

**Technical Appendix to  
“700-billion-dollar question: Why Did They Change Their Minds?”**

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The following technical appendix presents the underlying regressions and data documentation that form the basis of the analysis in our short op-ed piece.

**Probit Regression Table**

Dependent variable: “Aye” = 1, “Nay” = 0

Dependent variable: Sample:	(1) Vote on first bill Entire House	(2) Vote on second bill Entire House	(3) Vote on second bill “Nay” on first bill
<u>Representative characteristics:</u>			
Ideological distance from center	-0.702*** (0.182)	-0.766*** (0.185)	-0.330** (0.160)
Member of Black caucus?	-0.207* (0.109)	0.057 (0.140)	0.296* (0.189)
Member of Hispanic caucus?	-0.211* (0.096)	-0.064 (0.141)	0.107 (0.122)
Member of House fin. services comm?	0.035 (0.055)	-0.042 (0.057)	-0.085 (0.056)
Member of House budget committee?	0.178* (0.092)	0.144* (0.067)	0.055 (0.113)
Lean or tossup district?	-0.297*** (0.077)	-0.241*** (0.076)	-0.039 (0.068)
Open seat?	0.478*** (0.076)	0.312*** (0.067)	-0.141 (0.100)
Republican?	-0.281*** (0.069)	-0.208*** (0.048)	-0.046 (0.077)
<u>District characteristics:</u>			
Log median household income	-0.240 (0.206)	-0.346* (0.203)	-0.420 (0.256)
Share of jobs in financial industry	10.827** (4.256)	14.200*** (4.932)	12.579*** (5.270)
Average years of education	-0.018 (0.089)	0.016 (0.083)	0.015 (0.062)
Percent of subprime loans	0.263 (0.546)	0.600 (0.449)	0.128 (0.444)
Home foreclosure rate	-5.929 (17.515)	-0.009 (15.298)	6.658 (13.831)
Unemployment rate (state)	0.045 (0.028)	0.037 (0.025)	0.008 (0.026)
No. of observations	432	434	228
Pseudo-R <sup>2</sup>	0.160	0.168	0.132

**Notes:** Robust standard errors, clustered by state, are reported. \*\*\*, \*\*, and \* denote significance at the 1%, 5%, and 10% levels respectively. Coefficients reported are marginal effects.

## Data Documentation

**Vote Rollcall:** Binary variable equal to 1 if “Aye”, 0 if “Nay”. From the Clerk of the House of Representatives website. (One representative did not cast a vote on the first bill; this observation is dropped.)

**Ideological distance from center:** Absolute value of the first dimension coordinate of the DW-NOMINATE score, from <http://voteview.com/dwnomin.htm>. Measure devised and computed by Royce Carroll, Jeff Lewis, James Lo, Nolan McCarty, Keith Poole, and Howard Rosenthal, which rates politicians’ distance from the center on the basis of their public voting track record in office.

**Member of Black caucus?** Binary variable equal to 1 if member, 0 if not member. From the House of Representatives website.

**Member of Hispanic caucus?** Binary variable equal to 1 if member, 0 if not member. From the House of Representatives website.

**Member of House financial services committee?** Binary variable equal to 1 if member, 0 if not member. From the House of Representatives website.

**Member of House budget committee?** Binary variable equal to 1 if member, 0 if not member. From the House of Representatives website.

**Lean or tossup district?** Binary variable equal to 1 if the race is assessed to be either tossup or a race that leans in either direction, 0 if otherwise. From the CQ Politics website, 2 October 2008 edition.

**Open seat?** Binary variable equal to 1 if the incumbent is not running for reelection, 0 if otherwise. From the CQ Politics website.

**Republican?** Binary variable equal to 1 if Republican, 0 if Democrat. From the House of Representatives website.

**Log median household income:** From the 2000 Census.

**Share of jobs in financial industry:** Share of employed peoples aged 16 and above in occupations in business and financial operations. From the 2000 Census.

**Average years of education:** Computed from the 2000 Census. Years of education assigned to the different categories are: “Nursery to 4<sup>th</sup> grade” (2 years), “5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> grade” (5.5 years), “7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> grade” (7.5 years), “9<sup>th</sup> grade” (9 years), “10<sup>th</sup> grade” (10 years), “11<sup>th</sup> grade” (11 years), “12<sup>th</sup> grade, no diploma” (11.5 years), “High school graduate” (12 years), “Some college, less than 1 year” (12.5 years), “Some college, one of more years, no degree” (13.5 years), “Associate degree” (14 years), “Bachelor’s degree” (16 years), “Master’s degree” (18 years), “Professional school degree” (18 years), “Doctorate” (22 years)

**Percent of subprime loans:** Percent in 2007. From the Center for Community Capital, University of North Carolina (<http://www.ccc.unc.edu/?id=subprime&t=Subprime%20Lending%20a>).

**Home foreclosure rate (state):** Rate as measured by 1/x, namely 1 home foreclosure in every x households in the state in August 2008. From RealtyTrac.

**Unemployment rate (state):** State unemployment rates in August 2008. From the Bureau of Labor Statistics.