

Online Appendix

Franchise Expansion and Legislative Representation in the Early United States

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Contents

A	Summary Statistics and Descriptive Plots	A-2
B	Supplementary Results	A-5
B.1	District-Level Covariates	A-5
B.2	Gordon and Simpson Public Spending	A-6
B.3	Parallel Trends	A-7
B.4	Alternative Outcome Measures	A-9
B.5	Alternative State Trends	A-12
B.6	Sample Robustness	A-14
B.6.1	Ideal Points	A-14
B.6.2	Rivers and Harbors Spending	A-16
B.7	Alternative Treatment Coding	A-18
B.8	Alternative Unit Trends	A-20

A Summary Statistics and Descriptive Plots

TABLE A.1: PROPERTY FRANCHISE RESTRICTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1789-1860

State	Property Requirement
Connecticut	1789-1817
Delaware	1789-1792
Georgia	1789
Maryland	1789-1801
Massachusetts	1789-1821
New Jersey	1789-1807
New York	1789-1821
Rhode Island	1789-1842
Virginia	1789-1850

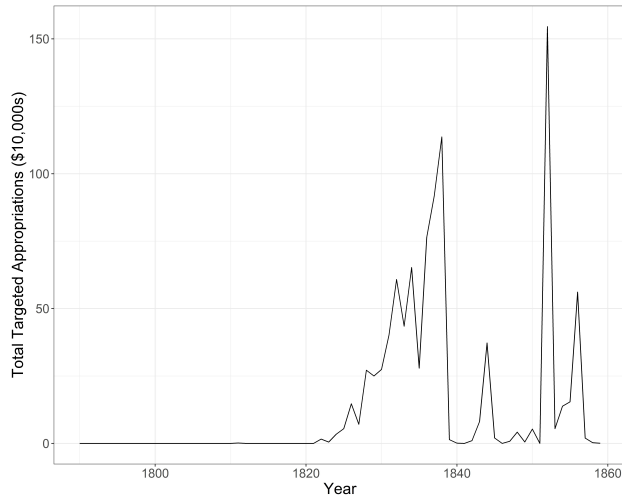
Note: Data from Keyssar (2009), Appendix Table A.2. Property restrictions are only noted if there is no taxpaying alternative to the property requirement. States without property restrictions but included in the data are AL, AR, CA, FL, IA, IL, IN, KY, LA, ME, MI, MO, MS, NC, NH, OH, PA, SC, TN, TX, VT, and WI.

TABLE A.2: U.S. HOUSE ROLL CALL DATA SUMMARY STATISTICS

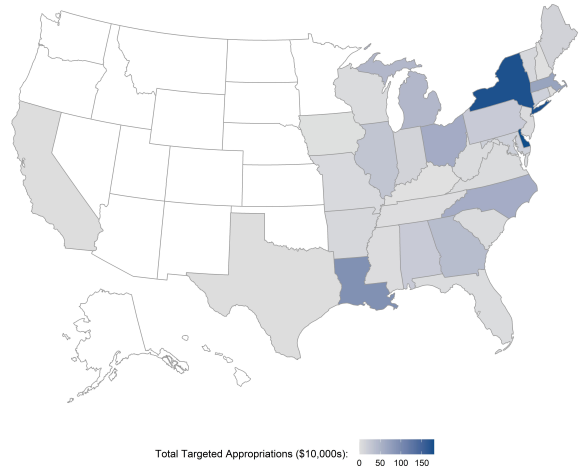
Statistic	Mean	Median	St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
First-Dimension Nokken-Poole	0.01	-0.04	0.39	-1.00	1.00	6,942
No Property Requirement	0.78	1	0.41	0	1	7,005
No Tax Requirement	0.57	1	0.49	0	1	7,005
Percent Enslaved	0.14	0.004	0.18	0.00	0.58	6,996
Percent Urban	0.11	0.08	0.11	0.00	0.63	6,996
Percent Urban over 25,000	0.06	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.35	6,996
ln(Population)	13.52	13.53	0.80	10.92	15.17	6,996
Delegation Size	14.94	12	9.91	1	40	7,005
White Requirement	0.51	1	0.50	0	1	7,005
Citizen Requirement	0.73	1	0.44	0	1	7,005
Percent Enslaved (Dist.)	16.76	6.64	19.98	0.00	83.47	5,687
Population Density (Dist.)	0.05	0.003	0.43	0.0000	8.04	6,821
ln(Population) (Dist.)	11.10	11.00	0.60	8.56	13.65	6,834

TABLE A.3: RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS SUMMARY STATISTICS

Statistic	Mean	Median	St. Dev.	Min	Max	N
ln(All R&H Appropriations)	2.34	0	4.15	0	13	1,578
ln(Targeted R&H Appropriations)	1.43	0	3.49	0	13	1,578
No Property Requirement	0.85	1	0.36	0	1	1,578
No Tax Requirement	0.64	1	0.48	0	1	1,578
Percent Enslaved	0.16	0.03	0.18	0.00	0.58	1,566
Percent Urban	0.09	0.05	0.11	0.00	0.63	1,566
Percent Urban over 25,000	0.04	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.35	1,566
ln(Population)	12.90	12.94	0.89	10.92	15.17	1,566
Delegation Size	8.23	6	7.50	1	40	1,578
White Requirement	0.58	1	0.49	0	1	1,578
Citizen Requirement	0.71	1	0.46	0	1	1,578



(a) OVER TIME



(b) ACROSS STATES

FIGURE A.1: TARGETED RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS, IN TENS OF THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

DATA ONLY INCLUDES APPROPRIATIONS MADE AFTER STATES HAD ACHIEVED STATEHOOD. AS A RESULT, STATES THAT HAD NOT YET ENTERED THE UNION ARE PICTURED AS WHITE ABOVE. ALL VALUES ARE ADJUSTED TO 1860 DOLLARS. WEST VIRGINIA IS FILLED WITH VIRGINIA'S VALUE.

B Supplementary Results

B.1 District-Level Covariates

TABLE B.1: U.S. HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTING: DISTRICT-LEVEL COVARIATES

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Nokken-Poole Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No Property Requirement	-0.164** (0.062)	-0.152** (0.065)	-0.150** (0.066)
Percent Enslaved		0.588 (1.007)	0.954 (1.079)
Percent Urban		0.276 (1.216)	0.365 (1.179)
Percent Urban over 25,000		0.362 (1.083)	0.248 (1.088)
ln(Population)		-0.097* (0.051)	-0.069 (0.050)
Delegation Size		0.004 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)
No Tax Requirement			-0.083* (0.043)
White Requirement			0.019 (0.050)
Citizen Requirement			0.018 (0.048)
Percent Enslaved (Dist.)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)
Pop. Density (Dist.)	-0.042** (0.015)	-0.044** (0.016)	-0.045** (0.016)
ln(Population) (Dist.)	0.00001 (0.024)	0.006 (0.023)	0.005 (0.023)
Observations	5,634	5,629	5,629
Adjusted R ²	0.504	0.506	0.508

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-congress. Population Density measured in 10,000s of people per square mile. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.2 Gordon and Simpson Public Spending

TABLE B.2: ENFRANCHISEMENT AND LOCAL APPROPRIATIONS

	ln(Appropriations+1)				
	Canals & Roads	Public Buildings	Mints & Assay Offices	Military Buildings	Lighthouses
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
No Property Requirement	-0.078 (1.035)	0.920** (0.324)	-0.212 (0.129)	-1.227* (0.681)	-0.653 (0.736)
Percent Enslaved	-1.301 (15.042)	-6.608 (7.784)	-7.052 (5.596)	5.572 (7.974)	5.626 (10.503)
Percent Urban	6.861 (8.273)	-4.441 (5.359)	1.767 (2.764)	3.999 (6.654)	7.933 (6.483)
Percent Urban over 25,000	-1.859 (6.223)	-1.355 (3.429)	2.459** (1.020)	-13.942** (5.456)	-11.238** (3.623)
ln(Population)	0.862 (1.393)	-1.565* (0.816)	-0.339 (0.332)	-0.795 (0.706)	-0.314 (0.670)
Delegation Size	0.169 (0.124)	-0.111 (0.101)	-0.017 (0.040)	0.057 (0.071)	0.018 (0.066)
Mean Outcome	0.91	1.91	0.25	2.73	2.83
Observations	1,578	1,578	1,578	1,578	1,578
Adjusted R ²	0.349	0.471	0.221	0.605	0.467

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. Outcome categories based on Gordon and Simpson (2018). ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.3 Parallel Trends

TABLE B.3: PARALLEL TRENDS TEST, U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ROLL CALLS

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Nokken-Poole Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No Property Requirement	-0.113** (0.053)	-0.119** (0.058)	-0.111* (0.058)
No Prop. Req. +1	-0.006 (0.041)	0.016 (0.031)	0.013 (0.029)
No Prop. Req. +2		-0.037 (0.052)	-0.015 (0.029)
No Prop. Req. +3			-0.042 (0.062)
No Prop. Req. -1	-0.070 (0.129)	-0.044 (0.103)	-0.058 (0.108)
No Prop. Req. -2		-0.053 (0.073)	-0.071 (0.073)
No Prop. Req. -3			0.003 (0.053)
Percent Enslaved	-0.047 (1.009)	-0.294 (1.067)	-1.090 (1.301)
Percent Urban	1.184 (0.742)	1.174 (0.768)	1.162 (0.977)
Percent Urban over 25,000	-0.537 (0.695)	-0.510 (0.683)	-0.463 (0.717)
ln(Population)	-0.016 (0.056)	-0.031 (0.059)	-0.036 (0.079)
Delegation Size	-0.006 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)	-0.007 (0.005)
No. Clusters	31	31	30
Observations	6,601	6,265	5,890
Adjusted R ²	0.502	0.498	0.494

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Clustered standard errors in parentheses. The unit of observation is the legislator-Congress. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

TABLE B.4: PARALLEL TRENDS TEST, RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS

<i>Dependent variable:</i>			
ln(Rivers and Harbors Spending+1)			
Panel A: All Appropriations			
No Property Requirement	-0.460 (0.326)	-0.524 (0.347)	-0.519 (0.379)
No Prop. Req. +1	-0.534 (0.515)	-1.511 (1.170)	-1.507 (1.075)
No Prop. Req. +2		1.101 (0.812)	0.088 (1.018)
No Prop. Req. +3			1.232 (1.034)
No Prop. Req. -1	1.659* (0.870)	1.580 (1.125)	1.503 (1.100)
No Prop. Req. -2		0.168 (1.021)	-0.519 (0.733)
No Prop. Req. -3			0.878 (1.004)
Percent Enslaved	1.785 (11.969)	2.085 (12.426)	3.861 (13.121)
Percent Urban	-6.328 (8.677)	-6.693 (8.850)	-7.361 (9.006)
Percent Urban over 25,000	6.933 (7.837)	6.975 (8.004)	7.064 (8.085)
ln(Population)	-0.067 (0.756)	-0.021 (0.768)	0.183 (0.764)
Delegation Size	0.099 (0.090)	0.100 (0.095)	0.109 (0.104)
Panel B: Targeted Appropriations			
No Property Requirement	-0.182 (0.231)	-0.167 (0.229)	0.115 (0.347)
No Prop. Req. +1	0.826** (0.380)	0.127 (0.278)	-0.140 (0.115)
No Prop. Req. +2		0.839* (0.412)	0.064 (0.096)
No Prop. Req. +3			0.901** (0.395)
No Prop. Req. -1	1.655 (1.031)	1.103 (1.096)	1.129 (1.103)
No Prop. Req. -2		0.657 (1.145)	0.251 (0.704)
No Prop. Req. -3			0.507 (0.968)
Percent Enslaved	-14.319 (10.156)	-14.635 (10.398)	-13.903 (10.929)
Percent Urban	-13.073 (8.662)	-13.363 (8.821)	-13.831 (8.967)
Percent Urban over 25,000	0.432 (6.578)	-0.092 (6.880)	-0.606 (7.055)
ln(Population)	0.050 (0.794)	0.107 (0.817)	0.266 (0.848)
Delegation Size	0.091 (0.094)	0.084 (0.101)	0.075 (0.111)
Observations	1,508	1,450	1,391
Adjusted R ²	0.615	0.617	0.622

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. Minus signs indicate lagged variables, while plus signs indicate led variables. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.4 Alternative Outcome Measures

TABLE B.5: U.S. HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTING: ALTERNATIVE MEASURE

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	DW-NOMINATE Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No Property Requirement	-0.139*	-0.124**	-0.124**
	(0.070)	(0.043)	(0.044)
Percent Enslaved		-0.105	0.207
		(0.848)	(0.904)
Percent Urban		1.145*	1.091*
		(0.621)	(0.611)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-0.332	-0.308
		(0.580)	(0.585)
ln(Population)		-0.047	-0.042
		(0.042)	(0.037)
Delegation Size		-0.008**	-0.005*
		(0.004)	(0.003)
No Tax Requirement			-0.073**
			(0.032)
White Requirement			-0.0001
			(0.040)
Citizen Requirement			0.013
			(0.036)
Observations	6,962	6,953	6,953
Adjusted R ²	0.534	0.538	0.540

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with linear state trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

TABLE B.6: RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS, ALTERNATIVE OUTCOME MEASURES

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Any Money Received (0 - 1)			ln(Per Capita R & H Appropriations + 0.01)		
Panel A: All Appropriations						
No Property Requirement	0.030 (0.117)	0.016 (0.109)	0.063 (0.111)	0.185 (0.132)	0.096 (0.171)	0.220 (0.154)
Percent Enslaved		-0.020 (1.322)	0.340 (1.329)		-0.533 (1.825)	-0.319 (1.838)
Percent Urban		-0.498 (0.728)	-0.660 (0.705)		-3.329 (4.105)	-3.509 (4.039)
Percent Urban over 25,000		0.780 (0.732)	0.668 (0.638)		3.239 (3.005)	3.178 (3.041)
ln(Population)		-0.033 (0.073)	-0.043 (0.062)		-0.190 (0.174)	-0.218 (0.177)
Delegation Size		0.005 (0.009)	0.004 (0.008)		-0.010 (0.022)	-0.013 (0.022)
No Tax Requirement			-0.089 (0.083)			-0.049 (0.151)
White Requirement			-0.201** (0.087)			-0.252 (0.154)
Citizen Requirement			0.013 (0.053)			-0.053 (0.109)
Panel B: Targeted Appropriations						
No Property Requirement	0.195** (0.086)	0.187** (0.087)	0.311** (0.071)	0.288* (0.146)	0.210 (0.188)	0.368** (0.176)
Percent Enslaved		-1.446 (1.004)	-1.174 (0.850)		-1.926 (1.659)	-1.806 (1.609)
Percent Urban		-0.993 (0.757)	-1.211 (0.745)		-4.191 (3.689)	-4.405 (3.680)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-0.004 (0.576)	-0.088 (0.512)		2.263 (2.749)	2.227 (2.816)
ln(Population)		-0.043 (0.072)	-0.073 (0.080)		-0.095 (0.172)	-0.135 (0.180)
Delegation Size		0.006 (0.009)	0.003 (0.007)		-0.010 (0.022)	-0.014 (0.022)
No Tax Requirement			-0.046 (0.063)			0.012 (0.164)
White Requirement			-0.304** (0.085)			-0.322* (0.167)
Citizen Requirement			-0.002 (0.050)			0.001 (0.146)
Observations	1,578	1,566	1,566	1,578	1,566	1,566

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

TABLE B.7: ENFRANCHISEMENT AND RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS, GORDON AND SIMPSON (2018) DATA

	ln(Spending+1)		
	Rivers	Harbors	R & H
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No Property Requirement	-0.113 (0.605)	2.060** (0.942)	0.879 (0.936)
Percent Enslaved	8.478 (8.707)	-13.279 (9.324)	3.927 (9.919)
Percent Urban	-0.938 (5.706)	-15.197** (7.419)	-10.429 (7.214)
Percent Urban over 25,000	3.249 (5.397)	-2.364 (6.137)	4.769 (7.045)
ln(Population)	1.181* (0.628)	-0.031 (0.712)	0.011 (0.647)
Delegation Size	0.249** (0.061)	0.086 (0.085)	0.178** (0.079)
Mean Outcome	1.38	0.92	1.89
Observations	1,578	1,578	1,578
Adjusted R ²	0.503	0.467	0.599

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. Outcome categories based on Gordon and Simpson (2018). ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.5 Alternative State Trends

TABLE B.8: U.S. REPRESENTATIVE ROLL-CALL VOTING, ALTERNATIVE TRENDS

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	Nokken-Poole Score					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
No Property Requirement	-0.072 (0.058)	-0.155** (0.051)	-0.146** (0.056)	-0.171** (0.075)	-0.161** (0.054)	-0.166** (0.057)
Percent Enslaved		-0.333 (0.639)	-0.213 (0.510)		-0.297 (1.153)	-0.076 (1.246)
Percent Urban		1.185** (0.337)	0.953** (0.382)		0.404 (0.931)	0.210 (0.973)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-0.079 (0.452)	0.203 (0.600)		-0.016 (0.812)	-0.008 (0.817)
ln(Population)		0.083* (0.047)	0.064 (0.044)		-0.020 (0.079)	-0.018 (0.079)
Delegation Size		0.001 (0.003)	0.007** (0.003)		-0.009 (0.006)	-0.004 (0.005)
No Tax Requirement			-0.106** (0.037)			-0.069 (0.060)
White Requirement			0.051 (0.039)			0.0003 (0.053)
Citizen Requirement			-0.017 (0.059)			0.043 (0.056)
State Trend	Fixed	Fixed	Fixed	Quadratic	Quadratic	Quadratic
Observations	6,942	6,933	6,933	6,942	6,933	6,933

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

TABLE B.9: RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS, ALTERNATIVE STATE TRENDS

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>					
	ln(Rivers and Harbors Appropriations+1)					
Panel A: All Appropriations						
No Property Requirement	0.434 (0.708)	0.551 (0.811)	0.729 (0.735)	1.394 (1.055)	1.432 (1.049)	2.112 (1.384)
Percent Enslaved		-0.046 (4.717)	0.436 (4.379)		4.541 (12.479)	1.240 (11.939)
Percent Urban		-4.213 (4.553)	-7.213 (4.469)		1.390 (9.080)	0.387 (9.349)
Percent Urban over 25,000		4.749 (5.957)	6.012 (5.211)		1.791 (9.953)	1.336 (9.151)
ln(Population)		-0.222 (0.388)	-0.359 (0.350)		-1.675** (0.717)	-1.723** (0.733)
Delegation Size		0.057 (0.045)	0.080* (0.041)		-0.093 (0.122)	-0.087 (0.098)
No Tax Requirement			-0.857 (0.529)			0.330 (0.962)
White Requirement			-0.979** (0.426)			-1.761** (0.677)
Citizen Requirement			-0.214 (0.376)			0.672 (0.545)
Panel B: Targeted Appropriations						
No Property Requirement	1.509** (0.673)	1.901** (0.805)	2.565** (0.686)	2.510** (0.978)	2.537** (0.998)	3.631** (1.050)
Percent Enslaved		-7.513* (3.902)	-7.938** (3.638)		-4.066 (11.488)	-8.587 (10.760)
Percent Urban		-5.355* (2.720)	-8.240** (3.357)		-6.282 (7.252)	-7.373 (7.642)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-1.255 (3.692)	-0.840 (3.524)		-3.852 (7.510)	-3.725 (6.768)
ln(Population)		0.255 (0.386)	0.145 (0.361)		-0.061 (0.769)	-0.165 (0.760)
Delegation Size		0.052 (0.046)	0.056 (0.042)		-0.021 (0.144)	-0.034 (0.117)
No Tax Requirement			-0.466 (0.476)			0.549 (0.823)
White Requirement			-1.476** (0.504)			-2.246** (0.770)
Citizen Requirement			-0.576 (0.416)			0.364 (0.499)
State Trend	Fixed	Fixed	Fixed	Quadratic	Quadratic	Quadratic
Observations	1,578	1,566	1,566	1,578	1,566	1,566

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.6 Sample Robustness

B.6.1 Ideal Points

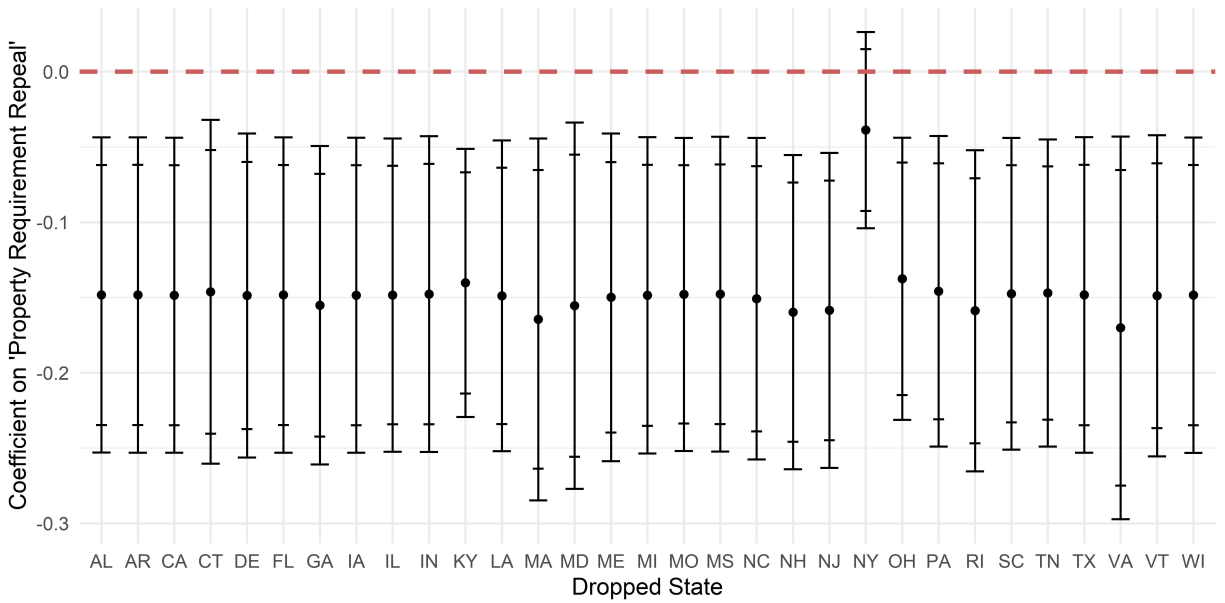


FIGURE B.1: DROPPING STATES

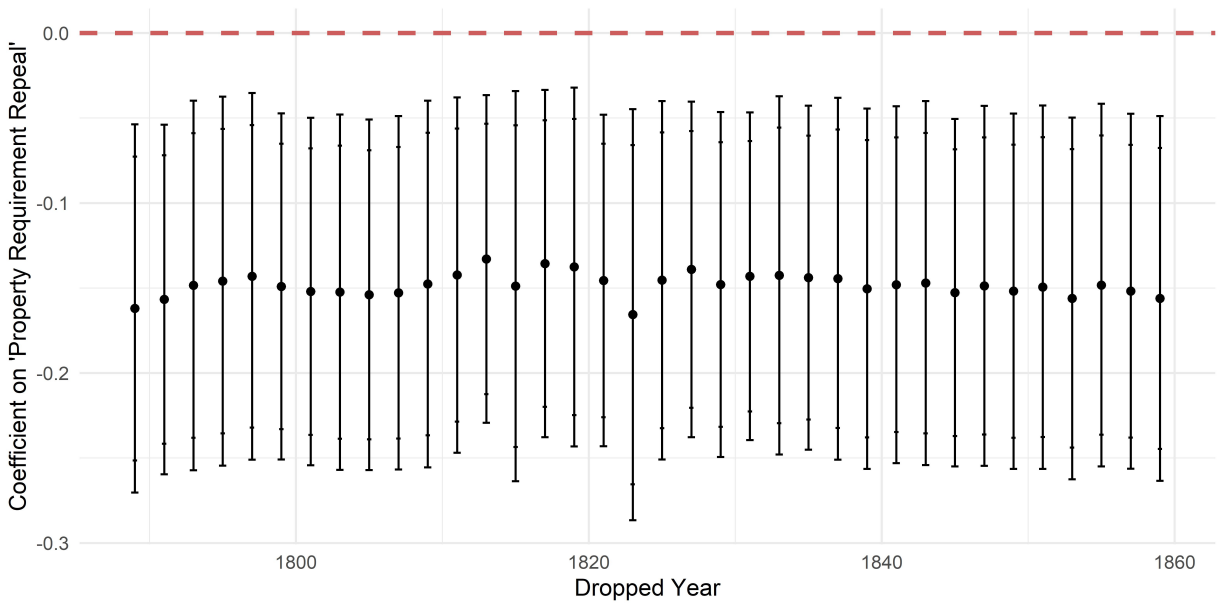


FIGURE B.2: DROPPING YEARS

TABLE B.10: FRANCHISE EXPANSION AND U.S. HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTING, ORIGINAL 13 COLONIES

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>		
	Nokken-Poole Score		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
No Property Requirement	-0.131** (0.060)	-0.122** (0.041)	-0.086* (0.042)
Percent Enslaved		-1.478 (0.840)	-1.011 (0.880)
Percent Urban		1.510 (0.931)	1.227 (0.840)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-0.440 (0.870)	-0.264 (0.791)
ln(Population)		-0.155 (0.111)	-0.077 (0.104)
Delegation Size		-0.005 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.004)
No Tax Requirement			-0.129** (0.048)
White Requirement			-0.053 (0.048)
Citizen Requirement			-0.038 (0.061)
Observations	4,970	4,970	4,970
Adjusted R ²	0.520	0.524	0.528

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with linear state trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 13 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.6.2 Rivers and Harbors Spending

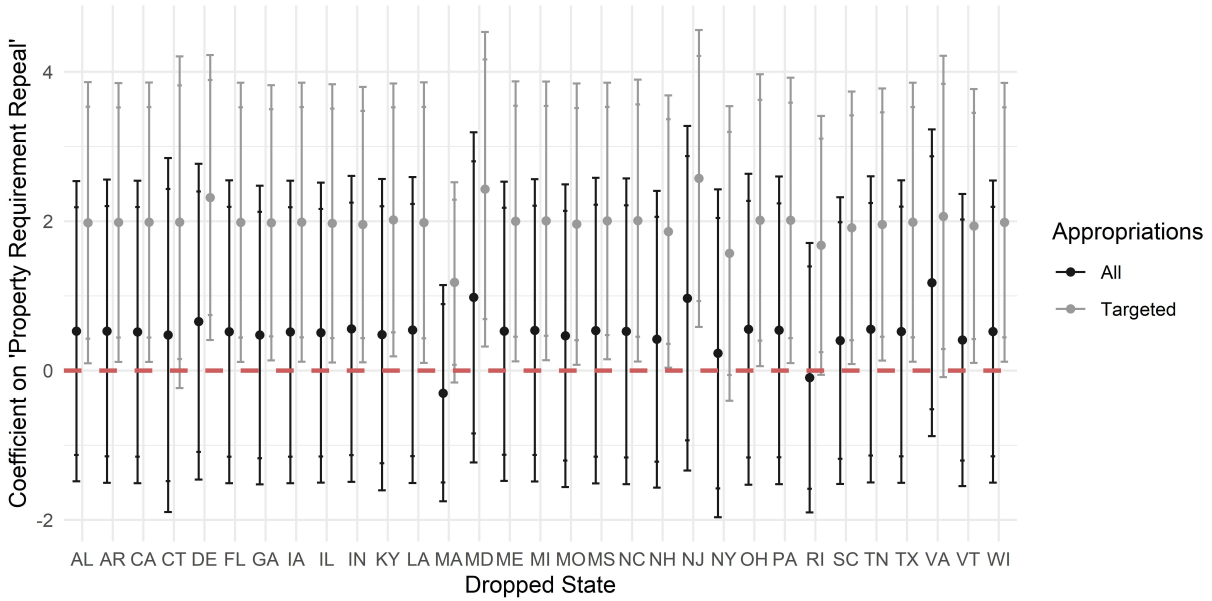


FIGURE B.3: DROPPING STATES

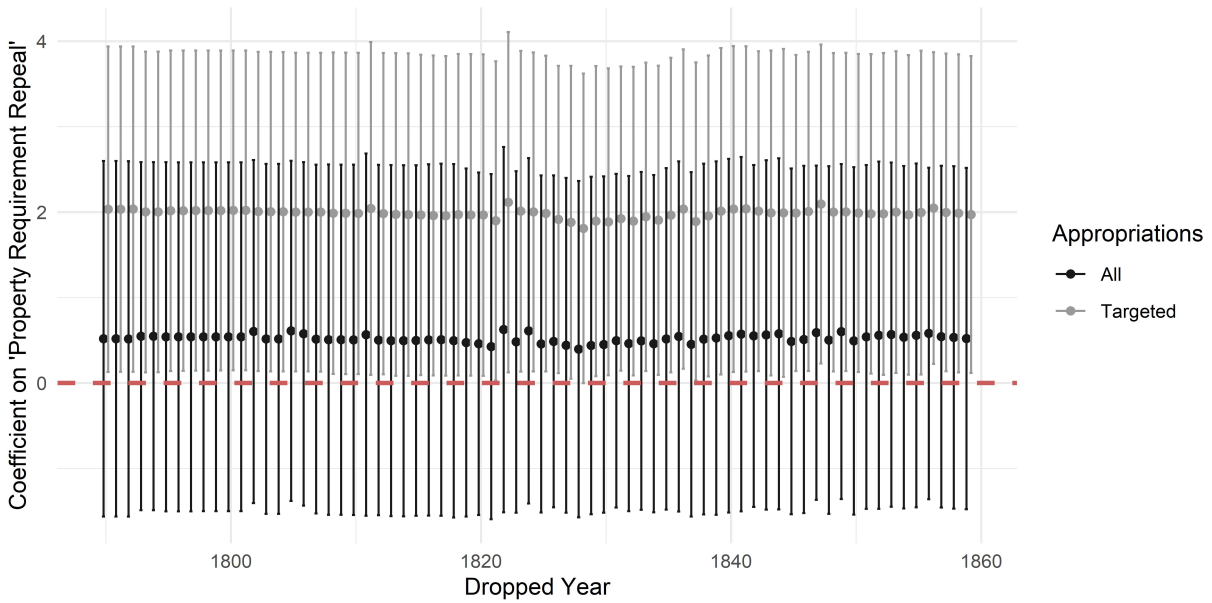


FIGURE B.4: DROPPING YEARS

TABLE B.11: RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS, ALTERNATIVE SAMPLES

	ln(R & H Appropriations+1)								
	Original Colonies			Years with Any Appropriation			After First Appropriation		
Panel A: All Appropriations									
No Property Requirement	0.631 (1.132)	0.496 (1.096)	1.425 (1.378)	0.554 (1.842)	0.652 (1.817)	1.079 (1.798)	1.087 (1.539)	1.080 (1.474)	1.704 (1.531)
Percent Enslaved		-4.378 (10.509)	-0.044 (11.115)		15.438 (18.643)	15.944 (18.243)		13.241 (14.749)	14.556 (14.509)
Percent Urban		-9.137 (10.126)	-11.689 (9.476)		2.856 (8.905)	0.963 (8.793)		-2.200 (9.437)	-4.208 (9.345)
Percent Urban over 25,000		7.070 (7.969)	5.674 (7.340)		4.442 (8.389)	3.894 (8.368)		6.448 (8.627)	5.389 (8.308)
ln(Population)		-0.374 (1.760)	-0.835 (1.567)		-0.332 (0.865)	-0.509 (0.832)		-0.313 (0.819)	-0.532 (0.774)
Delegation Size		0.082 (0.103)	0.038 (0.088)		0.073 (0.127)	0.055 (0.119)		0.089 (0.119)	0.070 (0.107)
No Tax Requirement			-0.813 (1.044)			-0.385 (0.997)			-0.610 (0.923)
White Requirement			-3.091** (1.012)			-2.651* (1.343)			-2.934** (1.057)
Citizen Requirement			0.323 (0.600)			0.144 (0.787)			0.049 (0.594)
Panel B: Targeted Appropriations									
No Property Requirement	1.950** (0.858)	1.932* (0.888)	3.753** (0.737)	3.183** (1.146)	2.808** (1.250)	3.695** (1.123)	3.272** (1.146)	2.967** (1.182)	4.018** (1.002)
Percent Enslaved		-8.652 (11.036)	-8.687 (8.184)		-23.233 (14.361)	-22.660 (13.821)		-19.039 (12.641)	-17.909 (11.861)
Percent Urban		-8.660 (10.836)	-11.022 (9.995)		-9.380 (10.024)	-12.370 (10.075)		-11.585 (9.966)	-14.215 (10.096)
Percent Urban over 25,000		0.666 (7.611)	-0.036 (7.236)		-2.431 (7.682)	-2.608 (7.513)		-0.605 (7.373)	-1.529 (7.158)
ln(Population)		-0.242 (1.778)	-1.164 (1.798)		-0.160 (0.900)	-0.550 (0.949)		-0.145 (0.857)	-0.534 (0.938)
Delegation Size		0.077 (0.098)	-0.002 (0.072)		0.065 (0.129)	0.032 (0.106)		0.063 (0.129)	0.029 (0.103)
No Tax Requirement			0.144 (0.786)			-0.326 (0.873)			-0.372 (0.745)
White Requirement			-3.935** (0.779)			-4.122** (0.883)			-4.006** (0.950)
Citizen Requirement			0.207 (0.641)			-0.006 (0.839)			0.104 (0.612)
No. Clusters	13	13	13	31	31	31	31	31	31
Observations	910	910	910	1,101	1,097	1,097	1,395	1,386	1,386

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within states. The unit of observation is the state-year. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.7 Alternative Treatment Coding

TABLE B.12: FRANCHISE EXPANSION AND U.S. HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTING: ALTERNATIVE CODING FOR NY AND VA

	Nokken-Poole Score					
	Coded as '0.5'			Coded as '1'		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
No Property Requirement - Alternative Measures	-0.092*	-0.076	-0.160*	0.035	0.052	0.001
	(0.052)	(0.045)	(0.082)	(0.041)	(0.069)	(0.075)
Percent Enslaved		0.296	0.599		0.749	0.834
		(1.039)	(1.049)		(1.220)	(1.149)
Percent Urban		1.346*	1.219		1.401*	1.237
		(0.776)	(0.787)		(0.732)	(0.747)
Percent Urban over 25,000		-0.461	-0.483		-0.333	-0.376
		(0.636)	(0.675)		(0.634)	(0.642)
ln(Population)		0.002	0.018		-0.016	0.005
		(0.056)	(0.040)		(0.056)	(0.041)
Delegation Size		-0.007	-0.003		-0.004	-0.002
		(0.006)	(0.003)		(0.006)	(0.004)
No Tax Requirement			-0.115**			-0.113**
			(0.043)			(0.043)
White Requirement			0.004			-0.033
			(0.053)			(0.064)
Citizen Requirement			0.036			-0.025
			(0.070)			(0.070)
Observations	6,942	6,933	6,933	6,942	6,933	6,933
Adjusted R ²	0.501	0.505	0.510	0.500	0.505	0.508

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-Congress. The left three models code New York and Virginia as “0.5” for the periods when they have somewhat relaxed property requirements; The right three code them as “0”, for the same years. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

TABLE B.13: RIVERS AND HARBORS APPROPRIATIONS: ALTERNATIVE CODING FOR NY AND VA

	ln(R & H Appropriations+1)					
	Coded as '0.5'			Coded as '0'		
Panel A: All Appropriations						
No Property Requirement - Alternative	0.843 (1.092)	0.778 (1.039)	1.811 (1.258)	0.835 (0.873)	0.800 (0.844)	1.748* (0.993)
Percent Enslaved		1.451 (12.242)	4.427 (11.883)		1.951 (12.452)	4.602 (11.991)
Percent Urban		-6.015 (8.548)	-7.737 (8.117)		-6.139 (8.483)	-8.004 (7.975)
Percent Urban over 25,000		7.141 (7.845)	6.482 (7.065)		7.225 (7.613)	7.118 (6.948)
ln(Population)		-0.136 (0.716)	-0.377 (0.693)		-0.155 (0.723)	-0.432 (0.729)
Delegation Size		0.096 (0.084)	0.078 (0.078)		0.096 (0.084)	0.078 (0.080)
No Tax Requirement			-0.492 (0.839)			-0.348 (0.811)
White Requirement			-2.223** (0.845)			-2.071** (0.784)
Citizen Requirement			-0.242 (0.397)			-0.353 (0.407)
Panel B: Targeted Appropriations						
No Property Requirement - Alternative	1.883* (0.989)	1.744* (1.023)	3.759** (1.192)	1.170 (0.837)	0.976 (0.940)	2.225* (1.183)
Percent Enslaved		-14.579 (9.894)	-12.198 (8.916)		-15.779 (10.050)	-13.564 (9.417)
Percent Urban		-12.414 (8.417)	-14.302* (8.054)		-13.244 (8.322)	-15.179* (8.042)
Percent Urban over 25,000		1.423 (6.406)	0.935 (5.742)		2.780 (6.405)	2.870 (5.921)
ln(Population)		-0.156 (0.744)	-0.602 (0.898)		-0.182 (0.749)	-0.543 (0.880)
Delegation Size		0.088 (0.094)	0.056 (0.077)		0.083 (0.103)	0.056 (0.094)
No Tax Requirement			0.183 (0.746)			0.092 (0.776)
White Requirement			-2.940** (0.856)			-2.321** (0.939)
Citizen Requirement			-0.319 (0.575)			-0.120 (0.583)
Observations	1,578	1,566	1,566	1,578	1,566	1,566
Adjusted R ²	0.617	0.618	0.622	0.618	0.618	0.622

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with state linear trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the state-year. The left three models code New York and Virginia as "0.5" for the periods when they have somewhat relaxed property requirements; The right three code them as "0", for the same years. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.

B.8 Alternative Unit Trends

TABLE B.14: FRANCHISE EXPANSION AND U.S. HOUSE ROLL-CALL VOTING: ALTERNATIVE UNIT TRENDS

	Nokken-Poole Score			
	Legislator Trends		District Trends	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
No Property Requirement	-0.055 (0.060)	-0.028 (0.139)	-0.040 (0.031)	-0.113** (0.044)
Percent Enslaved	0.322 (0.264)	0.761 (0.724)	0.965 (1.041)	2.045* (1.079)
Percent Urban	0.056 (0.311)	-0.344 (2.587)	1.293* (0.687)	1.123* (0.617)
Percent Urban over 25,000	-0.117 (0.394)	-0.072 (3.048)	0.061 (0.729)	-0.336 (0.666)
ln(Population)	0.036 (0.049)	0.077 (0.222)	0.016 (0.061)	-0.009 (0.072)
Delegation Size	0.006 (0.004)	0.011 (0.014)	-0.064 (0.060)	-0.183 (0.135)
Unit Trends	FE	Linear	FE	Linear
Observations	6,933	6,933	6,933	6,933
Adjusted R ²	0.855	0.387	0.685	0.735

Note: Estimates are from OLS regressions with unit trends and year fixed effects. Standard errors in parentheses adjusted for clustering within 31 states. The unit of observation is the legislator-Congress. ** $p < 0.05$, * $p < 0.10$.