CODEBOOK FOR "TRANSPARENCY, CLASS BIAS, AND REDISTRIBUTION: EVIDENCE FROM THE AMERICAN STATES"[1]

Variables in Native *transparency.dta* File

* year: Year of observation (1972-2000)
*state_id: State identification (1-48)
*state: State abbreviation (string variable)
* publicwelftotalexp: Total state public expenditures on welfare
*total_income: Total state personal income
*gsp: Gross state product (in millions of 2017 dollars)
*gini: State's Gini coefficient in a given year
* unem1: Unemployment rate percentage
*unemploy: Renaming of *unem1*, unemployment rate percentage
*pop: State population
* pop65: Proportion of the population over age 65.
* nonwhite: Proportion of the population that is nonwhite.
*pctscore: 9-item transparency index score scaled to range between 0-1 as ratio of items coded "yes" to the total items answered; Alt, Lassen, and Rose (2006)'s measure
*tran: Renaming of *pctscore*, 9-item transparency index score scaled to range between 0-1 as ratio of items coded "yes" to the total items answered; Alt, Lassen, and Rose (2006)'s measure
*media_pen: Media market penetration index, newspaper and TV circulation rates combined; Alt and Lowry's (2010) measure
*med: Renaming of *media_pen*, media market penetration index, newspaper and TV circulation rates combined; Alt and Lowry's (2010) measure
*cbias: Class bias measure which captures the difference in the probability that the richest individuals in a state will turn out to vote relative to the probability of the poorest individuals in a state voting; Franko, Kelly, and Witko's (2016) measure
*bias: Renaming of *cbias*, class bias measure which captures the difference in the probability that the richest individuals in a state will turn out to vote relative to the probability of the poorest individuals in a state voting; Franko, Kelly, and Witko's (2016) measure
*govparty_c = Party of the governor. 1 = Democrat, 0 = Republican, .5 = non-major party governor.
*gparty = Renaming of *govparty_c*, party of the governor. 1 = Democrat, 0 = Republican, .5 = non-major party governor.
*leg_control = Additive scale of Democratic power in the legislature. (1= Democrats Control Both Chambers; 0= Democrats Control Neither Chamber; .5= Democrats Control One Chamber, .25= Democrats Split Control of One Chamber, .75= Democrats Control One Chamber and Split Control of the Other)
*control = Renaming of *leg_control*, additive scale of Democratic power in the legislature. (1= Democrats Control Both Chambers; 0= Democrats Control Neither Chamber; .5= Democrats Control One Chamber, .25= Democrats Split Control of One Chamber, .75= Democrats Control One Chamber and Split Control of the Other)

[1] Variables subscripted with "_wi" in the .do and .dta files indicate the within transformations of these variables generated by the STATA *clustergen* command. Variables subscripted with "_bw" in the .do and .dta files indicate the between transformations of these variables generated by the STATA *clustergen* command.

*divided_gov: Dummy: 1 = all three institutions of state government (i.e., the two chambers of the legislature and the governor's office) are not controlled by the same party, 0 = unified Democratic or Republican control of both the legislature and governor's office
*div: Renaming of *divided_gov*, Dummy: 1 = all three institutions of state government (i.e., the two chambers of the legislature and the governor's office) are not controlled by the same party, 0 = unified Democratic or Republican control of both the legislature and governor's office
*citi: Citizen ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*cideo: Renaming of *citi*, citizen ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*nominate: Legislator ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*lideo: Renaming of *nominate*, legislator ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure

Variables Generated by the Execution of the *transparency_welfare.do* File (In order of generation)

*id: State identification number used for *clustergen* command.
*cpi: Consumer price index (normalized to US dollars, 2000)
*cpiu: Seasonally adjusted CPI, for all goods, for urban consumers, generated by cpigen package normalized to 2000 dollars in annual data
*welf_ad: Total state government public welfare spending adjusted for inflation.
*welfpc: Inflation-adjusted total state government welfare spending per capita.
*gsp_edit: GSP rescaled to actual dollar amount to use for CPI adjustment
*gsp_ad: Gross state product adjusted for inflation
*new_gsp: Scaled version of inflation-adjusted GSP to make coefficients more interpretable (gsp_ad/100000000000)
*lpop: Logarithm of state population
*lwelf: Logarithm of the *welfpc* variable
*inc_ad = Total state personal income adjusted for inflation
*albritton: Total state government welfare spending adjusted for inflation divided by total state personal income adjusted for inflation, Albritton's (1990) recommended measure of welfare effort
*logal: Logarithm of the Albritton index
*res1: Model residuals from the non-logged dependent variable model
*res2: Model residuals from the logged dependent variable model
* _est_wbe1: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 1
* _est_wbe2: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 2
*_est_wbe3: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 3
* _est_wbe4: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 4
*_est_cctest: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for check of cluster confounding, Paper Model Appendix C1
* _est_fe1: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 5

* _est_fe2: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 6
*_est_fe3: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 7
* _est_fe4: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 8
* _est_re1: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 9
* _est_re2: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 10
* _est_re3: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for

Paper Model 11
* _est_re4: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for Paper Model 12
* _est_wbe9: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 1 using the Albritton index as the dependent variable
* _est_wbe10: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 2 using the Albritton index as the dependent variable
*_est_wbe11: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 3 using the Albritton index as the dependent variable
* _est_wbe12: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 4 using the Albritton index as the dependent variable
* _est_wbe13: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 1 using the logged version of the Albritton index as the dependent variable
* _est_wbe14: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 2 using the logged version of the Albritton index as the dependent variable
*_est_wbe15: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 3 using the logged version of the Albritton index as the dependent variable
* _est_wbe16: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 4 using the logged version of the Albritton index as the dependent variable
*_est_gini1: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 1 after removing the Gini index variable
* _est_gini2: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 2 after removing the Gini index variable
* _est_gini3: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 3 after removing the Gini index variable
* _est_gini4: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test replicating Model 4 after removing the Gini index variable
*_est_gini5: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test interacting the Gini index with the media market penetration variable
* _est_gini6: Stored model results generated from the *estimates store* command in STATA for unreported sensitivity test interacting the Gini index with the transparency variable

Variables Generated by the Execution of the *clustergen* command in the transparency_welfare.do File (In order of generation)

* tran_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the 9-item transparency index score scaled to range between 0-1 as ratio of items coded "yes" to the total items answered; Alt, Lassen, and Rose (2006)'s measure
*tran_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the 9-item transparency index score scaled to range between 0-1 as ratio of items coded "yes" to the total items answered; Alt, Lassen, and Rose (2006)'s measure
*med_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the media market penetration index, newspaper and TV circulation rates combined; Alt and Lowry's (2010) measure
*med_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the media market penetration index, newspaper and TV circulation rates combined; Alt and Lowry's (2010) measure
*bias_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the class bias measure which captures the difference in the probability that the richest individuals in a state will turn out to vote relative to the probability of the poorest individuals in a state voting; Franko, Kelly, and Witko's (2016) measure
*bias_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the class bias measure which captures the difference in the probability that the richest individuals in a state will turn out to vote relative to the probability of the poorest individuals in a state voting; Franko, Kelly, and Witko's (2016) measure
*gini_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the state's Gini coefficient in a given year
*gini_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the state's Gini coefficient in a given year
*gsp_ad_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean of gross state product (GSP) adjusted for inflation
*gsp_ad_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean of gross state product (GSP) adjusted for inflation
*new_gsp_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the scaled version of inflation-adjusted GSP to make coefficients more interpretable (gsp_ad/100000000000)
*new_gsp_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the scaled version of inflation-adjusted GSP to make coefficients more interpretable (gsp_ad/100000000000)
*unemploy_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the unemployment rate percentage
*unemploy_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the unemployment rate percentage
*lpop_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the logarithm of state population
*lpop_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the logarithm of state population
*pop65_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the proportion of the population over age 65.
*pop65_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the proportion of

the population over age 65.
*nonwhite_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the proportion of the population that is nonwhite.
*nonwhite_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the proportion of the population that is nonwhite.
*cideo_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the citizen ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*cideo_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the citizen ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*lideo_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the legislator ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*lideo_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the legislator ideology, using updated Berry et al. (2010) measure
*gparty_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the party of the governor. 1 = Democrat, 0 = Republican, .5 = non-major party governor.
*gparty_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the party of the governor. 1 = Democrat, 0 = Republican, .5 = non-major party governor.
*control_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the additive scale of Democratic power in the legislature. (1= Democrats Control Both Chambers; 0= Democrats Control Neither Chamber; .5= Democrats Control One Chamber, .25= Democrats Split Control of One Chamber, .75= Democrats Control One Chamber and Split Control of the Other)
*control_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the additive scale of Democratic power in the legislature. (1= Democrats Control Both Chambers; 0= Democrats Control Neither Chamber; .5= Democrats Control One Chamber, .25= Democrats Split Control of One Chamber, .75= Democrats Control One Chamber and Split Control of the Other)
*div_wi: Within-state longitudinal deviations from the state mean on the dummy: 1 = all three institutions of state government (i.e., the two chambers of the legislature and the governor's office) are not controlled by the same party, 0 = unified Democratic or Republican control of both the legislature and governor's office
*div_bw: Between state cross-sectional deviations from the yearly mean on the dummy: 1 = all three institutions of state government (i.e., the two chambers of the legislature and the governor's office) are not controlled by the same party, 0 = unified Democratic or Republican control of both the legislature and governor's office

Variable References

Albritton, Robert. 1990. “Social Services: Welfare and Health." In *Politics in the American States*, 5th ed., ed. Virginia Gray, Herbert Jacob, and Robert Albritton. Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman Little, Brown.

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