# Replication Codebook for *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization*

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## Description

The files in this dataverse contain all of the datasets and Stata program files necessary to replicate the Tables and Figures presented in *Campaign Finance and Political Polarization: When Purists Prevail* (University of Michigan Press, 2015). This guide provides a brief description of each datafile archived in this Dataverse as well as an index to which program files will re-produce which Tables/Figures.

## Data Files

In this section, we briefly describe each of the data files included in the replication archive. We divide these into major and minor data files to denote the difference between data files that provide crucial data for our analyses and those minor files we are simply included as a means of coding some field or making the combining of datasets easier.

### Campaign Finance Laws

Our dataset on campaign finance laws includes information about contribution and spending limits in each state from 1990 - 2012. The replication archive includes a dataset for this full period called *masterdataset.dta* and a dataset for just the laws in place in 2010 called *cflaws2010.dta*. The dataset includes the following variables:

| Variable Name | Description |
|---|---|
| statabbr | Two-letter state abbreviation |
| year | Year |
| l_party_cand | Limits on Contributions from Parties to Candidates |
| a_party_house | Amount of Limit on Parties to Candidates (House) |
| p_corp_party | Prohibition on Contributions from Corporations to Parties |
| l_corp_party | Limits on Contributions from Corporations to Parties |
| p_union_party | Prohibitions on Contributions from Unions to Parties |
| l_union_party | Limits on Contributions from Unions to Parties |
| l_ind_party | Limits on Contributions from Individuals to Parties |
| p_pac_party | Prohibitions on Contributions from PACs to Parties |
| l_pac_party | Limits on Contributions from PACs to Parties |
| orglims | PAC, corp or union limits to Candidates (From Jeff Milyo) |
| indlims | Individual Limits to Candidates (From Jeff Milyo) |

In constructing these data, we cross-referenced from several sources:

- A dataset from Jeff Milyo (University of Missouri, `http://web.missouri.edu/~milyoj`) listing whether a state had limits on contributions by individuals or organizations.
- A dataset from Thomas Stratmann (George Mason University, `http://economics.gmu.edu/people/tstratma`) indicating the existence of contribution limits on individuals to candidates, PACs to candidates, corporations to candidates, unions to candidates, and parties to candidates for the years 1980 - 2010.
- A dataset from Keith Hamm (Rice University, `https://politicalscience.rice.edu/Content.aspx?id=246`) indicating the types of party-oriented campaign finance laws in place in the states in 1976, 1984, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, and 2004.
- Data from the National Conference on State Legislatures covering 1998 - 2010, indicating the types of fundraising and contribution constraints on state political parties in each state during that period.
- Data from the Federal Election Commission on state campaign finance laws from 1998 - 2008.

In creating our final dataset, we drew from all of these sources. When all of the sources pointed to a consistent coding of the laws in place in a state in a particular election cycle, we accepted that coding as correct. When there was a discrepancy, we conducted research of our own to determine what type of law was actually in place in that state during that election cycle. These efforts often involved researching campaign finance laws through state websites or calling the Secretary of State's office to speak with someone knowledgeable about the history of regulations in that state.

## Files from National Institute for Money in State Politics

Included in this archive are two files from the National Institute for Money in State Politics (NIMSP). The first is a data file called *nimsp_cleaned.dta* documenting the funds raised by candidates for state office between 1986 and 2012. The best coverage of state elections in this dataset is between 1998 and 2012. Coverage before 1998 varies from state-to-state.The following table provides a description of the important variables included in this dataset:

| Variable Name | Description |
|---|---|
| statabbr | State where election occurs or where party resides |
| elecyear | Election cycle |
| candname | Candidate Name |
| candparty | Party of candidate |
| office | Office |
| officecode | Office Code |
| district | District |
| status | Status (e.g. W = won, L = Lost, PL = Lost in primary) |
| ico | Incumbency Status (I = incumbent, C = challenger, O = candidate for open seat) |
| gender | Gender |
| ethnicity | Ethnicity |
| totfunds | Total funds including non-contributions |
| totcont | Total Contributions |
| cont_agric | Agriculture Contributions |
| cont_constrtab | Construction Contributions |
| cont_comelec | Communication and Electronics Contributions |
| cont_def | Defense Contributions |
| cont_extract | Energy and Natural Resources Contributions |
| cont_fire | Finance Insurance & Real Estate Contributions |
| cont_genbus | General Business Contributions |
| cont_health | Health Contributions |
| cont_other | Other (nonprof, church), Retiree, Civil Serv Contributions |
| cont_issue | Single Issue & Ideological Contributions |
| cont_law | Lawyers and Lobbyist Contributions |
| cont_labor | Labor Contributions |
| cont_trans | Transportation Contributions |
| cont_uncoded | Uncoded Contributions |
| cont_party | Party Contributions |
| cont_unitem | Unitemized (small) Contributions |
| cont_self | Self Contributions |
| cont_non | Income NOT derived from contributions |
| cont_public | Public Subsidies |
| cont_instate | In-State Contributions |
| cont_outstate | Out-of-State Contributions |
| cont_unkstate | Unknown state source of Contributions |
| d_party | Party Committee (national, state, or local) Donors |
| d_leader | Leadership and Candidate Donors |
| ctcandmoney | Candidate to candidate Money |
| d_indiv | Individual Donors (as Type) |
| d_unitem | Unitemized Donors (as Type) |
| d_public | Public Subsidy Donor (as Type) |
| d_noncont | Non-contribution income |
| d_instit | Institutional Donors (other than party) |

The dataset *newnimsp.dta* is derived from the above dataset. It includes candidate fundraising data from 1996 to 2010 and includes transformed values of the key figures we use in our book. For example, this file includes a variable called *prop_from_party* which is the proportion of all funds raised by a candidate that were categorized as having originated from the party.

We also also include files from the NIMSP regarding independent spending in a subset of states in recent elections. *targetdata.dta* includes each independent expenditure recorded by NIMSP for state elections from 2006 to 2012. The key variables from this dataset are listed below:

| Variable Name | Description |
|---|---|
| reportedposition | Reported Position (e.g. CON = against, PRO = in favor, NEU = neutral, UNK = unknown |
| adjustdposition | Adjustd Position |
| targetoriginamount | Target Original Amount |
| targetamount | Target Amount |
| targetfirstname | Target First Name |
| targetlastname | Target Last Name |
| targetname | Target Name |
| targetedoffice | Targeted Office |
| targeteddistrict | Targeted District |
| targetedico | Targeted Incumbency status |
| targetedparty | Targeted Party |
| targetedstatus | Targeted Status |
| payeeinfo | Payee Info |
| stateid | State ID |
| statecode | StateCode |
| yearcode | YearCode |
| spenderfilername | Spender Filer Name |
| spendername | Spender Name |
| spenderparty | Spender Party |
| expendituretype | Expenditure Type |

We created a supplementary file for this data called *coded_groups.dta*. This file includes a code indicating whether each independent expenditure came from a party, an issue group, a business, a lawyer, a union, or some other organization. These were coded by a research assistant based on the name of the organization listed in the targetdata file (the spendername field).

Finally, also included in this archive is a file called *statepartycontributors.dta* which includes a record from NIMSP on each individual who contributed to a state political party during the 2010 election cycle.

## Shor/McCarty State Legislator/Legislature Ideology Scores

Ideal point scores for state legislatures and state legislators were obtained from `https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataverse/bshor`. The replication for Chapter 4 using state legislature ideal points uses the file that can be directly downloaded from this link: `http://dx.doi.org/10.7910/DVN/26799`

The state legislator ideal point data had to be re-shaped for our purposes, so that each observation was a unique legislator in a particular year. For ease of replication, we have included the re-shapen datasets here as files *npat1996_2008.dta* and *npat1996_2010.dta*.

## State Legislative Election Returns

For information about the electoral outcomes of state legislative elections, we used the State Legislative Election Returns dataset developed by Carl Klarner, William Berry, Thomas Carsey, Malcolm Jewell, Richard Niemi, Lynda Powell, and James Snyder. The dataset and a codebook are available from the ICPSR (#34297) at `http://www.icpsr.umich.edu/icpsrweb/ICPSR/studies/34297`.

## Catalist Files

The files below are simply tabulations of the number of individuals from different populations in each ideological grouping (20 bins). These were extracted from the Catalist interface using our academic subscription.

| Dataset | Brief Description |
|---|---|
| allvoters.dta | Ideological distribution of registered voters |
| donors.dta | Ideological distribution of donors to federal races.<br>Based on a list of donors from FEC matched to Catalist. |
| statedonors.dta | Ideological distribution of donors to state legislative races<br>Based on a list of donors from NIMSP matched to Catalist. |
| candidate_party_amount.dta | Average amount donated to candidates and parties<br>across different values of ideology.<br>Based on a list of donors from NIMSP matched to Catalist. |
| state_party_candidate.dta | Average amount donated to state candidates and<br>state parties across different values of ideology.<br>Based on a list of donors from NIMSP matched to Catalist. |

In addition to the above, we also created two additional datasets from Catalist data:

1. *constituent_ideology_senate.dta*: This is a file that includes mean and median ideology scores for each state senate district for 2010.

2. *catalist_ideology.dta*: This is a file that includes Catalist's ideology prediction for 792 state legislators from 2008 that we were able to match into the Catalist database.

## Survey Data

We utilize survey data for two purposes in this book. The first purpose (in Chapter 2) is to analyze the ideology of self-reported donors in the Cooperative Congressional Election Study. The second purpose (in Chapter 6) is to demonstrate public support for particular types of reforms.

| Dataset | Brief Description |
|---|---|
| cces10_common_output.dta | Common content for the 2010 CCES<br>Codebook available at `http://hdl.handle.net/1902.1/17705` |
| CCES12_umass_module.dta | UMASS module to the 2012 CCES |
| UMAS0016_OUTPUT.dta | YouGov national survey conducted September 2014 |

## Other Minor Data Files

Two additional files serve a minor data management purpose. Specifically, they convert Massachusetts State Senate district names to number codes which we created to be consistent across different datasets. These allow for easier merging between the Shor/McCarty ideal point datasets, the NIMSP datasets, and the SLERs dataset. These files are named *slegs_ma_reconcile.dta* and *slers_ma_reconcile.dta*.

# Program Files

The table below creates a guide for determining which .do files produce the analyses in the tables and figures in the book. Some tables/figures that are either conceptual in nature or produce only descriptive statistics of minor importance are not included.

| File Name | Replicates |
|---|---|
| chapter2_1.do | Figures 2.1, 2.3 |
| chapter2_2.do | Figures 2.2, 2.4, 2.5 |
| chapter2_3.do | Figures 2.6, 2.7 |
| chapter3_1.do | Figures 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.6, 3.7, 3.9 |
| chapter3_2.do | Figures 3.3, 3.8, 3.10 |
| chapter3_3.do | Table 3.3 |
| chapter4_1.do | Table 4.2, Figures 4.5, 4.6 |
| chapter4_2.do | Figure 4.1 |
| chapter4_3.do | Figures 4.2, 4.3 |
| chapter4_4.do | Figure 4.4 |
| chapter5_1.do | Figures 5.1, 5.2 |
| chapter6_1.do | Figure 6.1 |
| chapter6_2.do | Figure 6.2 |