

NBER WORKING PAPER SERIES

UNOBSERVED CONTRIBUTIONS AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE:
EVIDENCE FROM THE DEATH OF TOP DONORS

Marco Battaglini
Valerio Leone Sciabolazza
Mengwei Lin
Eleonora Patacchini

Working Paper 32649
<http://www.nber.org/papers/w32649>

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
1050 Massachusetts Avenue
Cambridge, MA 02138
July 2024

The paper has benefited from comments and suggestions by seminar audiences at Bocconi University, Harvard University, and Tor Vergata University of Rome. We also wish to thank Steve Coate, Christian Cox, Quoc-Anh Do, Jim Snyder, and Guido Tabellini for discussions and comments. The views expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Bureau of Economic Research.

NBER working papers are circulated for discussion and comment purposes. They have not been peer-reviewed or been subject to the review by the NBER Board of Directors that accompanies official NBER publications.

© 2024 by Marco Battaglini, Valerio Leone Sciabolazza, Mengwei Lin, and Eleonora Patacchini. All rights reserved. Short sections of text, not to exceed two paragraphs, may be quoted without explicit permission provided that full credit, including © notice, is given to the source.

Unobserved Contributions and Political Influence: Evidence from the Death of Top Donors
Marco Battaglini, Valerio Leone Sciabolazza, Mengwei Lin, and Eleonora Patacchini
NBER Working Paper No. 32649
July 2024
JEL No. D72

ABSTRACT

It has long been observed that there is little money in U.S. politics compared to the stakes. But what if contributions are not fully observable or non-monetary in nature and thus not easily quantifiable? We study this question with a new data set on the top 1000 donors in U.S. congressional races. Since top donors do not randomly support candidates, we propose an identification strategy based on information about top donors' deaths and the observed variations in candidates' performance after these events. The death of a top donor significantly decreases a candidate's chances of being elected in the current and future election cycles. Moreover, it affects the legislative activities of elected candidates. These effects do not depend on top donors' monetary contributions to a candidate but on their prominence and their total contributions during the election campaign.

Marco Battaglini
Department of Economics
Cornell University
432 Uris Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853
and CEPR
and also NBER
battaglini@cornell.edu

Valerio Leone Sciabolazza
Department of Economics and Law
Sapienza University of Rome
Rome, Italy
valerio.leonesciabolazza@uniroma1.it

Mengwei Lin
Cornell University
Warren Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853
ml2622@cornell.edu

Eleonora Patacchini
Department of Economics
Cornell University
430 Uris Hall
Ithaca, NY 14853
and CEPR
ep454@cornell.edu

I Introduction

It has long been observed that, compared to the stakes, there is little money in U.S. politics (Tullock, 1972; Ansolabehere et al., 2003). For instance, in the last electoral campaign (2021-2022), candidates, parties, and organizations raised and spent roughly 14 billion U.S. dollars. In contrast, the annual spending of the federal government in the same period was about \$6 trillion or more, and its consumption and gross investments were over \$4 trillion.¹ There is also evidence that, over time, many wealthy donors do not fully exploit federal limits on donations. Studying a sample of top managers of blue-chip corporations in the U.S., Ansolabehere et al. (2003) estimate that the average manager donated about \$7,500 to candidates, parties, PACs, and other committees in the 1997-1998 election cycle, far less than the \$25,000 allowed under the Federal Elections Campaign Act. This lack of money in U.S. politics has been referred to as the *Tullock paradox*.

Two leading hypotheses have been proposed. The first posits that campaign finance reflects a competitive market for private benefits from public laws and services (Denzau et al., 1986; Baron, 1989; Snyder, 1990; Grier et al., 1994). In such competitive environments, little private benefits can be bought with campaign donations. Political donations are not observed because they provide instrumental value, but because they have personal consumption value for the donors. Giving to politics, therefore, is seen as very much like giving to charities. The second explanation takes the polar opposite view and suggests that some interest groups may not need to make contributions to politicians if they instead or in addition can commit to the threats of funding their opponents (Chamon et al., 2013). In the absence of competition between political donors, these threats may not be observed since they affect the political game only in out-of-equilibrium scenarios. The first explanation leaves little room for individual donors to influence political outcomes with donations, whereas the second depicts a scenario in which donors have most of the bargaining power. In both cases, individual donors provide little or even negative value to a politician.

In this paper, we revisit Tullock paradox, starting from a simple preliminary question. Is it possible that monetary contributions are not fully observable, or that they are non-monetary in nature, so that large individual donors can gain sway over candidates even if their *observable* monetary contributions are relatively small? Donors may have assets other than money to offer, such as social connections, experience, and advice. This is, for instance, the case of donors who can motivate others to provide money, convince influential people to offer their endorsement, provide larger exposure to a candidate in the media or help recruit talented staffers. Donors, moreover, may find ways to conceal their donations,

¹Sources: US Federal Election Committee: <https://www.fec.gov/updates/statistical-summary-of-24-month-campaign-activity-of-the-2021-2022-election-cycle/>; Congressional Budget Office: <https://www.cbo.gov/>; and Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/GCE>.

legally or illegally.² In this perspective, observed contributions are only the “tip of the iceberg,” a signal of the presence of a social connection between a donor and a candidate.

We study this hypothesis by asking three interrelated questions. First, we study whether it is indeed the case that large individual donors can exert influence on candidates even if their observable monetary contributions to each candidate are relatively small (though perhaps large in aggregate). For this purpose, we construct a new data set combining data on the universe of candidates participating in U.S. electoral campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives in 8 election cycles (from 2008 to 2018) with hand-collected information on their donors from biographical sources. We consider the top 1000 donors in U.S. congressional races, as ranked by the size of their total observable political contributions.³ We do not focus on what they give to each candidate (which, as said, may be unobservable), but on what they accomplish. The challenge in attempting to assess the causal effect of top donors’ contributions on candidates’ electoral outcomes is that the match between candidates and donors is far from exogenous. To address this issue, we use the death of a top donor as a source of exogenous variation in the support of a candidate’s campaign, which serves as our identification strategy. Specifically, we study how the probability of election, the share of received votes, and other electoral and legislative outcomes are affected by the death of a top donor. Interestingly, these events are not rare. In our dataset, we observe 278 deaths, which affect a significant share of candidates for the U.S. Congress - on average, more than 10% per election year for candidates participating in at least two electoral races and almost 30% for candidates with at least one top donor.

The second and third questions concern the channels through which top donors exert influence and whether their influence goes beyond electoral outcomes. With respect to the question on the channels, three hypotheses seem relevant: Do top donors matter because of the observable (little) money they donate to each individual candidate? Do, instead, top donors exert influence through non-monetary favors that are difficult to quantify (such as connections, access to talent, or advice)? And, finally, are top donors able to influence elections by providing non-observable monetary contributions? With respect to the influence of top donors beyond electoral outcomes, we study the influence that big donors have on the long-term legislative activity of the candidates that they patronize. We are able to make progress on these difficult questions by combining our data set on the

²Recently, Sam Bankman-Fried, the disgraced CEO of the cryptocurrency exchange FTX, quickly established himself as one of the largest political donors, personally giving over 40 million dollars to candidates, campaigns and PACs ahead of the 2022 midterm election, including the official maximum of \$5,800 to two members of the Senate Agricultural Committee, which is the committee in charge of regulating cryptocurrencies. But, allegedly, official contributions were not all he contributed: in December 2022, federal prosecutors accused him of having violated numerous federal campaign finance laws by giving contributions to campaigns and PACs “in the name of other persons.”

³Following the definition of the Federal Election Committee, we consider a contribution to be any gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money or anything of value given to influence a federal election, made by any person directly to any candidate or political action committee. For additional details, see <https://www.fec.gov/help-candidates-and-committees/candidate-taking-receipts/types-contributions/>.

death of top donors with novel sources of information, such as detailed data on advertising spending in elections and textual analysis of the bills cosponsored by the elected candidates in the U.S. Congress.

We present three main sets of results corresponding to the three questions outlined above. We begin by showing that, on average, the death of a top donor in the electoral cycle preceding an election decreases a candidate’s likelihood of being elected by 3 percentage points. Candidates are affected by the loss of a top donor even when they can rely on other top donors. These results are robust when using vote share as an alternate measure of electoral performance. Specifically, we observe that the death of one top donor decreases the votes received by a candidate by 2.5 percentage points. To better understand the importance of this effect, note that on average, 18 winning candidates would lose their seats during an election cycle if their votes would decrease by 2.5 percentage points. This would imply a 4.1% change in the composition of the US House of Representatives, which would be sufficient to change the majority in most Congresses. We further show that a donor’s death has long-term effects on the career of candidates. Losing a top donor has an impact on candidates – both in terms of their share of votes and election probabilities – that persists across election cycles, having a significant impact on the election probability of candidates who run in the electoral cycle after the loss.

Our second set of results relates to why top donors are important for candidates. We have three findings. The first is that the impact of a donor’s death on a candidate does not depend on the donor’s *observed* monetary giving to the candidate. This finding is confirmed by a placebo analysis in which we examine the electoral performance of candidates who do not lose a top donor but still experience a decrease in contributions from small donors similar to those registered when a top donor dies. We find no statistically significant effect on electoral outcomes.

The second is that the impact of losing a top donor depends on the “prominence” of the donor. To measure the prominence of top donors, we retrieve the query’s search volumes on Google associated their names during the election cycle in which they died, interpreting them as proxies of the donor’s prominence in the political arena. We show that candidates who lose top donors with a high search volume of queries on Google experience a larger decrease in their electoral performance than other candidates who lost a top donor. We further corroborate our finding by identifying the top donors whose names appeared at least once in the Forbes 400 list at least once in their life.⁴ We show that candidates who lose top donors in Forbes’ list experience a larger decrease in their electoral performance compared to other candidates with donors who are not in the list.

For our third finding on the channels of influence, we study whether donors are able to provide monetary contributions in an unobservable way. To this goal, we

⁴The compilation of this list was started by the journal Forbes in 1982. Every year, it registers the 400 richest people in the U.S.

examine the relationship of top donors' deaths to political advertising spending by Political Action Committees (PACs) or other nonprofit organizations (mainly the so-called 527 or 501(c)(4)) on individual candidates. Donors who would like to obfuscate their identity or even maintain complete anonymity can contribute using these "intermediaries".⁵ If top donors affect electoral outcomes by privately contributing in this way, then we should expect that their death does not affect spending in ads directly attributable to the candidate but that they affect issue advocacy ads funded by super PACs targeted to a candidate associated with the top donor. This is exactly what we find.

Our last set of results pertains to the study of the long-term effects of top donors on candidates and their legislative activity in the U.S. Congress. The challenge here is that donors are certainly heterogeneous in the interests they pursue, but we do not observe these interests. We, therefore, cannot directly associate the death of a top donor with the legislative activity of the associated politicians on the specific issues of interest to the donor. A natural conjecture is that without outside influences, politicians can focus on the party agenda or on their preferred pet project; donors, on the other hand, add their heterogeneous concerns to the candidates' specific political agendas. Using a detailed classification of bills by topic, we show that losing a top donor has an impact on the entropy of the distribution of topics in the bills sponsored by the candidates who are elected. In other words, candidates who lose a top donor appear to be less distracted and able to focus on fewer topics. We confirm this conjecture by comparing their voting pattern with the voting pattern of their own party, showing that the reduction in entropy is associated with a realignment toward the candidates' own parties: i.e., Congress persons who lose a top donor become more aligned with the median voter of their party.

All in all, the findings described above suggest that big donors do matter for candidates and that the importance of the donors to a candidate is not directly correlated to the *observable* amount of money they donate to the candidate but to measures of donors' prominence. They also suggest that politicians obtain significant material benefits from top donors that may play an important role in affecting electoral outcomes, and that affect legislative behavior. Of course, these findings are not in conflict with the other theories described above, since they do not exclude the possibility that donors face competitive pressures and/or derive consumption value from donations; nor that donors can also exert influence also by committing to contingent threats. Our results suggest that we should not interpret the relative paucity of observable money in U.S. politics as evidence

⁵Super PACs are prohibited from donating money directly to political candidates but can spend on ads that overtly advocate for or against political candidates. Although they are required to report their donors to the Federal Election Commission, they allow donors to make their connection with candidates less transparent. Nonprofits called 501(c)(4) can spend unlimited amounts on issue advocacy ads without disclosing donors. Issue advocacy ads are ads that satisfy minimal requirements: they cannot explicitly advocate for the victory or defeat of a candidate, but they can be explicitly political and targeted to a specific candidate. In the electoral cycles from 2008 to 2018, 501(c)(4) accounted for about 1/3 of group-sponsored ads (Fowler et al., 2020).

against an instrumental theory of political contributions, i.e., that private interests use money to influence elections and legislative activity in a meaningful way. Our results, moreover, open a number of new issues, such as how to measure non-monetary contributions, whether unobserved contributions are provided through legal (for instance, PACs) or illegal means, and whether the total value of observed and unobserved contributions matches the value of the private interests at stake.

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows. In Section II, we present the data and the variables adopted in our empirical analysis. In Section III, we provide details about our empirical strategy. In Section IV, we investigate top donors' role in a candidate's campaign. In Section V, we analyze the mechanisms through which a top donor may influence a candidate's campaign. In Section VI, we study the long-term effects of top donors on participation and legislative activities in the U.S. House. Finally, Section VII concludes. In the following subsection, we discuss the related literature.

1.1 Related literature

In this work, we contribute to three distinct but connected strands of literature. First, the literature on the Tullock Paradox, which asks why there is so little money in politics and what motivates donations (Tullock, 1972; Ansolabehere et al., 2003). As mentioned, two explanations have been proposed. The first explanation posits that contributions are low because competitive forces make them ineffective: contributions do not really have an instrumental value for the donors, mainly a consumption value, just as donations to nonprofits.⁶ The second explanation is that donors exert real power, but they do not need a lot of money to do it: they can influence politicians by committing to contingent threats.⁷ Both theories have their merits and capture different aspects of a complex problem. In our paper, we provide evidence for a third alternative: donations are low because they are unobserved, but still important for candidates. Moreover, we present evidence that top donors provide non-monetary contributions (measured by their "prominence"). Therefore, we show that whether top donors expect a *do ut des* or are just altruistic, they impact elections and legislative activities. Both of the previous explanations predict that the loss of a big donor has little or even negative impact on a politician;⁸ we present evidence that the impact is

⁶Important work suggesting that political contributions should be seen as instrumental political investments are presented, among others, by Denzau et al. (1986); Poole et al. (1987); Baron (1989); Snyder (1990); Baron et al. (1991); Stratmann (1991); Grier et al. (1993); Romer et al. (1994); Ansolabehere et al. (1999); Stratmann (2002). The consumption theory of political contributions is proposed by Ansolabehere et al. (2003). Recent work suggests that small donors are more likely than large donors to derive consumption value from donations because they are unlikely to buy policies or access to politicians. (see Bouton et al., 2022, 2024, among others)

⁷The literature on contingent contribution is started by Bernheim et al. (1986) and Grossman et al. (1994). Goldberg et al. (1999) provide an empirical study of this type of models. The observation that contingent threats may contribute to explaining the Tullock Paradox is made by Chamon et al. (2013).

⁸If donors provide little money to politicians, or if they provide little money and big threats, then the loss of the donor is either irrelevant or even a strictly positive factor.

significantly negative. In recent important work, Bertrand et al. (2020) provide evidence that corporate philanthropy is used as a tool of political influence, a finding that supports and complements ours since this channel can be used to obfuscate the source of political contributions.

The second literature to which our work is connected is the work attempting to measure the effect of lobbying and political contributions on elections and legislative behavior. The challenge here is to account for the fact that donations are endogenous. The existing studies rely on instrumental variables, fixed effects, regression discontinuity designs, or structural models to identify the causal effect of money on political outcomes.⁹ This literature shows that the size and relevance of the effects depend on the context in which they are measured. The effect of *observable* campaign contributions is small on electoral results (Levitt, 1994; Cox, 2022) but large on the federal financial legislation (Stratmann, 2002). The effect of lobbying expenditures on allocating federal earmarks is small for universities (De Figueiredo et al., 2006) when not represented in the House or Senate Appropriations Committee, but large for local governments (Goldstein et al., 2017). At the same time, lobbying expenditures can provide large returns to single firms (Huneus et al., 2021) but not to an entire industrial sector (Kang, 2016).

Very little empirical work is based on directly observing exogenous (or nearly exogenous) shocks to the demand or supply of political contributions, as we do in our paper. Roberts (1990), and Jayachandran (2006) present event studies to investigate the effects of the death or the unforeseen party switch of influential politicians on the stock market valuations of corporate donors.¹⁰ Ansolabehere et al. (2004) present an event study of the effect of campaign finance regulatory changes that affected corporate donations on the market valuations of contributing firms. Kalla and Brookman (2016) presents quasi-experimental evidence suggesting politicians sell donor access.¹¹ These papers provide very insightful results on the channel through which private interests affect policymakers, and provide insights on the value political connectedness to donors, but they do not provide evidence on the extent to which private interests are successful in affecting electoral outcomes and/or the politicians' legislative behavior.¹²

⁹Studies that rely on fixed effects to exploit repeated challenges and repeated roll calls include Levitt (1994) and Stratmann (2002). Recent empirical studies relying on instrumental variables are Chappell (1982); Welch (1982); Gerber (1998); and De Figueiredo et al. (2006). Studies based on a structural model are presented by Kang (2016); Huneus et al. (2021); Goldstein et al. (2017); Cox (2022), among others. For recent surveys, see Ansolabehere et al. (2003); Stratman (2005); De Figueiredo et al. (2014); Bombardini et al. (2020), among others.

¹⁰Roberts (1990) study the impact of the death of Sen. Henry Scoop Jackson on his constituencies and the constituencies of his successor. Jayachandran (2006) studies the unexpected decision of Senator James Jeffords to switch parties, thus ending the Republican control of the U.S. Senate in 2001.

¹¹The authors study the responses received from 191 congressional offices to requests to schedule a meeting from a political organization, depending on whether it was revealed in a randomized way past contributions. The authors show that senior policymakers made themselves available 3 to 4 times more often to political donors.

¹²Also indirectly relevant is the work by Blanes i Vidal et al. (2012) and Bertrand et al. (2014), who assess the effect U.S. Senators' retirements on, respectively, the lobbying revenues of their staff turned lobbyists, and the topics on which they specialize.

We contribute to this literature by proposing a new source of quasi-experimental evidence to assess the effect of contributions (monetary and non-monetary) on electoral outcomes and legislative behavior. The key idea is to use observable contributions to identify an observable link between the donor and the candidate, but then to assess the influence of the top donor by measuring the effect of his/her death on the connected politicians in terms of electoral outcomes, dark money expenditure (as, for example, ads expenditures by 501(c)(4)), and legislative behavior of the candidate.

Finally, a third body of work to which our work is connected is the literature on the importance of social connections with politicians (for work on the United States, see Knight, 2006; Do et al., 2015; Goldman et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2017).¹³ To some extent, we can say our analysis explores the mirror image of these results: the benefit to politicians to be linked to top donors. This literature and our work provide evidence of the importance of non-monetary or monetary but unobserved favors between politicians and private interests.

II Data and Definition of Variables

We assemble a comprehensive dataset on the universe of candidates and donors in U.S. electoral campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives for 6 election cycles (from 2008 to 2018). The data contains information about i) the characteristics and the electoral outcomes of all candidates, not just the winners; ii) the characteristics and the political profile of their districts of election, iii) the legislative activity of elected candidates, and iv) the characteristics of donors who supported them, along with the amount of donations received. In Section II.1, we describe the data sources for i) and iii) and the information extracted from each of them. We describe the data on top donors in Section II.2.¹⁴

II.1 Candidates in the U.S. Congress

US Federal Election Committee (FEC). We extract data about the electoral results of all candidates in the considered period from the FEC database.¹⁵ Specifically, we consider two variables. The first indicates whether a candidate won the election or not.¹⁶ The second is a unique ID associated with the candidate that we use to merge this data with the DIME data discussed below.

¹³Important work for political system different than the U.S. is done, among others, by Fisman (2001), who studied Indonesia; Khwaja et al. (2005) who study Pakistan; Faccio (2006), who presents evidence for a panel of 47 countries; Ferguson et al. (2008) who studied Nazi Germany; and Baltrunaite (2019) who studied Lithuania

¹⁴In the Appendix, Table A1 reports descriptive statistics for all the variables presented in these two Sections.

¹⁵Available at <https://www.fec.gov/introduction-campaign-finance/election-and-voting-information/>

¹⁶In a robustness check, we use an alternative measure of the electoral outcome, that is, the percentage of votes obtained by a candidate. Our results are qualitatively unchanged. For additional details, see Section IV.1.

Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME).¹⁷ For each candidate during a considered election cycle, we extract data about his/her name, his/her gender, incumbency status, and the number of times he/she ran for Congress. Moreover, we extract the name of the district of election and information about the political orientation of the district by looking at whether the constituency of the district voted in favor of the presidential nominee of the candidate’s party. In addition, we pull data about the total contributions received by each candidate, distinguishing between individual and committee contributions. Next, for each contributor during a considered election cycle, we extract his/her name and State of residence. By looking at the recurrence rate of a donor’s last name in the US Census Bureau data, which associates US citizens’ last name to a race, we could also predict his/her race.¹⁸

The DIME data allows us to uniquely match candidates to their donors and provide precise information on the amount donated, distinguishing between money donated to candidates and political committees. While information on donors is also available in the FEC records, DIME provides a unique ID to each donor, allowing us to associate different donations to the same donor.¹⁹ Using this data, we calculate for each donor: i) the total contributions donated to each candidate during an election cycle and ii) the total contributions provided to both candidates and electoral committees.²⁰ For each election cycle, we rank donors according to their total donations and identify the top 1000 donors. We create two variables: total donations from top and non-top donors received by each candidate who ran for a seat in the US House of Representatives from 2008 to 2018. We also pull from DIME information about candidates in each election cycle: i) his/her party, ii) whether or not he/she is an incumbent, and iii) whether he/she was selected through primary elections.

US Internal Revenue Service (IRS). We use the name of the district in which a candidate ran for office to create a dummy variable that takes 1 if candidate i from party j ran for office during election cycle t in a district that voted for j ’s nominee during the most recent presidential elections, and 0 otherwise. We manually associate the name of the district to its zip code, and we merge this data with information provided by the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS) about the

¹⁷See Bonica (2014) for details about the construction of the data and a description of it. The dataset is available at <http://bit.ly/2vYrSuU>

¹⁸ Specifically, we use the R package “predictrace” to determine the information about race. The software assesses the likelihood that an individual’s last name belongs to an ethnic group. The ethnic groups considered are White, Black or African-American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander. Computation is obtained by looking at the rate of recurrence of a last name in the US Census Bureau data, which associates US citizens’ last name to a race. We select the race indicated by the software as the most recurrent race associated with a top donor’s last name.

¹⁹The DIME, on the other hand, contains also information on electoral outcomes. However, we used the original source of data (FEC) because there are inconsistencies in the information on electoral outcomes in the DIME for the years after 2014.

²⁰In order to account for differences in donations across years motivated by a different economic context, we normalize contributions using the Consumer Price Index (CPI), which is the most widely used measure of inflation in the United States (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018). It is available at <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/CPILFESL>

number of taxpayers residing within the area of a zip code during a given year who declared: i) less than 50 thousand dollars (low-income taxpayers); ii) between 50 and 100 thousand dollars (middle-income taxpayers); and iii) over 100 thousand dollars (high-income taxpayers).²¹ Then, we calculate the median percentage of low and high-income taxpayers across all districts during a given election cycle. Finally, we create two dummy variables. The first takes 1 if a candidate ran for office during election cycle t in a district with a percentage of low-income taxpayers that are above the national median at time t , and 0 otherwise. The second takes 1 if a candidate ran for office during election cycle t in a district with a percentage of high-income taxpayers that are above the national median at time t , and 0 otherwise. We use these data to identify “wealthy” districts in which we expect a larger presence of resident top donors (and thus it may be easier for candidates to replace one of them after his/her death), and where more contributions may be needed to conduct a successful electoral campaign. The first information is used to conduct a robustness check to confirm our identification strategy. The second information is used to study how top donors allocate their money.

Political Advertisement. We construct a proxy of candidates’ media exposure during an election cycle to observe changes in the support provided by relevant interest groups after a candidate loses a top donor. For this purpose, we use data from the Wesleyan Media Project, which records information on each political advertisement aired on all broadcast television stations in all media markets in the United States.²² We retrieve from this data the name of the candidate supported by the advertisement, the expenditures for that advertisement, and the sponsor of the advertisement. Specifically, this last piece of information indicates whether the money was spent by the candidate (either alone or in coordination with the party) or by an interest group. For each candidate, we calculate the amount of money spent for political advertisement in his/her support by each source (the candidate or the interest groups) during each election cycle.²³ Then, we manually match this data with that provided by the DIME, using the name of the candidate.²⁴ We are able to complete this process only for election cycles from 2010 to 2018, since Wesleyan Media Project records the candidate’s name associated with a political advertisement only from 2010.

Legislative Activity and Voting. We construct two different indicators to measure the legislative behavior of elected candidates after the death of a top donor. The first indicator considers the legislator’s political agenda. Specifically, using the universe of bills sponsored by each Congress Member in each Congress, we look

²¹ Available at <https://www.irs.gov/statistics/soi-tax-stats-individual-income-tax-statistics-zip-code-data-soi>

²² <https://mediaproject.wesleyan.edu/>

²³ Interest groups include Political Action Committees (PACS), super PACS, and other non-profit organizations such as the so-called 501(c)(4) and 527.

²⁴ Less than 20% of candidates are found to be associated with a public advertisement. Additional information is provided in the Appendix, Table A2.

at the diversity of the sponsored bills in terms of the main topic covered. This is calculated using the Shannon entropy index (Shannon, 1948): i.e., $\sum_{i=1}^n p_i \log_2 p_i$, where p_i is the share of bills with main topic i sponsored by a given legislator in a Congress, and n is the total number main topics in the bills sponsored by the legislators in that Congress. A value of this index close to 0 indicates that the legislative activity of the Congress Member is focused on one major topic. A value of this index close to 1 indicates that the sponsored bills cover many different major topics.²⁵ The second indicator builds on the legislators’ voting behavior. It measures the ideological distance of a Congress Member from the median position of his/her party. This is obtained with the formula $|id_i - median(id_p)|$, where id_i is the second dimension of the Nokken-Poole ideology estimate associated with Congress Member i in a given Congress, and id_p is the value of the second dimension of the Nokken-Poole ideology estimate associated to i ’s party colleagues in the same Congress (Nokken et al., 2004). The Nokken-Poole measure is used extensively in studying legislative voting. Values above zero indicate that the voting behavior of the legislator is to be associated with a conservative ideology. Values below zero indicate that the voting behavior of the legislator is to be associated with a liberal ideology. As this variable approaches zero, the legislator is considered a moderate. The legislator is considered an extremist when it is close to one in absolute value.²⁶

II.2 Top Donors in the U.S. Congress

We collect demographic characteristics of the top 1000 donors in each election cycle between 2004 and 2018, thus considering a time window 4 years longer than that adopted for the data collection of candidates. In this way, we can register existing relationships between donors and candidates formed before the first electoral competition observed.

Our sample has 3248 unique top donors, representing the top 1000 in at least one election cycle considered. We manually searched for the biographical information for them using over 1000 online sources.²⁷ By merging our novel data with that of candidates included in the DIME, we provide the first portrait of the top donors in the US Congress. To isolate the effects of donors from a candidate’s idiosyncratic characteristics, we will employ individual fixed effects and follow a

²⁵The major topic of each bill presented in the US House of Representatives is recorded in the Policy Agendas Project (PAP) topic system (www.comparativeagendas.net/us). This system associates the policy content of each bill to one out of 20 major policy areas: Macroeconomics, Civil Rights, Health, Agriculture, Labor, Education, Environment, Energy, Immigration, Transportation, Law and Crime, Social Welfare, Housing, Domestic Commerce, Defense, Technology, Foreign Trade, International Affairs, Government Operations, Public Lands, and Culture. The dataset where this information on topics is associated with the names of the sponsors of each bill can be found at www.congressindata.com. For additional information and a descriptive analysis of the topics Representatives cover in their bills, see Battaglini et al. (2023).

²⁶Data about Congress Members’ ideology is provided by the website voteview.com. The dataset associating this information on the ideology of Congress members with the names of the sponsors of each bill can be found at www.congressindata.com.

²⁷Figure A1 illustrates the main sources used to perform this task.

candidate’s career over multiple election cycles. Therefore, candidates who ran for office only once are discarded from our investigation (these are c.a. 5,000 candidates, representing 33% of the universe of observed candidates).

Demographics. Figure 1 shows some demographic information about the top 1000 donors in the electoral campaigns of 2008-2018 Congresses. Top donors are, on average, 65 years old, the majority of them are white males, and most reside in California, New York State, or Texas. In the Appendix, Figure A2 shows that most top donors contributed to more than ten election cycles from 1982 to 2018. Table 1 shows that their total donations range from \$110,000 to \$550,000, their total donations to candidates range from \$40,000 to \$110,000, and their total donations to committees range from \$70,000 to \$470,000. They typically support an average of 15 to 25 candidates and 9 to 30 committees.²⁸ Table 2 characterizes top donors by looking at the characteristics of the candidates they support. It shows that top donors typically do not provide exclusive support, as only 585 candidates (out of almost 4,000) are supported by a single top donor. Top donors do not specialize in candidates of a given party: the shares of Republicans and Democrats supported by top donors are equal at 50%. Top donors also tend to sponsor female and male candidates at a similar rate and those with or without party support (as proxied by having run for primaries). On the other hand, they tend to sponsor candidates supported by their constituency (as proxied by having a constituency in favor of the candidate’s party presidential nominee) and more experienced candidates (as measured by being an incumbent and having run more than once). Interestingly, top donors do not seem to support only candidates of their own political inclination but rather appear to have an open approach to political donations (donors support almost 40% of candidates with an ideology different from their own).²⁹ Looking at all electoral races in our observed period (2,610, i.e., 435 in each election cycle), Table 3 shows that 90% of the races feature at least one candidate supported by a top donor. This percentage is even greater for tight races. Top donors do not only support candidates from their own State: more than 86% of races and more than 95% of tight races have at least one

²⁸The large variation in the amount of contributions to political committees is due to the landmark decision of the US Supreme Court in *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, 558 U.S., commonly referred to as “*Citizens United*”. Before this decision, rules governing political contributions imposed limits per donor and restrictions on corporate giving. After 2010, these rules were upended, and individual donors and corporations can donate unlimited contributions to “super PACs”, are outside groups and a new form of political action committees (PACs). They differ from traditional PACs because they are not bound by spending limits on what they can collect or spend. If “super PACs” don’t give money directly to candidates, they can spend money on independently produced ads and other communications that promote or attack specific candidates. Additional details on *Citizens United* are provided by (Klumpp et al., 2016). Notably, our results remain roughly the same when assessing the role of top donors before and after *Citizens United*.

²⁹The ideology of a donor is inferred from his/her donations. Specifically, a donor is defined to be a Republican/Democrat if more than 50% of the candidates that he/she supported were Republicans/Democrats.

Figure 1.
Top Donors
- Demographic Characteristics -



Note: Figure (a) shows the box plot of the top donor's age in each cycle. Data about age is available for 22% of top donors. Figure (b) shows the gender distribution of the top donors in each cycle. Data about gender is available for 99% of top donors. Figure (c) shows the race distribution of top donors in each cycle. The information about race is retrieved using the R package "predictrace". Data was retrieved for 90% of top donors. See footnote 18 of the paper for additional details on the procedure to extract the donor's race. Figure (d) shows the average number of top donors by State of residence in one cycle. The State of residence of the top donor is the State declared by the donor to the Federal Election Committee (FEC) and registered in the DIME. Within the same cycle, the State of the top donor may change. We use the State from which the top donor made most of his/her donations. Data about the State of residence is available for 99% of top donors. For visualization purposes, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands are excluded from the map. In each of them, the *Average Number of Top Donors in one Election Cycle by State of Residence* is less than 10.

Table 1
 Top Donors
 - Characteristics of Contributions -

Election Cycle	Amount of Donations	Amount of Donations to Candidates	Candidates Supported	Amount of Donations to PACs	PACs supported
2007-08	110,912(385,959)	40,904(47,220)	15.42(12.02)	69,987(379,099)	9.02(12.66)
2009-10	115,110(366,317)	38,540(70,304)	16.13(13.61)	76,558(326,453)	9.63(14.09)
2011-12	325,613(2,493,207)	59,060(73,529)	16.02(13.52)	266,052(2,480,300)	11.49(23.64)
2013-14	251,667(1,620,821)	66,816(125,223)	17.26(16.78)	184,673(1,596,116)	12.22(28.86)
2015-16	541,501(2,737,707)	67,694(110,420)	21.17(20.9)	472,525(2,701,318)	20.28(63.3)
2017-18	458,288(2,593,550)	113,310(377,227)	25.54(28.47)	343,419(2,464,838)	27.14(225.87)

Note: Average (and standard deviation) of top donors' contributions in each election cycle.

Table 2
 Top donors:
 - Characteristics of Supported Candidates -

	All	% Republicans	% Democrats
Num. Candidates with $n > 1$ top donors	3222	50.5(50.01)	49.35(50)
Num. Candidates with $n = 1$ top donors	585	49.06(50.03)	49.06(50.03)
% Women	52.61(49.95)	55.98(49.7)	64.5(47.88)
% Not incumbent	22.08(41.48)	32.27(46.76)	32.19(46.73)
% Ran only once	18.53(38.86)	24.58(43.07)	27.86(44.84)
% Ran primary	48.83(49.99)	62.25(48.48)	62.16(48.51)
% Ran in southern State	38.28(48.61)	58.74(49.25)	43.88(49.65)
% District in favor of candidate's party presidential nominee	75.12(43.24)	76.4(42.48)	73.93(43.92)
% Candidates supported by donors of a different party	38.9(48.76)	28.5(45.16)	49.89(50.01)

Note: Average (and standard deviation) of characteristics of candidates. The party of a donor is defined as the party with a share of supported candidates higher than 50%.

Table 3
 Top Donors:
 - Characteristics of Races -

	All Races	Tight Races
% races with a least a candidate supported by a top donor	93.76(24.20)	97.09(16.82)
% races with a least a candidate supported by a top donor from a different State	86.07(34.63)	95.93(19.79)
% candidates supported by a top donor in a race	43.76(24.65)	52.17(23.66)
% elected candidates supported by top donors	87.96(32.56)	72.97(44.48)

Note: Average (and standard deviation) of characteristics of races with at least one candidate supported by top donor. Tight races are defined as those races where the margin of vote of the winner was lower than 10 percentage points. The State of residence of the top donor is the State declared by the donor to the Federal Election Committee (FEC) and registered in the DIME. Within the same cycle, the State of the top donor may change. We use the State from which the top donor made most of his/her donations.

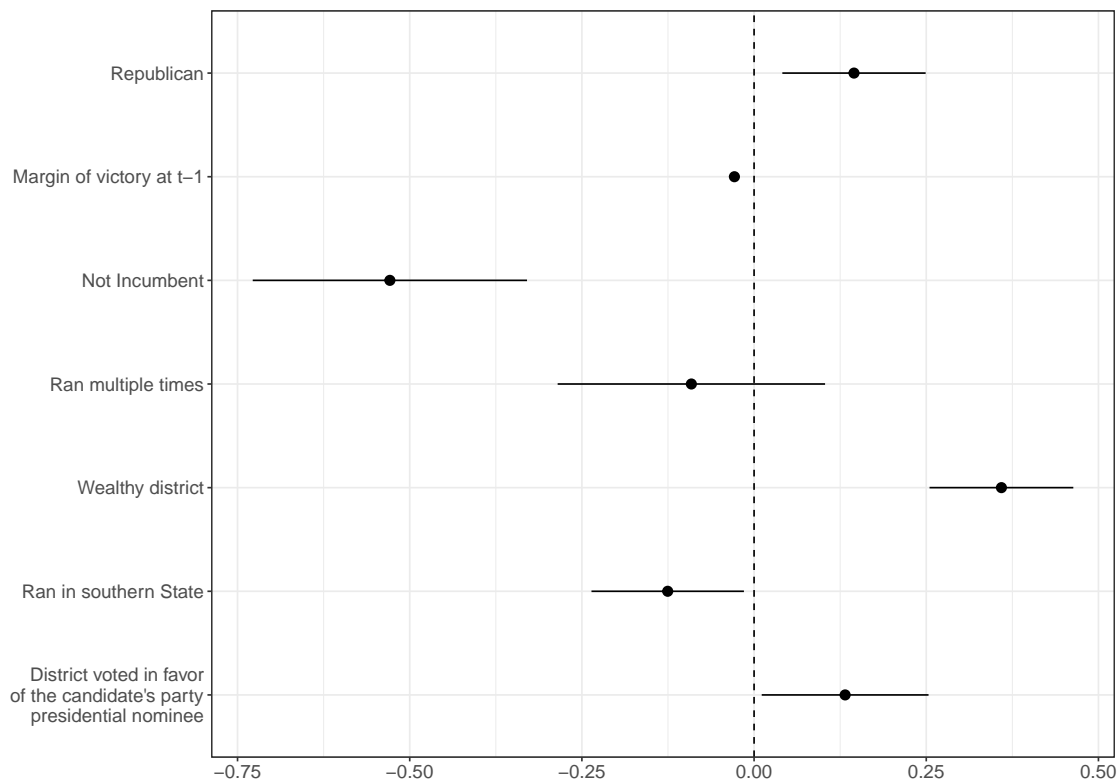
candidate supported by a top donor from a different State.³⁰ On average, 43% of candidates in a given race are supported by top donors. More than 87% of candidates supported by top donors win the elections. This percentage is roughly 73% for tight races, indicating that the support of top donors is effective.

In order to identify the profile of the candidate supported by a top donor, we run a regression model where the (log) amount of donations received by a candidate from a top donor in election cycle t is regressed against a number of candidate's characteristics. The results of this exercise are reported in Figure 2, where the estimated coefficient of correlation associated with a candidate's characteristic and the relative confidence interval at the 95% level are indicated respectively with a dot and a bar. We find that a donor's contributions are larger when candidates have a higher likelihood of being elected: i.e., they are the incumbent, had a larger margin of victory in the last election cycle, or run in a district that voted in favor of their party presidential nominee. Moreover, the contributions of a donor are larger when directed to Republicans and those who run in a district with a percentage of high-income taxpayers above the national median, where campaign contributions are expected to be larger. Finally, a donor's contributions are lower when candidates run in a southern State.

Google Trends and Forbes 400. We construct different proxies to measure the influence of each dead donor on the political arena during the election cycle of his/her death. The first measure is obtained from the Google Trends database,

³⁰In the Appendix, Figure A3 shows the average number of candidates supported by at least one top donor in each State. The majority of candidates are located in California, Florida, and Texas.

Figure 2.
Top Donors
- Profile of Supported Candidates -



Note: The x-axis registers the estimated coefficient of correlation (indicated with a dot) and the relative confidence interval at the 95% level (indicated with a bar) of a candidate's characteristic with the (log) total amount of donations received from a top donor at election cycle t . The y-axis indicates the characteristics considered. These are: whether the candidate is *Republican*; the candidate's *Margin of victory* at $t-1$, calculated as the difference of votes (expressed in percentage points) received by the winner and the candidate in the district where he/she ran at $t-1$; whether the candidate is *Not Incumbent*; *Ran for office multiple times*; *Ran in a wealthy district* (i.e., where the percentage of high-income taxpayers in the district is above the national median); *Ran in a southern State*; Ran in a *District that voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee*. The sample considered only includes candidates who received at least one donation from a top donor (4,129 observations).

which records searched words on Google within a selected time range or geographic location. Specifically, Google Trends assigns a score from 0 to 100 to search terms on Google. The score depends on the volume of users searching for a term with respect to all other searches conducted during one day. Search

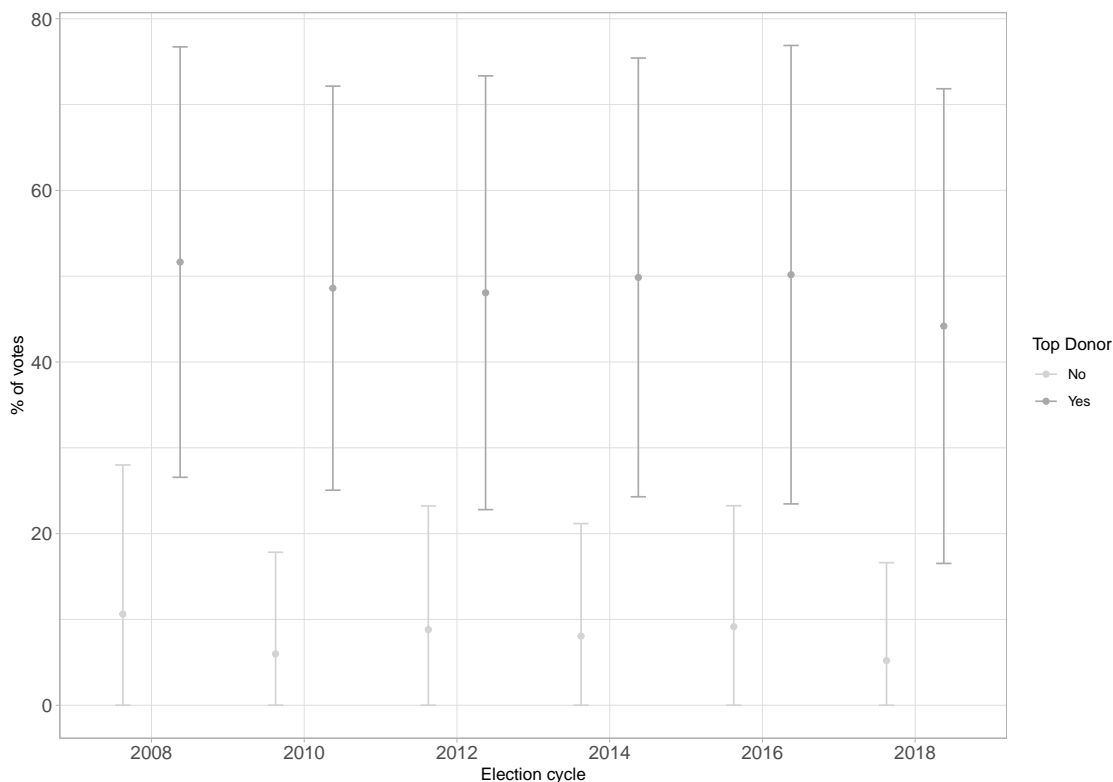
terms with low search volume are assigned a score of 0. We define a term as popular if it has a score higher than 0 at least once in the time period considered. For each donor, we record whether his/her name and surname appeared among the list of popular searches on Google in the United States during the year of his/her death. Then, for each candidate, we calculate the percentage of top donors that he/she lost during an election cycle who appeared in the list of popular searches on Google in the year before their death. Finally, we create two variables. The first is a dummy variable which takes the value 1 if the majority of donors lost by candidate i in election cycle t appeared in the list of popular searches on Google in the year before their death and 0 otherwise. We refer to this variable as *Many searches on Google* $_{i,t}$. The second measure of influence of dead top donors is obtained from the Forbes 400 list of the richest men/women in the U.S. This list has been published every year since 1982. For each candidate, we calculate the percentage of dead top donors who have ever appeared (or have a person with the same last name who has ever appeared) on this list since its first publication. With this data, we create a dummy variable which takes the value 1 if the percentage associated with the candidate is higher than 50%, i.e., the majority of dead top donors were on the Forbes 400 list, and 0 otherwise. We refer to this variable as *Many listed on Forbes 400* $_{i,t}$.

III Empirical Strategy

A key challenge in the empirical analysis of the importance of campaign contributions for electoral outcomes is that donors do not randomly support candidates. Likely, they choose them based on their characteristics, and some of these characteristics may be correlated with the candidates' prospects of an election. This is supported by the picture in Figure 3. In Figure 3, we compare the percentage of votes received by candidates who are or are not supported by top donors. Clearly, candidates funded by top donors outperform the other candidates. Therefore, attributing differences in a candidate's electoral success solely to the support received from top donors is empirically problematic.

We address this identification problem by investigating the extent to which the electoral performance of a politician is determined by the sudden death of a top donor rather than by her/his support. The idea behind this approach is that the unexpected death of a top donor can be considered an exogenous shock that presumably impacts a candidate's campaign. The date of death is retrieved from the biographical information. We create two variables. The first is a dummy variable registering whether or not candidate i in election cycle t suffered from the loss of at least one top donor who supported him/her in election cycle t or previously (the time window considered is between 2004 and 2018). We refer to this variable as *dead donor* $_{i,t}$. The second is a continuous variable that counts the number of dead top donors supporting candidate i in election cycle t or previously. We refer to this variable as $\#$ *dead donor* $_{i,t}$.

Figure 3.
Percentage of Votes for Candidates with and without Top Donors

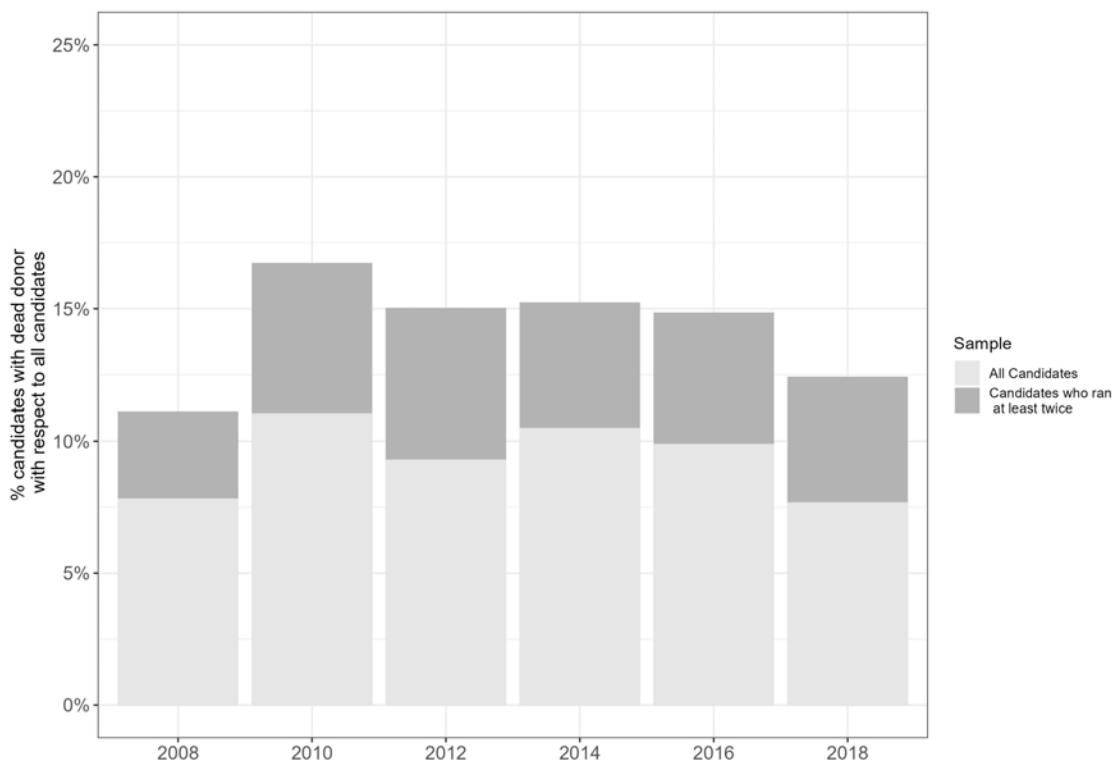


Note: Dots and bars indicate the average and standard deviation of the percentage of votes obtained by candidates in a given election cycle, respectively. Light color denotes candidates without top donors, and dark color denotes candidates with top donors.

In our dataset, we observe the death of 278 top donors. On average, 44 top donors die during each election cycle. Figure 4 shows that a significant share of candidates for the U.S. Congress in the electoral cycles from 2008 to 2018 experienced the loss of a top donor. On average, this share is 11% for the candidates participating in at least two electoral races and 9% overall.³¹ Among those who lost a top donor, more than 26% are affected by the death of more than one top donor. The total number of candidates affected by the loss of a top donor is 1067 - roughly 180 candidates in each election cycle (standard deviation 30).

³¹The share rises to 28% for the candidates with a top donor.

Figure 4.
Candidates Affected by the Death of a Top Donor



Note: For each election cycle considered (x axis), it is reported the percentage of candidates who lost a top donor (y axis). Bars in light grey indicate the percentage of those who lost a top donor among all candidates. Bars in dark grey indicate the percentage of those who lost a top donor among the candidates who ran at least two electoral races.

The battery of balance tests in Table 4 examines whether the death of a top donor is related to a candidate's characteristics. We consider the candidate's party affiliation, gender, incumbency status, seniority, district in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee, whether the candidate ran his/her last election, and whether the candidate ran in primaries. For elected candidates, we also consider their ideology, measured by the Nokken-Poole period-specific DW-NOMINATE score. We run separate regressions with each of these as alternate dependent variables and the key variable capturing the death of a top donor as the

Table 4
Balance Tests

	All Candidates			
	Republican	Female	Not Incumbent	Seniority
Candidate lost at least one top donor	0.0002 (0.0001)	-0.0135 (0.0149)	-0.0036 (0.0387)	0.0109 (0.0090)
	All Candidates		Elected Candidates	
	Last Election Cycle	Ran Primaries	DW Ideology I Dimension	II Dimension
Candidate lost at least one top donor	0.0367 (0.0232)	-0.0271 (0.0255)	-0.0017 (0.0405)	0.0118 (0.0564)

Note: This table reports parameter estimates and standard errors (in parentheses) for separate regressions of candidate's characteristics on a dummy variable, which takes the value 1 if the candidate lost at least one top donor in a given election cycle and 0 otherwise. All model specifications include variables controlling for a higher likelihood of having a top donor, and thus mechanically correlated with the probability of losing a top donor. These variables are a dummy variable registering whether or not the candidate was a Congress member in the previous election cycle, a dummy variable recording whether or not the candidate is running for the first time, and a variable counting the number of times a candidate won the elections. They also include fixed effects for the district and election cycle.

independent variable.³² As shown in Table 4, none of the estimated correlations are significantly different from zero.

In addition, Table 5, Panel A shows that there are no significant differences in the number of supported candidates and the amount of money donated between donors who die and those who remain alive during an election cycle. Finally, Figure 5, which has the same structure as Figure 3, compares the electoral performance of candidates who will suffer from the loss of a top donor in the next election cycle, and those who will not suffer from it. The percentage of votes received by the two groups of candidates is not statistically different, suggesting that donors who will eventually die during a political campaign did not choose to support weak candidates or candidates with different (unobserved) characteristics correlated with their electoral performance. These findings thus indicate the existence of pseudo-random variation in the death of a top donor.

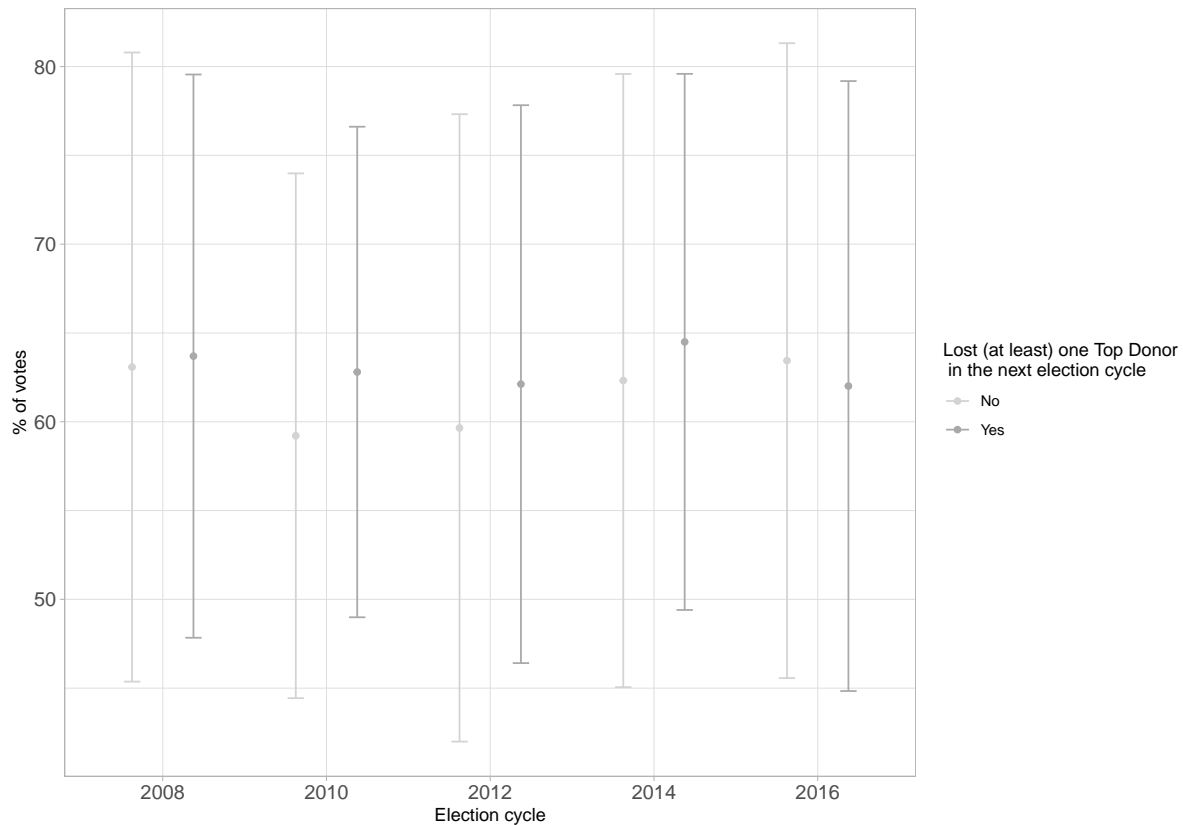
³²In the model specification, we include variables controlling for the higher likelihood of having a top donor, and thus mechanically correlated with the probability of losing a top donor. These variables are: a dummy variable registering whether or not the candidate was a Congress member in the previous election cycle; a dummy variable recording whether or not the candidate is running for the first time and; a variable counting the number of times a candidate won the elections. In order to sort out time and geographical contextual effects, we also include cycle and district-fixed effects.

Table 5
Dead Top Donors
- Key Characteristics -

Panel A: Dead top donors		Differences with Alive Donors		
Num. of supported candidates	Average	Alive donors	Dead donors	F Test [p-value]
	St. Deviation	7.01	6.11	
Tot. contributions	Average	7.84	5.53	1.602 [0.1092]
	St. Deviation	24,599.69	21,770.43	
Tot. contributions	Average	38,456.75	35,379.89	1.0135 [0.3108]
	St. Deviation			
Panel B: Dead Top Donors		Differences between the Election Cycle before Their Death, and the Election Cycle of Their Death		
Num. of supported candidates	Election cycle	Before their death	Of their death	F Test [p-value]
	Average	6.11	5.19	
Tot. contributions	St. Deviation	7.84	5.61	1.4264 [0.1548]
	Average	21,770.43	16,032.57	
Tot. contributions	St. Deviation	38,456.75	18,466.07	1.6591* [0.0981]
	St. Deviation			

Note: Averages and standard deviations are reported. In Panel A, in the column “Alive donors,” we consider top donors who did not die from 2004 to 2018, while in the column “Dead donors,” we consider top donors in the last election cycle before their death. In Panel B, in the column “Election cycle before their death,” we consider top donors in the last election cycle before their death, while in the column “Election cycle of their death,” we consider top donors in the election cycle in which they died. The F test assesses the statistical difference in group means. All variables are censored at the 1st and 99th percentile.

Figure 5.
Percentage of Votes for Candidates Who Will or Will not Suffer
from the Loss of a Top Donor in the Next Election Cycle



Note: Dots and bars indicate the average and standard deviation of the percentage of votes obtained by candidates in a given election cycle, respectively. Light color denotes candidates who will not suffer from the loss of a top donor in the next election cycle, and dark color denotes candidates who will suffer from the loss of a top donor in the next election cycle.

Our strategy is further supported by an important feature of the market for political donations that we observe in our data. The number of supported candidates by a top donor is the same during the election cycle before his/her death and the election cycle of his/her death (see Table 5, Panel B). This suggests that the number of supported candidates is constant over time, or in any case, is chosen at the beginning of the election cycle.³³ It follows that candidates are unlikely to be able to mitigate the impact of the loss of a top donor by replacing him/her with a new top donor, nor take preventive actions against the potential loss of a top donor when there are expectations that he/she could die in the short run.³⁴ Table 5, Panel B, also provides evidence of a small, and yet statistically significant difference, in the number of contributions received by candidates before and after the loss of a top donor. This suggests that the death of a top donor has an effect on the amount of money contributed to the candidate in the electoral cycle in which his/her death occurs.

Corroborating the evidence that replacing a dead donor is not an easy task in the market for political donations, Figure 6 shows that top donors tend to be loyal to their candidates and contribute repeatedly to a candidate’s electoral campaign over the course of his/her career. In 37% of the cases, a donor contributes to 20% to 40% of the electoral cycles in which a candidate participates. In 24% of the cases, a donor contributes to 40% to 60% of the electoral cycles in which a candidate participates. In 18% of the cases, a donor contributes to more than 60% of the electoral cycles in which a candidate participates. This is suggestive evidence that candidates and donors maintain a strong bond over the course of the years, and it may require a large effort for a candidate to establish a new relationship.

IV Empirical Model and Baseline Results

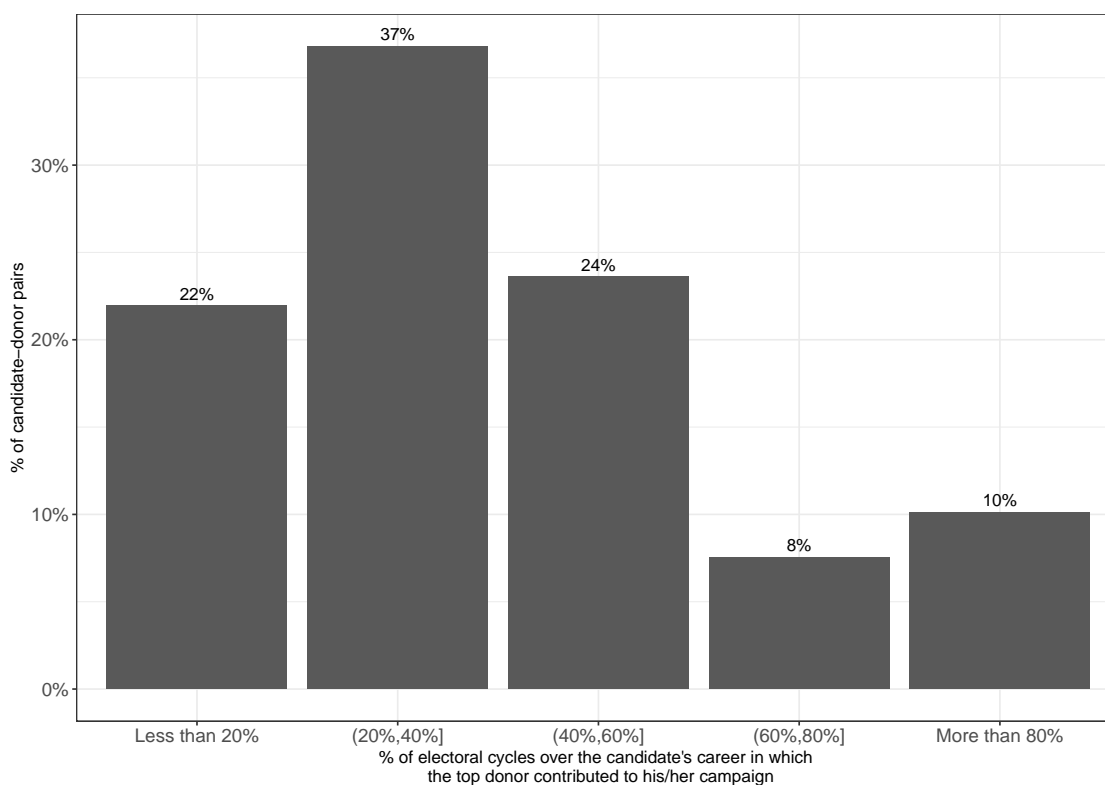
We begin our investigation by examining the impact of a top donor on the success of a candidate’s electoral campaign. We conduct our analysis by assessing the extent to which a change in the probability of winning the election between two subsequent election cycles is affected by the death of a top donor. We use the following regression model:

$$(1) \quad \text{win election}_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \# \text{ dead donor}_{it} + \beta_2 X_{it} + v_i + \zeta_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

³³Two concurrent reasons may possibly explain this. On the one hand, a candidate may have a short time to cultivate a relationship with new important donors and obtain their support while he/she is actively working on the electoral campaign. On the other hand, it is plausible to expect that when the election campaign has started, top donors have already decided on the pool of politicians to support, and they may not be available to help other candidates.

³⁴In the Appendix, Table A3 shows that controlling for the share of high-income taxpayers in the electoral district – as a measure of the availability of other possible top donors – does not change the results qualitatively (see also Section IV.1). Observe, moreover, that we would not observe an impact of the loss of a top donor if candidates could mitigate the anticipated effect of death by finding any other donor.

Figure 6.
Top Donors
- Loyalty to Candidates -



Note: The x-axis registers the percentage of cycles over a candidate's career in which the top donor contributed to the candidate's campaign. The y-axis indicates the percentage of candidate-donor pairs for which that value is observed.

where a dummy variable taking value 1 if candidate i wins a seat in the US House of Representatives during election cycle t , $win\ election_{it}$, is a function of the number of dead top donors during that election cycle, $\# dead\ donor_{it}$, and other determinants of a candidate's electoral performance, X_{it} . The set X_{it} includes whether or not the candidate i) is incumbent, ii) was selected through primary elections,³⁵ iii) run in a district that voted in favor of his/her party presidential nominee and iv) the total contributions received (from top donors and non-top donors) during his/her electoral campaign.³⁶ The model includes

³⁵Not all candidates are selected through primary elections: e.g., non-party and write-in candidates.

³⁶While observable contributions may not perfectly measure the support a candidate receives from

candidate and election cycle fixed effects (v_i and ζ_t , respectively) and a random error term ϵ_{it} . The inclusion of individual fixed effects controls for the effects of time-invariant characteristics of candidates that maybe correlated with their electoral performance.³⁷ At the same time, election cycle fixed effects to control for contextual elements of the electoral campaign that may affect election results. This model allows us to compare the electoral performance of a candidate when a given share of his/her top donors die, and that candidate’s performance when a different share of top donors die, and isolate the direct top donor effects on electoral outcomes.

Table 6 shows the estimation results. In column 1, we estimate the model 1, which includes all traditional drivers of electoral success captured by the set X_{it} . Consistent with our expectations, we find that candidates are less likely to be elected when they are not incumbents, supporting the idea that opponents generally find it more challenging than the incumbent to get their name and message out, and they tend to have a better electoral performance when being selected through primaries. However, none of these effects have a statistically significant impact on a candidate’s probability of winning.³⁸

Perhaps unsurprisingly, we also find that the chances of a candidate being elected to improve when he/she belongs to the party supported by the majority of the district’s constituency during the last presidential elections, indicating that the electorate votes in a consistent way during Congress and presidential elections. Finally, we observe that total contributions from both top and non-top donors have a positive and statistically significant impact on a candidate’s electoral success.

In column (2), we augment our model specification by including the dummy variable *dead donor* _{i,t} , which captures whether the candidate suffered from losing at least one top donor. This allows us to test the extensive margin effect of the loss of a top donor. The estimated effect is negative and statistically significant, indicating that a top donor’s death adversely impacts a candidate’s electoral performance. This effect is sizable in magnitude. On average, the death of a top donor results in a decrease by 3.9 percentage points in the likelihood of being elected.³⁹

donors, there are significant differences in the amounts candidates receive (see Table 5, panel A). These differences are likely to affect a candidate’s chances of being elected. By incorporating total (observable) contributions into the specification of model (1), we examine whether the loss of a donor has an impact beyond the contributions received from others. Although the death of a donor has no statistically significant effect on contributions from other donors (results available upon request), these findings do not address the possibility that donors may be providing other forms of support (see Section V).

³⁷ A requirement for the inclusion of candidate fixed effects in the model specification is that the same candidate must be followed over multiple election cycles. It follows that candidates who ran for office only once are discarded from our analysis. If candidate fixed effects are excluded from Eq. (1) and estimation is conducted using the universe of candidates, our results are qualitatively unchanged. Results are available upon request.

³⁸Incumbency status and the selection through primaries, however, have a statistically significant effect on the percentage of votes obtained by the candidate (see Table A3).

³⁹As one would expect, the effect of the loss of a top donor is attenuated when the candidate’s opponents cannot rely on the support of a top donor, or when opponents lost a top donor as well.

Table 6
Main Results
- Top Donors and Election Results -

Dep. Variable	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (1)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (2)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (3)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (4)
At least one top donors died in current election cycle (1 = Yes)		-0.0396** (0.0172)		
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle			-0.0349*** (0.0089)	
Number of dead top donors in previous election cycle				-0.0407*** (0.0137)
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-0.0257 (0.0246)	-0.0292 (0.0247)	-0.0297 (0.0247)	-0.0297 (0.0249)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	0.0089 (0.0210)	0.0088 (0.0211)	0.0102 (0.0211)	-0.0128 (0.0212)
District voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	0.1947*** (0.0237)	0.1937*** (0.0237)	0.1914*** (0.0236)	0.1922*** (0.0242)
Total contributions (constant \$)	0.0528*** (0.0068)	0.0522*** (0.0068)	0.0524*** (0.0068)	0.0473*** (0.0076)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: average value	0.2341	0.2341	0.2341	0.2289
Num. Obs.	9,962	9,962	9,962	8,535

Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable “Total contributions (constant \$)” is log-transformed. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper, and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent level.

In column (3), we turn to the investigation of the intensive margin effect. As mentioned in Section 3, candidates in fact, may suffer from the loss of more than one top donor during an electoral cycle. The estimated effect is negative and statistically significant. Comparing the results in columns 2 and 3, it appears that the magnitude of the two effects is similar, suggesting that the effect of the loss of a top donor is linear.

In column (4), we investigate whether the loss of a top donor has a persistent effect across election cycles. To do this, we use a lagged version of the target variable, where we count the number of top donors who died during the previous election cycle, i.e., $\# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t-1}$.⁴⁰ The estimated effect is negative and statistically significant, suggesting that the loss of a top donor has long-term effects, and the votes lost during a campaign are then difficult to recover in future election cycles.

Results are available upon request.

⁴⁰ The inclusion of a lagged variable in the model specification has the effect of decreasing the sample size by c.a. 17%.

IV.1 Robustness Analysis

In the Appendix, we present three exercises of robustness to validate our results. In the first exercise, we test the robustness of our results to the way with which we measure electoral performance. To this purpose, in Table A3, columns (1) to (3), we estimate the same model specifications presented in Table 6, columns (2) to (4), using as dependent variable the percentage of votes obtained by a candidate during a given election cycle. All our results are qualitatively confirmed, confirming that the death of a top donor has an adverse impact on the electoral performance of a candidate. This exercise also provides an important insight into the impact of the loss of a donor on the electoral performance of a candidate. The death of one top donor decreases the votes received by a candidate by 2.5 percentage points. On average, 18 winning candidates would lose their seats during an election cycle if their votes would decrease by 2.5 percentage points.⁴¹

The second exercise is presented in column 5 of Appendix Table A3. We augment equation (1) by including three additional controls. The first is a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the candidate is supported by other top donors who are still alive during the electoral campaign and 0 otherwise. This variable is used to control for the support a candidate can still rely on after the death of a top donor. The second is a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the district in which the candidate is seeking election is composed of a constituency with high income relative to the national median, and 0 otherwise. This variable indicates that a candidate is running in a district where it is more likely to find other top donors. Complementing this case, we also include a dummy variable that takes a value of 1 if the district in which the candidate is seeking election is composed of a constituency with low-income relative to the national median and 0 otherwise. Reassuringly, even after the inclusion of these variables in our model specification, all of our previous findings remain qualitatively unchanged. We interpret this result as additional evidence that candidates cannot easily replace top donors, and that the presence of top donors significantly affects the electoral performance of a candidate beyond the candidate's ability to rely on other donors.

The third exercise is presented in Table A4. Here, we test the robustness of our results using a larger time window, using data on the two election cycles preceding the first year considered in our main analysis, i.e., election cycles in 2004 and 2006.⁴² Also, in this case, all our results are qualitatively unchanged.

⁴¹This would imply a 4.1% change in the composition of the US House of Representatives. If we quantify the effect of a loss of 2.5 percentage points of votes by only considering politicians who suffered from the death of a top donor, then we find that, on average, 5 winning candidates would lose their seat during an election cycle. This would change 1.2% of the composition of the House of Representatives.

⁴²For this exercise, we have a smaller number of dead donors for the years from 2004 to 2008 because we cannot observe relationships formed between donors and candidates before 2004 (i.e., the first year considered in our data collection). To better understand this issue, consider the following example. Individual i at time $t < 2004$ was a top donor, donated to candidate j , and died in 2004. If i was not a top donor at $t = 2004$ and/or did not donate to j at $t = 2004$, our data would not register that i lost this top donor in 2004.

V Investigating the mechanisms

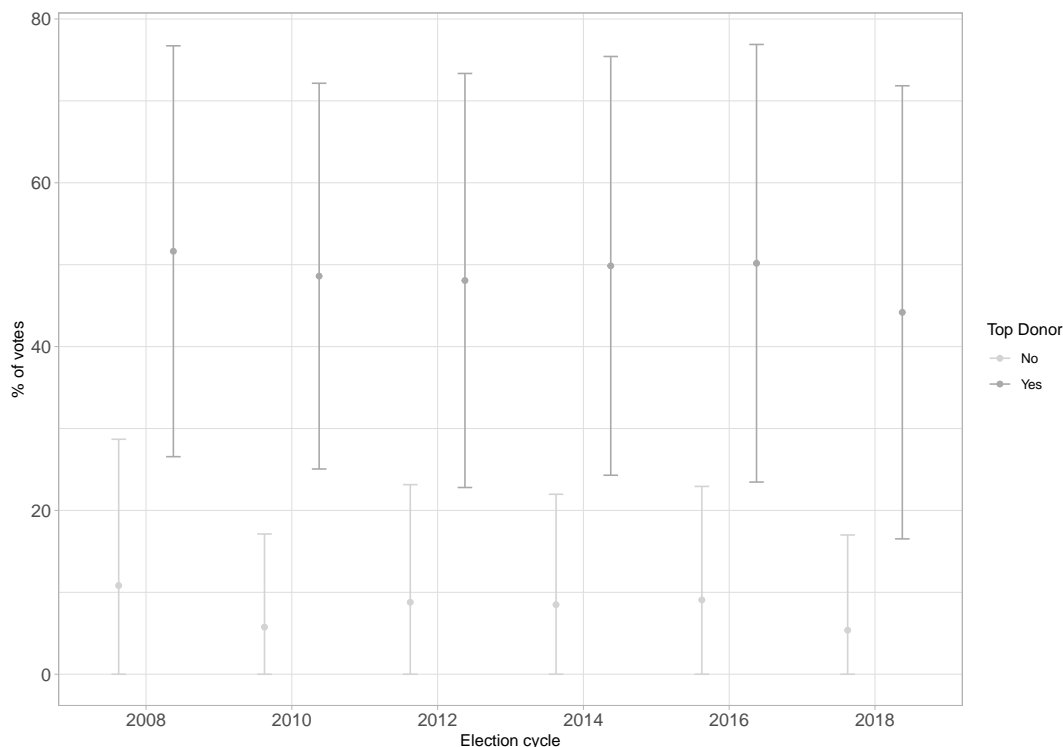
There are three main reasons why the death of a top donor may be such a big loss for a candidate’s electoral performance. The first, referred to as *hypothesis 1*, is that losing a top donor damages a candidate’s campaign because it reduces the deceased donor’s official (and observed) campaign contributions. By losing one of them, a candidate is cut off from a significant inflow of money on which he/she may rely for his/her electoral campaign, such as to react to advertisements by the opponent rapidly. As mentioned before, we indeed observe that candidates experience a decrease in the amount of contribution received when a donor dies (see Table 5, panel b). If *hypothesis 1* is correct, then we expect that a candidate’s performance should be impacted by the decrease in contributions subsequent to the death of a top donor.

The second hypothesis, which we refer to as *hypothesis 2*, is that the importance of top donors depends on the fact that they provide utilities other than mere money, such as expertise, mentoring, and most importantly, connections, which in turn may indirectly provide money. For example, a big donor may organize an event that allows the candidate to attract other funding sources. This hypothesis is motivated by Figure 7, which has the same structure as Figure 3. Here, we compare the electoral performance of candidates with and without a top donor who received similar contributions. The percentage of votes received by candidates who can rely on the support of a top donor largely outruns those who cannot, suggesting that their electoral performance is not explained by the money received from top donors. If *hypothesis 2* is correct, we should observe that among candidates who lost the same amount of contributions, only those who suffered from losing a top donor also registered a significant decrease in electoral performance.

The third hypothesis is that top donors provide monetary resources that are (at least in part) untraceable. The main way through which contributions can be made to be anonymous is through 501(c)(4) non-profit organizations. Yet, donors can make it harder to trace a link between them and the candidate also by using “intermediaries”: i.e., providing their support through super PACs rather than sponsoring directly a candidate.⁴³ While contributions through super PACs are obfuscated (because they are not directly linked to a specific donor), they can be linked to a candidate. We, therefore, test this hypothesis by studying the effect of the donor’s death on “issue advocacy” ads funded by super PACs on the politicians patronized by the deceased donor. If *hypothesis 3* is correct, then we should find evidence that the death of a top donor does not affect spending in ads directly attributable to the candidate, but it affects issue advocacy ads funded by super PACs targeted to a candidate associated with the top donor. We discuss these three hypotheses in the following three subsections.

⁴³The connection between the donor and the candidate is even harder to identify when the former donates to super PACs which pool donations from different sources and raise funds for multiple purposes.

Figure 7.
Percentage of Votes for Candidates with and without Top Donors Who Received Similar Contributions



Note: Dots and bars indicate the average and standard deviation of the percentage of votes obtained by candidates in a given election cycle, respectively. Light color denotes candidates without top donors, and dark color denotes candidates with top donors. Candidates with similar contributions are selected as follows. In each election cycle, we calculate the average and standard deviation of contributions received by a candidate with a top donor. We denote these two values, respectively, with x and y . Then, we select the candidates without a top donor whose contributions are within the interval $x-y$ and $x+y$ in each given cycle.

V.1 Hypothesis 1: Observable money is all that matters.

We test this hypothesis in two ways. First, we calculate the amount of lost donations by a candidate because of the death of one or more top donors during a campaign contribution, $Loss_{i,t}$. This is done by summing the difference between the contributions offered by top donors to the candidate in the election cycle previous to their death, and that provided in the election cycle when they

died.⁴⁴ Second, we estimate equation (1) but using an expanded model specification, where the variable counting the number of dead top donors during an the election cycle is interacted with the amount of money lost from their death: i.e. $\# \text{ dead donor}_{it} * \text{Loss}_{i,t}$.

The results of this exercise are presented in Table 7, column 1. The evidence is against *hypothesis 1*. While the death of a top donor has a negative and statistically significant impact on a candidate’s electoral performance, the estimated coefficient of the interaction term is not statistically significant. This implies that the loss of a leading donor adversely affects a candidate’s electoral prospects regardless of the monetary loss incurred.⁴⁵

We further investigate *hypothesis 1* by examining the electoral performance of those who suffered from a decrease in contributions similar to those who lost a top donor but in consequence of a smaller support received by many donors. If *hypothesis 1* is correct, then we should find evidence that these candidates have a worse performance due to decreased contributions. This exercise is conducted in three steps. First, we calculate the median value and the standard deviation of the variable $\text{Loss}_{i,t}$ in each election cycle. We denote these values as MED Loss_t and SD Loss_t , respectively. Second, we select those candidates who did not lose a top donor but suffered from a loss in contributions in a range between $\text{MED Loss}_t - \text{SD Loss}_t$ and $\text{MED Loss}_t + \text{SD Loss}_t$.⁴⁶ Third, we create a dummy variable that takes 1 when a candidate did not suffer from the death of a top donor and lost an amount of money in the considered range, and 0 otherwise. We estimate an average reduction of 0.0672% in the contributions received by a candidate suffering from the loss of one or more top donors (minimum 0.0002%, maximum 0.6651%, with a standard deviation of 0.1235). Candidates who are not affected by the loss of a top donor and register a similar decrease in contributions are not uncommon. On average, these are 12.36% during an election cycle, with a large dispersion over the years: i.e., a standard deviation of 32.90. We refer to this variable as $\text{Placebo}_{i,t}$. Fourth, we estimate equation (1) but using an augmented model specification that includes the variable $\text{Placebo}_{i,t}$.

The results of this exercise are presented in Table 7, column 2. Again, the evidence goes against *hypothesis 1*. In fact, the death of a top donor has a negative and statistically significant impact on a candidate’s electoral performance. On the

⁴⁴ Loss from a single top donor is calculated with the formula: $\text{Loss}_{i,t} = \frac{Y_{ijt} - Y_{i,t-1}}{\# \text{ dead donor}_{it-1}}$, where $Y_{i,t}$ and $Y_{i,t-1}$ indicate the amount of money (in constant dollars) collected by i in election cycle t and $t - 1$. Since the construction of this variable requires the use of lagged data, its use in the model specification has the effect of decreasing the sample size by c.a. 17% (see also footnote 40).

⁴⁵ Results are qualitatively unchanged when modeling the variable $\text{Loss}_{i,t}$ using a quadratic polynomial or a spline. In the model specification using the quadratic polynomial, the variable $\text{Loss}_{i,t}$ was demeaned to avoid collinearity problems between the linear and the quadratic term. In the model specification using the spline, we follow the standard literature (see, e.g., Ahlberg et al., 1967) and we place knots where we expect the impact of the variable $\text{Loss}_{i,t}$ on the probability of election to change more significantly, i.e., when the variable switches from zero to its minimum positive value and when taking values above the median.

⁴⁶ We compute the loss in contributions suffered from these candidates following the same approach used for candidates who lost a top donor, presented in footnote 44.

Table 7
Further Evidence
- Top Donors, Campaign Contributions, and Election Results -

Dep. Variable	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (1)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (2)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (3)
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle	-0.0367*** (0.0114)	-0.0415*** (0.0123)	-0.0423*** (0.0126)
* Total contributions lost from dead top donors (constant \$)	0.0009 (0.0013)		
* Number of dead donors with total contributions in the highest quartile			-0.0080** (0.0033)
Placebo		-0.0026 (0.0162)	
Total contributions lost from dead top donors (constant \$)	0.0024 (0.0028)		
% of dead donors with total contributions in the highest quartile			0.0481** (0.0234)
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-0.0337 (0.0252)	-0.0349 (0.0262)	-0.0341 (0.0250)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	-0.0170 (0.0216)	-0.0181 (0.0218)	-0.0167 (0.0216)
District voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	0.1898*** (0.0242)	0.1913*** (0.0242)	0.1933*** (0.0242)
Total contributions (constant \$)	0.0437*** (0.0076)	0.0475*** (0.0078)	0.0469*** (0.0077)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: Average Value:	0.2289	0.2289	0.2289
Num. Obs.	8,535	8,535	8,535

Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable “Total contributions (constant \$)” is log-transformed. The variable “Total contributions lost from dead top donors (constant \$)” is transformed using an inverse hyperbolic sine function. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels.

contrary, the variable $Placebo_{i,t}$ does not appear to be correlated to a candidate's performance. In other words, the evidence suggests that those who experience the death of a top donor suffer from a worse electoral performance. On the contrary, a decrease in the contributions similar to that suffered by candidates who lost a top donor, but as a result of smaller support from many donors, is not associated with a substantial change in electoral performance. This evidence suggests that money received from a top donor does not *per se* significantly impact a candidate's campaign.

To further investigate this evidence, we test whether, more than individual contributions, what matters for candidates is the importance of the donors, as measured by the size of their total contributions. To this purpose, we study the distribution of total donations of top donors in each election cycle - that is, the total contributions donated by donors to all candidates and committees. Then, we identify those donors belonging to the top 25% of the distribution and record which one of them died. Next, for each candidate, we calculate the number of donors that they lost during an election cycle who were part of the top 25% distribution of total contributions in that election cycle. We refer to this variable as $\# \text{ top 25 dead donor}_{it}$. Finally, we estimate equation (1) but using an expanded model specification, where the variable counting the number of dead top donors during an election cycle is interacted with $\# \text{ top 25 dead donor}_{it}$ - that is, $\# \text{ dead donor}_{it} * \# \text{ top 25 dead donor}_{it}$. Our results are presented in Table 7, column 3. The estimated effect of the interaction variable is negative and statistically significant, indicating that the loss in terms of electoral performance due to the death of a top donor is higher by c.a. 1 percentage point if the donor is the most influential in the market for contributions. Taken together, the findings obtained seem to be against *hypothesis 1* and suggest that the role played by donors during an electoral campaign does not directly depend on the money donated to a single candidate.

V.2 Hypothesis 2: Prominent donors.

The second hypothesis, which we refer to as *hypothesis 2*, is that the importance of top donors depends on factors other than their money, such as their ability to connect a candidate with a relevant social circles that can determine the outcome of a political campaign: e.g., other important donors who can provide him/her with more money, influential people who can offer their endorsement or a larger exposure in the media or experts who can help the candidate conduct a more effective campaign. If this is the case, then the evidence would suggest that money is an imprecise measure of the support that top donors provide to a candidate.

We test *hypothesis 2* by estimating the effect of losing a top donor for two different categories of candidates. Those who mainly lost donors who had a high query search volume on Google in the year of their death, i.e., when the variable $\text{Many searches on Google}_{it}$ is equal to 1 (see Section II), and those who mainly lost donors who had a low query search volume on Google in the year of their death, i.e., when the variable $\text{Few searches on Google}_{it} = 1 - \text{Many searches on Google}_{it}$ is equal to 1. In this way, we can assess whether less or more prominent donors (as signalled by their popularity on Google) play a different role in the career of candidates. Formally, this exercise is conducted by replacing the variable $\# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t}$ in Eq. (1) with the variables: $\text{Many searches on Google}_{it} * \# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t}$, and $\text{Few searches on Google}_{it} * \# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t}$. The estimated effect of the former variable registers how the loss of a top donor impacts those candidates who suffered mainly from the death

of donors with a high number of hits on Google. Conversely, the estimated effect of the latter variable registers how the loss of a top donor impacts those who suffered mainly from the death of donors with a low number of hits on Google. Results are reported in Table 8, column 1. The estimated effect of both variables is negative, but only the former is statistically significant, indicating that candidates who suffer from the loss of many top donors with a high number of hits on Google are those who are affected by the death of their donors in terms of electoral outcomes. This suggests that powerful donors are the most important to candidates, regardless of the amount of money that they donate to them.

We provide additional evidence by using our second proxy of donors' influence, that is, their presence on the Forbes 400 list (see Section II). Similarly to the previous exercise, we split the variable $\# \text{ dead donor}_{it}$ into two terms. The first registers the number of dead donors of a candidate when the majority of them were listed on Forbes 400 and zero otherwise: $\text{Many listed on Forbes 400}_{i,t} * \# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t}$. The second records the opposite case, that is, the number of dead donors of a candidate when the minority of them were listed on the Forbes 400 and zero otherwise: i.e., $\text{Few listed on Forbes 400}_{i,t} * \# \text{ dead donor}_{i,t}$, where $\text{Few listed on Forbes 400}_{i,t} = 1 - \text{Many listed on Forbes 400}_{i,t}$. Results are reported in Table 8, column 2. Both variables are negative and statistically significant, but the former has a magnitude almost 70% larger than the latter, suggesting that candidates who suffered the most from the top donors' loss are those who were supported by donors who appeared on the Forbes 400 list. This is once again evidence that the more influential top donors are, the stronger the impact of their loss on a candidate's performance, as posited by *Hypothesis 2*.

V.3 Hypothesis 3: Stealth contributions through PACs

If a top donor uses PACs to conceal his/her contributions, then we should observe that his/her death causes a reduction in PACs toward the candidates that he/she supported before dying. To test this hypothesis, we estimate equation (1) using two different outcome variables: the amount of money spent by a. candidate i and by b. interest groups to broadcast political advertisements in favor of i .⁴⁷ If Hypothesis 3 is correct, meaning that top donors use PACs to contribute to a candidate's campaign, we should observe that the loss of a top donor has no impact on the money spent for political advertisements by a candidate, but it has a negative effect on the money spent by interest groups.

The results of this investigation are presented in Table 9. Consistent with our expectations, column 1 shows the death of a top donor has no statistically significant impact on the expenditures for political advertisements sponsored by the candidate. On the contrary, column 2 provides evidence that the loss of a top donor has a negative and statistically significant impact on the amount of money spent by interest groups.

⁴⁷Summary statistics are provided in Table A2.

Table 8
Further Evidence
- Top Donors, Donors' Influence, and Election Results -

Dep. Variable	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (1)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (2)
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle		
* Many searches on Google	-0.0353*** (0.0090)	
* Few searches on Google	0.0038 (0.0306)	
* Many listed on Forbes 400		-0.0388*** (0.0097)
* Few listed on Forbes 400		-0.0236* (0.0132)
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-0.0299 (0.0247)	-0.0292 (0.0246)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	0.0101 (0.0211)	0.0114 (0.0210)
The district voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	0.1918*** (0.0236)	0.1917*** (0.0235)
Total contributions (constant \$)	0.0524*** (0.0068)	0.0526*** (0.0068)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: average value	0.2341	0.2341
Num. Obs.	9,962	9,962

Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable "Total contributions (constant \$)" is log-transformed. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels.

While it is natural to look for the effects of the death of a top donor on the candidate that he supported when alive, we cannot exclude that the donor also supported other politicians incognito. This is especially plausible if the top donor had a marked public ideological position (as measured by the party of the majority of the supported candidates) and thus could be embarrassed if seen as supporting across the aisle.

In order to test this hypothesis, for each candidate i who lost a top donor, we

Table 9
 Further Evidence
 - Top Donors, and Ads Expenditures -

Dep. Variable	(Log) Expenditures for Political Ads (constant \$)			
	Candidate	Interest groups		
Ads sponsored by	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle	0.0066 (0.0159)	-0.0121* (0.0072)	-0.0144* (0.0078)	
- of the same party				-0.0190* (0.0106)
- of a different party				0.0676 (0.0738)
Completely Unobserved			-0.0060 (0.0041)	
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-0.2243*** (0.0443)	0.0067 (0.0200)	0.0061 (0.0200)	0.0053 (0.0200)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	-0.0181 (0.2501)	-0.0268 (0.0230)	-0.0282 (0.0230)	-0.0256 (0.0229)
District voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	0.0736 (0.0498)	-0.0162 (0.0198)	-0.0172 (0.0199)	-0.0127 (0.0212)
Total contributions (constant \$)	-0.0245 (0.0315)	-0.0126 (0.0111)	-0.0133 (0.0116)	-0.0118 (0.0103)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: average value	0.4782	0.0047	0.0047	0.0047
Num. Obs.	1,180	1,180	1,180	1,180

Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable “Total contributions (constant \$)” is log-transformed. For a precise definition of the variable *Completely Unobserved*, see Section V.3. For all the other variables, see Section II of the paper and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels.

identify the set of similar candidates who did not experience the loss of a top donor: i.e., all candidates who are running in the same State of i , from the same party, and with similar ideology with all donors alive.⁴⁸ Then we create a new

⁴⁸The measure of ideology adopted to match candidates is the CF-score registered in the DIME (Bonica, 2014). CF-score measures a candidate's ideology during an election cycle as a function of the ideology of his/her contributors in that cycle. For candidates affiliated to the same party during the same cycle, we compute the tertile distribution of their CF-Score. We assume two candidates to have a

variable, *Completely Unobserved*, which assigns the number of dead top donors in the current election cycle of candidate i at time t to each candidate j similar to i ; and that assigns zero to i . We augment our model specification (1) with the variable *Completely Unobserved* and report the corresponding estimation results in column 3. Interestingly, while our results are all confirmed, we do not find evidence that politicians similar to those who lost a top donor suffer from the death of this.

We further investigate the possibility that donors support other politicians incognito, especially when the donor has a marked public ideological position and could be embarrassed if seen to support across the aisle. To this purpose, we estimate equation (1) by splitting our main variable of interest, i.e., the *Number of dead top donors in current election cycle*, in two different variables. The first counts the number of dead top donors lost by a candidate in the current election cycle who are from his/her own party. The second counts the number of dead top donors lost by a candidate in the current election cycle who are from a different party.⁴⁹ Results are reported in column 4. The evidence does not support the idea that donors support other politicians incognito when they are from a different party. In fact, only the loss of a top donor from the same party has a statistically significant effect on the amount of money spent by interest groups for political ads supporting a candidate.

VI Long-term effects: legislative behavior

In the previous sections, we have presented evidence that even if official contributions are (relatively) small, top donors matter greatly for candidates in elections for the U.S. Congress. Can we use our data on top donors' deaths to show that not only do these channels allow top donors to affect the outcome of elections, but they also have long-term effects on the legislative process?

A challenge with respect to testing this hypothesis is that we do not observe the top donors' goals and interests, so we can't directly associate the death of a top donor with changes in a politician's activity in the legislative issues that are of interest to the associated top donors. To test if a top donor's death affects the legislative activity of the candidates s/he donates to, we need predictions that are common to many top donor-politician relationships. A natural conjecture is that legislators are induced by donors to intervene on a spectrum of topics fitting their idiosyncratic interests, which may depend on the business the top donors operate or issues associated with their local community; legislators who lose top donors have fewer distractions and are freer to focus on the topics they or their party care about. If this conjecture is correct, we should also observe that legislators who lose donors should be able to focus more exclusively on issues that reflect their preferences. We should observe that legislators are more attuned to their parties' policies since they have fewer "external distractions".

similar ideology if they are associated with the same tertile.

⁴⁹The party of a donor is defined as the party with a share of supported candidates higher than 50%.

To test these conjectures, we track the sponsorship activity and the voting behavior of candidates supported by top donors during two mandates, i.e., Congress t and Congress $t + 1$. We then study the impact of the loss of a top donor during Congress t (i.e., while the electoral campaign for Congress $t + 1$ was running) on legislative activities in Congress at $t + 1$. A measure of how “distracted” a legislator is by a donor’s agenda is the entropy (Shannon, 1948) of topics of the bills sponsored by the legislator: low entropy means that the legislator focuses on fewer issues; higher entropy means that s/he spreads his/her activity on more topics. In addition, we measure the extent to which the legislator can focus on topics s/he cares about by measuring the difference in voting behavior with respect to his/her party colleagues.

To study these effects and test the two conjectures, we use the following model:

$$\Delta y_{i,t+1} = \beta_1 \# \text{ dead donor}_{it} + X_{it} + v_i + \zeta_t + \epsilon_{it}.$$

Here, the term $\Delta y_{i,t+1} = y_{i,t+1} - y_t$ registers alternatively the change in the entropy of topics of the bills sponsored by i from t to $t + 1$; or the change in the ideological distance of i from the party’s median position from t to $t + 1$. The term $\# \text{ dead donor}_{it}$ is a variable counting the number of lost top donors by candidate i during Congress t (i.e., during the electoral campaign for Congress $t + 1$), and zero otherwise. The term $X_{i,t}$ includes all those factors that may contribute to a change in the legislator’s behavior.⁵⁰ The terms v_i and ζ_t indicates respectively Congress members and Congress fixed effects. Finally, ϵ_{it} denotes an idiosyncratic term.⁵¹

The results of our analysis are presented in Table 10. Column 1 shows that losing a top donor has a negative and statistically significant impact on the entropy of the topics legislators discuss in their bills: Congress members focus on a significantly smaller number of topics in their political agenda after losing a top donor. Specifically, entropy reduces by 0.06 points. The effect is about 12% of a standard deviation of the entropy of bills sponsored by Congress Members during a mandate. This result is consistent with the conjecture that losing a top donor is associated with fewer legislative distractions and more focus on a core of legislative topics.

Column 2 shows that losing a top donor has a positive and statistically significant impact in reducing the ideological distance of the legislators from their party colleagues: i.e., legislators tend to vote more in line with their party after their donor dies. Specifically, the ideological distance from the party’s position was reduced by 0.02 points. The effect is about 12% of a standard deviation of the ideology of Congress Members in a single Congress. This evidence suggests

⁵⁰These are: whether or not the legislator belongs to the majority, whether or not the legislator belongs to the party of the President, and the number of living donors who supported him/her during the last campaign.

⁵¹We remove from our estimates the records relative to legislators who belong to the party leadership and those who are chair of a committee. Given their institutional role, one should not expect to observe significant changes in their behavior across legislatures.

Table 10
Elected Candidates with at least one Top Donor
- Legislative Activity -

Dep. Variable	Change from Congress t to $t+1$ in	
	Entropy of Topics in Sponsored Bills (1)	Ideological Distance from Party's Median Position (2)
Number of dead top donors in election cycle $t+1$	-0.0642*** (0.0169)	-0.0236*** (0.0084)
Additional Controls	Yes	Yes
Congress Member Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Congress Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Num. Obs	1,025	1,025

Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The sample includes all Congress Members who were elected at time t and $t+1$ and had a top donor during election cycle t . The time span considered is from 2007 to 2019. Congress members who belong to the party leadership or who are chair of a committee are excluded from the sample. Additional controls include a dummy variable registering whether or not a candidate belongs to the majority party, a dummy variable registering whether or not a candidate belongs to the party of the President, and a variable counting the number of live donors of the candidate. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels.

that legislators accommodate issues pressed by a donor into their political agenda. However, when the donor dies, they return to focus on the topics that are more relevant to them or to others that matter to them (e.g., their constituency, their state delegation, or their party), and they are more inclined to follow the party lines in their voting behavior.

VII Conclusions

In this paper, we revisit a classical question in political economy, the so-called *Tullock Paradox*: that is, the fact that we observe little money in U.S. politics relative to the size of the stakes. The question is not really just about money but about influence. Is it the case that there is too little money that private interests can sway public policy, or to use Tullock's more colorful expression, too little money to "purchase politicians"?

The premise of our analysis is simple: is it possible that we observe little money because an important component of political contributions is either non-monetary (such as advice, connections, experience) or unobserved? In this work, we provide evidence in support of this hypothesis. Moreover, we offer a first investigation of the mechanisms through which influence is exerted by top donors outside of

observable channels, and we provide evidence of the effects of this influence on the elected candidates' legislative activities in the U.S. Congress.

Specifically, we present three sets of results. First, we establish that top donors (as identified by the top 1000 donors in terms of total contributions in the electoral cycles from 2008 to 2018) are important to an individual candidate to be elected, even if their contribution to the candidates is individually small. We establish this fact using a new, original data set on the top 1000 donors in U.S. congressional races. Since top donors do not randomly support candidates, we base our identification strategy on information about top donors' deaths and the observed variations in candidates' performance after these events. We show that the death of a top donor decreases a candidate's chances of being elected both in the current and in the future election cycles by about 3 percentage points.

Second, we study the mechanism through which large donors exert influence. To analyze whether top donors provide nonmonetary benefits to their candidates, we study whether candidates benefit from the "prominence" of their patrons. We measure the prominence of the donor in two ways: using an index of the number of times the donor's name was searched on Google in the year of the death and using Forbes lists. We show that, no matter how we measure prominence (the Google index or the Forbes 400 list), the impact of the death of a top donor on a candidate's probability of winning an election depends on the "prominence" of the donor, even when we control for the actual money that the donor contributes.

To study whether large donors can make stealth monetary contributions, we study whether the death of a top donor induces a reduction in paid advertisements from PACs. PACs can indeed be used by individual donors to conceal their contributions since PACs do not need to disclose the donors behind certain types of ads. We find that the death of a top donor is associated with a reduction in ads from PACs to the candidates that the donor supported before dying. Interestingly, the negative impact of the death of a donor is not detected for ads funded by the candidate (for which there is transparency regarding the sources of funding).

The third set of results concerns the long-term effects of top donors on legislative behavior in the U.S. Congress of elected candidates. Here we show that losing a top donor has two effects on a U.S. Congress member. First, it reduces the Shannon entropy index of the topics of bills sponsored by Congress members. This implies that the legislator is less distracted by the issues of interest from the top donors, and s/he is freer to pursue policies s/he finds appealing. Second, and consistently, we find that the death of a top donor induces a reduction of the ideological distance between the Congress person and the median Congress person in his/her own party (as measured by the Nokken-Poole ideology index).

Taken together, these results provide compelling evidence that it is restrictive to measure top donors' influence donors relying exclusively on observable monetary contributions.

Naturally, these results do not imply that the amount of money in U.S. politics is equal to the stakes (i.e., the size of the U.S. economy), which are indeed enormous.

There are many reasons why this should not be the case, from explicit legal limits to vote trading and lobbying, to the inability of many legitimate public interests to organize and collect the money that would be necessary to buy their way into Congress, to the fact that influential donors may exert clout by committing to contingent threats. Our results, moreover, do not conflict with the theory that sees contributions as consumption goods since it is probable that political contributions are simultaneously consumption goods and have an instrumental value. Our findings suggest that the observable monetary contributions should be considered as only the proverbial “tip of the iceberg”: the gap between the “stakes” and the amount of resources devoted to promoting electoral candidates and influencing their policies may be much larger than what is observed.

REFERENCES

- AHLBERG J.H., NILSON E.N. AND WALSH J.L. (1967). Complex cubic splines. *Transactions of the American Mathematical Society*, 129(3), 391–413.
- ANSOLABEHERE S., DE FIGUEIREDO JOHN N., AND SNYDER J. M. JR (2003). Why there is so little money in U.S. Politics. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 17(1), 105–130.
- ANSOLABEHER S., AND SNYDER J.M. (1993). Money and Institutional Power. *Texas Law Review*, 77, 1673–16704.
- ANSOLABEHERE S., SNYDER J. M. JR, AND UEDA M. (2004). Did Firms Profit from Soft Money? *Election Law Journal*, 3(2), 193–198.
- AVIS E., FERRAZ C., FINAN F., AND VARJAO C. (2022). Money and politics: The effects of campaign spending limits on political competition and incumbency advantage. *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 14(4), 167–199.
- BALTRUNAITE A. (2019). Political contributions and public procurement: evidence from Lithuania. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 18(2), 541–582.
- BARBER M. J. (2016). Ideological donors, contribution limits, and the polarization of American legislatures *The Journal of Politics*, 78(1), 296–310.

- BARON, D. P. (1989). Service-Induced Campaign Contributions and the Electoral Equilibrium. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 104(1), 45–72.
- BARON D.P., AND MO J. (1991). Campaign Contributions and Party-Candidate Competition in Services and Policies, in Barnett, W.A. Hinich, M.J. and Schofield N.J. (eds) *Political Science Economy: Institutions, Competition, and Representation* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ch. 13.
- BATTAGLINI M., LEONE SCIABOLAZZA, V., AND PATACCHINI E. (2023). Abstentions and social networks in Congress, *The Journal of Politics*, 85(2), 581–592.
- BERNHEIM, B. D., AND WHINSTON M. D. (1986). Menu auction, resource allocation, and economic influence. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 101(1), 1–31.
- BERTRAND M., BOMBARDINI M. AND TREBBI F. (2014). Is it whom you know or what you know? An empirical assessment of the lobbying process. *American Economic Review*, 104(12), 3885–3920.
- BERTRAND M., BOMBARDINI M. AND TREBBI F. (2020). Tax-Exempt Lobbying: Corporate Philanthropy as a Tool for Political Influence. *American Economic Review*, 110(7), 2065–2102.
- BLANES I VIDAL J., DRACA M. AND FONS-ROSEN C. (2012). Revolving door lobbyists. *American Economic Review*, 102(7), 3731–3748.
- BOMBARDINI M., AND TREBBI F. (2020). Empirical models of lobbying. *Annual Review of Economics*, 12, 391–413.
- BONICA, A. (2014). Mapping the ideological marketplace. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(2), 367–386.
- BOUTON L., CAGÉ J., DEWITTE, E. AND PONS, V. (2022). Small campaign donors. *National Bureau of Economic Research*, w30050.
- BOUTON L., CASTANHEIRA M., AND DRAZEN, A. (2024). A Theory of Small Campaign Contributions. *The Economic Journal*, forthcoming.
- BROWN J. R., AND HUANG J. (2017). All the president’s friends: Political access and firm value. *Journal of Financial Economics*, 138(2), 415–431.

- CHAMON M., AND KAPLAN E. (2013). The Iceberg Theory of Campaign Contributions: Political Threats and Interest Group Behavior. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 5(1), 1–31.
- CHAPPELL H. W. (1982). Campaign contributions and congressional voting: A simultaneous probit-tobit model. *The Review of Economics and Statistics*, 64(1), 77–83.
- COX C. (2022). Campaign Finance in the Age of Super PACs. *Mimeo*, Available at SSRN 3794817.
- DE FIGUEIREDO J. M., AND SILVERMAN B.S. (2006). Academic earmarks and the returns to lobbying. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 49(2), 597–625.
- DE FIGUEIREDO J. M., AND RICHTER B.K. (2014). Advancing the empirical research on lobbying. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 17, 163–185.
- DENZAU A. T., AND MUNGER M.C. (1986). Legislators and Interest Groups: How Unorganized Interests Get Represented. *American Political Science Review*, 80(1), 89–106.
- DO Q. A., LEE Y. T., AND NGUYEN B.D. (2015). Political Connections and Firm Value: Evidence from the Regression Discontinuity Design of Close Gubernatorial Elections. *Centre for Economic Policy Research*, DP10526.
- FACCIO M. (2006). Politically connected firms. *American Economic Review*, 96(1), 369–386.
- FERGUSON T., AND VOTH H. J. (2008). Betting on Hitler: the value of political connections in Nazi Germany. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(1), 101–137.
- FISMAN R. (2001). Estimating the value of political connections. *American Economic Review*, 91(4), 1095–1102.
- FOURNAIES A., AND HALL A. B. (2020). How divisive primaries hurt parties: Evidence from near-runoffs in us legislatures. *The Journal of Politics*, 82(1), 43–56.

- FOURNAIES A. (2021). How do campaign spending limits affect elections? evidence from the United Kingdom 1885–2019. *American Political Science Review*, 115(2), 395–411.
- FOWLER E., M. FRANZ, AND T. RIDOUT (2020). The Blue Wave: Assessing Political Advertising Trends and Democratic Advantages in 2028. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(1):57-63.
- GERBER A. (1998). Campaign spending and election outcomes: Re-estimating the effects of campaign spending. *American Political Science Review*, 92(2), 401–411.
- GOLDBERG P. K., AND MAGGI G. (1999). Protection for Sale: An Empirical Investigation. *American Economic Review*, 89(5), 1135–1155.
- GOLDMAN E., ROCHOLL J., AND SO J. (2009). Do politically connected boards affect firm value?. *The Review of Financial Studies*, 22(6), 2331–2360.
- GOLDSTEIN R., AND YOU H. Y. (2017). Cities as Lobbyists. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(4), 864-876.
- GRIER K.B., AND MUNGER M.C. (1993). Comparing Interest Group PAC Contributions to House and Senate Incumbents, 1980–1986. *The Journal of Politics*, 55(3), 615–643.
- GRIER, K. B., MUNGER M.C., AND ROBERTS B.E. (1994). The Determinants of Industry Political Activity, 1978 –1986. *American Political Science Review*, 88, 911–926.
- GROSSMAN G. M., AND HELPMAN E. (1994). Protection for Sale. *American Economic Review*, 84, 833–850.
- GULZAR, S., RUEDA, M. R., AND RUIZ, N. A. (2022). Do campaign contribution limits curb the influence of money in politics? *American Journal of Political Science*, 66(4), 932–946.
- HUNEEUS F., AND KIM I.S. (2021). The effects of firms’ lobbying on resource misallocation. *MIT Political Science Department Research Paper*, 23.
- JAYACHANDRAN S. (1998). The Jeffords effect. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 49(2), 397–425.

- KALLA J. AND D. BROCKMAN (2016). Campaign Contributions Facilitate Access to Congressional Officials: A Randomized Field Experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(3), 454-558.
- KANG K. (2016). Policy Influence and Private Returns From Lobbying in the Energy Sector. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 83, 269-305.
- KHWAJA A., AND MIAN A. (2017). Do lenders favor politically connected firms? Rent provision in an emerging financial market. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(4), 1371-1411.
- KLUMPP, T., MIALON, H. M., AND WILLIAMS, M. A. (2016). The business of American democracy: Citizens United, independent spending, and elections. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 59(1), 1-43.
- KNIGHT B. (2006). Are Policy Platforms Capitalized Into Equity Prices? Evidence from the Bush/Gore 2000 Presidential Election. *Journal of Public Economics*, 90(4-5), 751-773.
- LEVITT S.D. (1994). Using repeat challengers to estimate the effect of campaign spending on election outcomes in the US House. *Journal of Political Economy*, 102(4), 777-798.
- NOKKEN T.P., AND POOLE K.T. (2004). Congressional party defection in American history. *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, 29(4), 545-568.
- POOLE K.T., ROMER T., AND ROSENTHAL H. (1987). The revealed preferences of political action committees. *The American Economic Review*, 77(2), 298-302.
- ROBERTS B. (1990). A dead Senator tells no lies: Seniority and the Distribution of Federal Benefits. *The American Journal of Political Science*, 34(1), 31-58.
- ROMER T., AND SNYDER J.M. (1994). An empirical investigation of the dynamics of PAC contributions. *American Journal of Political Science*, 38(3), 754-769.
- SHANNON C.E. (1948). A Mathematical Theory of Communication. *The Bell System Technical Journal*, 27, 379-423.

- SNYDER J.M. (1990). Campaign Contributions as Investments: The House of Representatives, 1980–1986. *Journal of Political Economy*, 98(6), 1195–1227.
- STRATMANN T. (1987). What do campaign contributions buy? Deciphering causal effects of money and votes. *Southern Economic Journal*, 3, 606–620.
- STRATMANN T. (2002). Can special interests buy congressional votes? Evidence from financial services legislation. *The Journal of Law and Economics*, 45(2), 345–373.
- STRATMANN T. (2005). Some talk: Money in politics. A (partial) review of the literature. *Public Choice*, 124(1), 135–156.
- TULLOCK G. (1972). The Purchase of Politicians. *Western Economic Journal*, 10, 354–355.
- US BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS (2018). Handbook of Methods. *Ch. 17*, available at <https://www.bls.gov/opub/hom/pdf/cpihom.pdf>
- WELCH W.P. (1982). Campaign contributions and legislative voting: Milk money and dairy price support. *Western Political Quarterly*, 35(4), 478–495.

APPENDIX

Table A1 Data Descriptives

Variable Definition		Mean	St. Dev.
Sample: Candidates running for office in the U.S. House of Representatives. Election cycles: 2008 - 2018			
Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No)	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i won the electoral race at election cycle t , and zero otherwise.	0.23	0.42
% of votes	Continuous variable. It counts the percentage of votes received by candidate i at election cycle t .	24.12	27.97
At least one top donors died in current election cycle (1 = Yes)	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i lost at least one top donor at election cycle t , and zero otherwise.	0.11	0.31
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t .	0.17	0.61
* Many searches on Google	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t who appeared in the list of popular searches on Google in the year before their death.	0.17	0.61
* Few searches on Google	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t who did not appear in the list of popular searches on Google in the year before their death.	0.00	0.06
* Many listed on Forbes 400	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t whose last name ever appeared on the Forbes 400 list.	0.09	0.51
* Few listed on Forbes 400	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t whose last name never appeared on the Forbes 400 list.	0.08	0.35
Number of dead top donors in previous election cycle	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle $t-1$.	0.11	0.48
Total contributions lost from dead top donors (constant \$)	Continous variable. The estimated loss of contributions of candidate i at election cycle t after the death of one or more top donors at t . Loss from a single top donor is calculated with the formula: $Loss_{i,t} = \frac{Y_{ijt} - Y_{i,t-1}}{\# \text{ dead donor}_{it-1}}$, where $Y_{i,t}$ and $Y_{i,t-1}$ indicate the amount of money (in constant dollars) collected by i in election cycle t and $t-1$. The variable is expressed in constant dollars, and it is transformed using an inverse hyperbolic sine function.	-0.06	2.47
of dead donors with total contributions in the highest quartile	Continuous variable. It registers the percentage of top donors lost by candidate i at time t who belonged to the top 25% distribution of total contributions at t .	0.05	0.27
Placebo	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i at election cycle t suffered from a loss in contributions in a range between $MED Loss_t - SD Loss_t$ and $MED Loss_t + SD Loss_t$, and zero otherwise. $MED Loss_t$, and $SD Loss_t$ measure respectively the median value and the standard deviation of the variable <i>Total contributions lost from dead top donors (constant \$)</i> for the candidates running at election cycle t .	0.05	0.27
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i was not the Incumbent at election cycle t , and zero otherwise.	0.76	0.43
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i was selected through primary elections at election cycle t , and zero otherwise.	0.69	0.46
District voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	Dummy variable. It takes the value one if candidate i at election cycle t runs in a district which voted in favor of his/her party presidential nominee, and zero otherwise.	0.32	0.47
Total contributions (constant \$)	Continuous variable. It counts the contributions received from both top and non-top donors by candidate i at election cycle t . The variable is expressed in constant dollars, and it is log-transformed.	4.42	3.74
Num. Obs.		9,962	9,962

Table A1 Data Descriptives, continued

Variable Definition		Mean	St. Dev.
Sample: Candidates running for office in the U.S. House of Representatives who appeared in political advertisements. Election cycles: 2012 - 2018			
(Log) Expenditures for Political Ads (constant \$)...			
Ads sponsored by Candidate	Continuous variable. It counts the amount of money collected and spent by candidate i , or by his/her party in coordination with him/her, to broadcast political advertisements at election cycle t . The variable is expressed in constant dollars and log-transformed.	0.43	0.34
Ads sponsored by Interest Groups	Continuous variable. It counts the amount of money collected and spent by interest groups in support of candidate i to broadcast political advertisements during the election cycle t . The variable is expressed in constant dollars and log-transformed.	0.04	0.15
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t .	0.32	0.85
- of the same party	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t who supported, for the most part, candidates belonging to i 's party.	0.30	0.82
- of a different party	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t who supported, for the most part, candidates not belonging to i 's party.	0.02	0.16
Completely Unobserved	Continuous variable. To each candidate j running for election at election cycle t with party x in State y , who did not lose a top donor, it assigns a number equal to the number of top donors lost by candidate i running for election cycle t with party x in State y , if j and i have the same ideology. The measure of ideology adopted to match candidates is the CF-score registered in the DIME (Bonica, 2014). It assigns zero otherwise.	0.50	1.37
Num. Obs.		1,180	1,180
Sample: Candidates elected in the U.S. House of Representatives. Congressional cycles: 2008 - 2016			
Entropy of Topics in Sponsored Bills	Continuous variable. It registers the change in the entropy of topics in bills sponsored by legislator i from Congress t to $t+1$. This is calculated using the Shannon entropy index (Shannon, 1948): i.e., $\sum_{i=1}^n p_i \log_2 p_i$, where p_i is the share of bills with main topic i sponsored by a given legislator in a Congress, and n is the total number main topics in the bills sponsored by the legislator in that Congress.	0.48	0.41
Ideological Distance from Party's Median Position	Continuous variable. It registers the change in the distance from the party's median position by legislator i from Congress t to $t+1$. This is obtained with the formula $ id_i - median(id_p) $, where id_i is the second dimension of the Nokken-Poole ideology estimate associated with Congress Member i in a given Congress, and id_p is the median value of the second dimension of the Nokken-Poole ideology estimate associated to i 's party colleagues in the same Congress (Nokken et al., 2004).	0.01	0.17
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle	Continuous variable. It counts the number of top donors lost by candidate i at election cycle t .	0.60	0.95
Num. Obs.		1,025	1,025

Note: The sample considered in each panel only includes candidates who ran for office at least twice.

Table A2
 Top Donors and Candidates
 - Support from Political Ads -

Panel A: % of Candidates Supported at least by one Political Ad				
	2012	2014	2016	2018
All	19.81	17.23	15.17	17.11
With at least one top donor	84.44	90.37	81.97	89.20
Without top donors	15.56	9.63	18.03	10.80
Panel B: Average Expenditures (in thousands) for Political Ads in Support to a Candidate (St. Dev.)				
	2012	2014	2016	2018
All	128.20 (449.78)	120.59 (502.84)	99.60 (416.36)	136.17 (580.38)
With at least one top donor	320.34 (673.51)	288.34 (749.94)	259.29 (647.47)	368.60 (914.50)
Without top donors	5.71 (61.84)	1.99 (19.29)	3.53 (33.39)	2.51 (32.76)

Note: In each election cycle, we calculate the percentage of candidates who were supported at least by one political ad (Panel A), and the average (and st. dev.) expenditures for political ads in support to a candidate (Panel B). All ads are considered, i.e., those sponsored by a candidate, a party, or an interest group.

Table A3
Additional Evidence
- Top Donors, Percentage of Votes and Election Results -

Dep. Variable	% of votes (1)	% of votes (2)	% of votes (3)	% of votes (4)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (5)
At least one top donor died in the current election cycle (1 = Yes)	-2.5163*** (0.9313)				
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle		-2.1100*** (0.4858)		-1.7684*** (0.5010)	-0.0305*** (0.0091)
Number of dead top donors in previous election cycle			-2.5253*** (0.7647)		
Has other top donors (1 = Yes)				7.7953*** (1.5710)	0.0966*** (0.0225)
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-4.9758*** (1.1269)	-4.9929*** (1.1289)	-4.2856*** (1.2126)	-4.8538*** (1.1316)	-0.0278 (0.0247)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	2.6004** (1.2115)	2.6824** (1.2114)	1.1585 (1.2699)	2.5578** (1.1697)	0.0089 (0.0208)
The district voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	11.2282*** (1.3707)	11.0883*** (1.3612)	11.7912*** (1.4177)	10.8877*** (1.3526)	0.1891*** (0.0235)
Total contributions (constant \$)	6.3544*** (0.4009)	6.3658*** (0.4024)	5.9932*** (0.4309)	5.7173*** (0.4162)	0.0444*** (0.0069)
% of low-income taxpayers in the district is above the national median (1 = Yes)				1.7817 (1.6601)	0.0545* (0.0306)
% of high-income taxpayers in the district is above the national median (1 = Yes)				2.1435 (1.6900)	0.0283 (0.0292)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: Average Value:	24.1226	24.1226	23.5910	24.1226	0.2341
Num. Obs.	9,962	9,962	8,535	9,962	9,962

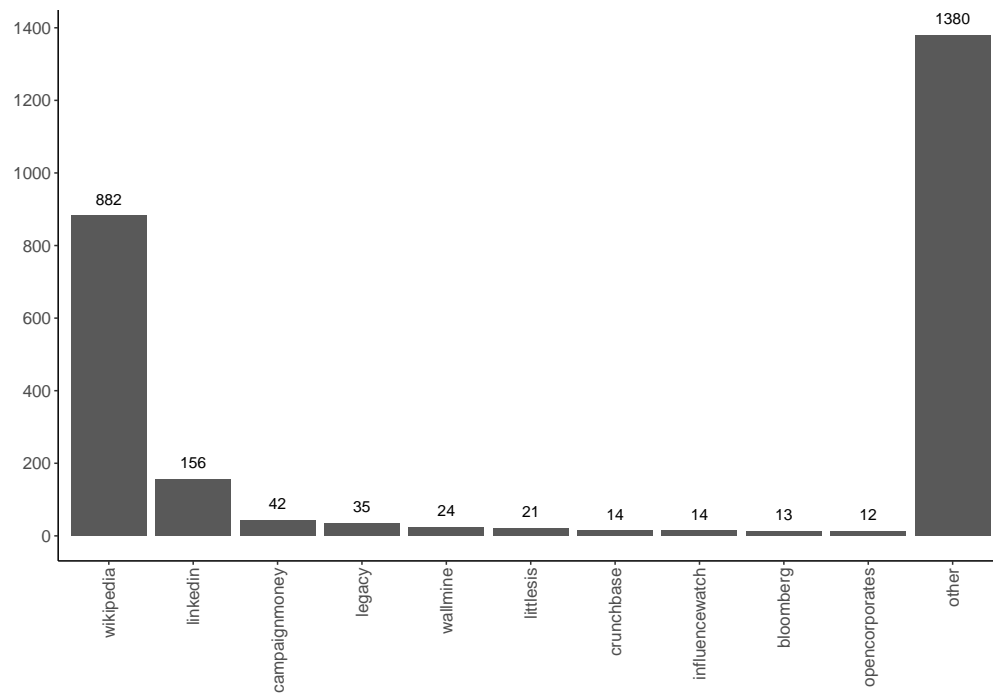
Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable "Total contributions (constant \$)" is log-transformed. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5, and 1 percent levels.

Table A4
Additional Evidence
- Top Donors and Election Results Considering a Larger Time Window -

Dep. Variable	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (1)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (2)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (3)	Win election (1 = Yes, 0 = No) (4)
At least one top donor died in the current election cycle (1 = Yes)		-0.0467*** (0.0157)		
Number of dead top donors in current election cycle			-0.0366*** (0.0081)	
Number of dead top donors in previous election cycle				-0.0329** (0.0129)
Candidate is not incumbent (1 = Yes)	-0.0341 (0.0220)	-0.0388* (0.0221)	-0.0398* (0.0221)	-0.0158 (0.0237)
Candidate ran primaries (1 = Yes)	-0.0044 (0.0195)	-0.0035 (0.0195)	-0.0020 (0.0195)	0.0033 (0.0199)
The district voted in favor of the candidate's party presidential nominee	0.1803*** (0.0208)	0.1791*** (0.0207)	0.1765*** (0.0207)	0.1783*** (0.0214)
Total contributions (constant \$)	0.0475*** (0.0055)	0.0474*** (0.0054)	0.0480*** (0.0054)	0.0471*** (0.0057)
Election Cycle Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Candidate Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Dependent Variable: Average Value:	0.2352	0.2352	0.2352	0.2335
Num. Obs.	12,403	12,403	12,403	11,218

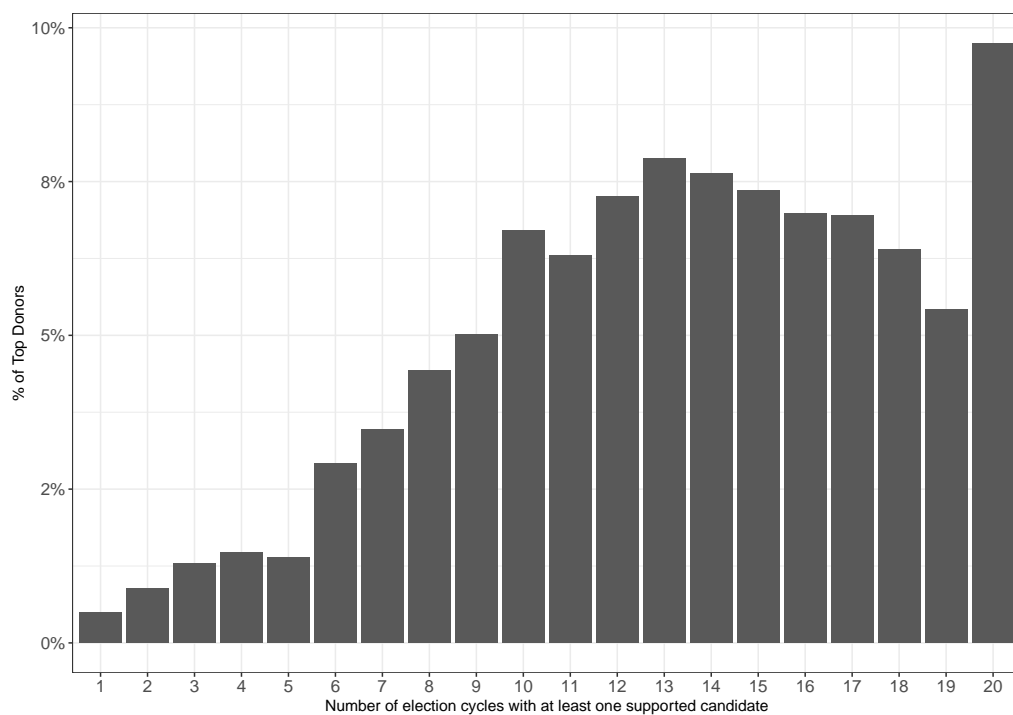
Note: OLS estimated coefficients (and robust standard errors) are reported. Robust standard errors are adjusted for clustering at the candidate level. The variable “Total contributions (constant \$)” is log-transformed. The time window considered is between 2004 and 2018. For a precise definition of the variables, see Section II of the paper, and Table A1 of the Appendix. *, **, *** indicate statistical significance at the 10, 5 and 1 percent level.

Figure A1.
Biographical Information about Top Donors
- Data Sources -



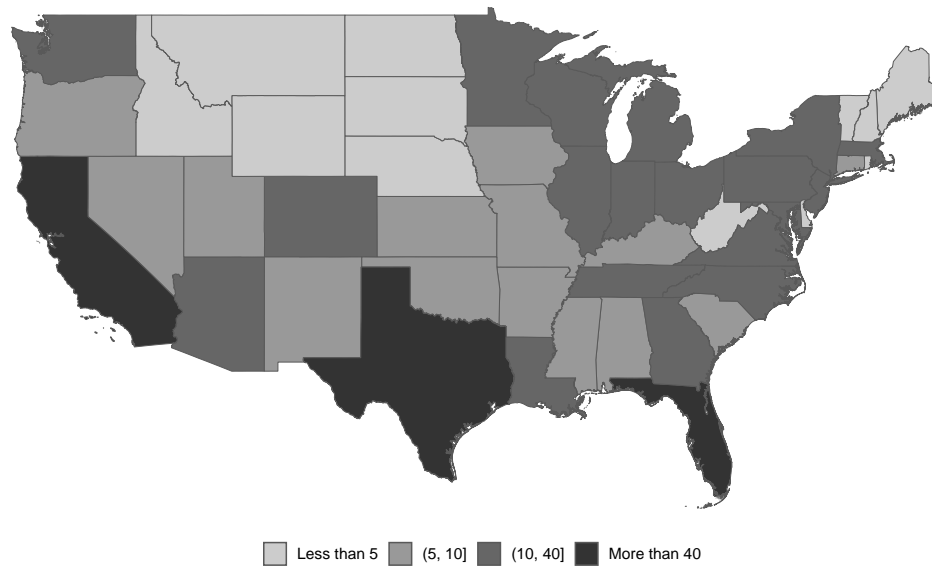
Note: The x-axis reports the online sources used to retrieve top donors' biographical information. The y-axis reports the number of times the source was used. Sources are not mutually exclusive: multiple sources may be used to retrieve information about a donor. The top 10 sources used to retrieve information are indicated. The other sources are included in the category "other". These are 1,073 websites (among the most recurrent, "Forbes", "The New York Times", and the "The Los Angeles Times").

Figure A2.
Top Donors
- Election Cycles with at least 1 Supported Candidate -



Note: The x-axis reports the number of election cycles in which a top donor supported at least one candidate. The y-axis reports the percentage of top donors (between 2008 and 2018) who supported at least one candidate for a given number of election cycles (between 1982 and 2018).

Figure A3.
Top Donors
- Average Number of Candidates supported in one Election Cycle by State -



Note: The figure shows the average number of candidates supported by at least one top donor by State in one cycle. For visualization purposes, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands are excluded from the map. In each of these States, the *Average Number of Candidates supported by a Top Donor in one Election Cycle* is less than 5.