the date range containing those keywords. These were further filtered by title and synopsis using a keyword search, downloading only the ones that cover topics relevant to the study. For example, the hearing entitled “The FY2014 Budget Request—U.S. Foreign Assistance Priorities and Strategy” was downloaded for use as the hearing focuses on USAID’s current priorities. On the other hand, one entitled “Meeting the Challenges of the Millennium” was not as it contained the relevant keywords but was not actually about foreign aid in any way. Some transcripts were removed out due to a lack of relevance for foreign aid. For example, if a transcript contained testimony from a USAID administrator, but the testimony was about the current events in a certain country and not primarily about aid, the transcript was omitted. In the end, 25 transcripts of hearings were retained. While we estimate the measurement model below on these 25 hearings, the usable number for inferential purposes falls to twelve for the study of whether committee members show up as we only examine the U.S. House. For the expressed attitudes, the number declines to ten because we require at least one woman and one man to be present at the hearing.

Our interest lies in measuring the positivity toward aid that hearing attendees expressed. We split each speaker’s totality of remarks at a hearing into text segments three sentences in length. Five of the authors coded these fragments without knowing the hearing, speaker, and date. Specifically, we coded using these instructions: “if you can reasonably infer that the paragraph is about funds for promoting international development—e.g. poverty alleviation, education, better access to clean water, etc.”; if the answer is “yes”, the coder should judge whether the speaker is “defending development aid or advocating for an increase or better use of aid” (positive), if the legislator “is advocating for a reduction or withdrawal of aid” (negative), or if it is neutral.²⁶

All in all, there are 6,251 such speech fragments. Three authors coded randomly about 15%, two about 10% of them. Many fragments were coded multiple times.

For each speaker–hearing, we estimate the latent expressed sentiment toward aid using our coded fragments (three sentences). Let Y_{ij} denote the number of positive segments out of N_{ij} coded segments for speaker-hearing i coded by coder j . The probability that a given segment of i is coded as positive by j is modeled as a function of the speaker’s latent sentiment toward aid (θ_i) adjusted by a coder specific offset (κ_j) and scaled by the variability of legislators’ expressions and coders’ judgements of i and j , respectively (σ_i, τ_j). We use the normal cumulative density function as the link function to relate the latent sentiment to the probability parameter in a Binomial distribution. Taken together, we have

$$Y_{ij} \sim \text{Bin}(\pi_{ij}, N_{ij}),$$

²⁶ Neutral should not be used if the statement contains positive and negative expresses. In such a case, an overall assessment should be made.

with the key probability parameter modeled²⁷ as

$$\pi_{ij} = \Phi \left(\frac{\theta_i + \kappa_j}{\sqrt{\sigma_i + \tau_j}} \right).$$

The scale of the parameter main interest, θ_i , the latent support for aid by speaker-hearing (i), is set by assigning a standard normal prior.²⁸ The model is estimated using JAGS. A second model uses the sum of positive and neutral (ie. non-negative) codings as Y_{ij} .

Figure A.2 shows the summary of the results for the ten hearings that we are using in the analysis. Each panels gives the estimates for one hearing; the speakers are on the y-axis, the x-axis indicates θ_i .

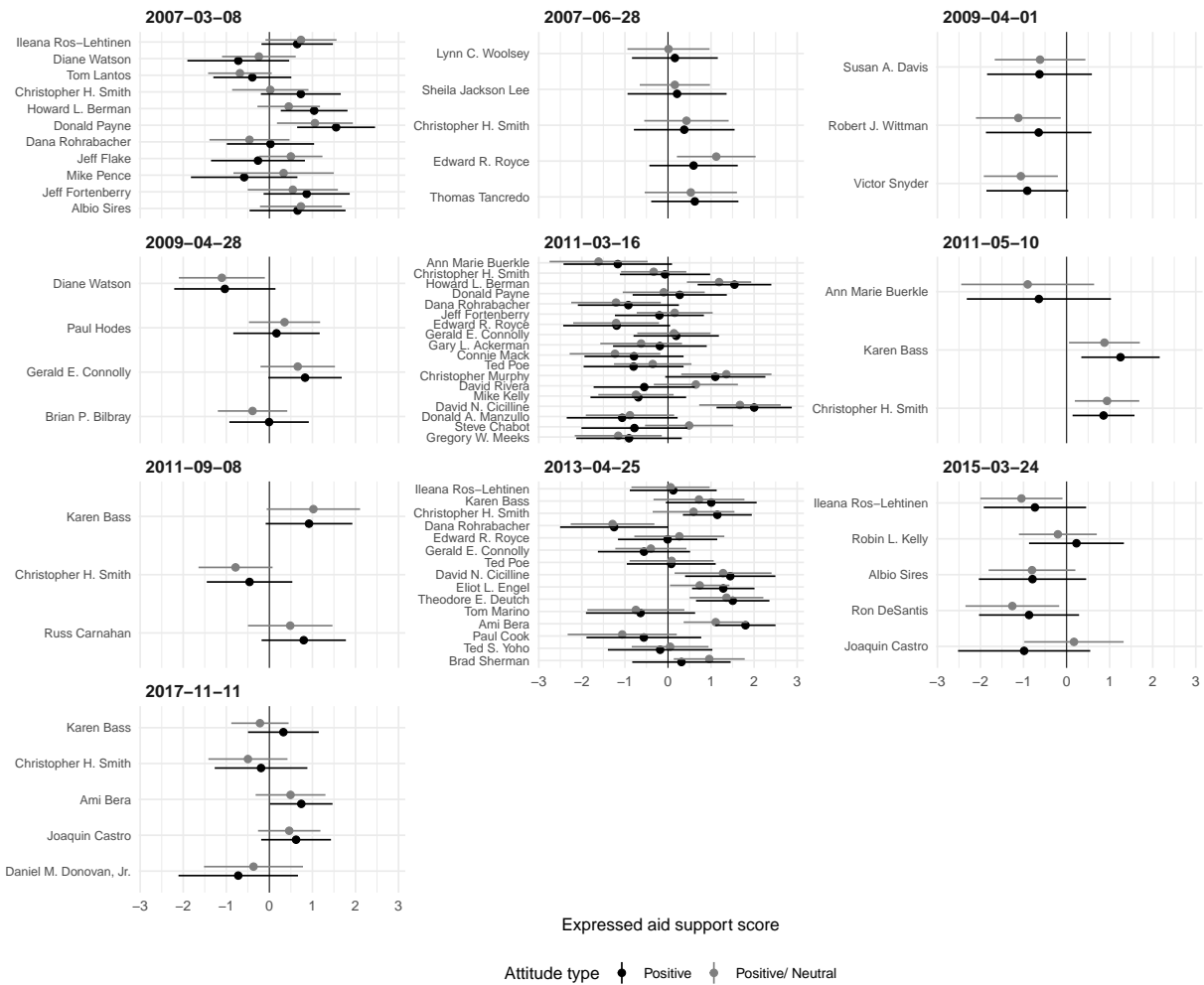


Figure A.2: Estimates of θ for every speaker by hearing. The dot denotes the median estimate, the line segments the 95% central credible intervals. Black dots/ lines show results using only positive utterances, whereas grey ones use non-negative instances.

²⁷ The items in the denominator are restricted to be positive, and κ_j is given a $N(0,1)$ prior.

²⁸ The model is a close adaptation of Caughey and Warshaw (2015).

D Extended tables for main analysis

D.1 Roll-call

	Voting yay on aid increase		Voting nay on aid increase	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-0.7 [-5.0; 3.6]	-1.3 [-5.1; 2.5]	0.2 [-3.4; 3.8]	1.1 [-2.1; 4.4]
Party, Democrat	33.9 [17.5; 50.5]	-16.1 [-35.6; 3.6]	-35.8 [-51.9; -19.8]	11.7 [-7.3; 30.7]
Ideology		-73.4 [-93.8; -52.8]		69.4 [49.3; 89.6]
Age		0.0 [-0.1; 0.2]		-0.1 [-0.3; 0.0]
Hispanic		-7.4 [-14.1; -0.6]		-1.1 [-6.9; 4.6]
Asian		0.4 [-6.0; 6.8]		1.7 [-2.8; 6.1]
African American		2.7 [-2.3; 7.8]		-4.1 [-8.6; 0.3]
Born abroad		2.7 [-3.6; 9.1]		4.3 [-1.4; 9.9]
Freshman		4.1 [0.9; 7.2]		-5.1 [-8.2; -1.9]
Committee, foreign affairs		1.7 [-2.1; 5.4]		-0.8 [-4.3; 2.7]
Committee, appropriations		4.8 [1.9; 7.6]		-3.8 [-7.1; -0.4]
From the South		-7.8 [-11.6; -4.0]		7.4 [2.7; 12.1]
Percent white		0.1 [0.0; 0.2]		-0.1 [-0.1; 0.0]
State social liberalism		6.2 [0.3; 12.1]		-7.9 [-14.9; -1.0]
State economic liberalism		32.2 [22.7; 41.7]		-20.9 [-29.8; -12.1]
District prosperity		1.1 [-1.4; 3.6]		-2.6 [-5.4; 0.2]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.1 [-0.1; 0.3]		-0.1 [-0.3; 0.1]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-0.1; 0.2]		-0.1 [-0.2; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.9 [-1.3; -0.5]		0.9 [0.6; 1.3]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	3899	3899	3899	3899
# Women	424	424	424	424
# unique Women	136	136	136	136
Congresses	97–110	97–110	97–110	97–110

Table A.1: Estimates for all coefficients in roll call voting on foreign aid using all observations. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

D.2 Co-sponsorship

	Cosponsoring aid increases		Cosponsoring aid decreases	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	0.1 [-0.5; 0.7]	0.2 [-0.2; 0.5]	0.0 [-0.6; 0.7]	0.0 [-0.8; 0.8]
Party, Democrat	2.2 [0.9; 3.5]	-3.4 [-4.7; -2.1]	-0.3 [-3.7; 3.0]	-1.3 [-6.4; 3.8]
Ideology		-7.2 [-9.0; -5.5]		-1.0 [-8.3; 6.3]
Age		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]
Hispanic		-0.7 [-1.5; 0.2]		0.2 [-0.6; 1.0]
Asian		-0.6 [-2.1; 1.0]		-0.4 [-2.0; 1.2]
African American		0.0 [-0.7; 0.7]		-0.5 [-1.5; 0.4]
Born abroad		-0.4 [-1.4; 0.5]		1.4 [0.0; 2.8]
Freshman		-0.6 [-1.0; -0.2]		0.7 [-0.6; 1.9]
Committee, foreign affairs		1.4 [0.6; 2.1]		0.1 [-0.5; 0.6]
Committee, appropriations		-0.7 [-1.0; -0.4]		-0.6 [-1.2; -0.1]
From the South		0.0 [-0.4; 0.4]		0.0 [-0.8; 0.8]
Percent white		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]
State social liberalism		0.4 [-0.1; 1.0]		1.0 [0.2; 1.8]
State economic liberalism		1.3 [0.4; 2.2]		-1.5 [-3.8; 0.7]
District prosperity		-0.2 [-0.6; 0.2]		-0.7 [-1.3; -0.1]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]
Percent foreign born		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.1 [-0.1; -0.1]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	4656	4656	4656	4656
# Women	558	558	558	558
# unique Women	131	131	131	131
Congresses	99–110	99–110	99–110	99–110

Table A.2: Estimates for all coefficients in cosponsoring legislation on foreign aid using all observations. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

D.3 Hearings

	Attend hearings on aid		Support aid at hearings	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	3.0	2.0	-0.5	-0.2
	[-8.7; 15.4]	[-9.7; 14.1]	[-1.5; 0.4]	[-4.2; 3.5]
Party, Democrat	-9.8	-55.3	0.5	-1.7
	[-24.1; 4.3]	[-109.3; -4.2]	[-0.3; 1.3]	[-8.9; 6.3]
Ideology		-51.6		-4.5
		[-131.6; 22.1]		[-15.1; 6.1]
Age		0.2		-0.1
		[-0.5; 0.9]		[-0.2; 0.1]
Hispanic		1.9		-1.5
		[-28.9; 34.4]		[-7.5; 4.6]
Asian		-5.0		0.2
		[-27.7; 19.9]		[-5.0; 4.8]
African American		23.5		-0.5
		[1.9; 45.4]		[-5.6; 5.3]
Born abroad		2.0		0.7
		[-28.2; 29.8]		[-3.5; 5.1]
Freshman		-4.7		0.6
		[-21.0; 12.8]		[-2.3; 3.2]
Committee, foreign affairs		27.8		-0.7
		[-8.2; 63.1]		[-5.1; 3.7]
Committee, appropriations		16.7		0.4
		[-17.8; 57.0]		[-8.5; 8.2]
From the South		-3.0		0.5
		[-19.8; 13.9]		[-2.8; 4.2]
Percent white		0.2		0.0
		[-0.4; 0.7]		[-0.1; 0.1]
State social liberalism		13.9		-0.5
		[-15.2; 43.4]		[-6.0; 5.5]
State economic liberalism		19.3		2.1
		[-66.7; 105.6]		[-10.0; 14.4]
District prosperity		6.5		-0.2
		[-10.7; 23.0]		[-3.2; 2.6]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.3		0.0
		[-1.2; 1.8]		[-0.3; 0.3]
Percent foreign born		0.1		0.0
		[-0.6; 0.8]		[-0.1; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.6		0.0
		[-2.7; 1.6]		[-0.4; 0.4]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	404	404	57	57
# Women	83	83	15	15
# unique Women	23	23	4	4
Congresses	110–115	110–115	110–114	110–114

Table A.3: Estimates for all coefficients in attendance and attitudes in aid-related hearings using all observations. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval. Intercepts for separate hearings were also omitted.

D.4 USAID Contact

	Contacting USAID (total)		Contacting USAID (policy)	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-1.0 [-7.6; 5.6]	1.5 [-5.5; 8.6]	-1.5 [-5.7; 2.7]	0.8 [-3.5; 5.0]
Party, Democrat	6.7 [5.2; 8.2]	-7.3 [-27.4; 12.6]	9.4 [8.6; 10.3]	1.9 [-6.2; 9.8]
Ideology		-17.2 [-44.6; 9.9]		-10.6 [-23.1; 2.0]
Age		0.0 [-0.5; 0.5]		-0.1 [-0.3; 0.2]
Hispanic		-5.5 [-31.7; 20.8]		11.3 [2.7; 19.8]
Asian		1.5 [-11.4; 14.4]		3.4 [-7.5; 14.3]
African American		13.4 [2.4; 24.3]		10.6 [-0.6; 21.8]
Born abroad		2.8 [-5.7; 11.1]		-1.2 [-13.1; 10.8]
Freshman		-5.1 [-19.0; 9.0]		-1.8 [-7.5; 3.9]
Committee, foreign affairs		10.4 [3.8; 17.0]		16.3 [10.4; 22.2]
Committee, appropriations		12.4 [2.6; 22.2]		9.5 [6.3; 12.7]
From the South		10.1 [1.9; 18.2]		10.9 [7.5; 14.3]
Percent white		0.2 [0.0; 0.5]		0.1 [0.0; 0.2]
State social liberalism		8.0 [4.3; 11.7]		1.8 [-6.9; 10.3]
State economic liberalism		3.1 [-9.6; 15.9]		-15.0 [-29.0; -1.2]
District prosperity		-1.5 [-9.2; 6.1]		2.7 [-4.7; 10.1]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.3 [-0.3; 0.9]		0.1 [-0.3; 0.5]
Percent foreign born		0.3 [0.1; 0.6]		0.2 [0.0; 0.5]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.6 [-1.2; 0.1]		-0.2 [-0.9; 0.6]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	723	723	723	723
# Women	144	144	144	144
# unique Women	85	85	85	85
Congresses	110–111	110–111	110–111	110–111

Table A.4: Estimates for all coefficients in contacting USAID using all observations. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

E Subset analysis using only Democrats

E.1 Roll-call

	Voting yay on aid increase		Voting nay on aid increase	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-2.2 [-6.8; 2.4]	-2.8 [-7.2; 1.6]	1.3 [-2.2; 4.8]	2.2 [-1.5; 5.8]
Ideology		-37.3 [-67.7; -6.6]		37.4 [7.8; 67.1]
Age		-0.1 [-0.3; 0.1]		0.0 [-0.2; 0.1]
Hispanic		-7.6 [-15.4; 0.3]		-0.3 [-5.1; 4.6]
Asian		-0.8 [-7.8; 6.3]		4.0 [-0.5; 8.5]
African American		1.9 [-3.8; 7.7]		-2.3 [-6.7; 2.1]
Born abroad		11.2 [4.4; 18.0]		-4.8 [-10.6; 0.9]
Freshman		2.8 [-0.8; 6.3]		-5.4 [-9.1; -1.7]
Committee, foreign affairs		-2.8 [-9.4; 3.9]		3.4 [-3.4; 10.2]
Committee, appropriations		3.1 [-0.3; 6.3]		-2.8 [-5.6; 0.1]
From the South		-1.4 [-6.5; 3.7]		-1.6 [-7.3; 4.2]
Percent white		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
State social liberalism		17.2 [7.9; 26.4]		-20.5 [-32.1; -8.9]
State economic liberalism		30.0 [18.9; 41.0]		-13.4 [-26.3; -0.3]
District prosperity		-1.5 [-5.1; 2.1]		0.2 [-3.6; 3.9]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.2 [-0.1; 0.5]		-0.2 [-0.5; 0.1]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-0.1; 0.3]		-0.1 [-0.3; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-1.4 [-1.9; -1.0]		1.4 [0.9; 1.9]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	2055	2055	2055	2055
# Women	283	283	283	283
# unique Women	88	88	88	88
Congresses	97–110	97–110	97–110	97–110

Table A.5: Estimates for all coefficients in roll call voting on foreign aid using only Democrats. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

E.2 Co-sponsorship

	Cosponsoring aid increases		Cosponsoring aid decreases	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	0.3 [-0.4; 1.0]	0.4 [0.0; 0.8]	0.1 [-0.5; 0.6]	0.0 [-0.9; 0.9]
Ideology		-9.5 [-12.2; -6.8]		-7.1 [-14.5; 0.3]
Age		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.0]
Hispanic		-0.2 [-1.3; 0.8]		0.3 [-0.3; 0.8]
Asian		-0.4 [-2.3; 1.6]		-0.9 [-2.8; 1.0]
African American		0.7 [-0.3; 1.7]		0.4 [-0.6; 1.4]
Born abroad		-0.2 [-1.6; 1.2]		0.6 [-1.3; 2.5]
Freshman		-0.9 [-1.6; -0.3]		0.1 [-0.7; 0.9]
Committee, foreign affairs		0.9 [-0.1; 1.8]		0.1 [-0.6; 0.8]
Committee, appropriations		-0.7 [-1.3; -0.1]		-0.2 [-0.8; 0.5]
From the South		-0.2 [-0.8; 0.5]		-0.5 [-1.5; 0.4]
Percent white		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]
State social liberalism		1.4 [0.6; 2.3]		0.7 [0.1; 1.3]
State economic liberalism		2.1 [1.1; 3.1]		-1.4 [-4.2; 1.3]
District prosperity		0.1 [-0.5; 0.6]		-0.4 [-0.7; 0.0]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]
Percent foreign born		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.2 [-0.3; -0.2]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.2]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	2394	2394	2394	2394
# Women	371	371	371	371
# unique Women	86	86	86	86
Congresses	99–110	99–110	99–110	99–110

Table A.6: Estimates for all coefficients in cosponsoring legislation on foreign aid using only Democrats. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

E.3 Hearings

	Attend hearings on aid		Support aid at hearings	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	4.5	-2.5	-0.6	6.3
	[-9.9; 19.0]	[-17.2; 12.0]	[-2.2; 1.1]	[-51.7; 71.1]
Ideology		-87.6		27.6
		[-188.8; 13.8]		[-163.8; 171.6]
Age		-0.2		0.1
		[-0.9; 0.6]		[-18.7; 9.0]
Hispanic		-11.3		-4.5
		[-50.0; 28.6]		[-64.2; 48.0]
Asian		-2.5		-5.0
		[-26.9; 26.1]		[-47.6; 44.9]
African American		20.7		-6.3
		[-4.3; 46.8]		[-62.2; 52.8]
Born abroad		4.4		-2.7
		[-30.1; 39.0]		[-30.7; 39.3]
Freshman		-10.7		-0.2
		[-34.5; 13.0]		[-27.0; 21.1]
Committee, foreign affairs		32.6		5.6
		[-12.7; 72.6]		[-48.3; 37.7]
Committee, appropriations		14.7		-8.4
		[-30.1; 63.8]		[-451.6; 361.2]
From the South		-16.1		-10.5
		[-37.8; 4.9]		[-51.9; 24.3]
Percent white		0.0		0.0
		[-0.6; 0.7]		[-1.5; 1.7]
State social liberalism		1.1		-1.3
		[-35.3; 37.8]		[-70.1; 72.1]
State economic liberalism		-1.7		-9.0
		[-106.1; 108.6]		[-110.7; 151.7]
District prosperity		5.4		-0.2
		[-16.0; 24.7]		[-34.0; 36.5]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.6		-0.2
		[-1.1; 2.4]		[-6.8; 5.7]
Percent foreign born		0.2		0.1
		[-0.6; 1.1]		[-1.3; 1.4]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-1.1		0.0
		[-3.9; 1.6]		[-10.7; 8.0]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	192	192	24	24
# Women	50	50	11	11
# unique Women	17	17	5	5
Congresses	110–115	110–115	110–115	110–115

Table A.7: Estimates for all coefficients in attendance and attitudes in aid-related hearings using only Democrats. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval. Intercepts for separate hearings were also omitted.

E.4 USAID Contact

	Contacting USAID (total)		Contacting USAID (policy)	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-3.2 [-11.8; 5.3]	-1.9 [-10.8; 6.9]	-2.0 [-7.9; 3.9]	0.3 [-4.7; 5.4]
Ideology		-22.5 [-63.3; 18.5]		-7.9 [-26.6; 10.7]
Age		-0.2 [-0.9; 0.5]		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.2]
Hispanic		-10.5 [-27.9; 7.1]		7.5 [1.2; 13.9]
Asian		2.0 [-9.0; 13.2]		5.8 [-2.4; 14.1]
African American		17.7 [7.3; 28.0]		11.6 [1.6; 21.7]
Born abroad		-7.9 [-10.6; -5.2]		-13.8 [-18.8; -8.9]
Freshman		0.3 [-18.2; 18.7]		-2.4 [-11.8; 7.2]
Committee, foreign affairs		12.5 [9.2; 15.9]		18.2 [15.0; 21.5]
Committee, appropriations		19.0 [13.6; 24.4]		12.0 [7.2; 16.8]
From the South		-0.8 [-3.9; 2.2]		7.2 [2.5; 12.0]
Percent white		0.2 [-0.1; 0.4]		0.1 [0.1; 0.1]
State social liberalism		18.6 [17.3; 19.9]		7.6 [3.8; 11.4]
State economic liberalism		-28.8 [-56.4; -1.5]		-18.4 [-32.1; -4.7]
District prosperity		0.4 [-8.3; 9.2]		4.8 [-3.1; 12.8]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.2 [-0.7; 1.0]		-0.1 [-0.6; 0.5]
Percent foreign born		0.3 [0.1; 0.5]		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-1.0 [-1.8; -0.3]		-0.6 [-1.2; 0.0]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	383	383	383	383
# Women	107	107	107	107
# unique Women	63	63	63	63
Congresses	110–111	110–111	110–111	110–111

Table A.8: Estimates for all coefficients in contacting USAID using only Democrats. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

F Subset analysis using only Republicans

F.1 Roll-call

	Voting yay on aid increase		Voting nay on aid increase	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	2.4 [-3.2; 8.1]	2.6 [-2.7; 8.0]	-1.9 [-7.2; 3.4]	-1.5 [-7.2; 4.1]
Ideology		-109.2 [-133.6; -85.0]		94.5 [68.9; 119.6]
Age		0.3 [0.1; 0.6]		-0.4 [-0.6; -0.1]
Hispanic		-5.7 [-21.2; 9.8]		-6.7 [-22.5; 9.2]
Asian		-4.7 [-19.0; 9.5]		1.6 [-13.8; 16.8]
African American		2.9 [-4.0; 9.9]		-5.8 [-12.2; 0.5]
Born abroad		-7.9 [-17.3; 1.5]		17.7 [6.2; 29.2]
Freshman		1.4 [-3.5; 6.2]		0.7 [-3.2; 4.7]
Committee, foreign affairs		5.6 [1.2; 10.0]		-5.9 [-10.0; -1.6]
Committee, appropriations		3.7 [-0.4; 7.5]		-1.5 [-6.4; 3.5]
From the South		-16.3 [-20.7; -12.0]		19.6 [13.7; 25.4]
Percent white		-0.2 [-0.4; 0.0]		0.1 [-0.1; 0.4]
State social liberalism		-11.5 [-16.3; -6.8]		12.4 [7.3; 17.5]
State economic liberalism		32.2 [15.8; 48.9]		-32.6 [-47.2; -17.9]
District prosperity		2.1 [-2.5; 6.7]		-2.6 [-8.1; 2.9]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.0 [-0.3; 0.3]		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.2]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-0.1; 0.4]		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.2 [-0.4; 0.1]		0.5 [0.2; 0.7]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	1844	1844	1844	1844
# Women	141	141	141	141
# unique Women	48	48	48	48
Congresses	97–110	97–110	97–110	97–110

Table A.9: Estimates for all coefficients in roll call voting on foreign aid using only Republicans. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

F.2 Co-sponsorship

	Cosponsoring aid increases		Cosponsoring aid decreases	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-0.3 [-1.2; 0.5]	-0.2 [-0.9; 0.5]	-0.1 [-1.3; 1.2]	-0.3 [-1.3; 0.7]
Ideology		-6.1 [-8.1; -4.2]		5.0 [-6.5; 16.4]
Age		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.1 [0.0; 0.1]
Hispanic		-1.1 [-1.9; -0.4]		1.9 [-0.7; 4.5]
Asian		0.9 [-0.3; 2.0]		5.0 [1.8; 8.2]
African American		-1.2 [-1.5; -0.9]		-1.6 [-2.6; -0.6]
Born abroad		0.0 [-0.7; 0.7]		0.4 [-1.8; 2.6]
Freshman		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.2]		1.3 [-1.0; 3.7]
Committee, foreign affairs		2.1 [1.1; 3.2]		0.7 [-0.1; 1.5]
Committee, appropriations		-0.6 [-0.9; -0.3]		-0.7 [-1.3; -0.2]
From the South		0.3 [0.0; 0.6]		-0.4 [-1.5; 0.6]
Percent white		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
State social liberalism		0.0 [-0.6; 0.6]		0.9 [-0.7; 2.5]
State economic liberalism		0.3 [-1.1; 1.6]		4.1 [1.3; 6.9]
District prosperity		0.1 [-0.2; 0.5]		0.4 [-1.0; 1.8]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.0 [0.0; 0.1]		-0.1 [-0.2; 0.0]
Percent foreign born		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.1 [-0.1; 0.2]
Pres. Democrat vote share		0.0 [0.0; 0.1]		-0.1 [-0.2; 0.0]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	2262	2262	2262	2262
# Women	187	187	187	187
# unique Women	45	45	45	45
Congresses	99–110	99–110	99–110	99–110

Table A.10: Estimates for all coefficients in cosponsoring legislation on foreign aid using only Republicans. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

F.3 Hearings

	Attend hearings on aid		Support aid at hearings	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-5.0 [-30.6; 21.6]	-18.4 [-48.7; 15.0]	-0.8 [-2.3; 0.7]	1.8 [-41.4; 53.6]
Ideology		-35.3 [-137.3; 57.8]		-6.0 [-60.1; 40.2]
Age		1.5 [0.1; 2.8]		-1.9 [-20.1; 12.7]
Hispanic		-18.8 [-127.8; 100.6]		2.3 [-60.4; 74.9]
Asian		NA [NA; NA]		0.0 [-59.9; 89.2]
African American		-28.6 [-77.3; 15.0]		0.0 [-22.2; 19.2]
Born abroad		38.4 [-61.0; 131.8]		-7.9 [-96.5; 73.5]
Freshman		12.6 [-17.4; 42.3]		4.1 [-35.0; 54.7]
Committee, foreign affairs		-2.9 [-47.8; 50.2]		9.1 [-122.5; 151.2]
Committee, appropriations		-17.6 [-106.5; 51.0]		7.3 [-79.9; 131.4]
From the South		-2.7 [-37.4; 35.5]		0.2 [-17.7; 27.2]
Percent white		-0.1 [-1.8; 1.4]		-0.1 [-2.2; 3.3]
State social liberalism		54.5 [-2.8; 110.6]		-2.1 [-60.0; 37.7]
State economic liberalism		66.2 [-139.9; 257.0]		-4.2 [-78.3; 50.0]
District prosperity		-5.6 [-51.2; 38.9]		-0.9 [-30.5; 33.2]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.2 [-3.4; 3.6]		0.2 [-13.5; 15.7]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-2.8; 2.8]		0.2 [-2.6; 3.8]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-2.5 [-6.0; 1.7]		-0.7 [-15.4; 14.2]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	230	230	34	34
# Women	15	15	3	3
# unique Women	5	5	2	2
Congresses	110–115	110–115	110–115	110–115

Table A.11: Estimates for all coefficients in attendance and attitudes in aid-related hearings using only Republicans. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval. Intercepts for separate hearings were also omitted.

F.4 USAID Contact

	Contacting USAID (total)		Contacting USAID (policy)	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	5.6	5.2	-0.1	-0.9
	[-0.8; 12.0]	[-0.5; 10.9]	[-3.9; 3.7]	[-6.0; 4.2]
Ideology		-2.4		-2.7
		[-41.8; 36.5]		[-23.2; 17.1]
Age		0.3		0.2
		[-0.3; 1.0]		[-0.3; 0.7]
Hispanic		58.2		45.2
		[28.4; 88.6]		[8.4; 82.0]
Asian		-13.8		-22.2
		[-41.8; 14.0]		[-37.9; -6.5]
African American		-10.8		-3.8
		[-25.9; 5.1]		[-18.4; 12.1]
Born abroad		4.8		18.8
		[-10.3; 20.1]		[2.5; 35.0]
Freshman		-13.3		0.0
		[-28.3; 1.7]		[-7.3; 7.2]
Committee, foreign affairs		-7.8		4.5
		[-19.6; 4.0]		[-0.2; 9.1]
Committee, appropriations		5.5		7.6
		[-13.9; 24.9]		[2.2; 12.6]
From the South		3.5		1.2
		[-10.6; 17.5]		[-3.2; 5.8]
Percent white		-0.2		-0.2
		[-0.8; 0.4]		[-0.4; 0.1]
State social liberalism		9.2		-4.9
		[3.6; 15.0]		[-18.7; 8.8]
State economic liberalism		90.6		-2.4
		[85.6; 94.9]		[-35.6; 30.4]
District prosperity		-7.6		-6.3
		[-9.8; -5.0]		[-15.0; 2.6]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		1.1		1.0
		[0.9; 1.3]		[0.8; 1.3]
Percent foreign born		-0.3		0.0
		[-0.8; 0.1]		[-0.2; 0.2]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-1.2		0.4
		[-1.7; -0.6]		[-0.8; 1.6]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	340	340	340	340
# Women	37	37	37	37
# unique Women	22	22	22	22
Congresses	110–111	110–111	110–111	110–111

Table A.12: Estimates for all coefficients in contacting USAID using only Republicans. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

G Subset analysis using 106th Congress and later

G.1 Roll-call

	Voting yay on aid increase		Voting nay on aid increase	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	-0.4 [-9.1; 8.3]	-0.7 [-7.6; 6.2]	-0.9 [-7.9; 6.2]	-0.3 [-6.1; 5.5]
Party, Democrat	44.3 [20.1; 68.8]	-13.9 [-60.6; 32.3]	-45.7 [-71.0; -20.3]	2.5 [-46.1; 52.1]
Ideology		-75.0 [-128.6; -21.8]		61.7 [5.5; 118.0]
Age		-0.1 [-0.5; 0.2]		0.1 [-0.3; 0.5]
Hispanic		-12.7 [-26.8; 1.4]		1.6 [-12.6; 15.9]
Asian		-4.0 [-11.9; 4.0]		5.2 [-2.4; 12.9]
African American		7.4 [1.3; 13.6]		-8.0 [-13.6; -2.4]
Born abroad		6.4 [0.0; 12.8]		1.6 [-3.4; 6.7]
Freshman		1.3 [-3.3; 6.0]		-5.7 [-8.8; -2.7]
Committee, foreign affairs		-5.5 [-9.3; -1.8]		4.2 [0.6; 7.8]
Committee, appropriations		9.2 [4.6; 13.9]		-6.6 [-12.9; -0.4]
From the South		-8.9 [-14.8; -3.0]		8.2 [0.6; 16.0]
Percent white		0.2 [0.0; 0.3]		-0.2 [-0.4; 0.0]
State social liberalism		6.5 [-4.8; 17.8]		-8.6 [-20.4; 3.4]
State economic liberalism		19.6 [-9.3; 47.9]		1.6 [-28.0; 30.7]
District prosperity		3.9 [-1.1; 8.9]		-5.1 [-9.6; -0.5]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.2]		0.1 [-0.2; 0.5]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-0.1; 0.4]		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.8 [-1.5; -0.1]		0.6 [0.0; 1.2]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	1108	1108	1108	1108
# Women	186	186	186	186
# unique Women	93	93	93	93
Congresses	106–110	106–110	106–110	106–110

Table A.13: Estimates for all coefficients in roll call voting on foreign aid using observations since 106th Congress. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

G.2 Co-sponsorship

	Cosponsoring aid increases		Cosponsoring aid decreases	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	0.2 [-0.6; 1.0]	0.3 [-0.1; 0.7]	-0.2 [-0.6; 0.2]	-0.2 [-0.4; 0.1]
Party, Democrat	2.6 [-0.1; 5.2]	-4.0 [-6.7; -1.3]	-0.7 [-5.0; 3.7]	-2.3 [-6.3; 1.7]
Ideology		-7.7 [-11.4; -3.9]		-2.8 [-6.1; 0.5]
Age		0.0 [0.0; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.0]
Hispanic		-0.1 [-1.4; 1.1]		-0.6 [-1.7; 0.4]
Asian		-1.3 [-2.3; -0.3]		-0.7 [-1.4; -0.1]
African American		-0.3 [-0.7; 0.2]		-0.5 [-1.0; 0.0]
Born abroad		-0.7 [-1.8; 0.4]		-0.1 [-0.8; 0.7]
Freshman		-0.8 [-1.4; -0.2]		1.7 [-0.2; 3.6]
Committee, foreign affairs		1.7 [0.6; 2.9]		0.2 [-0.5; 0.9]
Committee, appropriations		-0.9 [-1.4; -0.4]		-0.1 [-0.4; 0.3]
From the South		0.3 [0.0; 0.6]		1.1 [0.0; 2.1]
Percent white		0.0 [-0.1; 0.0]		0.0 [0.0; 0.1]
State social liberalism		0.0 [-0.9; 0.8]		0.5 [0.0; 0.9]
State economic liberalism		0.7 [-0.9; 2.3]		-1.3 [-5.1; 2.5]
District prosperity		0.2 [-0.2; 0.6]		-0.4 [-0.9; 0.1]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.0 [0.0; 0.1]		0.0 [0.0; 0.1]
Percent foreign born		0.0 [-0.1; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.1 [-0.1; 0.0]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	1851	1851	1851	1851
# Women	313	313	313	313
# unique Women	93	93	93	93
Congresses	106–110	106–110	106–110	106–110

Table A.14: Estimates for all coefficients in cosponsoring legislation on foreign aid using observations since 106th Congress. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval.

G.3 Hearings

	Attend hearings on aid		Support aid at hearings	
	Simple	Detailed	Simple	Detailed
Gender, female	3.1 [-9.0; 15.7]	2.1 [-10.1; 14.4]	-0.6 [-1.5; 0.3]	-0.3 [-4.1; 3.5]
Party, Democrat	-9.9 [-24.0; 3.4]	-55.3 [-108.5; -2.9]	0.5 [-0.3; 1.4]	-1.6 [-8.7; 6.6]
Ideology		-51.2 [-130.4; 24.3]		-4.3 [-15.3; 6.9]
Age		0.2 [-0.5; 0.9]		-0.1 [-0.2; 0.1]
Hispanic		1.8 [-29.1; 35.6]		-1.6 [-7.6; 4.6]
Asian		-5.0 [-27.6; 20.5]		0.2 [-4.9; 4.9]
African American		23.7 [2.0; 45.5]		-0.4 [-5.7; 5.2]
Born abroad		1.7 [-28.4; 30.5]		0.7 [-3.7; 5.2]
Freshman		-4.6 [-21.2; 13.3]		0.6 [-2.4; 3.2]
Committee, foreign affairs		27.2 [-8.5; 61.1]		-0.6 [-5.0; 3.7]
Committee, appropriations		16.9 [-19.4; 58.5]		0.1 [-8.8; 8.1]
From the South		-3.0 [-19.8; 13.4]		0.5 [-2.7; 4.3]
Percent white		0.2 [-0.4; 0.7]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.2]
State social liberalism		13.8 [-14.6; 42.5]		-0.5 [-5.9; 5.3]
State economic liberalism		19.9 [-64.3; 110.0]		2.2 [-10.4; 14.5]
District prosperity		6.4 [-11.0; 23.0]		-0.2 [-3.3; 2.7]
Percent w/ B.A. degree		0.3 [-1.2; 1.8]		0.0 [-0.3; 0.3]
Percent foreign born		0.1 [-0.6; 0.8]		0.0 [-0.1; 0.1]
Pres. Democrat vote share		-0.6 [-2.6; 1.5]		0.0 [-0.4; 0.4]
<i>Data</i>				
# Men	421	421	57	57
# Women	66	66	15	15
# unique Women	20	20	7	7
Congresses	110–115	110–115	110–115	110–115

Table A.15: Estimates for all coefficients in attendance and attitudes in aid-related hearings using observations since 106th Congress. The models were designed to give the coefficient on gender a substantive interpretation; other coefficients should not be interpreted. Intercept and coefficients on indicators for Congress omitted. The number is the mean estimate, the range gives the 95% confidence interval. Intercepts for separate hearings were also omitted.