Codebook for "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll-Calls and Ideological Representation"

Steven Rogers
Saint Louis University
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This codebook describes the variables used in "Electoral Accountability for State Legislative Roll-Calls and Ideological Representation." Data, replication files, and descriptions of variables for the two main sections of the manuscript: "Accountability for Ideological Representation" and "Accountability for Individual Roll-Call Votes" are described below.

Accountability for Ideological Representation

To replicate most analyses for the "Accountability for Ideological Representation" section of Rogers (2017), use the following dataset and STATA .do file:

- Rogers-DataforIdeologicalRepresentationAnalyses.dta
- Rogers-Replication Code for Ideological Representation Analyses.do

Analyses in Tables A-13 & A-14 will respectively also require:

- USHouseStateLegCommonIdealPoints.dta
- Rogers-DataforIdeologicalRepresentationAnalyses-USHouseData.dta

The following describes the variables from "Rogers-DataforIdeologicalRepresentationAnalyses.dta"

Variables for Main Analyses

Year: Year of Election

State: State Abbreviation

Chamber: Chamber of Election. H indicates lower chambers. S indicates upper chambers.

District: State legislative district converted to numeric format. See "District Coding Scheme" section below for details regarding how alpha-numeric districts are numbered.

KlarnerID: Seven character, legislator specific ID drawn from the SLER v18 variable.[1]

IncumbentWinner: 0 if incumbent lost election; 1 if incumbent won election. Source: SLER v24.

IncumbentVoteShare: 0 – 100, Candidate Vote Share. Source: SLER v36

DemocraticVoteShare: Democratic, two party vote Share. Source: SLER [v30/(v30+v31)]

Contested: 1 if election contested by two major parties, 0 otherwise. Contested defined by if each major party received at least 5% of the two-party vote.

Distance: Estimated Ideological Distance between an incumbent and their estimated district ideal point, as described in the main text.

IncumbentPartyPresVote: District-level presidential vote for the incumbent party averaged over the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections. These data were provided by the National Coalition for Effective Campaigns for all states except Florida and Mississippi. For these states, I use Obama-McCain vote share, as provided by Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013).

[1] SLER refers to "State Legislative Election Returns (1967 – 2010) collected by Klarner et. al (2012).

IncFundraisingAdvantage: Incumbents fundraising advantage, calculated by ln(Amount Incumbent Raised) – ln(Amount Challenger Raised). Source: FollowtheMoney.org.

IncPrevVoteShare: Previous incumbent vote share. Source: SLER v33.

IncumbentPrevContested: 1 if incumbent contested in previous election, 0 if otherwise. Contested defined by if IncPrevVoteShare is less than 95%.

FreshmanDummy: 1 if incumbent is serving their first term. 0 if otherwise. Source: Legislative roll-calls provided by Shor and McCarty (2011).

SenateDummy: 1 if state senate race; 0 if otherwise.

DemocraticMemberDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the Democratic party, 0 if otherwise. Source: SLER v21.

PresPartyDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the current President's party, 0 if otherwise.

Prof_StaffPerMember: Total Staff reported for the legislature by NCSL divided by the number of legislators. NCSL reports total staff as of 2003 and 2009. 2003 staff assigned to 2001 – 2006 elections. Levels of staff from 2009 assigned to the 2007 – 2010 elections.

Prof_Salary: Legislator Compensation in 2010 dollars. Source: Bowen and Green (2014) salary_real.

Prof_SessionLength: Total session length (regular and special sessions). Source Bowen and Green (2014) t_slength.

LogDistrictSize: District Population, logged. Source: District level census estimates derived by Jonathan Winburn and Jason Windett.

FullTimeReporters: Number of Full Time Newspaper reporters, logged. Source: Layton and Dorroh (2002) and Dorroh (2009) of the *American Journalism Review*.

Q4StateEcon: Logged Change in Quarter 4 State Personal Income. Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Economic Analysis.

MidtermDummy: 1 if federal midterm election year, 0 otherwise.

Variables for Online Appendix Analyses

IdealPoint: State legislator ideal point. Legislator's ideal points estimated using roll-calls collected by Boris Shor and Nolan McCarty as of June 2016 (Clinton, Jackman, and Rivers 2004). Ideal points for each legislator were estimated separately for their service in the lower or upper legislative chambers and projected into NPAT space following the procedure described in Shor and McCarty (2011). Observations only included in dataset if a legislator had sufficient roll-calls to estimate an ideal point.

DemocraticWinner: 1 if Democratic incumbent won the election, 0 otherwise.

DemocraticPresVoteShare: Average Democratic share of district-level presidential vote, 0 – 100. Based on variable *IncumbentPartyPresVote*.

Prev_DemVoteShare: Vote share for the Democratic candidate in the previous election, 0 – 100. Based on variable *IncPrevVoteShare***.**

Q4StateEcon_DemAdjusted: Logged Change in Quarter 4 State Personal Income adjusted by multiplying *Q4StateEcon* by negative one for Republican incumbents to be consistent with dependent variables of DemocraticVoteShare or DemocraticWinner in responsiveness analyses.

DistrictIP_DemogBased: Estimated district ideal point using district-level demographics (percent urban, percent black, percent latino, percent with a college degree) as described in the Online Appendix. District-level demographic measures provided by Jonathan Winburn and Jason Windett.

DistrictIP_PresVoteBased: Estimated district ideal point using district-level presidential vote, as described in the Online Appendix.

TW_MRP_SD: Standard Deviation of Tausanovitch and Warshaw district ideal point: Source: Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013, 2015 data release). Observations only included in dataset if Tausanovitch and Warshaw provide an ideal point for a state legislative district.

QualityChallenger: 1 if challenger in election previously served in the state legislature, 0 otherwise. Only coded for State Senate races. Source: Shor and McCarty (2011) and Klarner et. al (2013).

Variables for Tables A-13 and A-14

The following describes the variables from "USHouseStateLegCommonIdealPoints.dta". To create this dataset, research assistants went through lists of Members of Congress provided by Poole and Rosenthal and matched them to lists of state legislators. For Members of Congress who served from 2005 – 2007 and 2009 - 2011, research assistants used lists of "Former State Legislators" provided by the National Conference of State Legislators.

ICPSRID: US House Member's ICSPR ID.

KlarnerID: Seven character, legislator specific ID drawn from the SLER v18 variable.

StateLegIdealPoint: Individual's ideal point derived from state legislative roll-calls. See above description of *IdealPoint* variable for further detail.

USHouseIdealPoint: Individual's ideal points estimated roll-calls collected by Keith Poole. A single ideal point estimated (Clinton, Jackman, and Rivers 2004) for each U.S. House Member for service from 2001 – 2010 for comparability to estimation procedure for state legislative ideal points.

RepublicanDummy: 1 if individual is a member of the Republican party, 0 if otherwise.

The following describes the variables from
"Rogers-DataforIdeologicalRepresentationAnalyses-USHouseData.dta"

Year: Year of Election

State: State Abbreviation

District: US House District Number

IncumbentName: Incumbent Legislator's Name

IncumbentVoteShare: 0 – 100, Candidate Vote Share. Source: CQ Elections Collection.

Contested: 1 if election contested by two major parties, 0 otherwise. Contested defined by if each major party received at least 5% of the two-party vote.

Distance: Ideological Distance of U.S. House Member from their district using the procedure described in the Online Appendix along that described in the main text using Equations 1 – 3.

IncumbentPartyPresVote: District-level Incumbent Party Presidential Vote. Source: Jacobson (2013).

IncPrevVoteShare: Previous incumbent vote share. Source: CQ Elections Collection.

IncumbentPrevContested: 1 if incumbent contested in previous election, 0 if otherwise. Contested defined by if IncPrevVoteShare is less than 95%.

IncSpendingAdvantage: Incumbents spending advantage, calculated by ln(Incumbent Expenditures) – ln(Challenger Expenditures). Source: Jacobson (2013).

PresPartyDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the current President's party, 0 if otherwise.

DemocraticMemberDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the Democratic party, 0 if otherwise. Source: CQ Elections Collection.

FreshmanDummy: 1 if incumbent is serving their first term. 0 if otherwise. Source: Jacobson (2013).

MidtermDummy: 1 if federal midterm election year, 0 otherwise.

District Coding for Alpha-Numeric Districts

Districts that include single letters

Maryland, South Dakota, Minnesota, and Alaska have state legislative districts that include single letters. For numeric district numbering, letters are converted to numbers representing their place in the alphabet divided by 100. For example, Alaska Senate District A is .01. Alaska Senate District B is .02. For districts that include both numbers and letters, such as South Dakota district 28A, district numbering adds the number and letter. Recall, A is .01, so 28A would be 28.01.

Districts that include county or town names

Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Vermont at times use county or town names in their district names. Using Vermont as an example, the following describes how the district variable for the "Accountability for Ideological Representation" section is created.

Vermont District Codes

C = County(s) number
D = District number
E = Second district number (if applicable)

CCCCCCDEE = district code

County Numbering

10 = Addison	60 = Franklin	110 = Rutland
20 = Bennington	70 = Grand Isle	120 = Washington
30 = Caledonia	80 = Lamoille	130 = Windham
40 = Chittenden	90 = Orange	140 = Windsor
50 = Essex	100 = Orleans	

The County numbering will always end in a zero and be immediately followed by the first district number (which is always one digit).

Examples

Bennington-3 = 203	Chittenden-2-1 = 4021	Windsor = 140
Bennington-2-2 = 2022	Chittenden-7-10 = 40710	Windsor-1 = 1401

Below lists the county numberings for Massachusetts, Nevada, and New Hampshire

Massachusetts County Numbering

1 = Barnstable	7 = Franklin	12 = Norfolk
2 = Berkshire	8 = Hampden	13 = Plymouth
3 = Bristol	9 = Hampshire	14 = Suffolk
4 = Cape and Islands	10 = Middlesex	15 = Worcester
5 = Dukes	11 = Nantucket	16 = Barnstable/Dukes/Nantucket
6 = Essex		

Nevada County Numbering

10 = Capital	40 = Northern	60 = Washoe
20 = Central	50 = Rural	70 = Western
30 = Clark		

Nevada County Numbering

1 = Belknap	5 = Grafton	8 = Rockingham
2 = Carroll	6 = Hillsborough	9 = Strafford
3 = Cheshire	7 Merrimack	10 = Sullivan
4 = Coos		

Accountability for Individual Roll-Call Votes

To replicate most analyses for the "Accountability for Individual Roll-Call Votes" section of Rogers (2017), use the following dataset and STATA .do file:

- Rogers-DataforIndividualRollCallAnalyses.dta
- Rogers-Replication Code for Individual Roll Call Analyses.do

The following describes the variables from "Rogers-DataforIndividualRollCallAnalyses.dta"

Variables

Bill: Identifying Variable for each bill

State: State Abbreviation

Chamber: Chamber of Election. A or H indicates lower chambers. S indicates upper chambers.

District: State legislative district converted to numeric format. See descriptions on page 5.

Party: Legislator's party. Source: Shor and McCarty (2011).

IncumbentSeekingReelection: 1 if incumbent sought reelection in the primary election, 0 otherwise.

IncumbentinGeneral: 1 if incumbent appeared in the general election, 0 otherwise.

Contested: 1 if incumbent contested in the general election, 0 otherwise. Contested defined by if incumbent received less than 95 percent of the vote.

IncumbentWinner: 1 if incumbent won reelection, 0 otherwise.

IncumbentVoteShare: Incumbent's vote share. Most observations taken from Klarner (2013) if available (i.e. for elections prior to 2011). Otherwise, election returns collected from state's Secretary of State or Board of Elections web site.

Referendum: State legislative district support of legislator's roll-call position based on veto-referendum election returns (e.g. district-level or precinct-level with precinct to district mappings) made available by respective state's Secretary of State or Board of Elections web sites. Observations only included if legislator cast an "aye" or "nay" roll-call vote on the considered bill.

IncumbentPartyPresVote: District-level presidential vote for the incumbent party averaged over the 2004 and 2008 presidential elections. These data were provided by the National Coalition for Effective Campaigns for all states except Florida and Mississippi. For these states, I use Obama-McCain vote share, as provided by Tausanovitch and Warshaw (2013). Otherwise, compiled from Secretary of States or Board of Elections web sites.

IncFundraisingAdvantage: Incumbent's fundraising advantage, calculated by ln(Amount Incumbent Raised) – ln(Amount Challenger Raised). Source: FollowtheMoney.org.

CurrentFourCandidates: 1 if at least four candidates present in the general election, 0 otherwise.

CurrentThreeCandidates: 1 if three candidates present in the general election, 0 otherwise.

IncumbentVoteShare: Incumbent's vote share in previous election. Observations taken from Klarner (2013) if available (i.e. for elections prior to 2011). Otherwise, election returns collected from state's Secretary of State or Board of Elections web site.

IncPrevVoteShare: Previous incumbent vote share. Source: SLER v33 for elections if available (i.e. for elections prior to 2011). Otherwise, election returns collected from respective state's Secretary of State or Board of Elections web sites.

IncumbentPrevContested: 1 if incumbent contested in previous election, 0 if otherwise. Contested defined by if *IncPrevVoteShare* is less than 95%.

Prev_ThreeCandidates: 1 if three candidates present in the incumbent's previous election, 0 otherwise.

Prev_FourCandidates: 1 if at least four candidates present in the incumbent's previous election, 0 otherwise.

SenateDummy: 1 if state senate race; 0 if otherwise.

DemocraticDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the Democratic party, 0 if otherwise. Source: SLER v21.

PresPartyDummy: 1 if incumbent is a member of the current President's party, 0 if otherwise.

FreshmanDummy: 1 if incumbent is serving their first term. 0 if otherwise. Source: Legislative roll-calls provided by Shor and McCarty (2011).

Prof_StaffPerMember: Total Staff reported for the legislature by NCSL divided by the number of legislators. NCSL reports total staff as of 2003 and 2009. 2003 staff assigned to 2001 – 2006 elections. Levels of staff from 2009 assigned to the 2007 – 2010 elections.

Prof_Salary: Legislator Compensation in 2010 dollars. Source: Bowen and Green (2014) salary_real.

Prof_SessionLength: Total session length (regular and special sessions). Source Bowen and Green (2014) t_slength.

LogDistrictSize: District Population, logged. Source: District level census estimates derived by Jonathan Winburn and Jason Windett.

FullTimeReporters: Number of Full Time Newspaper reporters, logged. Source: American Journalism Review, Layton and Dorroh (2002) and Dorroh (2009).