When Do Campaign Donors Reject Extremists? Evidence from the U.S. Foreclosure Crisis

Codebook

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Data set "donor-panel.rds"

This data set consists of variables that characterize Republican campaign donors' contribution histories, homeownership characteristics, local housing market attributes, and neighborhood demographics over election cycles.

Related script

This data set is used in

- *1-build-donor-regression-Data set.R* to construct the final data set for replicating tables and figures related to campaign donors

Variable names and definitions

- **cycle**: 2-year election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_cand**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_nottteaparty_cand**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to non-Tea Party Republican candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_cand_sw**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle, based on Skocpol and Williamson (2012)'s definition of Tea Party affiliations
- **sum_nottteaparty_cand_sw**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to non-Tea Party Republican candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle, based on Skocpol and Williamson (2012)'s definition of Tea Party affiliations

- **sum_teaparty_incum**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party incumbents by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_nonincum**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party non-incumbents by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_in_dist**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to in-district Tea Party candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_out_dist**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to out-of-district Tea Party candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_gen**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party candidates' general election campaigns by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **sum_teaparty_pri**: total dollar amount of itemized contributions given to Tea Party candidates' primary election campaigns by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **GEOID10**: census tract ID
- **foreclosure_rate_pop_tract**: number of residential foreclosures in a census tract in a given election cycle divided by its 2000 Census population size
- **foreclosure_rate_hu_tract**: number of residential foreclosures in a census tract in a given election cycle divided by its 2000 Census number of households
- **count_tea_party**: number of itemized contributions given to Tea Party candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle
- **count_nottteaparty_cand**: number of itemized contributions given to non-Tea Party Republican candidates by a campaign donor in a given election cycle

- **parcel_hh_id**: anonymized time-invariant campaign donor identifier based on assessor parcel number (APN) from CoreLogic linked to campaign donors' street-level addresses as reported in Bonica (2016)

- **prior_donors**: an indicator for whether a campaign donor gave any itemized donations to Republican candidates prior to the financial crisis

- **district**: the congressional district in which a campaign donor resided in a given election cycle

- **SHRWHT**: a census tract's share of residents who were white in the 2000 Census

- **sharewhite_l**: an indicator for whether a census tract's 2000 share of white residents is in the 1st donor-weighted tercile (i.e., census tracts weighted by the number of unique Republican donors resided in each census tract pre-crisis)

- **sharewhite_m**: an indicator for whether a census tract's 2000 share of white residents is in the 2nd donor-weighted tercile (i.e., census tracts weighted by the number of unique Republican donors resided in each census tract pre-crisis)

- **sharewhite_h**: an indicator for whether a census tract's 2000 share of white residents is in the 3rd donor-weighted tercile (i.e., census tracts weighted by the number of unique Republican donors resided in each census tract pre-crisis)

- **popdenscat**: a discrete variable for whether a census tract's population density in the 2000 Census is in the 1st donor-weighted tercile (coded as 0), 2nd donor-weighted tercile (coded as 1), or 3rd donor-weighted tercile (coded as 2), weighted by the number of unique Republican donors that resided in each census tract pre-crisis

- **precrisis_tea**: an indicator for whether a campaign donor gave any itemized donations to eventual Tea Party candidates prior to the financial crisis

Data set "donor-regression-data.rds"

This is the main data set for replicating tables and figures related to campaign donors. It consists of variables carried over from *donor-panel.rds* as well as new variables constructed based on those found in *donor-panel.rds*.

Related scripts

This data set is used in

- *2-donor-tables-and-figures.R* to replicate Tables 2-7, A.2-A.13
- *4-table-A1.R* to replicate Table A.1

Variable names and definitions

Please refer to the previous section for all variables found in *donor-panel.rds*. Please see below for names and definitions of new variables found in *donor-regression-data.rds*:

- **district_cycle**: fixed effect for each congressional district-by-election cycle
- **district_cycle_sharewhite**: fixed effect for each congressional district-by-election cycle-by-donor-weighted census tract tercile of share of residents who were white in the 2000 Census
- **district_cycle_popdenscat**: fixed effect for each congressional district-by-election cycle-by-donor-weighted census tract population density tercile in the 2000 Census
- **district_type_cycle**: fixed effect for each congressional district-by-election cycle-by-donor type (i.e., whether each donor gave any itemized campaign contributions to eventual Tea Party candidates prior to the financial crisis)

- **foreclosure_sharewhite_l**, **foreclosure_sharewhite_m**, and **foreclosure_sharewhite_h**: census tract foreclosure rate interacted with indicators of whether each census tract's donor-weighted share of residents who were white in the 2000 Census is in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd tercile

- **teaparty_cand**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party candidates in a given election cycle

- **notteaparty_cand**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to non-Tea Party Republican candidates in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_cand_sw**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party candidates in a given election cycle, based on Skocpol and Williamson (2012)'s definition of Tea Party affiliations

- **notteaparty_cand_sw**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to non-Tea Party Republican candidates in a given election cycle, based on Skocpol and Williamson (2012)'s definition of Tea Party affiliations

- **teaparty_incum**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party incumbents in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_nonincum**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party non-incumbents in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_in_dist**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to in-district Tea Party candidates in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_out_dist**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to out-of-district Tea Party candidates in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_gen**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party candidates' general election campaigns in a given election cycle

- **teaparty_pri**: indicator for whether a campaign donor made any itemized contributions to Tea Party candidates' primary election campaigns in a given election cycle
- **netteaparty_cand**: difference between **teaparty_cand** and **nonteaparty_cand**
- **teaparty_cand_cut200**, **teaparty_cand_cut500**, **teaparty_cand_cut1000**, **teaparty_cand_cut2000**, and **teaparty_cand_cut5000**: indicators for whether a campaign donor gave no less than $200, $500, $1,000, $2,000, or $5,000 in itemized contributions to Tea Party candidates in a given election cycle

Data set "ltv-summ.rds"

This data set provides state-level summary statistics of rates of campaign donors with high estimated loan-to-value (LTV) ratios (equaling or exceeding 0.9) at the start of the financial crisis.

Related script

This data set is used in

- *2-donor-tables-and-figures.R* to replicate Figure 2

Variable names and definitions

- **state**: state of residence of campaign donors
- **rate_high_ltv**: rate at which campaign donors in a given state had high pre-crisis loan-to-value (LTV) ratios
- **n**: number of unique campaign donors per state

Data set "census-racial-composition.rds"

This data set reports each census tract's share of residents who were white in the 2000 Census.

Related script

This data set is used in

- *2-donor-tables-and-figures.R* to replicate Figure 3

Variable names and description

- **GEOID10**: census tract ID
- **SHRWHT**: a census tract's share of residents who were white in the 2000 Census

Data set "congressional-district-data.rds"

This is the main data set for replicating tables and figures related to legislative votes and electoral outcomes by congressional districts. It contains measures of congressional districts' electoral competitiveness and Tea Party candidates' performance in the 2010 midterm elections. It also includes congressional districts' changes in mortgage default rates leading up to 2007, 2000 Census demographic composition, and House incumbent characteristics in 2008; these variables come directly from Mian, Sufi, and Trebbi (2013).

Related scripts

This data set is used in

- *3-candidate-tables-and-figures.R* to replicate Tables 1, 8, 9, A.14-A.17
- *4-table-A1.R* to replicate Table A.1

Variable names and definitions

- **district_cleaned**: congressional district
- **party**: House incumbent's partisanship in 2008
- **vote_HR3221**: whether House incumbent voted for H.R.3221 in 2008
- **vote_HR1424**: whether House incumbent voted for H.R.1424 in 2008
- **state**: state
- **chHOMdefrate0208**: change in home mortgage default rates from 2001 to 2007
- **is_tea_party_incum2010**: whether a Tea Party incumbent was running in the 2010 House election
- **is_tea_party_challpri2010**: whether a Tea Party non-incumbent was running in the 2010 primary election for the House of Representatives
- **is_tea_party_challwinner2010**: whether a Tea Party non-incumbent won in the 2010 House election
- **open_seat**: indicator for open seat
- **tea_party_share**: primary vote share of Tea Party candidate in the 2010 House election
- **ave_mean_ideology**: average recipient CFscore (Bonica 2014) of past Republican candidates since 2000
- **district_pres_vs**: 2008 Democratic presidential vote share
- **white**: share of white residents in the 2000 Census
- **black**: share of black residents in the 2000 Census

- **hispanic**: share of Hispanic residents in the 2000 Census
- **lmedhhinc**: logged median household income in the 2000 Census
- **educ_lths**: share of adult residents without finishing high school in the 2000 Census
- **educ_hs**: share of adult residents with high school diplomas in the 2000 Census
- **educ_somecol**: share of adult residents with some college in the 2000 Census
- **educ_col**: share of adult residents with college degrees in the 2000 Census
- **age15_24**: share of residents age 15-24
- **age25_34**: share of residents age 25-34
- **age35_44**: share of residents age 35-44
- **age45_54**: share of residents age 45-54
- **age55_59**: share of residents age 55-59
- **age60_64**: share of residents age 60-64
- **age65_74**: share of residents age 65-74
- **white_national_cut_2**: indicator for a congressional district being in the 2nd tercile of share of white residents in the 2000 Census
- **white_national_cut_3**: indicator for a congressional district being in the 3rd tercile of share of white residents in the 2000 Census
- **is_tea_party_incum2008**: whether House incumbent in 2008 was an eventual Tea Partier
- **margin06**: 2008 House incumbent's vote margin in 2006

- **Fincom**: whether House incumbent in 2008 served on the Finance committee
- **logaggsec2**: logged sum of campaign contributions received by House incumbent in 2008 from the finance industry in an average past election cycle
- **notrunning**: whether House incumbent in 2008 was not running for re-election

Data set "ideal-points.rds"

This data set contains recipient CFscores and 1st-dimension DW-NOMINATE scores for Republican congressional candidates that ran between the 2000 and 2016 election cycles.

Related script

This data set is used in

- *3-candidate-tables-and-figures.R* to replicate Figure 1

Variable names and definitions

- **bonica_rid**: candidate's recipient ID in the Database Database on Ideology, Money in Politics, and Elections (DIME) (Bonica 2016)
- **is_tea_party**: indicator for Tea Party affiliation
- **dwnom1**: 1st-dimension DW-NOMINATE score
- **recipient_cfscore**: recipient CFscore

References

Bonica, Adam. 2014. "Mapping the Ideological Marketplace." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2):367–386.

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Mian, Atif, Amir Sufi, and Francesco Trebbi. 2013. "The Political Economy of the Subprime Mortgage Credit Expansion." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 8(4): 373–408.

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