

## Not-for-Publication Appendix

[Marc L. Busch](#) and [Eric Reinhardt](#), “Geography, International Trade, and Political Mobilization in U.S. Industries,” typescript, January 11, 2000.

<http://userwww.service.emory.edu/~erein/research/geoconII.pdf>

See also [Marc L. Busch](#) and [Eric Reinhardt](#), “Industrial Location and Protection: The Political and Economic Geography of U.S. Nontariff Barriers,” *American Journal of Political Science* 43:3 (July 1999), 1028-1050.

### *Estimated Employment*

Government-collected actual employment figures at the 4-digit SIC level are not publicly available for all counties. The Census Bureau’s principle data product of this type, County Business Patterns, withholds industry-specific job data for geographical units in which the anonymity of individual firms might be compromised. This problem is particularly acute for the fine level of geographical and industry detail used here. Hence we *estimate* county-industry employment figures instead (see also McGillivray 1997, 594). First, we obtain 1987 data on the number of establishments of seven different employment classes (i.e., 1-19 employees, 20-49, 50-99, 100-249, 250-499, 500-999, & 1000+) at county-industry level (4-digit SIC codes, rev. 3, 1987).<sup>1</sup> Second, we observe the national average number of employees for each of the seven different establishment classes, specific to each industry, from the same 1987 source.<sup>2</sup> Third, we calculate (estimated) total employment figures for each industry for each county, by summing the products of (national) average employment per establishment type times (county-specific) number of establishments, for all seven types of establishments. Note that the correlation between our estimates (based on 1987 Census of Manufactures data) and *actual* figures using non-missing data in the 1987 County Business Patterns dataset is 0.946 ( $n = 8204$ ,  $p \leq 0.000$ ). Hence our estimates are highly accurate.

### *Alternative Measures of Geographic Concentration*

The Herfindahl index of geographic concentration is simply the sum of the squares of the county shares of national employment in that industry (Pearce 1992, 184), such that

$$H_i = \sum_k \left( j_{ik} / \sum_k j_{ik} \right)^2$$
, where  $j_{ik}$ , using the notation introduced for *Geocon*, is the number of

jobs in industry  $i$  in county  $k$ . The Gini coefficient is 
$$G_i = 1 + \frac{1}{m} - \frac{2}{m \sum_{k=1}^m j_{ik}} \left( \sum_{k=1}^m r_{ik} j_{ik} \right)$$
, where  $r_{ik}$

is the rank of county  $k$ ’s employment when the counties are sorted in decreasing order of jobs (Pearce 1992, 172).

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<sup>1</sup>U.S. Bureau of the Census (1991b), file “mc87lmco.dbf.”

<sup>2</sup>U.S. Bureau of the Census (1991a), file “mc87i4.dbf.”

*Descriptive Statistics*

For Table 1's *Opinion* Equation

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<i>Inform</i>	0.667	0.472	0	1
<i>Education</i>	12.188	2.684	2	17
<i>Age</i>	45.757	17.154	18	92
<i>Married</i>	0.728	0.446	0	1
<i>Male</i>	0.480	0.500	0	1
<i>Minority</i>	0.127	0.334	0	1
<i>Homeowner</i>	0.725	0.447	0	1
<i>Union</i>	0.260	0.439	0	1
<i>House</i>	0.730	0.444	0	1
<i>Contacted</i>	0.343	0.475	0	1
<i>TV</i>	4.863	2.684	0	7
<i>Newspaper</i>	4.265	3.009	0	7
<i>Geocon</i>	0.434	0.108	0.230	0.729
<i>Disadvantage</i>	0.373	0.470	-0.955	0.959
<i>Tradedness</i>	0.137	0.103	0.004	0.631
<i>Geocon*Tradedness</i>	-0.016	0.021	-0.088	0.017
<i>Political Concentration</i>	0.014	0.011	0.004	0.113
<i>Industrial Concentration</i>	36.200	17.106	12.063	89.0123

*N*=408. *Geocon*'s descriptives do not factor in the centering described in Table 1.

Notable bivariate correlations: *Education-Age*, -0.290; *Education-Contacted*, 0.269; *Education-Union*, 0.038; *TV-Newspaper*, 0.221; *Union-Disadvantage*, 0.023; *Geocon-Political Concentration*, 0.342; *Geocon-Industrial Concentration*, 0.250; *Geocon-Tradedness*, 0.123; *Geocon-Disadvantage*, 0.301; *Political Concentration-Industrial Concentration*, 0.379; *Geocon-Union*, 0.141; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Geocon*, 0.680; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Tradedness*, -0.529.

For Table 1's *Protectionist* Equation

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<i>Protect</i>	0.691	0.462	0	1
<i>Education</i>	12.647	2.500	2	17
<i>Union</i>	0.290	0.456	0	1
<i>Geocon</i>	0.434	0.108	0.230	0.718
<i>Disadvantage</i>	0.349	0.457	-0.954	0.959
<i>Geocon*Disadvantage</i>	-0.030	0.085	-0.190	0.316
<i>Political Concentration</i>	0.014	0.009	0.004	0.056
<i>Industrial Concentration</i>	36.562	17.520	12.063	78.819

*N*=272. *Geocon*'s descriptives do not factor in the centering described in Table 1.

Notable bivariate correlations: *Education-Union*, -0.007; *Union-Disadvantage*, 0.068; *Geocon-Political Concentration*, 0.326; *Geocon-Industrial Concentration*, 0.231; *Geocon-Disadvantage*, 0.298; *Political Concentration-Industrial Concentration*, 0.380; *Geocon-Union*, 0.144; *Geocon\*Disadvantage-Geocon*, 0.284; *Geocon\*Disadvantage-Disadvantage*, -0.652.

For Table 2: Individual-Level Campaign Contributions

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<i>Contributed</i>	0.077	0.267	0	1
<i>Education</i>	12.274	2.612	2	17
<i>Age</i>	44.936	16.795	18	92
<i>Income</i>	13.729	5.650	1	23
<i>Union</i>	0.253	0.435	0	1
<i>Contacted</i>	0.351	0.478	0	1
<i>Geocon</i>	0.435	0.106	0.230	0.729
<i>Tradedness</i>	0.133	0.101	0.004	0.631
<i>Geocon*Tradedness</i>	-0.015	0.020	-0.088	0.017
<i>Political Concentration</i>	0.014	0.011	0.004	0.113
<i>Industrial Concentration</i>	35.780	16.763	12.063	89.0123
<i>Independent</i>	0.356	0.480	0	1

*N*=376. *Geocon*'s descriptives do not factor in the centering described in Table 2.

Notable bivariate correlations: *Education-Age*, -0.244; *Education-Contacted*, 0.267; *Education-Union*, 0.030; *Income-Education*, 0.486; *Union-Tradedness*, -0.071; *Geocon-Political Concentration*, 0.376; *Geocon-Industrial Concentration*, 0.255; *Geocon-Tradedness*, 0.115; *Income-Contacted*, 0.260; *Political Concentration-Industrial Concentration*, 0.382; *Geocon-Union*, 0.114; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Geocon*, 0.675; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Tradedness*, -0.542.

For Table 3: Voter Turnout

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>	<b>Minimum</b>	<b>Maximum</b>
<i>Turnout</i>	0.482	0.500	0	1
<i>Age</i>	40.012	14.512	18	90
<i>Veteran</i>	0.150	0.357	0	1
<i>Male</i>	0.499	0.500	0	1
<i>Residence Duration</i>	0.846	0.361	0	1
<i>Education</i>	12.570	2.577	0	18
<i>Minority</i>	0.102	0.302	0	1
<i>Married</i>	0.683	0.465	0	1
<i>Unemployed</i>	0.047	0.212	0	1
<i>Geocon</i>	0.415	0.105	0.230	0.729
<i>Tradedness</i>	0.138	0.101	0	0.576
<i>Geocon*Tradedness</i>	-0.020	0.023	-0.087	0.021
<i>Political Concentration</i>	0.015	0.018	0.004	0.310
<i>Industrial Concentration</i>	37.537	17.334	12.063	89.012
<i>Senate</i>	0.587	0.492	0	1
<i>Governor</i>	0.760	0.427	0	1

*N*=23,962. *Geocon*'s descriptives do not factor in the centering described in Table 3.

Notable bivariate correlations: *Education-Age*, -0.159; *Education-Unemployed*, -0.053; *Education-Minority*, -0.115; *Unemployed-Tradedness*, 0.011; *Geocon-Political Concentration*, 0.195; *Geocon-Industrial Concentration*, 0.145; *Geocon-Tradedness*, 0.049; *Political Concentration-Industrial Concentration*, 0.286; *Geocon-Unemployed*, 0.012; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Geocon*, 0.638; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Tradedness*, -0.635.

For Table 4: Industry-Level PAC Activity

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>
<i>Number of PACs</i>	8.203	11.813	0	62
<i>PAC Receipts (\$s)</i>	104,012	238,866	0	1,795,638
<i>PAC Contributions (\$s)</i>	293,538	555,804	0	3,353,006
<i>PAC Receipts per Employee (\$s)</i>	1.85	6.11	0	42.12
<i>PAC Contributions per (\$1000) Shipments (\$s)</i>	0.02	0.04	0	0.27
<i>Shipments (\$ billions)</i>	34.840	56.657	1.151	332.743
<i>Employees</i>	220,589	427,902	4,700	3,188,800
<i>Number of Companies</i>	4,090	11,792	48	82,991
<i>Industrial Concentration</i>	43.436	18.478	6	92
<i>Political Concentration</i>	0.036	0.053	0.004	0.337
<i>Capital Investments per (\$1000) Shipments (\$s)</i>	0.031	0.017	0.006	0.131
<i>Geocon</i>	0.410	0.110	0.189	0.717
<i>Tradedness</i>	0.161	0.142	0	0.573
<i>Geocon*Tradedness</i>	-0.027	0.036	-0.172	0.031

*N*=79. *Geocon*'s descriptives do not factor in the centering described in Table 4.

Notable bivariate correlations: *Shipments-Employees*, 0.904; *Shipments-Number of Companies*, 0.872; *Employees-Number of Companies*, 0.947; *Shipments-Tradedness*, -0.150; *Number of Companies-Industrial Concentration*, -0.245; *Geocon-Political Concentration*, -0.005; *Geocon-Industrial Concentration*, 0.031; *Geocon-Tradedness*, -0.027; *Political Concentration-Industrial Concentration*, 0.503; *Industrial Concentration-Capital Investments per Shipments*, 0.068; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Geocon*, 0.609; *Geocon\*Tradedness-Tradedness*, -0.712.

### *References*

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