Codebook for Replication Data for "The Polarization of American Environmental Policy: A Regression Discontinuity Analysis of Senate and House Votes, 1971-2013".

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1 Key Variables and Data Sources

This codebook describes the key variables included in the replication data and their sources. The dataset draws on various sources. Please cite the relevant sources as described below.

1.1 Roll-Call Voting on Environmental Issues, 1971-2013

The variables on roll-call votes were constructed by the authors based on the information collected by the League of Conservation voters (LCV). The LCV has selected and coded the key votes relevant to environmental legislation. Our dataset includes 368,974 observations for 499 votes at the Senate and 739 votes at the House. Key variables are as follows:

- NAME: Name of legislator
- VOTE: Legislators' environmental issues
- YEAR: Year of roll-call vote
- CONGRESS: Congressional session
- PRO_ENV: A binary indicator for pro-environmental voting by legislator
- ANTI_ENV: A binary indicator for anti-environmental voting by legislator
- SPECIFIC_ISSUE: Specific issue description of roll-call votes
- NUMBER: Roll-call vote number
- ISSUE: Broad issue categories for each roll-call vote
- Binary indicators for ISSUE variable: AIR, CLEAN_ENERGY, CLIMATE_CHANGE, DIRTY_ENERGY, DRILLING, LANDS, OCEANS, TOXICS, TRANSPORTATION, WATER, WILDLIFE, OTHER

To cite the dataset: Kim, Sung Eun and Johannes Urpelainen. Data on Roll-Call Voting on Environmental Issues. 2017. Harvard Dataverse, V1. http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/1ELYGA
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1.2 Congressional Elections

The variables on election results were constructed by the authors based on the information provided by the **CQ Voting and Elections Collection**. Relevant variables are as follows:

- DEM_WIN: Democratic candidate's electoral victory
- DEM_SHARE: Democratic candidate's vote share
- DEM_SHARE_SQ: Democratic candidate's vote share (Squared)
- DEM_SHARE_CUBE: Democratic candidate's vote share (Cubed)
- DEM_SHARE_FOURTH: Democratic candidate's vote share (Quadratic)

1.3 Environmental Public Opinion

The state-level environmental public opinion variables were constructed by the authors using the **General Social Survey**, 1973-2014. Relevant variables are as follows:

- DEM_WHOSAY_PRO: State-level share of pro-enviornmental attitudes among Democrats
- GOP_WHOSAY_PRO: State-level share of pro-enviornmental attitudes among Republicans
- DIFF_PRO: State-level polarization in environmental public opinion
- Z2_DIFF_PRO: State-level polarization in environmental public opinion (Standardized)

To cite the variables: Kim, Sung Eun and Johannes Urpelainen. "Environmental Public Opinion in U.S. States, 1973-2012 ." 2017. Working Paper.

1.4 PAC Contributions from the Oil, Gas and Mining Sectors

The variables on PAC contributions from the oil, gas and mining sectors were created by the authors using the **OpenSecrets.org** database. Relevant variables are as follows:

- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION: Oil/Gas/Mining PAC contributions for the legislator
- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_D: Oil/Gas/Mining PAC contributions for a Democratic candidate
- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_R: Oil/Gas/Mining PAC contributions for a Republican candidate
- DEM_OILGAS_SHARE: Percentage of Oil/Gas/Mining PAC contributions for a Democratic candidate

1.5 Fossil Fuel Resource

The variable on state-level fossil fuel resources per capita was created using the information from the **Energy Information Administration's State Energy Data System**, available at `http://www.eia.gov/state/seds/`. The relevant variable is:

- FOSSIL_RESOURCE: State-level fossil fuel resources per capita (billion BTU)

2 Description of All Variables Included in the Replication Package

- NAME: Legislator Name
- PARTY: Legislator Partisanship
  - D: Democratic party
  - R: Republican party
  - I: Independent
  - C: Conservative party
- OFFICE: Senate/House
  - House: Member of the House
  - Senate: Senator
- STATE_ABB: State Abbreviation
- STATE: State-District
- REGION: Regional classification of states
  - Atlantic, Midwest, Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest
- YEAR: Year of Roll-Call Vote
  - 1970-2013
- CONGRESS: Congress Session
  - 91-113
- VOTE: Vote on Environmental Issue.
  - PRO-ENV: Pro-environment vote
  - ANTI-ENV: Anti-environment vote
  - MISS: Abstension
  - NA: Not applicable

  Note: We follow the LCV's decision on whether "yea" or "nay" counts as a pro-environmental vote. The NA includes the Speaker of the House who votes only at his or her discretion and members of Congress who were not assigned a score due to illness or death.
- PRO_ENV: Pro-Environment Vote
  - 1: Pro-environment
  - 0: Anti-environment /Abstension / NA
- ANTI_ENV: Anti-Environment Vote
  - 1: Anti-environment
  - 0: Pro-environment /Abstension / NA

- SPECIFIC_ISSUE: Specific issue description of roll-call vote
- NUMBER: Roll-Call Vote Number
- ISSUE: Issue Areas of Roll-Call Vote
  - One or more issue areas for each vote among 12 categories: Air, Clean Energy, Cilmate Change, Dirty Energy, Drilling, Lands/Forests, Oceans, Toxics/Public Right to Know, Transportation, Water, Wildlife, Other
- AIR: Roll-Call Vote on Air Issue
  - 1: Votes on air pollution, including votes related to the Clean Air Act
  - 0: Others
- CLEAN_ENERGY: Roll-Call Vote on Clean Energy Issue
  - 1: Votes on renewable energy and energy efficiency
  - 0: Others
- CLIMATE_CHANGE: Roll-Call Vote on Climate Change Issue
  - 1: Votes directly related to global warming pollution and increasing climate resilience for communities and wildlife
  - 0: Others
- DIRTY_ENERGY: Roll-Call Vote on Dirty Energy Issue
  - 1: Votes on polluting energy sources, including conventional fossil fuels like oil, gas, and coal; non-conventional fossil fuels such as tar sands; and harmful energy subsidies for nuclear energy and fossil fuels
  - 0: Others
- DRILLING: Roll-Call Vote on Drilling Issue
  - 1: Votes on drilling onshore and in the waters off the nation's coasts
  - 0: Others
- LANDS: Roll-Call Votes on Lands/Forest Issue
  - 1: Votes addressing both private and public lands and forests, including wilderness designations, federal land management agencies, logging, mining, and grazing
  - 0: Others
- OCEANS: Roll-Call Votes on Ocean-related Issues
  - 1: Votes on ocean conservation issues, including fisheries management.
  - 0: Others
- TOXICS: Roll-Call Votes on Issues related to Toxics and Public's Right to Know
  - 1: Votes on the use of and exposure to toxic chemicals (including pesticides), the public's right to know if they are at risk, and Superfund sites.
  - 0: Others

- TRANSPORTATION: Roll-Call Votes on Transportation Issues
  - 1: Votes on transportation and vehicle fuels policy, including fuel efficiency standards, biking and walking infrastructure, transit, and rail.
  - 0: Others
- WATER: Roll-Call Votes on Water Issues
  - 1: Votes on water quality and quantity issues and water pollution, including votes related to the Clean Water Act.
  - 0: Others
- WILDLIFE: Roll-Call Votes on Wildlife Issues
  - 1: Votes on fish (freshwater and saltwater) and wildlife issues, including the Endangered Species Act.
  - 0: Others
- OTHER: Roll-Call Votes on Issues Classified in the Other Category
  - 1: A broad catch-all category that includes votes on overhauling the regulatory process, sweeping funding cuts, the National Environmental Policy Act, federal appointments and nominations, campaign finance reform, trade, family planning, and eminent domain/takings, among other issues.
  - 0: Others
- DEM_WIN: Democratic Victory
  - 1: Democratic winners in the previous election
  - 0: Republican or Independent winners in the previous election
- DEM_SHARE: Democratic Candidate's Two-Party Vote Share, %
  - Mean: 53.4
  - SD: 22.0
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 100
- DEM_SHARE_SQ: Democratic Candidate's Vote Share (Squared)
  - Square of DEM_SHARE
- DEM_SHARE_CUBE: Democratic Candidate's Vote Share (Cubed)
  - Cube of DEM_SHARE
- DEM_SHARE_FOURTH: Democratic Candidate's Vote Share (Quadratic)
  - Fourth power of DEM_SHARE

- DEM_WHOSAY_PRO: Pro-environmental Public Opinion among Democrats
  - Mean: 0.64
  - SD: 0.80
  - Min: 0.37
  - Max: 0.83

  Note: This variable was constructed by applying multi-level regression and poststratification (MRP) techniques to data from the United States General Social Survey, 1973-2012. The variable indicates state-level opinion estimates of pro-environmental attitudes among Democrats in the public. For more details, see Kim, Sung Eun and Johannes Urpelainen. "Environmental Public Opinion in U.S. States, 1973-2012 ." 2017. Working Paper.

- GOP_WHOSAY_PRO: Pro-environmental Public Opinion among Republicans
  - Mean: 0.50
  - SD: 0.80
  - Min: 0.30
  - Max: 0.77

  Note: This variable was constructed with the same method and data as DEM_WHOSAY_PRO.

- DIFF_PRO: State-level Polarization in Environmental Public Opinion
  - Mean: 0.14
  - SD: 0.06
  - Min: -0.003
  - Max: 0.28

  Note: This variable was calculated as DEM_WHOSAY_PRO-GOP_WHOSAY_PRO.

- Z2_DIFF_PRO: Standardized value of DIFF_PRO
  - Mean: 0
  - SD: 1
  - Min: -2.43
  - Max: 2.33

- DEM_WIN_DIFF_PRO: Interaction between DEM_WIN and DIFF_PRO
  - Mean: 0.75
  - SD: 0.81
  - Min: -0.003
  - Max: 0.28

- DEM_WIN_Z2_DIFF_PRO: Interaction between DEM_WIN and Z2_DIFF_PRO
  - Mean: -0.05
  - SD: 0.73
  - Min: -2.43
  - Max: 2.33

- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION: PAC contributions for the legislator from the oil, gas and mining sectors
  - Mean: 13,653.31
  - SD: 23,665.63
  - Min: -2,000
  - Max: 249,400

  Note: This variable captures the amount of PAC contribution for the leislator from the oil, gas, and mining sectors in the previous election cycle. Information on the PAC contribution is from the Opensecret.org that provides the industry classification code of the contributors. Negative contributions are for refunds.

- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_D: PAC contribution for a Democratic candidate in the previous election from the oil, gas and mining sectors
  - Mean: 4,995.74
  - SD: 15,414.66
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 249,400

  Note: Negative contributions (refunds) are considered as 0.

- OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_R: PAC contribution for a Republican candidate in the previous election from the oil, gas and mining sectors
  - Mean: 16,278.37
  - SD: 30,702.02
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 281,449

  Note: Negative contributions (refunds) are considered as 0.

- DEM_OILGAS_SHARE: Percentage of Oil/Gas PAC contributions for a Democratic candidate out of total Oil/Gas/Mining PAC contributions
  - Mean: 37.95
  - SD: 46.11
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 100

  Note: : This variable was constructed as OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_D/(OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_D + OILGAS_CONTRIBUTION_R).

- Z2_DEM_OILGAS_SHARE: Standardized value of DEM_OILGAS_SHARE
  - Mean: 0
  - SD: 1
  - Min: -0.82
  - Max: 1.35

- DEM_WIN_OIL: Interaction between DEM_WIN and DEM_OILGAS_SHARE
  - Mean: 35.2
  - SD: 46.2
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 100

- DEM_WIN_Z2_OIL: Interaction between DEM_WIN and Z2_DEM_OILGAS_SHARE

- FOSSIL_RESOURCE State-level coal, crude oil, and natural gas marketed productio per capita (billion BTU)
  - Mean: 0.27
  - SD: 0.98
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 19.9

- Z2_FOSSIL_RESOURCE: Standardized value of FOSSIL_RESOURCE
  - Mean: 0
  - SD: 1
  - Min: -0.27
  - Max: 19.95

- DEM_FOSSIL_RESOURCE: Interaction between DEM_WIN and FOSSIL_RESOURCE
  - Mean: 0.12
  - SD: 0.39
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 0.07

- DEM_WIN_Z2_FOSSIL_ RESOURCE: Interaction between DEM_WIN and Z2_FOSSIL_RESOURCE
  - Mean: -0.03
  - SD: 0.38
  - Min: -0.27
  - Max: 8.95

- MEAN_PRO_ENV: Average pro-environment voting by legislators during the term
  - Mean: 0.48
  - SD: 0.33
  - Min: 0
  - Max: 1

  Note: : This variable is only available in the collapsed version of the data titled "Legislative Vote on Environmental Bills (Collapsed)". This variable indicates the average pro-environmental voting during each legislator's term.