

An Empirical Analysis of Political Activity in Hollywood

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October, 2007

Film plays an important role in the American political system, and forms an important branch of the mass media. I analyze the political contributions of a sample of 996 top film actors, directors, producers and writers, correlating them with demographic, family, and career success variables. I find that contributions flow overwhelmingly to left-of-center parties and organizations. I theorize about the causes of this bias, and argue empirically that, while demographic variables are not completely irrelevant, Hollywood liberalism is primarily a function of high, publicly visible incomes, and family connections. Neither religion nor birthplace effects seem to affect political activity in the film business.

I.

* 222 Sistine Hall, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29631. I am grateful for comments and suggestions from David Prindle, Bob Tollson, Robert Tamura, and seminar participants at Clemson University. J. Kerry Waller provided excellent research assistance in the production of the data. Send comments to tkendal@clemson.edu. All errors herein are the author's.

Introduction

Political activity in Hollywood is never far from the front page. Why do stars engage in politics? And what of the perception that Hollywood is lock-step liberal? In this paper, I address these questions empirically with a unique dataset on political contributions from 996 top actors, producers, writers, and directors. I find that contributions are relatively common in Hollywood, and that almost uniformly, contributions flow to left-of-center candidates, parties, and organizations. I show that demographics, family background, and career success variables are relevant, but not substantially determinative, in determining contribution levels. I argue that Hollywood liberalism is driven essentially by a combination of high, publicly visible incomes, and deep-rooted Hollywood families.

A better understanding of political activity in Hollywood is important for several reasons. First, Hollywood stars are celebrities, so their behavior is culturally salient, and a substantial amount of political information is conveyed to the public through film. Second, political activity in Hollywood has historically been an important stimulus for regulation in film and other media industries, as during the censorship battles of the 1920s and 30s, or the “Red Scare” of the 1950s; Hollywood’s politics remain a major target for its cultural critics. Third, political contributions from Hollywood have been¹ important, and remain important today, in modern American politics. Movie stars and directors rank among the wealthiest individuals in the country, and their money is highly sought after by national political campaigns. Moreover, Hollywood celebrities also make campaign appearances, and so contribute “star power” image to candidates, in the same way as cellular service, alcoholic beverage, and automobile manufacturing firms employ celebrity endorsers to promote their products.² Finally, because of their cultural salience, Hollywood’s political activity is widely reported, and so may serve to identify focal points among primary candidates for other major contributors. For instance, at a 1990 Hollywood dinner for former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley, Disney’s then-chairman Michael Eisner explained that he organized the event in order to “send a signal to the press and the nation that will create so much pressure that Bill will have to run [for President] in 1992” (quoted in Brownstein, 1992).³

A substantial recent literature in economics has examined the political tendencies and biases of news reporters (Adkins Convert and Wasburn, 2007, Gentzkow and Shapiro, 2006 and 2004, Groseclose and Milyo, 2005, Lott and Hassett, 2004, Puglisi, 2004, Sutter, 2001). This paper complements that line of research by examining the political leanings of another important media industry, Hollywood films. Previous literature on political activity in Hollywood has primarily focused on personal interviews and small-scale surveys. For instance, Rothman and Lichter (1984) surveyed 95 writers, producers and directors of top-fifty box office grossing films made between 1964 and 1982, and compared their answers to similar surveys of other “elites.” Prindle and Endersby (1993) and Prindle (1993) surveyed 35 Hollywood “opinion leaders,” and

¹ As early as the 1932 presidential campaign, contributions from Hollywood were substantial (Brownstein, 1992). The “Hollywood for Roosevelt Committee” was among the most important contributors in the 1940 presidential campaign, and of the 1944 campaign, Overacker (1945) writes, “Without Hollywood’s substantial support, the [Democratic] Party would have been in a sad financial plight.”

² In addition, Hollywood produces independent political advertisement, including the 1940 election-eve “Cavalcade of Stars for Roosevelt” national radio broadcast, or television advertisements opposing Robert Bork’s appointment to the Supreme Court by Norman Lear’s People for the American Way group in 1987.

³ Due to political circumstance, Bradley chose not run in 1992, but did eventually run in 2000, and received a substantial amount of financial support from Hollywood, as shown in the analysis of that election below.

compared their answers to similar questions used in a nationally-representative poll. In contrast to this literature, I focus on monetary political contributions. Since contributions are costly, while “talk is cheap,” this approach may supply a more accurate picture of politics in Hollywood. On the other hand, contributions reveal not only the political preferences of the contributors, but also the returns from contributing to one candidate over another. For instance, a donor may choose to contribute to an “electable” candidate instead of one who best represents his tastes. Moreover, political contributions are a more public act than answers to private surveys, and so observed behavior may differ for that reason as well.

In addition, previous literature has been limited by the fact that personal interviews with high-profile individuals are costly and difficult to obtain; thus, sample sizes have been quite small, and no formal multivariate analysis has been possible. In contrast, my sample size is nearly 1,000, so it is possible to empirically model the probability of contribution and contribution amounts as a function of a host of relevant factors.

II. The Data

The dataset in the paper involved a substantial collection exercise, merging four distinct sources. The first source was the set of names of film stars to be included in the sample. In early 2004, I downloaded a list of 1,029 top actors, directors, producers, and writers involved in filmmaking from the “Hollywood Stock Exchange,” an online futures and prediction market for box office returns from films featuring particular stars, owned and operated as a subsidiary of Cantor Fitzgerald, L.P.⁴ In order to be “traded” on the site, an individual had to be known to be involved in an upcoming major film release; thus, the sample excludes many older stars, who were not involved in production in 2004. In particular, some notably political actors including Morgan Fairchild, Jane Fonda, and Barbara Streisand are not in the sample.

Among these names, I excluded those who were not primarily actors, directors, writers, or producers.⁵ I also excluded child stars who were under age 18 by election day, 2000, and so could not legally vote in that election. After these culls, 996 names remained. The full list of names appears in the Appendix.

Next, I connected each remaining individual in the list with their political contributions during the 1997-2004 period, with data derived from repeated queries of the Federal Election Commission’s political contribution records. Attempts were made to query both “stage” names and birth names, where appropriate. Each FEC record indicates the amount contributed, and the campaign to which the contribution was given; also, the contributor is asked to indicate his name, profession, home city and state, and employer. The latter information allowed me to distinguish contributions from stars with common names from others with the same name (e.g., Michael Douglas). In almost all cases, there was no difficulty in identifying contributions from the individuals in the list.⁶ However, the fact that contributors are allowed to supply their own personal information for the record implies that a star could purposely obscure his contribution records by refusing to provide information or providing inaccurate information. It is not known if such behavior is common, but if so, this could affect the results in this paper.

⁴ <http://www.hsx.com/>. Data from this site is also used by Elberse and Anand (2005), e.g.

⁵ E.g., Britney Spears, DMX, etc.

⁶ In the few cases in which there was uncertainty about whether a contribution belonged to a particular individual, the contribution was not assigned.

Next, each individual in the data was linked to personal demographic information. Since the individuals in the dataset are the objects of intense public interest, it was usually simple to collect detailed demographic information from readily available biographies in print and online. Gender, age, race, and birthplace data was available for every individual in the dataset. Marital history, education, family and religious background variables were similarly available for almost all individuals.⁷

Finally, each individual in the data was linked with his career history in film,⁸ and each relevant film released between 1980 and 2004 was matched to its total domestic box office returns. In some cases, a film was produced for television, the “straight-to-video” market, or as a student film or documentary, and so no box office data was available. For films released before 1980, box office data is frequently unavailable except for the most successful films; thus I did not record box office returns for these films, which constitute 8.9% of all films in the career histories of the individuals in the sample. It seems likely that films released over the last 25 years would be most relevant in determining behavior over the 1997-2004 period; however, to the degree that older films matter, this exclusion may affect the results.

Table 1 provides summary statistics on the contributions, demographics, and career variables described here. I divided the sample into actors (of which there are 865) and non-actors – that is, directors, writers, and producers (of which there are 131). In cases where an individual has both acted and directed, produced, or screenwritten, I assigned him to a group based on the majority of his work during the 1997-2004 period.⁹

Notably, 27% of actors and 56% of directors and producers contributed any money to political campaigns during the sample period, a substantial proportion in comparison to the general public. Contributing actors gave, on average, nearly \$7,900 over the eight year sample period, while directors, producers, and writers gave more: over \$13,000 on average.¹⁰

The individuals in the sample gave a total of \$2,558,346 to Democratic candidates and organizations during the sample period. The equivalent figures for Republicans and third parties/independents are \$22,250 and \$7,550, respectively. Thus, Democrats received 115 times more than Republicans from Hollywood over this time period. A substantial amount of contributions (\$203,658) went to ostensibly non-partisan organizations and action groups; however, many of these groups support primarily Democratic candidates (e.g., Emily’s List, America Coming Together PAC, Hollywood Women’s Political Committee, Move On PAC). Thus, the 115:1 ratio actually underestimates the real ideological dominance of left-of-center political contributions in Hollywood.

These results are substantially consistent with previous surveys. Prindle and Endersby (1993) find that 49% of Hollywood “opinion leaders” self-identified as Democrats, in comparison to only 9% as Republicans (with another 40% self-identifying as “independent”, of which many considered themselves too liberal to be Democrats). Rothman and Lichter’s (1984) survey similarly found liberal dominance in Hollywood.

⁷ In a few cases, data was missing on these variables. For these individuals, I typically assigned the most common value. Thus, for instance, if I did not know whether the individual was college-educated, I assumed he was not.

⁸ Career film histories were derived from the All Movie Guides at <http://www.allmovie.com>.

⁹ E.g., Ron Howard and Rob Reiner, who once were prominent actors, have primarily been involved behind the camera in recent years, and so were assigned to the directors and producers group.

¹⁰ During the early portion of the sample period, total contributions to an individual candidate were limited to \$1,000 per donor per election, but “soft money” contributions to national parties were essentially unlimited. After the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 2002 (“McCain-Feingold”), which was implemented beginning in January, 2003, contribution limits were raised to \$2,000, but soft money contributions were substantially restricted.

Table 2 lists the 25 most politically generous individuals in each group. One immediately obvious fact is that there are three clear outliers: Michael Douglas, Steven Spielberg, and Rob Reiner have contributed substantially more than any others in the sample. These individuals donated to many different candidates; they also made substantial “soft money” contributions to national party organizations. A second fact visible in Table 2 is that those who contribute the most are also widely known for other political activity. Paul Newman is a high-profile environmental activist, Alec Baldwin and Michael Douglas are frequently involved in politically-relevant acting roles, and Danny DeVito’s political statements to the media are well-known. Producers and directors are usually lower-profile individuals, but some of those who contribute the most have also produced or directed important political films: Rob Reiner directed *The American President* (1995), Oliver Stone directed *Platoon* (1986), *Wall Street* (1987), and *JFK* (1992), and Nora Ephron authored the screenplay for *Silkwood* (1983), and blogs regularly on Ariana Huffington’s left-of-center “Huffington Post.” This list suggests that contributions may be a good proxy for political activism generally; however, such extrapolation must be made with care, since there may be cases in which activism and contributions are net substitutes.

Table 3 displays the 20 political campaigns receiving the most total contributions from the individuals in the sample during the sample period, and thus suggests a list of politicians who are “best connected” in Hollywood. Notably, with the exception of the Directors’ Guild political action committee, all of the campaigns are associated with the Democratic Party. Among individual candidates are included three of the four senators from New York and California, where most of the stars in the sample reside. Also included, however, are a number of Presidential candidates, the Democratic House and Senatorial leadership, and other well-connected politicians. Nick Clooney, an unsuccessful candidate for the House of Representatives from Kentucky, is the father of George Clooney, a top movie star.

Returning to Table 1, the demographic statistics displayed there are fairly self-explanatory; I discuss their relevance in the following Section. Turning to the career statistics, the average actor in the sample has appeared in over 24 films, of which just over 7 were among the top 75 domestic grossing films in any particular year, and nearly 3 were among the top 25.

Detailed information on star earnings is privately held, with the exception of a few widely-reported numbers on the very top actors.¹¹ As a proxy for earnings, however, I use box office returns for films in which an individual acted, directed, or produced, and for films in which an actor held a starring role. All box office numbers are in millions of 2003 dollars.¹² This proxy is highly limited, since even among the top-billed actors in a particular film, individual contracts may vary widely, with some actors receiving more or less upfront money versus “backend” percentages of the gross or profits from the film (Epstein, 2005). Nevertheless, it is the best available proxy for income or success.

Table 1 shows that the average actor’s typical appearance is in a movie that grosses just under \$37 million, while his starring roles gross slightly more. Film is a risky business: the average actor’s best-selling career film grossed nearly \$170 million and the within-career

¹¹ And even these are, to some degree dubious, since they may be “leaked” to the press by an actor’s agent as a bargaining chip or advertisement for future roles.

¹² Since box office returns are being treated as a proxy for income, I used the general urban CPI to deflate nominal box office dollars, instead of a film or entertainment-specific price index. Since the individuals in the sample are concentrated in certain areas of the country (southern California and New York, e.g.), and since their typical consumption bundle differs somewhat from the median American’s (more security services and formal wear, e.g.), the use of the general CPI may be inappropriate, however.

standard deviation of box office returns is nearly \$50 million. Table 1 also displays similar figures for non-actors.

III. Theories of Hollywood Political Activity

In this section, I discuss six theories for why Hollywood stars are involved in national politics, and why they are primarily involved in left-of-center politics in the United States. Political activity in Hollywood certainly has costs. Audiences who disagree with a star's political position may choose not to attend his films; moreover, a politician with strong Hollywood connections leaves himself open to political attacks for having such frivolous and contemptible friends.¹³ Given the high actual levels of activity, political contribution must also have substantial benefits.

1. *Wealth*

Power, or access to those in power, is usually a normal good. Thus, wealthy people in all industries spend more on it than others. Hollywood celebrities are among the wealthiest people in the United States, so it is unsurprising that they are also involved substantially in political campaigns. Moreover, Hollywood is located in California, and most participants in the film industry live either in southern California or in New York. All four Senators and a majority of the U.S. Representatives from these states are Democrats; therefore, to access power there, one must deal with the Democratic Party.

One can test this theory's relevance by considering only contributions at the Presidential level, where the parties are much more equally matched. These are illustrated in Figure 1. Given that the actual winner of both the 2000 and 2004 presidential elections was a Republican, the fact that over 99% of all contributions to presidential candidates in sample went to Democrats suggests that something other than a demand for access to power drives Hollywood's political activity. Surely, donors could not have thought that contributions to such unlikely candidates as Ralph Nader or Dennis Kucinich would increase their access to power more than contributions to George W. Bush on the margin, even very early in the campaign.

Moreover, conservatism is frequently associated with wealth, since high-earning individuals often support less progressive income tax schemes and believe more in themes of "personal responsibility." However, movie stars, unlike other high-earners, are *publicly* wealthy. Their expenditures are widely reported, and frequently commented upon. Thus, they may employ contributions to left-of-center organizations as a way to counteract public impressions of vacuous and frivolous lives. Brownstein (1992) quotes Robert Redford as saying, "We get paid so much money just for being personalities. Other people are out there digging trenches and working in dangerous jobs...that guilt produces some desire for credibility, so they go into campaigns."

Professional athletes are also publicly wealthy; however, unlike film stars, their fan bases are usually local to the metro area where their team plays. Therefore, participation in local

¹³ Such attacks have a long history. In his 1950 California senate race, Richard Nixon attacked his opponent Helen Douglas' generous Hollywood support, calling her "the darling of the Hollywood parlor pinks and reds". Such attacks are not unique to Republicans: Hubert H. Humphrey stigmatized his 1968 Democratic primary opponent, Robert Kennedy, for "trying to bedazzle the voters with his glamorous friends from Hollywood" (both quoted in Brownstein, 1992).

public works projects provides more efficient publicity than involvement in national political campaigns.¹⁴

2. *Social Insularity and Nepotism*

Unlike other wealthy people, celebrities cannot do much of their own shopping, attend public events, or eat at restaurants without dealing with harassment from paparazzi and autograph-demanding fans. This constitutes a cost of interaction with non-celebrities, and so a substantial proportion of Hollywood stars' social interactions are with other stars. Social norms can evolve quite differently in small, insular groups in comparison to the public at large.¹⁵ Peer effects may reinforce what would otherwise be only marginally dominant political leanings (Prindle, 1993).

Moreover, one common way of entering the film industry is through family connections; thus, it is unsurprising that a substantial fraction of the individuals in the sample have parents (around 15%) who are also involved in show business (see Table 1). Such practices can also make "old-boy networks" and other non-market labor arrangements more important. Thus, Medved (2003) purports that stars who do not "toe the line" on leftist politics face discrimination in hiring.

On the other hand, film labor markets are widely considered to be among the most viciously competitive industries, and there is also a competitive market for control of most major media firms, so it is difficult to believe that a substantial amount of employer or employee discrimination can persist for long.

3. *Risk*

DeVany and Walls (2004) show that the distribution of box office returns is Pareto, with an infinite variance. Participants in the film industry are quite aware of the enormous riskiness their ventures entail. Therefore, despite their high incomes, Prindle (1993) argues that Hollywood may psychologically associate with those at the margins of society, who benefit the most from social safety net programs. For similar reasons, those few who do succeed may be inclined view their own income (and, perhaps, all returns to labor) as economic rent, instead of as a competitive market return to productivity. No less than Charlton Heston argues for this view (quoted in Sherman, 1990):

I think there's another factor, and that is guilt...Most actors are faintly surprised by success, or even employment. How do they speak out? They speak out as liberals. They feel subconsciously guilty that somehow it worked for them and it didn't work as well for those people. How come the guy who won the sonnet reading contest at Northwestern is selling aluminum siding, and I didn't win, and I'm acting?

¹⁴ Moreover, frequent movie consumers tend to be politically left-of-center and less religious in comparison with those who watch films irregularly (Franklin, 2006), while sports audiences are typically more conservative. It is difficult to know to what degree such audience sorting is a cause of Hollywood's liberalism or an effect of it, however.

¹⁵ Becker and Murphy (2000) model such mechanisms.

This theory does not explain, however, leftist attitudes on moral issues¹⁶ or foreign policy. Moreover, this theory is contrary to the common perception of Hollywood as an industry full of oversized egos, who would presumably be inured to guilt. Finally, many other entrepreneurial activities outside of film also involve substantial risk, and are not dominated by leftism.

4. *Path-dependence*

The film industry's unique history may be determinative of its present-day politics. In the very earliest days of film, there was substantial Republican support among actors.¹⁷ However, by the 1930s, political contributions from Hollywood to Republicans were virtually nonexistent,¹⁸ and with the exception of a brief period during the 1950s, have remained that way up to the present.

In the first half of the 20th century, Hollywood labor markets operated under a quasi-monopsony in which actors signed binding long-term contracts with a specific studio, and could not freely market their services to other studios. Under this system, many stars received below-market wages, and this undoubtedly generated some ill-will towards the *laissez faire* economic rhetoric typical of Republicans. Moreover, studios sometimes forced their employees to contribute to particular political campaigns that benefited the studios.¹⁹ Despite the fact that Louis B. Mayer and a few other studio heads were prominent Republicans during this era, even then most actors and writers were Democrats.

Also, among the early and mid-20th century politicians who offered the most handsome figures and heroic rhetoric, most were Democrats, including Franklin D. Roosevelt²⁰ and John F. Kennedy (Ronald Reagan is a notable exception to this rule). By contrast, few would consider Wendell Wilkie, Thomas Dewey, Dwight Eisenhower²¹, Richard Nixon, and other prominent national Republicans physically or rhetorically to be “star material.”

In the early 1950s,²² the U.S. House of Representatives Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) summoned many Hollywood actors and executives to Washington in an

¹⁶ In Rothman and Lichter's (1984) survey, 97.1% of the Hollywood elite were “pro-choice”, and substantially higher fractions agreed with liberal statements on homosexuality and extramarital sex than those in other elite professions.

¹⁷ According to Brownstein (1992), Al Jolson wrote campaign songs for both Warren Harding (“Harding, You're the Man for Us”), and Calvin Coolidge (“Keep Cool with Coolidge”).

¹⁸ See the surveys by Overacker (1937, 1941, 1945). In the presidential election of 1936, motion picture producers and theatre owners gave \$33,250 to Democrats and \$1,000 to Republicans. This does not include contributions to the Communist Party or other left-wing groups, which also attracted non-trivial support in Hollywood during those years.

¹⁹ For instance, Louis B. Mayer's personal efforts to destroy left-leaning author Sinclair Lewis' run for California governor in 1934, and his recruitment of Ethel Barrymore and Conrad Nagel to campaign for Herbert Hoover in 1932 (Mitchell, 1992).

²⁰ FDR was such a film buff that he even tried writing a screenplay himself (Brownstein, 1992). He is clearly symbolized in many Depression-era films (e.g., *Heroes for Sale* (1933), *Our Daily Bread* (1934), and *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939)).

²¹ Under political pressure from the House Un-American Activities Committee, some studios did try to rouse support for Eisenhower as an epic war hero; nevertheless, he was still never as popular as his rival, Adlai Stevenson, for whom Hollywood's power couple, Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, campaigned tirelessly (Brownstein, 1992).

²² HUAC investigations of Hollywood had begun in 1938, but it was not until 1947 that systematic subpoenaing activity began.

attempt to determine the degree of Communist influence among them. This effort was led primarily by Republican politicians, and caused substantial harm to the careers of many stars who were “blacklisted,” either because they were named or rumored to be Communists, or because they simply refused to answer HUAC’s questions.²³ These events remain a source of political film content to this day, and residual resentment may explain some of today’s inclination towards the Democratic Party in Hollywood. Indeed, content analysis by Powers, et al (1992) suggests that film content distinctly shifted to reflect more liberal attitudes during the 1960s, at the end of the blacklist era.

On the other hand, most of those directly affected by the blacklist were, by the time of my sample, retired or dead, and many of the screenwriters blacklisted were actually able to continue working through pseudonyms (Georgakas, 1992). Moreover, if the path-dependence theory is true, the rise of one of Hollywood’s own, Ronald Reagan, to the highest elected office in the land, would be expected to have some important effect on most of today’s stars, who are not old enough to have been directly affected by the blacklist.

5. *Artistic Natures*

Actors are artists, and so may be more sensitive to personal suffering and more personally interested in major social themes and statements than non-artists. They may be more likely to perceive tension between their artistic freedom and the constraints placed on them by the marketplace of consumers.²⁴ Moreover, civil liberties and censorship issues are very important to artists, and the Democratic Party has generally been less amenable to restrictions on free speech. However, this theory does not explain the preponderance of left-wing attitudes on economic or foreign policy issues in Hollywood. My sample includes actors, directors, writers, and producers, all of whom may be considered to varying degrees “artists.” However, Prindle and Endersby’s (1993) survey also included film studio executives, and they found little difference in political opinion between artists and non-artists in Hollywood.

6. *Demographics*

Hollywood’s demographics differ substantially from those of the public as a whole. Female stars are almost uniformly career-oriented and driven, and so are selected from a pool of relatively liberal women.

Since physical attractiveness is an important facet of film production, many Hollywood stars are also relatively young. The typical actor in my sample is around 37 years old; the typical director is 47 (see Table 1). Though there are exceptions, there is often a trend towards conservatism as one grows older, so Hollywood’s youth may partially explain its liberalism.

Moreover, as in many other industries,²⁵ Hollywood’s entrepreneurs have traditionally been dominated by a particular ethnic group – Jews – who, as a general group have commonly been strongly associated with the Democratic Party in American politics. Almost all of the

²³ All ten of the original “Hollywood ten” blacklistees were in fact Communist Party members, and despite the fact that the total number of actual Party members in Hollywood was never particularly high (Ceplair and England, 1980), Communists partially or fully controlled the Popular Front organizations that united them with liberals (Buhle and Wagner, 2002).

²⁴ Content analysis by Lichter, et al (1997) finds that “business”-related characters are consistently assigned negative plot functions in US films, and that this is not simply an artifact of the correlation of business activities with wealth.

²⁵ See Mandorff (2006) for some fascinating accounts.

major Hollywood studios were either founded or helmed during the studio era by Jews (Gabler, 1988). For my sample, I attempted to determine the religious background of each included individual.²⁶ 13% of the actors and 18% of the non-actors in the sample self-identify²⁷ as Jewish, compared with roughly 2.5% of the general American public.

My sample of Hollywood's elite is also more likely to have been born in traditionally liberal states like California (14% for actors, 10% for non-actors) and New York (16% and 18%). Many (30%, 36%) are foreign born, commonly from the UK or Europe, where leftism has always held a stronger political role than in the U.S. Also, at least in comparison to other wealthy individuals, the individuals in my sample are rather unlikely to attend college, with only 33% of actors and 53% of non-actors graduating from a four-year institution. Moreover, given the youth of the sample, the fact that 45% of those who ever married have divorced at least once suggests that these individuals are drawn from among those with weaker views of traditional family structure.

Finally, while it is difficult to count in any formal way, particularly historically, anecdotal evidence suggests a disproportionate representation in Hollywood by gay men, who also tend to be left-of-center politically.

IV. Empirical Results

In this Section, I discriminate between some of these hypotheses by estimating a relationship between contributions and demographic and career variables. I consider two forms for the contributions variable. First, I measure contributions with an indicator variable which takes the value of 1 if an individual ever contributed any money to any candidate during the sample period, and zero otherwise. In this case, I employ a Probit regression design. Alternatively, I assume that the total dollar amount of contributions during the sample period is a proxy for an underlying measure of political activity, and so employ a Tobit design, with left-censoring at zero.

In all regressions, the dependent variable refers to *all* contributions. As discussed above, practically all contributions are to Democratic Party-related candidates and groups; thus, it is infeasible to estimate the effects on contributions to Democrats separately from contributions generally. Unsurprisingly, all the results presented below are consistent if the dependent variable is changed to refer to only contributions to Democrats.

In Table 4, I estimate the determinants of contributions using data on the 865 actors in the sample. Coefficients significant at the 10% level are indicated in bold. The first three columns use the indicator "ever contributed" variable as the dependent variable, while the latter three columns consider the total dollar amount of contributions. The coefficients presented for continuous variables in the first three columns indicate marginal effects evaluated at the means of the covariates, not Probit coefficients. Standard errors are robust to heteroskedasticity.

Because demographic and career variables may be independently correlated, columns 1 and 4 include only demographic variables, while columns 2 and 5 include career success variables measured by number of films, and columns 3 and 6 include career success variables

²⁶ Unfortunately, in most cases, it was impossible to determine current religious intensity, or to distinguish between different denominations among those with Christian backgrounds.

²⁷ When there was no evidence to suggest a Jewish background, the Jewish variable was coded as zero; thus, this variable should be interpreted to mean an individual has commonly identified himself as Jewish or from a Jewish family background.

measured by box office returns. Qualitatively, however, most of the effects are consistent across all specifications. Also, as Table 2 illustrated earlier, there are important outliers at the top of the donations distribution. Since these outliers could unduly affect the total dollar amount regressions, I exclude the two highest contributing stars in columns 3-6. This does not affect any of the results qualitatively, except as indicated below.

First, consider the demographic variables. There is evidence of a mild gender gap (women are around 6% more likely to contribute), although they do not seem to contribute higher dollar amounts overall. Black actors are somewhat less likely to contribute, and contribute around \$6,500 less on average than whites (the omitted group), while Asian and Hispanic actors look similar to whites. Older actors contribute more, though the effect turns negative around age 55. Neither marital status nor Judaism seems to have any significant effect.²⁸ Interestingly, college-graduated actors are more likely to contribute, and contribute around \$2,600 more on average. Birthplace within the United States does not seem to affect actors' contributions;²⁹ however, as might be expected, foreign-born actors are substantially less likely to contribute to American political causes.³⁰

Thus, in evaluating the overall effects of Hollywood's demographic gap with the rest of America, it is difficult to see how such effects can explain much, if any, of Hollywood's liberalism.

Turning to the social insularity thesis, Table 4 illustrates that children of show business parents are 8-10% more likely to contribute; however, they do not contribute more in total amounts. This suggests that there may be some evidence for the thesis that Hollywood's show business families drive its political activities. The fact that they are more likely to contribute may be due to the fact that they are more likely to be invited to candidate dinners and similar events. The fact that they do not contribute more money overall, however, suggests family connections may not be the most important part of the story, however.

Table 4 also shows that actors who are older when they make their first film appearance – and thus, who have spent more of their life outside of Hollywood – contribute less. The “risk” hypothesis discussed in the previous Section suggests that actors psychologically associate with the poor. A testable implication is that actors who spend more time as struggling actors should associate more closely with the poor. Since age at first *starring* film is included as a covariate in the regression, an alternative interpretation of the coefficient on the age at first film variable is that individuals who have a briefer stint between entering the film industry and becoming a star contribute less. Thus, there is some evidence for the risk hypothesis, although it is difficult to truly separate such an effect from the effect of entering Hollywood later in life. Moreover, as will be discussed below, within-career variance in box office returns, which might also indicate a psychological closeness with the vagaries of the market, *reduces* the propensity to contribute.

The path-dependence theory also finds little support in these results. As indicated before, the effect of age on contributions finds its peak with individuals around age 55 in the year 2001, and thus, for those actors born around 1946. These actors were children during the blacklist era, so it is difficult to believe it had a substantial effect on them.

²⁸ This is the only variable for which the exclusion of outliers changes the results qualitatively. Including Michael Douglas (who is Jewish) makes the effect of being Jewish on contribution amount positive and significant.

²⁹ Separating out New York from California, or including more detailed birthplace variables such as census region dummies similarly does not evince any statistically significant result.

³⁰ It could be argued that, since many of those foreign born are not US citizens, they should be excluded from the sample entirely. Doing so does not change any of the results qualitatively.

Columns 2, 3, 5, and 6 show clearly a consistent effect of income on contributions. Notably, more film appearances does not affect contributions; only more starring roles. And in columns 2 and 5, only starring roles in top 75 films are relevant; a one standard deviation increase in the number of top 75 starring roles (3.78) increases the probability of contribution by around 19%, and the amount of contribution by nearly \$5,000. Interestingly, roles in top 25 films may even reduce contributions (though the effect is insignificant). This suggests that, while success is relevant for contributions, the marginal effect of additional success may be small.

Similarly, columns 3 and 6 indicate that a one standard deviation increase in a star's average box office returns (\$22.15 million) increases his probability of contribution by 7.5%, or \$3,400 in levels. The best-selling film of an actor's career matters even more than the average film: a one standard deviation increase in the maximum career box office (\$106.27 million) increases the probability of contribution by 18%, and the amount by \$6,900. Finally, within-career variance in box office returns substantially reduce contribution propensities: a (cross-star) one standard deviation increase in (within-star) standard deviation (\$28.63 million) reduces the probability of contribution by 17%, and reduces the level of contribution by roughly \$7,600. These results suggest that income is an important factor in driving Hollywood's political contributions.

In Table 5, I perform a similar analysis for the 131 non-actors in the sample.³¹ Interestingly, while the effects of income on contributions are similar to those for actors (though not as strong), the demographic effects are quite different. Gender and race³² both mattered for actors, but neither has any significant effect on contributions for this group. Age is still (jointly) significant in determining contributions, but has the opposite shape as it did for actors: contributions are *decreasing* in age for the relatively young, then begin to increase in a convex fashion.³³ College education, which increased the contribution propensities of actors, actually seems to decrease the level of contributions among non-actors, at least in some specifications. Unlike actors, non-actors born in California or New York are bigger contributors than those born elsewhere. Similar to the results for actors, however, there is no apparent Jewish effect (except in one specification).

So far, I have not empirically attempted to distinguish political activity generally from partisan activity (although as noted above, the results are similar if I examine only contributions to Democrats). One way of separating ideological support from contribution generally is to focus on contributions to Presidential candidates only. As shown before, it is difficult to believe that these contributions represent an attempt to buy access to power, since almost all the contributions went to losing candidates. Table 6 performs a similar analysis as in the previous two tables, but uses only contributions to Presidential campaigns. Since the list of individuals who contribute to Presidential campaigns is nearly identical to the list of those who contribute generally, using the "ever contributed" dependent variable evinces very similar results to those displayed in the previous two tables. Thus, in Table 6, I focus on only the "total amount

³¹ As in the previous analysis, I exclude the two biggest contributors from Table 2 in the contribution levels regressions.

³² Hispanics are excluded here because there are not enough of them (2) to derive standard errors for the coefficient. They are grouped with whites for this analysis.

³³ The different specifications imply different turning points. In columns 2 and 5, the minimum for contributions is around age 45 (near the mean for this group), while in columns 3 and 6, the minimum is around age 20 (younger than almost everyone in the group).

contributed” dependent variable. The first three columns are estimated using only actors, and the latter three columns use data on directors and producers only.

Most of the results evident in Tables 4 and 5 are also evident in Table 6. For actors, the exceptions are that being born in New York or California, and having ever divorced, increase the amount of money given to Presidential candidates, but not donations generally. Thus, these demographic variables may correlate with ideology more strongly than the previous tables suggested. For non-actors, there seems to be much less age structure to contribution levels, and being born in California or New York and being a college graduate does not correlate with Presidential giving (while it did correlate with giving generally in Table 5). Interestingly, the age at first film variable, which was insignificant in Table 5, is now significant; individuals who entered the film business at a later age are *more* likely to contribute (note that this the opposite effect generally holds for actors).

V. Conclusion

The axis between Hollywood and Washington is well-traveled, and the denizens of each extract gains from trade. Film politics matters for “real” politics – in fact, they are often indistinguishable. Film stars and other Hollywood personnel frequently consult on public relations and make campaign appearances and substantial monetary contributions to political campaigns. In reverse, John McCain, Albert Gore, Jr., Fred Thompson, and other important politicians have succeeded in film roles after rising to power in Washington.

In this paper, I have attempted to identify empirically some of the factors that drive Hollywood’s politics. I find that the most consistently important factor is box office success. Moreover, many of the factors that drive political activity among actors and non-actors generally diverge. While demographics and attitudes towards risk do seem to matter, there is little evidence that these factors, or Hollywood’s history determine the leftist tendencies found there. There is some evidence that family connections may be relevant, at least for actors; however, in general, the most likely hypothesis seems to be that income drives Hollywood politics.

Since other high-earning industries have nothing like the popular reputation for leftist tendencies that Hollywood does, it seems plausible that it is the *publicly-visible* aspect of Hollywood’s wealth that drives its politics. Stars use left-of-center political activity to counteract the impression of elitism created by reporting on their incomes and expenditures.

I have argued herein that Hollywood’s politics have been, and remain, influential in America. Primarily, I have focused on political contributions, and there can be little doubt that Hollywood’s money is important for the Democratic Party. However, it has also been argued that Hollywood could carry further influence through movie depictions of politicians and political issues. Whether Hollywood’s apparent liberalism seeps into its film content systematically is an entirely different question, although there are clear idiosyncratic cases in which it does.³⁴ Even if major Hollywood film products are not systematically biased, the personal politics of the participants may be at least or even more influential in affecting votes,

³⁴ Warner Brothers’ films opposing German fascism in the 1930s (Ross, 2004), for instance, or the heroism of leftist Presidential candidates in major political films of the 1990s, including *The Distinguished Gentleman*, *The American President*, and *Dave* (Scott, 2000). On the other hand, the instance of Michael Eisner’s refusal to distribute *Fahrenheit 9/11*, a film highly critical of President George W. Bush, suggests that conservative politics may play a role as well.

according to some media studies (Beck, et al, 2002). Thus, these results may be relevant in understanding the role of film content in politics as well.

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Appendix: Names of Individuals in Sample

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| F. Murray Abraham | Jason Behr | Steve Buscemi | Billy Connolly |
| Joey Lauren Adams | Bill Bellamy | Jake Busey | Steve Coogan |
| Mark Addy | Maria Bello | Gerard Butler | Rachael Leigh Cook |
| Ben Affleck | Monica Bellucci | Gabriel Byrne | Jennifer Coolidge |
| Casey Affleck | Jim Belushi | Rose Byrne | Chris Cooper |
| Liam Aiken | Roberto Benigni | James Caan | Francis Ford Coppola |
| Jessica Alba | Annette Bening | Scott Caan | Sofia Coppola |
| Jason Alexander | Wes Bentley | Nicolas Cage | John Corbett |
| Joan Allen | Tom Berenger | Dean Cain | Kevin Costner |
| Tim Allen | Candice Bergen | Michael Caine | Brian Cox |
| Woody Allen | Halle Berry | James Cameron | Daniel Craig |
| Pedro Almodovar | Luc Besson | Bruce Campbell | Wes Craven |
| Robert Altman | Paul Bettany | Martin Campbell | James Cromwell |
| Anthony Anderson | Leslie Bibb | Neve Campbell | David Cronenberg |
| Gillian Anderson | Michael Biehn | Jane Campion | Cameron Crowe |
| Paul Anderson | Jessica Biel | Nick Cannon | Russell Crowe |
| Paul Thomas Anderson | Kathryn Bigelow | Linda Cardellini | Billy Crudup |
| Wes Anderson | Jason Biggs | Robert Carlyle | Tom Cruise |
| Jennifer Aniston | Juliette Binoche | John Carpenter | Penelope Cruz |
| Penelope Ann Miller | Thora Birch | Jim Carrey | Billy Crystal |
| Shiri Appleby | Jack Black | Helena Bonham Carter | Marlon Cusack |
| Christina Applegate | Selma Blair | Nick Cassavetes | Alfonso Cuaron |
| Alan Arkin | Rachel Blanchard | Vincent Cassel | Ice Cube |
| Darren Aronofsky | Cate Blanchett | Jim Caviezel | Kieran Culkin |
| Courteney Cox Arquette | Brenda Blethyn | Cedric the Entertainer | Macaulay Culkin |
| David Arquette | Orlando Bloom | Lacey Chabert | Alan Cumming |
| Patricia Arquette | Marc Blucas | Jackie Chan | Tim Curry |
| Rosanna Arquette | David Boreanaz | Stockard Channing | Jamie Lee Curtis |
| Sean Astin | Raoul Bova | Ben Chaplin | Joan Cusack |
| Rowan Atkinson | Danny Boyle | David Chappelle | John Cusack |
| Charlotte Ayanna | Lara Flynn Boyle | Chevy Chase | Willem Dafoe |
| Dan Aykroyd | Jesse Bradford | Don Cheadle | Stephen Daldry |
| Hank Azaria | Zach Braff | Joan Chen | Matt Damon |
| Kevin Bacon | Kenneth Branagh | Morris Chestnut | Hugh Dancy |
| Simon Baker | Marlon Brando | Maggie Cheung | Claire Danes |
| Alec Baldwin | Benjamin Bratt | China Chow | Jeff Daniels |
| William Baldwin | Andre Braugher | Erika Christensen | Frank Darabont |
| Christian Bale | Martin Brest | Hayden Christensen | Embeth Davidtz |
| Fairuza Balk | Jordana Brewster | Patricia Clarkson | Jeremy Davies |
| Eric Bana | Jeff Bridges | John Cleese | Geena Davis |
| Antonio Banderas | Jim Broadbent | George Clooney | Hope Davis |
| Javier Bardem | Matthew Broderick | Glenn Close | Matthew Davis |
| Ellen Barkin | Adam Brody | Ethan Coen | Bruce Davison |
| Jacinda Barrett | Adrien Brody | Joel Coen | Rosario Dawson |
| Drew Barrymore | Josh Brodin | Rob Cohen | Daniel Day-Lewis |
| Kim Basinger | Albert Brooks | Toni Collette | Mos Def |
| Angela Bassett | Pierce Brosnan | Clifton Collins Jr. | Ellen Degeneres |
| Kathy Bates | Joy Bryant | Robbie Coltrane | Benicio Del Toro |
| Michael Bay | Sandra Bullock | Chris Columbus | Guillermo Del Toro |
| Adam Beach | Edward Burns | Sean Combs | Julie Delpy |
| Sean Bean | Saffron Burrows | Jennifer Connelly | Jonathan Demme |
| Warren Beatty | Ellen Burstyn | Sean Connery | Patrick Dempsey |
| Kate Beckinsale | Tim Burton | Harry Connick Jr. | Judi Dench |

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|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Catherine Deneuve | Nora Ephron | Carl Franklin | Ioan Gruffudd |
| Robert DeNiro | Mike Epps | Brendan Fraser | Christopher Guest |
| Gerard Depardieu | Omar Epps | Stephen Frears | Carla Gugino |
| Johnny Depp | Jennifer Esposito | Morgan Freeman | Luis Guzman |
| Laura Dern | Chris Evans | William Friedkin | Jake Gyllenhaal |
| Zoey Deschanel | Lee Evans | Antoine Fuqua | Maggie Gyllenhaal |
| Amanda Detmer | Rupert Everett | Edward Furlong | Lukas Haas |
| Danny DeVito | Peter Facinelli | Peter Gallagher | Taylor Hackford |
| Cameron Diaz | Donald Faison | Michael Gambon | Gene Hackman |
| Leonardo DiCaprio | Edie Falco | James Gandolfini | Anthony Michael Hall |
| Andy Dick | Jimmy Fallon | Romola Garai | Philip Baker Hall |
| Vin Diesel | Dennis Farina | Adam Garcia | Regina Hall |
| Taye Diggs | Anna Faris | Andy Garcia | Lasse Hallstrom |
| Matt Dillon | Vera Farmiga | Gael Garcia Bernal | Colin Hanks |
| Snoop Dogg | Colin Farrell | James Garner | Tom Hanks |
| Richard Donner | Bobby Farrelly | Jennifer Garner | Daryl Hannah |
| Vincent D'Onofrio | Peter Farrelly | Janeane Garofalo | John Hannah |
| Stephen Dorff | Jon Favreau | Rebecca Gayheart | Alyson Hannigan |
| Ileana Douglas | Angela Featherstone | Sarah Michelle Gellar | Curtis Hanson |
| Michael Douglas | Brendan Fehr | Richard Gere | Marcia Gay Harden |
| Brad Dourif | Oded Fehr | Greg Germann | Tom Hardy |
| Robert Downey Jr. | Colm Feore | Gina Gershon | Renny Harlin |
| Richard Dreyfuss | Craig Ferguson | Paul Giamatti | Woody Harrelson |
| Minnie Driver | Will Ferrell | Mel Gibson | Laura Elena Harring |
| David Duchovny | Mark Feuerstein | Thomas Gibson | Ed Harris |
| Josh Duhamel | William Fichtner | Tyrese Gibson | Ian Hart |
| Faye Dunaway | Sally Field | Terry Gilliam | Josh Hartnett |
| Michael Clarke Duncan | Todd Field | Brendan Gleeson | Steve Harvey |
| Nora Dunn | Joseph Fiennes | Scott Glenn | Colleen Haskell |
| Kirsten Dunst | Ralph Fiennes | Crispin Glover | Teri Hatcher |
| Charles Durning | Mike Figgis | Danny Glover | Shawn Hatosy |
| Eliza Dushku | David Fincher | Adam Goldberg | Cole Hauser |
| Clea DuVall | Albert Finney | Bill Goldberg | Ethan Hawke |
| Robert Duvall | Colin Firth | Whoopi Goldberg | Goldie Hawn |
| Michael Ealy | Laurence Fishburne | Jeff Goldblum | Salma Hayek |
| Clint Eastwood | Jason Flemyng | Tony Goldwyn | Lena Headey |
| Christopher Eccleston | Dave Foley | Cuba Gooding Jr. | Anne Heche |
| Aaron Eckhart | Scott Foley | John Goodman | Amy Heckerling |
| Stacy Edwards | Bridget Fonda | Ginnifer Goodwin | Dan Hedaya |
| Atom Egoyan | Peter Fonda | Ryan Gosling | Katherine Heigl |
| Chiwetel Ejiofor | Harrison Ford | Raja Gosnell | Martin Henderson |
| Ron Eldard | Trent Ford | Topher Grace | Natasha Henstridge |
| Carmen Electra | Claire Forlani | Heather Graham | Jay Hernandez |
| Jenna Elfman | Milos Forman | Kelsey Grammer | Barbara Hershey |
| Kimberly Elise | Robert Forster | Hugh Grant | Jennifer Love Hewitt |
| Shannon Elizabeth | Ben Foster | Seth Green | Ciaran Hinds |
| Hector Elizondo | Jodie Foster | Tom Green | Dustin Hoffman |
| Sam Elliot | Sara Foster | Bruce Greenwood | Philip Seymour Hoffman |
| Chris Elliott | Vivica A. Fox | Judy Greer | Lauren Holly |
| Cary Elwes | Jamie Foxx | Pam Grier | Ian Holm |
| Ethan Embry | James Frain | Eddie Griffin | Katie Holmes |
| Noah Emmerich | Jonathan Frakes | Melanie Griffith | Anthony Hopkins |
| Roland Emmerich | James Franco | Rachel Griffiths | Dennis Hopper |

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|------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Bob Hoskins | Andrew Keegan | Delroy Lindo | Natascha McElhone |
| Djimon Hounsou | Catherine Keener | Richard Linklater | Elizabeth McGovern |
| Ron Howard | Harvey Keitel | Laura Linney | Rose McGowan |
| Kelly Hu | Will Kemp | Ray Liotta | Ewan McGregor |
| Kate Hudson | Jamie Kennedy | John Lithgow | Ian McKellen |
| Albert Hughes | Nicole Kidman | Lucy Liu | Janet McTeer |
| Allen Hughes | Val Kilmer | Ron Livingston | John McTiernan |
| Charlie Hunnam | Jamie King | LL Cool J | Eva Mendes |
| Bonnie Hunt | Regina King | Donal Logue | Sam Mendes |
| Helen Hunt | Ben Kingsley | Alison Lohman | Debra Messing |
| Holly Hunter | Greg Kinnear | Kristanna Loken | Jason Mewes |
| Elizabeth Hurley | Nastassja Kinski | Nia Long | Breckin Meyer |
| William Hurt | Mia Kirshner | Jennifer Lopez | Bette Midler |
| Anjelica Huston | Chris Klein | Courtney Love | Christina Milian |
| Doug Hutchison | Kevin Kline | Jon Lovitz | Jonny Lee Miller |
| Timothy Hutton | Beyonce Knowles | Rob Lowe | Anthony Minghella |
| Eric Idle | Johnny Knoxville | George Lucas | Rob Minkoff |
| Rhys Ifans | Elias Koteas | Josh Lucas | Helen Mirren |
| Jeremy Irons | Thomas Kretschmann | Derek Luke | Radha Mitchell |
| Amy Irving | Kris Kristofferson | Diego Luna | Jay Mohr |
| Jason Isaacs | Diane Kruger | David Lynch | Gretchen Mol |
| Eddie Izzard | David Krumholtz | Melanie Lynskey | Alfred Molina |
| Hugh Jackman | Lisa Kudrow | Natasha Lyonne | Demi Moore |
| Jonathan Jackson | Ashton Kutcher | Eric Mabius | Julianne Moore |
| Joshua Jackson | Neil LaBute | Bernie Mac | Cathy Moriarty-Gentile |
| Peter Jackson | Martin Landau | Norm Macdonald | Temuera Morrison |
| Samuel L. Jackson | Diane Lane | Andie MacDowell | David Morse |
| Thomas Jane | Nathan Lane | William H. Macy | Viggo Mortensen |
| Allison Janney | Jessica Lange | John Madden | Emily Mortimer |
| Famke Janssen | Anthony LaPaglia | Madonna | Joe Morton |
| Marianne Jean-Baptiste | Ali Larter | Michael Madsen | Samantha Morton |
| Norman Jewison | Sanaa Lathan | Tobey Maguire | Carrie-Anne Moss |
| Melissa Joan Hart | Queen Latifah | John Malkovich | Jonathan Mostow |
| Joe Johnston | Jude Law | David Mamet | Bridget Moynahan |
| Angelina Jolie | Martin Lawrence | James Mangold | Dermot Mulroney |
| Cherry Jones | Denis Leary | Camryn Manheim | Lochlyn Munro |
| January Jones | Matt LeBlanc | Gabriel Mann | Brittany Murphy |
| Orlando Jones | Mimi Leder | Michael Mann | Cillian Murphy |
| Tamala Jones | Heath Ledger | Taryn Manning | Eddie Murphy |
| Tommy Lee Jones | Christopher Lee | Julianna Margulies | Bill Murray |
| Vinnie Jones | Jason Lee | Cheech Marin | Chad Michael Murray |
| Spike Jonze | Spike Lee | James Marsden | Mike Myers |
| Neil Jordan | John Leguizamo | Garry Marshall | Sophia Myles |
| Milla Jovovich | Jennifer Jason Leigh | Penny Marshall | Parminder Nagra |
| Ashley Judd | Joshua Leonard | Steve Martin | Liam Neeson |
| Mike Judge | Tea Leoni | Olivier Martinez | Sam Neill |
| Shekhar Kapur | Jared Leto | Rachel McAdams | Tim Blake Nelson |
| Tcheky Karyo | Barry Levinson | Matthew McConaughey | Bebe Neuwirth |
| Nicky Katt | Eugene Levy | Catherine McCormack | Mike Newell |
| Chris Kattan | Juliette Lewis | Mary McCormack | Paul Newman |
| Philip Kaufman | Jet Li | Dylan McDermott | Thandie Newton |
| Diane Keaton | Matthew Lillard | Ian McDiarmid | Andrew Niccol |
| Michael Keaton | Doug Liman | Frances McDormand | Mike Nichols |

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|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| Jack Nicholson | Todd Phillips | Christina Ricci | Steven Seagal |
| Connie Nielsen | Joaquin Phoenix | Denise Richards | Rade Serbedzija |
| Christopher Nolan | David Hyde Pierce | Miranda Richardson | Andy Serkis |
| Nick Nolte | Brad Pitt | Natasha Richardson | Chloe Sevigny |
| Stephen Norrington | Michael Pitt | Alan Rickman | Rufus Sewell |
| Jeremy Northam | Jeremy Piven | Guy Ritchie | Brendan Sexton III |
| Edward Norton | Oliver Platt | Jay Roach | Tom Shadyac |
| Jack Noseworthy | Joan Plowright | Brian Robbins | Tony Shalhoub |
| Chris Noth | Christopher Plummer | Tim Robbins | Garry Shandling |
| Phillip Noyce | Roman Polanski | Julia Roberts | Molly Shannon |
| Jerry O'Connell | Kevin Pollak | Chris Rock | William Shatner |
| Frances O'Connor | Sarah Polley | The Rock | Martin Sheen |
| Chris O'Donnell | Teri Polo | Sam Rockwell | Michael Sheen |
| Catherine O'Hara | Carly Pope | Michelle Rodriguez | Marley Shelton |
| Gary Oldman | Natalie Portman | Robert Rodriguez | Sam Shepard |
| Lena Olin | Parker Posey | Ray Romano | Dave Sheridan |
| Timothy Olyphant | Pete Postlethwaite | Rebecca Romijn-Stamos | Martin Short |
| Peter O'Toole | Franka Potente | Michael Rooker | Elisabeth Shue |
| Miranda Otto | Monica Potter | Michael Rosenbaum | M. Night Shyamalan |
| Clive Owen | Jaime Pressly | Gary Ross | Brad Silberling |
| Frank Oz | Kelly Preston | Tim Roth | Alicia Silverstone |
| Al Pacino | Freddie Prinze Jr. | Mickey Rourke | Bryan Singer |
| Chazz Palminteri | Alex Proyas | Richard Roxburgh | John Singleton |
| Gwyneth Paltrow | Jonathan Pryce | Paul Rudd | Gary Sinise |
| Joe Pantoliano | Bill Pullman | Mark Ruffalo | Jeremy Sisto |
| Anna Paquin | James Purefoy | Geoffrey Rush | Tom Sizemore |
| Kip Pardue | Dennis Quaid | Keri Russell | Stellan Skarsgard |
| Nick Park | Randy Quaid | Kurt Russell | Tom Skerritt |
| Alan Parker | DJ Qualls | Rene Russo | Christian Slater |
| Molly Parker | Aidan Quinn | Meg Ryan | Amy Smart |
| Sarah Jessica Parker | Sam Raimi | Winona Ryder | Jada Pinkett Smith |
| Jason Patric | Harold Ramis | Charles S. Dutton | Kerr Smith |
| Robert Patrick | Michael Rapaport | Ludivine Sagnier | Kevin Smith |
| Will Patton | Brett Ratner | Roselyn Sanchez | Maggie Smith |
| Bill Paxton | Usher Raymond | Adam Sandler | Will Smith |
| David Paymer | Stephen Rea | Susan Sarandon | Jimmy Smits |
| Alexander Payne | Robert Redford | Peter Sarsgaard | Wesley Snipes |
| Guy Pearce | Vanessa Redgrave | Devon Sawa | Leelee Sobieski |
| Amanda Peet | Norman Reedus | John Sayles | Steven Soderbergh |
| Kimberly Peirce | Keanu Reeves | Rob Schneider | Marla Sokoloff |
| Robin Wright Penn | Tara Reid | Live Schreiber | Todd Solondz |
| Sean Penn | John C. Reilly | Matt Schulze | Ian Somerhalder |
| Barry Pepper | Rob Reiner | Joel Schumacher | Stephen Sommers |
| Piper Perabo | Paul Reiser | Jason Schwartzman | Mira Sorvino |
| Vincent Perez | Ivan Reitman | Arnold Schwarzenegger | Paul Sorvino |
| Ron Perlman | Brad Renfro | David Schwimmer | Shannyn Sossamon |
| Matthew Perry | Jean Reno | Annabella Sciorra | Sissy Spacek |
| Wolfgang Petersen | Paul Reubens | Martin Scorsese | Kevin Spacey |
| Michelle Pfeiffer | Burt Reynolds | Dougray Scott | David Spade |
| Mekhi Phifer | Ryan Reynolds | Ridley Scott | James Spader |
| Ryan Phillippe | Ving Rhames | Seann William Scott | Scott Speedman |
| Bijou Phillips | Jonathan Rhys-Meyers | Tony Scott | Steven Spielberg |
| Lou Diamond Phillips | Giovanni Ribisi | Kristin Scott Thomas | Brent Spiner |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nick Stahl | John Turturro | Mike White |
| Sylvester Stallone | David Twohy | Dianne Wiest |
| Terence Stamp | Tom Tykwer | Tom Wilkinson |
| Aaron Stanford | Liv Tyler | Michelle Williams |
| Jason Statham | Skeet Ulrich | Olivia Williams |
| Leslie Stefanson | Deborah Kara Unger | Robin Williams |
| Toby Stephens | Gabrielle Union | Vanessa L. Williams |
| Jon Stewart | Karl Urban | Bruce Willis |
| Patrick Stewart | James Van Der Beek | Lambert Wilson |
| Julia Stiles | Gus Van Sant | Luke Wilson |
| Ben Stiller | Nia Vardalos | Owen Wilson |
| Eric Stoltz | Leonor Varela | Patrick Wilson |
| Oliver Stone | Michael Vartan | Rita Wilson |
| Sharon Stone | Vince Vaughn | Bridgette Wilson-Sampras |
| Peter Stormare | Diane Venora | Kate Winslet |
| Madeleine Stowe | Gore Verbinski | Ray Winstone |
| David Strathairn | Paul Verhoeven | Reese Witherspoon |
| Meryl Streep | Goran Visnjic | Alicia Witt |
| Donald Sutherland | Mike Vogel | John Woo |
| Kiefer Sutherland | Jon Voight | Elijah Wood |
| Mena Suvari | Max Von Sydow | Alfre Woodard |
| Dominique Swain | Natasha Gregson Wagner | James Woods |
| Hilary Swank | Robert Wagner | Jeffrey Wright |
| Kristy Swanson | Mark Wahlberg | Noah Wyle |
| Patrick Swayze | Christopher Walken | Donnie Yen |
| DB Sweeney | Paul Walker | Michelle Yeoh |
| Tilda Swinton | Julie Walters | Sean Young |
| Lee Tamahori | Wayne Wang | Rick Yune |
| Quentin Tarantino | Patrick Warburton | Chow Yun-Fat |
| Audrey Tautou | Susan Ward | Steve Zahn |
| Lili Taylor | Estella Warren | Renee Zellweger |
| Noah Taylor | Denzel Washington | Robert Zemeckis |
| Charlize Theron | Isaiah Washington | Catherine Zeta-Jones |
| Justin Theroux | Kerry Washington | Zhang Ziyi |
| David Thewlis | John Waters | David Zucker |
| Betty Thomas | Barry Watson | Edward Zwick |
| Henry Thomas | Emily Watson | |
| Sean Patrick Thomas | Naomi Watts | |
| Emma Thompson | Damon Wayans | |
| Billy Bob Thornton | Keenen Ivory Wayans | |
| Uma Thurman | Marlon Wayans | |
| Maura Tierney | Sigourney Weaver | |
| Jennifer Tilly | Hugo Weaving | |
| Marisa Tomei | Peter Weir | |
| Rip Torn | Rachel Weisz | |
| Stuart Townsend | Chris Weitz | |
| John Travolta | Paul Weitz | |
| Danny Trejo | Tom Welling | |
| Jeanne Tripplehorn | David Wenham | |
| Stanley Tucci | Dominic West | |
| Chris Tucker | Shane West | |
| Jonathan Tucker | Simon West | |
| Robin Tunney | Forest Whitaker | |

Table 1: Summary Statistics

| | Actors | | Directors and Producers | |
|---|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| | Mean | St. Dev. | Mean | St. Dev. |
| Ever contributed | 0.27 | | 0.56 | |
| Total amount (conditional on giving) | \$7,890.57 | \$28,600.35 | \$13,318.82 | \$45,660.96 |
| Amt. to presidential candidates (conditional on giving) | \$1,250.76 | \$1,619.95 | \$1,231.23 | \$1,694.69 |
| Female | 0.36 | | 0.07 | |
| Age on 1/1/2001 | 37.17 | 12.45 | 46.95 | 11.18 |
| White, non-Hispanic | 0.87 | | 0.92 | |
| Black | 0.09 | | 0.03 | |
| Hispanic | 0.03 | | 0.02 | |
| Asian | 0.02 | | 0.02 | |
| Born in NY | 0.16 | | 0.18 | |
| Born in CA | 0.14 | | 0.10 | |
| Foreign born | 0.30 | | 0.36 | |
| Ever married | 0.60 | | 0.63 | |
| Ever divorced (conditional on marriage) | 0.45 | | 0.45 | |
| College grad | 0.33 | | 0.53 | |
| Jewish | 0.13 | | 0.18 | |
| Ancestor in show business | 0.15 | | 0.14 | |
| Age at first film | 22.97 | 6.12 | 27.16 | 5.92 |
| Age at first starring role | 25.41 | 6.73 | | |
| Total # films | 24.30 | 15.39 | 15.46 | 10.87 |
| Top 75 box office films | 7.19 | 5.77 | 6.31 | 5.92 |
| Top 25 box office films | 2.83 | 2.92 | 3.11 | 3.92 |
| Top 75 box office starring roles | 4.39 | 3.78 | | |
| Top 25 box office starring roles | 1.66 | 1.95 | | |
| Average box office returns (mil. \$) | 36.85 | 22.15 | 48.56 | 35.32 |
| Average box office returns, starring roles (mil. \$) | 37.52 | 24.83 | | |
| Highest box office return (mil. \$) | 168.09 | 106.27 | 166.99 | 126.80 |
| Highest box office return, starring roles (mil. \$) | 136.01 | 97.45 | | |
| St. dev. of box office returns (mil. \$) | 49.49 | 28.63 | 52.01 | 36.42 |
| St. dev. of box office returns, starring roles (mil. \$) | 45.24 | 29.87 | | |

Table 2: Largest Contributors in Sample

| Actors | Total Contributions | Non-Actors | Total Contributions |
|-------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Michael Douglas | 396,000 | Steven Spielberg | 285,400 |
| Paul Newman | 76,450 | Rob Reiner | 274,970 |
| Alec Baldwin | 73,000 | Richard Donner | 35,600 |
| Danny DeVito | 64,500 | Garry Marshall | 29,100 |
| Robin Williams | 61,000 | Gary Ross | 26,000 |
| Ellen Barkin | 60,000 | Barry Levinson | 21,000 |
| Bette Midler | 57,500 | Frank Darabont | 19,750 |
| Chevy Chase | 57,500 | Brian Robbins | 17,000 |
| Edward Norton | 53,000 | Nora Ephron | 16,850 |
| Robert DeNiro | 35,000 | Cameron Crowe | 14,700 |
| Candice Bergen | 34,500 | Peter Farrelly | 13,400 |
| Tom Cruise | 30,500 | Oliver Stone | 13,250 |
| Tom Hanks | 30,000 | Edward Zwick | 11,400 |
| Kevin Spacey | 29,000 | Steven Soderbergh | 10,000 |
| Brendan Fraser | 27,000 | Taylor Hackford | 9,900 |
| Richard Dreyfuss | 25,400 | Harold Ramis | 8,750 |
| Ethan Hawke | 25,000 | Doug Liman | 8,500 |
| Renee Zellweger | 24,000 | Michael Mann | 8,150 |
| Nicole Kidman | 19,500 | Robert Zemeckis | 8,150 |
| Christopher Guest | 18,500 | William Friedkin | 8,000 |
| Donal Logue | 18,000 | Brett Ratner | 7,950 |
| Paul Reiser | 16,500 | Martin Scorsese | 7,900 |
| Jeff Bridges | 15,500 | Ron Howard | 7,000 |
| Dustin Hoffman | 15,000 | David Mamet | 7,000 |
| Kevin Bacon | 14,500 | Betty Thomas | 5,600 |

**Table 3: Political Organizations or Politicians
Receiving Largest Amount of Contributions**

| Political Organization Or Politician | Office | Total Contributions |
|---|---------------|--------------------------------|
| Democratic National Committee | N/A | 742,100 |
| Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee | Senate | 475,650 |
| Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee | House | 274,650 |
| Kerry, John (D) | Senate, Pres. | 174,250 |
| Directors' Guild PAC | N/A | 93,750 |
| Clinton, Hillary (D) | Senate | 71,420 |
| Boxer, Barbara (D) | Senate | 66,500 |
| Gore, Al (D) | President | 52,280 |
| Clooney, Nick (D) | House | 45,500 |
| Dean, Howard (D) | President | 41,000 |
| Gephardt, Richard (D) | House, Pres. | 34,000 |
| Daschle, Thomas (D) | Senate, Pres. | 33,250 |
| New York State Democratic Committee | N/A | 30,000 |
| Clark, Wesley (D) | President | 27,500 |
| Schumer, Charles (D) | Senate | 26,000 |
| Bradley, Bill (D) | President | 24,625 |
| Rangel, Charles (D) | House | 18,250 |
| Obama, Barack (D) | Senate | 17,500 |
| Dodd, Christopher (D) | Senate | 15,500 |
| Gordon, Barry (D) | House | 14,000 |

Table 4: Determinants of Political Activity among Actors

| | Ever Contributed? | | | Total Contributions (\$1000s) | | |
|---|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| Female | 0.05 (1.60) | 0.06 (1.64) | 0.06 (1.65) | 1.22 (0.86) | 1.86 (1.33) | 1.23 (0.87) |
| Age | 0.04 (5.12) | 0.04 (2.95) | 0.04 (3.46) | 1.78 (4.76) | 1.02 (2.63) | 1.47 (3.84) |
| Age² (x 100) | -0.03 (4.11) | -0.02 (2.61) | -0.03 (2.89) | -1.58 (3.96) | -0.96 (2.38) | -1.34 (3.31) |
| Asian | -0.06 (0.50) | 0.02 (0.18) | -0.03 (0.11) | -4.31 (0.68) | -0.04 (0.01) | -3.49 (0.56) |
| Black (non-Hispanic) | -0.08 (1.62) | -0.10 (1.99) | -0.10 (1.86) | -5.62 (2.16) | -6.55 (2.59) | -6.97 (2.67) |
| Hispanic | 0.12 (1.13) | 0.13 (1.25) | 0.11 (1.02) | 2.16 (0.53) | 2.38 (0.61) | 1.83 (0.46) |
| Born in CA or NY | 0.00 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.21) | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.96 (0.61) | 0.35 (0.23) | 0.98 (0.63) |
| Born foreign | -0.22 (6.06) | -0.21 (5.36) | -0.22 (5.66) | -11.04 (5.86) | -9.53 (5.13) | -10.67 (5.66) |
| Ever married | 0.03 (0.74) | 0.02 (0.59) | 0.02 (0.42) | 1.07 (0.61) | 0.65 (0.38) | 0.39 (0.22) |
| Ever divorced | -0.02 (0.53) | -0.04 (1.11) | -0.03 (0.72) | 0.89 (0.53) | -0.27 (0.17) | 0.77 (0.46) |
| College grad | 0.07 (1.98) | 0.07 (1.93) | 0.07 (1.97) | 2.66 (1.82) | 2.62 (1.83) | 2.69 (1.85) |
| Jewish | 0.05 (1.24) | 0.06 (1.45) | 0.06 (1.30) | 2.11 (1.15) | 2.86 (1.62) | 2.23 (1.22) |
| Ancestor in show business | 0.08 (1.83) | 0.10 (2.21) | 0.08 (1.77) | -0.39 (0.20) | 0.42 (0.23) | -0.50 (0.26) |
| Age at first film | -0.01 (2.66) | -0.01 (2.07) | -0.01 (2.18) | -0.65 (3.29) | -0.48 (2.49) | -0.62 (3.07) |
| Age at first starring role | 0.00 (0.06) | 0.00 (0.43) | 0.00 (0.48) | 0.13 (0.72) | 0.16 (0.89) | 0.19 (1.02) |
| Total # films | | -0.00 (0.87) | | | -0.08 (1.12) | |
| # Top 75 films | | -0.01 (0.55) | | | 0.12 (0.28) | |
| # Top 25 films | | 0.01 (0.65) | | | 0.65 (0.96) | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|-------------------------------|------|------|--------------------------------|
| # Top 75 starring roles | | | 0.05 (3.44) | | | 1.30 (2.40) |
| # Top 25 starring roles | | | -0.03 (1.33) | | | -0.98 (1.13) |
| Ave. B.O. (x 100) | | | -0.19 (0.77) | | | -1.26 (0.13) |
| Max B.O. (x 100) | | | 0.01 (0.25) | | | -0.83 (0.36) |
| St. Dev. B.O. (x 100) | | | -0.01 (0.03) | | | 0.61 (0.05) |
| Ave. starring B.O. (x 100) | | | 0.34 (1.79) | | | 15.46 (2.13) |
| Max starring B.O (x 100) | | | 0.17 (2.53) | | | 6.53 (2.58) |
| St. dev. starring B.O. (x 100) | | | -0.61 (2.43) | | | -26.46 (2.73) |
| Pseudo-R² | 0.15 | 0.19 | 0.16 | 0.06 | 0.08 | 0.07 |

Table 5: Determinants of Political Activity among Hollywood Non-Actors

| | Ever Contributed? | | | Amount of Contributions | | |
|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| Female | -0.06 (0.32) | 0.13 (0.66) | 0.11 (0.54) | -2.16 (0.69) | 1.42 (0.48) | 0.42 (0.13) |
| Age | 0.01 (0.17) | -0.05 (1.34) | -0.01 (0.27) | 0.06 (0.11) | -0.78 (1.48) | -0.26 (0.47) |
| Age² (x 100) | 0.01 (0.27) | 0.06 (1.59) | 0.03 (0.74) | 0.20 (0.37) | 0.88 (1.73) | 0.53 (0.97) |
| Asian | 0.16 (0.46) | 0.09 (0.29) | 0.07 (0.22) | 2.75 (0.52) | 1.16 (0.24) | 0.63 (0.12) |
| Black (non-Hispanic) | -0.17 (0.69) | -0.15 (0.59) | 0.08 (0.32) | -4.80 (1.04) | -1.85 (0.45) | -2.28 (0.51) |
| Hispanic | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Born in CA or NY | 0.13 (1.04) | 0.11 (0.86) | 0.11 (0.83) | 4.59 (2.46) | 4.03 (2.43) | 4.51 (2.50) |
| Born foreign | -0.48 (3.99) | -0.36 (3.01) | -0.47 (4.05) | -6.68 (3.24) | -3.79 (1.95) | -6.10 (3.02) |
| Ever married | -0.02 (0.22) | -0.07 (0.66) | -0.02 (0.14) | 2.05 (1.06) | 1.07 (0.61) | 1.26 (1.21) |
| Ever divorced | 0.03 (0.20) | 0.00 (0.01) | -0.01 (0.07) | -1.56 (0.73) | -1.68 (0.88) | -2.45 (1.18) |
| College grad | -0.04 (0.39) | -0.08 (0.75) | -0.09 (0.88) | -1.97 (1.23) | -3.58 (2.43) | -3.51 (2.15) |
| Jewish | 0.04 (0.25) | 0.02 (0.11) | 0.03 (0.23) | 3.54 (1.70) | 2.47 (1.29) | 3.21 (1.59) |
| Ancestor in show business | 0.12 (0.76) | 0.03 (0.16) | 0.09 (0.57) | 1.29 (0.52) | -0.89 (0.39) | 0.69 (0.29) |
| Age at first film | -0.01 (0.67) | 0.01 (0.85) | -0.00 (0.21) | 0.11 (0.78) | 0.30 (2.22) | 0.18 (1.30) |
| Total # films | | 0.01 (1.37) | | | 0.04 (0.39) | |
| # Top 75 films | | 0.04 (1.49) | | | 0.69 (1.82) | |
| # Top 25 films | | 0.00 (0.09) | | | 0.37 (0.77) | |
| Ave. B.O. (x 100) | | | 0.28 (1.19) | | | 0.04 (1.24) |

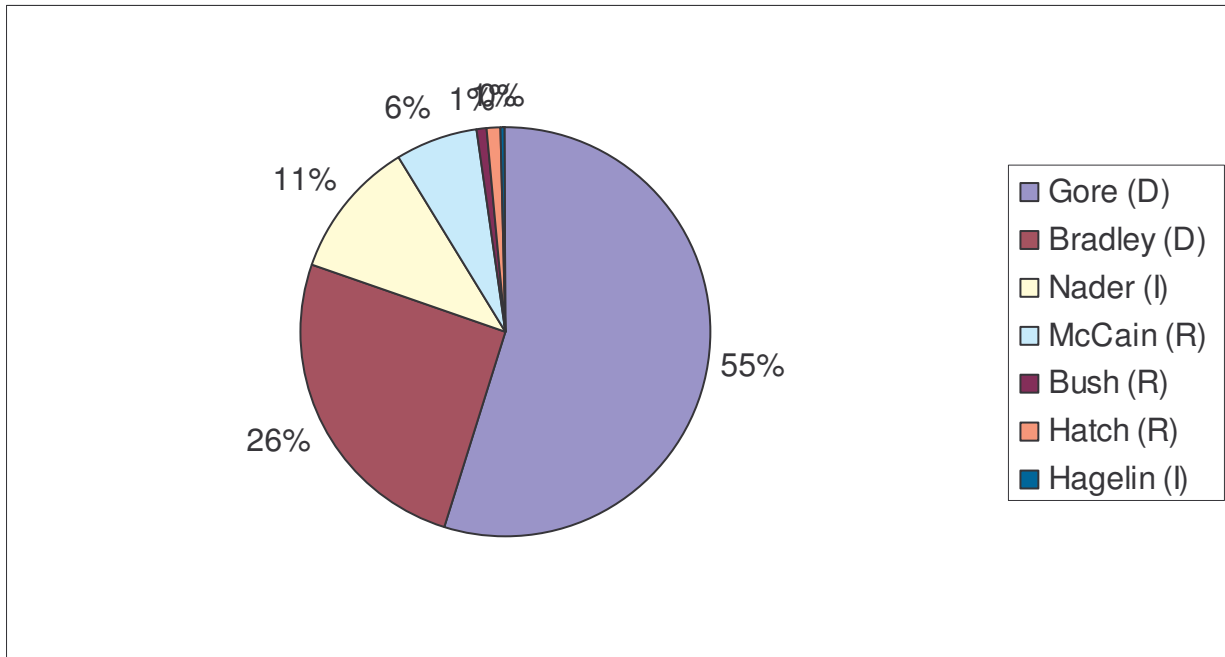
| | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|-----------------|------|------|-------------------------------|
| Max B.O. (x 100) | | | 0.20 (1.57) | | | 0.05 (2.19) |
| St. Dev. B.O. (x 100) | | | -0.65 (1.44) | | | -1.24 (1.75) |
| Pseudo-R² | 0.22 | 0.29 | 0.25 | 0.08 | 0.12 | 0.09 |

Table 6: Determinants of Contributions to Presidential Campaigns

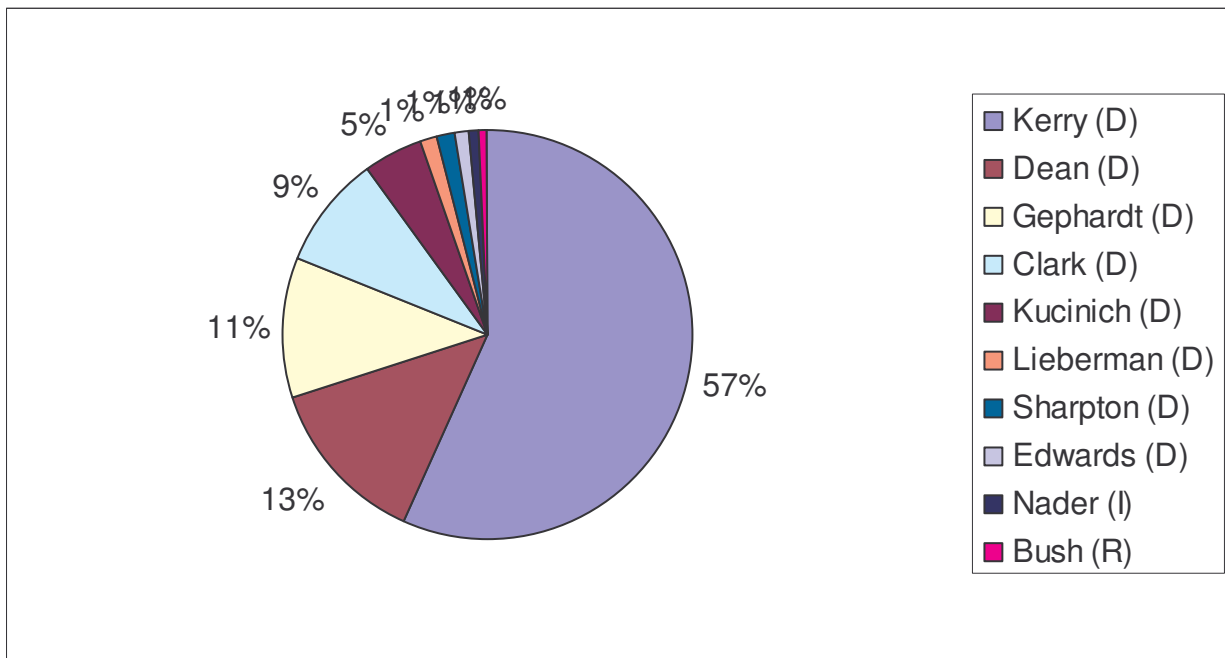
| | Actors | | | Non-Actors | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | [1] | [2] | [3] | [4] | [5] | [6] |
| Female | 0.46 (1.32) | 0.55 (1.56) | 0.46 (1.33) | -0.25 (0.19) | -0.10 (0.09) | 0.66 (0.50) |
| Age | 0.31 (3.39) | 0.23 (2.32) | 0.27 (2.88) | -0.06 (0.25) | -0.28 (1.19) | -0.21 (0.84) |
| Age ² (x 100) | -0.29 (2.89) | -0.21 (2.06) | -0.25 (2.53) | 0.14 (0.57) | 0.30 (1.33) | 0.27 (1.11) |
| Asian | -1.09 (0.65) | -0.58 (0.35) | -1.11 (0.66) | --- | --- | --- |
| Black (non-Hispanic) | -1.32 (1.97) | -1.39 (2.14) | -1.46 (2.18) | -2.12 (0.97) | -1.73 (0.93) | -1.88 (0.90) |
| Hispanic | -0.70 (0.58) | -0.65 (0.54) | -0.60 (0.51) | --- | --- | --- |
| Born in CA or NY | 0.65 (1.71) | 0.58 (1.54) | 0.65 (1.71) | 1.54 (1.89) | 0.89 (1.23) | 1.15 (1.44) |
| Born foreign | -2.29 (4.63) | -2.03 (4.14) | -2.27 (4.57) | -1.65 (1.86) | -1.07 (1.31) | -1.81 (2.07) |
| Ever married | 0.20 (0.45) | 0.16 (0.37) | 0.09 (0.21) | -0.41 (0.49) | -0.82 (1.09) | -0.50 (0.62) |
| Ever divorced | 0.75 (1.84) | 0.54 (1.33) | 0.73 (1.79) | 0.58 (0.62) | 0.95 (1.14) | 0.40 (0.44) |
| College grad | 1.06 (2.91) | 1.09 (3.01) | 1.05 (2.92) | 0.13 (0.19) | -0.25 (0.39) | -0.31 (0.43) |
| Jewish | 0.17 (0.38) | 0.26 (0.59) | 0.16 (0.35) | 1.13 (1.32) | 0.31 (0.40) | 0.80 (0.95) |
| Ancestor in show business | 0.22 (0.48) | 0.33 (0.72) | 0.19 (0.42) | 1.19 (1.13) | 0.88 (0.91) | 1.09 (1.07) |
| Age at first film | -0.10 (1.99) | -0.08 (1.61) | -0.10 (2.04) | 0.17 (2.41) | 0.21 (2.97) | 0.20 (2.89) |
| Age at first starring role | 0.01 (0.16) | 0.01 (0.15) | 0.02 (0.41) | | | |
| Total # films | | -0.02 (1.43) | | | -0.12 (1.98) | |
| # Top 75 films | | -0.02 (0.23) | | | 0.72 (4.07) | |
| # Top 25 films | | 0.21 (1.23) | | | -0.51 (2.46) | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|---------------|------|------|---------------|--|
| # Top 75 starring roles | | | 0.29 | | | | |
| | | | (2.14) | | | | |
| # Top 25 starring roles | | | -0.40 | | | | |
| | | | (1.79) | | | | |
| Ave. B.O. (x 100) | | | -1.80 | | | 0.80 | |
| | | | (0.76) | | | (0.53) | |
| Max B.O. (x 100) | | | -0.74 | | | 2.68 | |
| | | | (1.26) | | | (2.57) | |
| St. Dev. B.O. (x 100) | | | 3.17 | | | -9.17 | |
| | | | (1.12) | | | (2.47) | |
| Ave. starring B.O. (x 100) | | | 3.60 | | | | |
| | | | (2.06) | | | | |
| Max starring B.O (x 100) | | | 1.10 | | | | |
| | | | (1.72) | | | | |
| St. dev. starring B.O. (x 100) | | | -4.98 | | | | |
| | | | (2.10) | | | | |
| Pseudo-R² | 0.10 | 0.11 | 0.10 | 0.13 | 0.22 | 0.16 | |

Figure 1: Fractions of Hollywood Vote to Presidential Candidates, 2000 and 2004



2000 Campaign



2004 Campaign