Codebook for Strategic Candidates and Sacrificial Lambs?:
An Exploration of Gender and Race in State Executive Elections

Kevin Fahey, Nicholas Pyeatt, Alixandra B. Yanus

Variable Name/Label	**Variable Definition**	**Value & Value Label(s)**	**Source**
yrfips	Identifier – four digit year and five-digit state and county fips code	--	U.S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/library/reference/code-lists/ansi.html
Lastname	Last name of the statewide executive candidate	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
Firstname	First name of the statewide executive candidate	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
candid	Identifier – unique candidate code for each candidate	--	Created by the authors
Year	Year the statewide executive candidate ran for office	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
State	State where the statewide executive candidate ran for office	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
State.FIPS	State FIPS code	--	U.S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/library/reference/code-lists/ansi.html
County	County where the statewide executive candidate ran for office	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
County.FIPS	County FIPS code	--	U.S. Census Bureau, https://www.census.gov/library/reference/code-lists/ansi.html
fips	County FIPS code (duplicate)	--	
Office	Office the statewide executive candidate ran for		State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
Votes	Votes received by the statewide executive candidate	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
TotalVotes	Total votes cast in for the office the statewide executive candidate was running for	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
CandidateDemocrat	Binary indicator of if the statewide executive candidate was a Democrat	0- Other 1- Democrat	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
vote_rep	Votes received by the	--	State Boards of Elections and

	Republican candidate in the statewide executive contest the candidate was running for		Secretaries of State
vote_dem	Votes received by the Democratic candidate in the statewide executive contest the candidate was running for	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
vote_oth	Votes received by other candidate in the statewide executive contest the candidate was running for	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
vote_total	Total votes cast in for the office the statewide executive candidate was running for	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
pct_rep	Proportion of the votes received by the Republican candidate in the statewide executive contest the candidate was running for	--	Created by the authors from State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
iwpr_rank	Rank of state on IWPR's "Political Participation" rankings	--	Institute for Women's Policy Research, *Status of Women in the States,* Political Participation rankings, https://statusofwomendata.org/about/
iwpr_rank_flipped	51-Rank of state on IWPR's "Political Participation" rankings; the led to states with more participation being higher values and less participation being lower values	--	Created by the authors from Institute for Women's Policy Research, Status of Women in the States, Political Participation rankings, https://statusofwomendata.org/about/
pct_dem	Percent of the county vote received by the Democratic candidate in the most recent quadrennial presidential election, 2008-2016	--	MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQCHQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILITHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
pct_oth	Percent of the county vote received by all third-party candidates	--	MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQC

	in the most recent quadrennial presidential election, 2008-2016		HQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILlTHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
winner	Categorical variable indicating whether the Democratic or Republican presidential candidate won the county in the most recent quadrennial presidential election	--	MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQCHQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILlTHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
runnerup	Categorical variable indicating whether the Democratic or Republican presidential candidate was runner-up in the county in the most recent quadrennial presidential election	--	MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQCHQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILlTHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
mrp_ideology_mean	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: "[t]his variable contains the MRP-based estimate of the mean ideology of each district." In our case this is by county.	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
mrp_sd	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: [t]his variable contains the standard deviation of the MRP-based es-timate of the mean ideology of each district."	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
mrp_lower	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: "[s]urvey sample size in each district."	_	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
mrp_upper	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: [t]his variable contains the 97.5th percentile of the credible interval of the MRP-based	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M

	estimate of the mean ideology of each district.		
raw_ideology_mean	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: "[t]his variable contains the raw and unweighted, disaggregated es- timate of the mean ideology of each district. In general, it has signi cant measurement error."	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
sample_size	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: "[s]urvey sample size in each district."		
population_2010	Population of the county in 2010	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
obama_pct_2012	Percent of the 2012 presidential vote won by Barack Obama	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
romney_pct_2012	Percent of the 2012 presidential vote won by Mitt Romney	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
other_pct_2012	Percent of the 2012 presidential vote won by other candidates	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
obama_pct_2008	Percent of the 2008 presidential vote won by Barack Obama	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
mccain_pct_2008	Percent of the 2008 presidential vote won by John McCain	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?

			persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
other_pct_2008	Percent of the 2008 presidential vote won by other candidates	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
wfd_2012demvote	From Tausonovitch and Warshaw's codebook: "The presidential vote share in the district.....For 2012, it is based on data compiled by DailyKos."	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
wfd_ideo	Computed by the authors based on the data from Tausonovitch and Warshaw. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county more liberal than the average county.	--	Tausonovitch and Warshaw, "Subnational Ideology and Presidential Vote Estimates," https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/BQKU4M
wfd_urban	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county more urban than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_nonsouth	Binary indicator of whether the state was located outside the South, defined as the 11 former states of the Confederacy.	--	Created by the authors
wfd_Hispper	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more Hispanic residents (as a percentage) than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_foriegnb	Computed by the	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S.

	authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more foriegn born residents (as a percentage) than the average county.		Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_medincome	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with a higher median income than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_college	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more residents 25 years and older with a college degree (as a percentage) than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_schoolage	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with fewer school age children (as a percentage) than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_bluecollar	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with fewer blue collar workers (as a percentage) than the average county. Blue collar workers are defined as those	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html

	employed in construction related fields.		
wfd_districtsize	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county physically smalller than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_sum	Computed by the authors. The variable is the sum of wfd_2012demvote, wfd_ideo, wfd_urban, wfd_nonsouth, wfd_Hispper, wfd_foriegnb, wfd_medincome, wfd_college, wfd_schoolage, wfd_bluecollar, wfd_districtsize and wfd_AA. The variable ranges from 0 to 12.	--	Created by the authors from multiple sources but primarily from the U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
X2012_demper	Percent of the countywide, two party, presidential vote won by Barack Obama in 2012		MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQCHQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILlTHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
dem.two.party	Percent of the countywide, two party, presidential vote won by Hillary Clinton in 2016		MIT Election Data and Science Lab, 2018, "County Presidential Election Returns 2000-2020", https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/VOQCHQ, Harvard Dataverse, V13, UNF:6:GILlTHRWH0LbH2TItBsb2w== [fileUNF]
traditionalistic	Binary indicator of whether the state had a traditionalistic political culture as classified by Elazar (1966)	0- Other 1- Traditionalistic	Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (1966)
moralistic	Binary indicator of whether the state had a moralistic political culture as classified by Elazar (1966)	0- Other 1- Moralistic	Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (1966)
individualistic	Binary indicator of whether the state had an individualistic	0- Other 1- Individualistic	Daniel Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (1966)

	political culture as classified by Elazar (1966)		
demswing	The statewide change in the presidential vote for the Democratic presidential candidate from 2008 to 2012		Created by the authors
obamawins_12	Binary indicator of whether or not Obama won the county in the 2012 presidential election	0- Romney 1- Obama	Created by the authors
flipped1216	Binary indicator of whether or not the county flipped from one party (Democratic, Republican) to another party (Republican, Democratic) between the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections	0- Did not flip party between 2012 and 2016 1- Flipped party between 2012 and 2016	Created by the authors
wfd_movedstatecty	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county where more people moved from another state or another county than the average county.		U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_hs	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more residents 25 years and older with a high school degree (as a percentage) than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
female_per	Proportion of county residents that identify as female	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_marriedfemale	Computed by the	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census,

	authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with fewer married female residents (as a percentage) than the average county.		https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_age	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with a lower median age than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_femaleper	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more women than the average county.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_newage	Computed by the authors. The variable is the sum of wfd_2012demvote, wfd_ideo, wfd_urban, wfd_nonsouth, wfd_Hispper, wfd_foriegnb, wfd_medincome, wfd_college, wfd_schoolage, wfd_bluecollar, wfd_age, and wfd_AAper. The variable ranges from 0 to 12.	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
wfd_AAper	Computed by the authors based on data from the Census Bureau. The variable is binary with higher values reflecting a county with more African American	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html

	residents (as a percentage) than the average county.		
wfd_ten	Computed by the authors. The variable is the sum of wfd_urban, wfd_Hispper, wfd_foriegnb, wfd_medincome, wfd_college, wfd_schoolage, wfd_bluecollar, wfd_marriedfemale, wfd_age, and wfd_AAper. The variable ranges from 0 to 10.	--	Created by the authors from U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
POP2010	From RCMSCY10, ASARB's Description Only Codebook, "Population in 2010"	--	U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
totadh	From RCMSCY10, ASARB's Description Only Codebook, "All denominations/groups--Total number of adherents (2010)"	--	Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
evanadh	From RCMSCY10, ASARB's Description Only Codebook, "Evangelical Protestant--Total number of adherents (2010)"	--	Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
mprtadh	From RCMSCY10, ASARB's Description Only Codebook, "Mainline Protestant--Total number of adherents (2010)"	--	Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
cathadh	From RCMSCY10, ASARB's Description Only Codebook, "Catholic--Total number of adherents (2010)"	--	Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
incumb	Dichotomous identifier of statewide executive candidate's incumbency for the	0- Non-incumbent candidate 1- Incumbent candidate	Created by the authors

	office they seek to win re-election		
victor	Dichotomous indicator of whether the statewide executive candidate won or lost the election	0-Losing candidate 1- Winning candidate	Created by the authors
votepct	Percentage of Votes/Total Votes	--	Created by the authors
cathprop	Proportion of county residents who identify as Catholic	--	Created by the authors from Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
protprop	Proportion of county residents who identify as non-evangelical Protestants	--	Created by the authors from Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
evanprop	Proportion of county residents who identify as evangelical or born-again Protestants	--	Created by the authors from Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies, "U.S. Religion Census 1952 to 2010," https://www.usreligioncensus.org/2010-study-0
winnerdem	Dichotomous identifier indicating that the Democratic presidential candidate in the most recent quadrennial election won the county	0- Democratic presidential candidate lost county 1- Democratic presidential candidate won county	Created by the authors
canwinner	Dichotomous identifier indicating that the statewide executive candidate, and the presidential candidate in the most recent quadrennial election, were from the same party	0-Statewide executive candidate and presidential candidate who won county from different parties 1- Statewide executive candidate and presidential candidate who won county both from same party	Created by the authors
manual_wfd_11	Computed by the authors. The variable is the sum of wfd_urban, wfd_foriegnb, wfd_medincome, wfd_college, wfd_schoolage, wfd_bluecollar,	--	Created by the authors from U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html

	wfd_marriedfemale, wfd_age, wfd_nonsouth, wfd_hs, and wfd_ideo. The variable ranges from 0 to 11.		
manual_wfd_8	Computed by the authors. The variable is the sum of wfd_urban, wfd_foriegnb, wfd_medincome, wfd_college, wfd_schoolage, wfd_bluecollar, wfd_marriedfemale, and wfd_age. The variable ranges from 0 to 8.	--	Created by the authors from U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 U.S. Census, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/guidance/2010/2010-data-products-at-a-glance.html
statecandvotes	Total statewide votes received by the statewide executive candidate	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
statetotvotes	Total votes cast in for the office the statewide executive candidate was running for	--	State Boards of Elections and Secretaries of State
white	Binary identifier of white statewide executive candidates	0- Non-white 1- White	Created by the authors
black	Binary identifier of Black statewide executive candidates	0- Non-Black 1- Black	Created by the authors
latinohispanic	Binary identifier of Latino/Hispanic statewide executive candidates	0- Non-Latino/Hispanic 1- Latino/Hispanic	Created by the authors
aapi	Binary identifier of AAPI statewide executive candidates	0- Non-AAPI 1- AAPI	Created by the authors
other	Binary identifier of statewide executive candidates with an other or mixed (not white, Black, Latino, AAPI) racial or ethnic identifier	0- White, Black, Latino, or AAPI 1- Other race/ethnicity	Created by the authors
postgrad	Binary identifier of if a statewide executive candidate had a post-graduate education	0- No post-graduate degree 1- Post-graduate degree	Created by the authors
candrace	statewide executive	--	Created by the authors

	candidates' race		
candeduc	Statewide executive candidates' education	--	Created by the authors
candreligion	Statewide executive candidates' religion	--	Created by the authors
candprofession	Statewide executive candidates' profession	--	Created by the authors
stateper	Candidate's statewide vote percent	--	Created by the authors
ltgovteam	Dichotomous identifier indicating whether the lieutenant governor is elected on a ticket with the Governor, or on their own	"0- Lieutenant Governor elected separately 1- Lieutenant Governor elected on ticket with Governor"	Created by the authors using the National Lieutenant Governors Association website: https://nlga.us/research/methods-of-election/
wfd_sq	Squared women-friendly index	--	Created by the authors
wfd_cu	Cubed women-friendly index	--	Created by the authors
wfd_11_sq	Squared eleven-point women-friendly index	--	Created by the authors
wfd_8_sq	Squared eight-point women-friendly index	--	Created by the authors
OfficeCat	Trichotomous identifier of the office the candidate is seeking	Categorical (Governor, Cabinet, Other)	Created by the authors
governor	Dichotomous identifier indicating whether the candidate sought gubernatorial office	--	Created by the authors
cabinet	Dichotomous identifier indicating whether the candidate sought "Cabinet-level" office	--	Created by the authors
otheroffice	Dichotomous identifier indicating whether the candidate sought neither gubernatorial nor Cabinet-level office	--	Created by the authors
TotalVotesMillions	The total number of votes cast, in millions	--	Created by the authors
candidate_votes	Statewide sum of US Democratic presidential votes by quadrennial election, 2008-2016		Created by the authors
total_votes	Statewide sum of all presidential candidates'		Created by the authors

	votes by quadrennial election, 2008-2016		
avg_votes	Proportion of US Democratic statewide votes by quadrennial presidential election, 2008-2016		Created by the authors