Codebook for main data file for

"Campaign Finance Transparency Affects Legislators' Election Outcomes and Behavior"

Abby K. Wood & Christian R. Grose

Variable Labels [1] [2]

icpsrid – unique identifier assigned to each member of congress by the ICPSR.

year – The year of the election. Either **1974, 1976**, or **1978**.

south – indicator variable **(1/0)** indicating that a member represents people in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia. The value is **0** otherwise.

audited – Whether or not the candidate was included (audited) in the FEC's 1976 random congressional audits (**1** = Audited in Random 1976 Audits, **0** = Not Audited in Random 1976 Audits).

findings – indicator variable **(1/0)** indicating whether an audited incumbent's audits revealed any findings. The value is **1** if there are findings and **0** if there are not. Possible findings include: failure to file with the FEC, recordkeeping violations, receipt of prohibited contributions, disclosure violations, receipt of excessive contributions, misstatements on filings, commingling of funds, improper solicitation, untimely deposits.

findings10k – indicator variable **(1/0)** indicating whether the findings at issue in the findings variable concern violations exceeding $10,000, in which case the value = **1**. If not, the value = **0**.

incumbent – If the candidate currently holds the seat they are running for. A **1** indicates an incumbent, a **0** indicates they are <u>not</u> an incumbent.

dvinc2p – incumbent's share of the two-party vote. Source: Gary Jacobson

dvpinc2p_corrected - incumbent's share of the two-party vote in the prior election ("corrected" because we corrected a small error in the data). Source: Gary Jacobson

---

[1] All electoral data are from Congressional Quarterly (CQ Press).
Source:
Congressional Quarterly. (2012). *CQ Voting and Elections: 1976, 1978, 1980*. Retrieved from http://library.cqpress.com.libproxy1.usc.edu/elections/download-data.php?filetype=&office=3&areatype=3&year=2012&format=3&emailto=&emailfrom=

[2] All audit data are from the FEC.
Source:
Federal Election Commission. (2012). *Federal Election Commission: Audit Report Search System*. Retrieved from http://www.fec.gov/auditsearch/auditsearch.do

unoppo – indicator varable (0/1) indicating whether the incumbent ran unopposed **(= 1)** or not **(= 0)**.

retire__or_resign – indicates (0/1) whether the incumbent resigned or retired before the election (= 1) or not (= 0)

numbercandidatesinprimary – the number of candidates in the primary election for the district

numbertrips_actually_taken1q19XX – Total number of all trips taken in the first quarter of 1976 or 1978. Source = *Report of the Clerk of the House*

- Trips only counted if the trip ends in March 31 of that year and was expensed in the first or second quarter of that year.
- Representatives who took the "lump sum" cash payment of $2250 or $1125 for their yearly or semi-yearly travel expenditures, respectively, were coded via the following formula:
    - $\left(\frac{Rep_A}{Rep_B}\right) \div n$; where
        - Rep_A equals the lump sum cash payment taken by the representative in question (will always be $2250 or $1125)
        - Rep_B equals the average cost per trip of the representative in the same state with the most similar average distance from his or her district
        - n equals 4 if the lump sum cash payment was $2250 and 2 if the lump sum cash payment was $1125
        - Ex. Rep_A has an average distance of 100 miles from his district and took a lump sum of $2250. X and Y have average distances of 96 and 102 miles from their district, respectively. Rep_B therefore equals Y's average cost per trip. n equals 4.
    - The third and fourth quarters were checked to see if the representative took a lump sum cash payment.
- Representatives who took the "lump sum" cash payment *and* expensed trips were coded as their total number of all trips taken in the first quarter of 1976 plus additional trips calculated with the above formula

distancetodist[3] – Distance from DC to the largest city in the corresponding district

- For districts that comprised solely of a divided metropolitan area (i.e. Los Angeles, New York City, etc…) the center-most neighborhood was used instead

totalaudithits_all captures the number of articles discussing members' campaign finances such as their audits, from among the set of articles that resulted from our search terms. Source:

[3] Data from Jeffrey B. Lewis, et al., *United States Congressional District Shapefiles*, UCLA (May 30, 2016) *available at* http://cdmaps.polisci.ucla.edu/

newspaperarchive.com, which is continuously growing, so searches repeated today would have more complete coverage. At the time of our searches, the archive explored contained all major newspapers and some prestigious local press, such as the Sacramento Bee, the Houston Chronicle, etc. from 1975 and onward, but focusing on the late 70s and 80s. We also conducted simple name searches in Common Cause, Public Citizen and The Almanac of American Politics 1978-1980-1982. Because the Federal Election Campaign Act (FECA) was new, we assumed that we'd need to cast a wide net and also code a wide set of articles mentioning campaign finances, rather than narrow in on specific language that reporters might not yet have mastered in the new institutional environment. We searched for the names of the congressmen (different variations tried), along with "FEC", "audit", "federal election commission", "campaign", "campaign violation", "campaign contribution", "funds", "unethical", and "illegal". Only relevant articles were included in the tally of articles for that representative for that year. In case multiple articles referred to the same incident/person, RAs saved all reports they could find in the press as an indication of which stories were more/less covered.

scandal78 – was the incumbent engaged in or accused of other scandals in 1978 (source: newspaperarchive.com)

totalhitsnew – the number of news stories that resulted in a simple search of the representative's name in a given year on newspaperarchive.com. This serves as a control variable, since some representatives are more newsworthy than others.

comm_chair – Coded 1 if Representative was a committee chair for at least one standing or select committee. Joint and sub- committees were not counted. Coded 0 if Representative was never a committee chair for a standing or select committee.

leaders – coded **1** if the representative was in party leadership and **0** otherwise

seniority – number of years the representative had served as of a given year (1974, 1976, 1978)

ageinyears1976 – the representative's age (in years) at the time of the 1976 election.

qualchvsinc – Quality Challenger, **1** if person running against incumbent or running against opponent who has held prior elected office; **0** if opponent has not held elective office or is not incumbent

incumbent_primary – **1** if the incumbent faced a primary challenger; **0** otherwise

disclosurenum - The number of campaign finance disclosure violations recorded by the auditors.

disclosuredollar - The amount of campaign finance dollars not disclosed or disclosed with flaws, as recorded by the auditors.

misstatenum - The number of campaign finance misstatements recorded by the auditors.

misstatedol - The amount of money at issue in campaign finance misstatements, as recorded by the auditors.

recordnum – The number of campaign finance recordkeeping errors recorded by the auditors.

recorddollar - The amount of money at issue in the campaign finance recordkeeping errors recorded by the auditors.

excesscontribnum – The number of excess contributions recorded by the auditors.

excesscontribdollar - The amount of money at issue in the excess contributions recorded by the auditors.

prohibcontribnum – The number of prohibited contributions recorded by the auditors.

prohibcontribdollar - The amount of money at issue in the prohibited contributions recorded by the auditors.

epcontribnum – number of excessive or prohibited contributions. It's the sum of excesscontribnum and prohibcontribnum.

epcontribdollar – dollar value of excessive or prohibited contributions. It's the sum of excesscontribdollar and prohibcontribdollar.

totalviolations – the sum across disclosurenum, misstatenum, recordnum, excesscontribnum, prohibcontribnum, epcontribnum

totdollarviolations – the sum across disclosuredollar, misstatedol, recorddollar, excesscontribdollar, prohibcontribdollar, epcontribdollar

name – representative's name (careful here when merging)

pcomp – primary competition measure *c* as described in the main text -- $c = 1 - \sum {p_i}^2$

where p is each primary candidate's voteshare, and 0 is no competition. $c \in [0,1)$

oppo_minusinc_exp – opponent's campaign expenditures minus this candidate's campaign expenditures. Source: Gary Jacobson.

stcd – the state (numbered alphabetically) and congressional district (number) the representative represents.