

Online Appendix for Chapter 1: White-Collar Government

Data Collection

I collected original social class data for the 783 representatives and senators who served during the 106th through 110th Congresses (1999 to 2008).

Occupations

With the help of several research assistants, I first gathered detailed information about each legislator's occupational background from the *Congressional Biographical Directory*, Congressional Quarterly's online *Politics in America* almanac, *Lexis-Nexis Congressional*, and the National Journal's online *Almanac of American Politics*. Comparing occupational profiles across each source revealed that no two had exactly the same information about each member, so I collected data on each occupation listed for each legislator in each source and then combined that information, discarding duplicate entries and retaining the most detailed descriptions of each job each member worked. I then matched these raw occupational descriptions to a sixty-seven-category coding scheme, which I later condensed into ten broader occupational categories: lawyers, farm owners or managers, business owners or executives, business employees, technical professionals (such as doctors and architects), service-based professionals (such as teachers and social workers), military and law enforcement personnel, political officeholders and staffers, workers (manual laborers, service industry workers, farm laborers, and union officials), and others (too vague to classify).

Research assistants double-coded 100 percent of the 1,751 unique occupations listed for the legislators in this sample. Separate coders initially agreed on 1,136 (65 percent) of these

occupations. I independently coded the remaining 615. Of those, 290 (47 percent) were cases in which one research assistant had indicated “not sure” and the other had selected a code that exactly matched the code I assigned, 148 (24 percent) were cases in which one or both of the research assistants selected an occupation in the same broad category as the occupation I assigned, 43 (8 percent) were cases in which one research assistant’s code exactly matched mine and the other did not, and 48 (8 percent) were cases in which one research assistant’s code was in the same broad category as mine and the other research assistant chose “not sure.” Within broad categories and treating my independent codes as the “second coder” in cases for which one research assistant was not sure of the correct code and the other was, the intercoder reliability rate was 92.7 percent.

Income and Wealth

I also collected data on legislators’ financial resources from their annual financial disclosure statements. Since 1972, members of Congress have been required to file annual statements that list (within ranges) the values of their assets, liabilities, and various sources of outside income.

Financial disclosure statement data have several notable limitations. First, they report most asset and liability figures in ranges. Second, they only cover financial assets; material forms of wealth such as real estate are excluded. Third, members of Congress are not required to report their spouses’ incomes or assets. Despite these limitations, personal financial disclosure data represent the best (and only) available information about the financial resources of members of Congress. Although somewhat imprecise, they allow us to sort legislators into those with extreme wealth and those with less.

Using these data, I estimated each member's net worth (assets minus liabilities) and outside income (the sum of income from assets, transactions, gifts, honoraria, and other income) by taking the midpoints of the ranges reported for each asset, liability, and income source (e.g., if a member listed an asset valued at between \$10,000 and \$20,000, I treated it as if it were valued at \$15,000). When I collected these data, they were available from 2004 (the second year in the 108th Congress) to 2007 (the first year in the 110th Congress); I used the 2004 and 2007 data to estimate legislators' financial resources during the 108th and 110th Congresses and averaged the 2005 and 2006 estimates to generate measures for the 109th.

Education

To measure legislators' educational backgrounds, research assistants helped me collect data from the online *Congressional Biographical Directory* and the print version of CQ's *Politics in America* almanac. As with the data on occupations, for each member I combined information from both sources and discarded duplicate data. The final product was a set of variables that recorded each degree each member earned and the name of the institution that conferred it. I then used these data to generate a measure of educational attainment (no college, some college, bachelor's degree, some postgraduate study, postgraduate degree) and merged the list of colleges members attended with data from the Department of Education's Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) data sets (US Dept. of Education 1998), which I used to compute the median endowment per pupil among the universities that each legislator attended. Because IPEDS data on endowments were only available beginning in 1992 and because colleges' endowments and enrollments tend to change slowly over time, I simply relied on the 1996 IPEDS data for this analysis.

I also created several alternative education measures, including the number of degrees each member earned; indicators for whether each member held a law degree, MBA, medical degree, master's degree, or PhD; and indicators for members who attended colleges or universities defined by the Department of Education as private institutions, "Research 1" universities, or Ivy League universities.

Family Background

Parents' occupations are perhaps the best measures of lawmakers' family or childhood social origins. With the help of research assistants, I collected as much data as I could about the occupations that the primary breadwinner of each member's family held using the NewsBank newspaper archive, biographical profiles in the National Journal's online *Almanac*, members' own congressional websites, and—when all else failed—unstructured web searches. I uncovered at least one parental occupation for 717 (91 percent) of the legislators in this sample. I then matched descriptions of those occupations with the coding schemes used to code members' own occupations and created variables that recorded the proportion of each parent's career spent in each occupational category (by simply treating those with more than one occupation listed as having divided their careers equally between those jobs, since information about durations of employment were not available for the vast majority of cases).

Research assistants double-coded 100 percent of the 949 unique parental occupations that we uncovered. Separate coders initially agreed on 659 (69 percent) of the 949 occupations in the data set. I independently coded the remaining 289. Of those, 147 (51 percent) were cases in which one research assistant had indicated "not sure" and the other had selected a code that

exactly matched the code I assigned, 49 (17 percent) were cases in which one or both of the research assistants had selected an occupation in the same broad category as the occupation I assigned, 37 (13 percent) were cases in which one research assistant's code exactly matched mine and the other did not, and 18 (6 percent) were cases in which one research assistant's code was in the same broad category as mine and the other research assistant had chosen "not sure." Within broad categories and treating my independent codes as the "second coder" in cases for which one research assistant was not sure of the correct code and the other was, the intercoder reliability rate was 92.7 percent.

Occupational Categories

Table A.1. Occupational categories in the 1999–2008 congressional data set

Broad occupational category	Narrow occupational category
Technical professional	Medical doctor
	Dentist
	Veterinarian
	Pharmacist
	Journalist
	Author/public speaker
	Actor/director
	Musician/entertainer
	Athlete
	Coach, fitness instructor, or referee
	Architect or urban planner
	Accountant
	Economist (nonacademic)
	Engineer/scientist (nonacademic)
	Business owner or executive
Bank owner/banker	
Hospital/medical services administrator	
Owner of a small/local business	
Owner of a medium- or large-sized business	
Executive of a medium- or large-sized business	
Media executive, publisher, or media owner	
Business employee	Real estate agent or broker
	Real estate developer
	Bank manager/investment banker/stock broker
	Manager of a small/ local business
	Manager in a medium- or large-sized business
	Business employee
	Business person (no other information given)
	Chamber of Commerce or Jaycees leader
	College administrator
	Politics, government, or public relations consultant
	Leadership or management consultant
	Scientific or health care consultant
Other consultant	
Farm owner or manager	Farmer, rancher, farm owner, ranch owner
	Farm manager

Military or law enforcement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Law enforcement manager/director Law enforcement analyst Law enforcement officer or patrolman Military service member
Lawyer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lawyer, private practice Lawyer, corporate Lawyer, other Lawyer, unspecified Government attorney
Politician or staff member	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interest group director, executive, founder Interest group lobbyist Interest group worker Political officeholder or staffer
Service-based professional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elementary or secondary school teacher Elementary or secondary school administrator College professor (except law schools) Law school professor Nurse Psychiatrist/psychologist Librarian Social worker Rabbi, minister, priest, reverend, or other clergy Advocate for the elderly Provider of other local public services Nonprofit service group director or executive Nonprofit service group worker
Worker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manual laborer Service industry worker Union employee/official
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other occupation Vague occupational description

Table A.2. Occupational categories in the *Roster* data set

Broad occupational category	Narrow occupational category
Technical professional	Accountant/economist
	Actor
	Advertising
	Architect/urban planner
	Author
	Doctor/dentist/vet
	Engineer
	Hospital administrator
	Journalist/publisher
	Medical office manager
	Mortician
	Pharmacist
	Professional athlete
	Radio and television
Businessperson	Associate director/CEO
	Business (banking)
	Business (contractor)
	Business (insurance)
	Business (investments)
	Business (manufacturer)
	Business (mining/petro.)
	Business (real estate)
	Business (retailing)
	Business (transportation)
	Business (unspecified)
Communication executive	
Farm owner or manager	Business (ag./farming)
Lawyer	Lawyer
Politician	Political consultant
	Political party officer
	Pub. policy analyst
	Public relations/lobbyist
	Unknown/none

	Retired
Service-based professional	Charity organizer College administrator College professor Education admin. Guidance councilor High school admin. Librarian Minister/priest Sec. school teacher Social worker Teacher (unspecified)
Worker	Laborer Soldier Union officer
