15 March 2017

1 Overview

At our previous meeting we decided to do the following:

- Compare same state Senators who are up for reelection against those who aren't, taking Levitt (1996), Table 4 as inspiration
- Reconduct analyses with an interaction effect between member vote share and presidential vote share
- Conduct analyses with noncall response rate (pfrate100) as the DV
- Produce figures which plot our main independent variable (ideological_extremism) against party call response rate (pirate100) and noncall response rate (pfrate100)

These are included below. For analysis of reelection, William and I settled on a generalized version of difference in differences estimation, further detailed in its subsection. Additionally, I would note that the interaction term for vote share and presidential vote share in some instances receives entirely unrealistic coefficients, and in others which it is included other variables take them.

2 Tables and Figures

2.1 Generalized Difference in Differences Tests

Our generalized form of the diff in diff uses cases in which there are 2 Senators from a state in a given Congress, one of whom is up for reelection at the end of the Congress and one of whom is not. The effect is calculated by

With this test, we estimate the effect as well as a placebo derived from a randomly assigned treatment condition. Analysis is provided separately with responsiveness rate to party calls (tables 1 through 3) and responsiveness rate to noncalls (tables 4 through 6) as dependent variables. Within these, we report the estimate for the ATT and the lower and upper bounds of the 95% confidence interval. The confidence interval is calculated through a bootstrap at the state level. The first table in each set provides a naive calculation of the confidence interval while the second uses weights the effect by seat pair type. The third table provides the estimated effect for each seat pair type.

Table 1: Difference in Differences, Party Influenced Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

Test	DV	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Effect	pirate100	-1.5685604	-2.0957029	-0.97344617
Placebo	pirate100	-0.6902020	-1.2397304	1.23271255

Table 2: Weighted Difference in Differences, Party Influenced Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

Test	DV	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Adjusted Effect	pirate100	-1.5685604	-2.1541096	-0.97751751
Adjusted Placebo	pirate100	-0.6902020	-6.1688446	6.06350669

Table 3: Disaggregated Difference in Differences, Party Influenced Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

Test	DV	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
2 Maj Dems Effect	pfrate100	0.0708958	-1.1103696	1.3021792
2 Maj Dems Placebo	pfrate100	-0.2036783	-1.3153739	2.5118232
2 Min Dems Effect	pfrate100	-1.8733904	-3.3561696	-0.3365146
2 Min Dems Placebo	pfrate100	-0.9602191	-4.4928217	0.0446105
2 Maj Reps Effect	pfrate100	-1.1307379	-2.7893727	0.4274621
2 Maj Reps Placebo	pfrate100	-0.2868056	-2.4327395	0.8163004
2 Min Reps Effect	pfrate100	0.3990873	-1.9098626	2.7513303
2 Min Reps Placebo	pfrate100	0.0147628	-0.7190561	4.9846197
Split, Maj Dem Effect	pfrate100	-2.4804711	-5.2946938	0.1946835
Split, Maj Dem Placebo	pfrate100	-0.7279546	-6.5153100	0.7413151
Split, Maj Rep Effect	pfrate100	-4.3246972	-7.9137123	-1.0528934
Split, Maj Rep Placebo	pfrate100	0.3390961	-4.6591781	3.0814310

Table 4: Difference in Differences, Party Free Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

Test	DV	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Effect	pfrate100	-0.2969119	-0.7350467	0.13767116
Placebo	pfrate100	-0.3120122	-1.0565962	1.06650160

Table 5: Weighted Difference in Differences, Party Free Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

Test	DV	Estimate	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Adjusted Effect	pfrate100	-0.2969119	-0.7111920	0.14368690
Adjusted Placebo	pfrate100	-0.3120122	-6.5885299	6.18565591

Table 6: Disaggregated Difference in Differences, Party Free Rate, Reelection Treatment vs. Random Assignment

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Test	DV	Estimate	Lower_Bound	Upper_Bound
2 Maj Dems Effect	pfrate100	0.1900901	-0.9051052	1.2085652
2 Maj Dems Placebo	pfrate100	-0.9693719	-2.1048645	1.1132629
2 Min Dems Effect	pfrate100	-0.0480525	-1.4851263	1.2185462
2 Min Dems Placebo	pfrate100	-0.4318845	-2.0335940	2.0935476
2 Maj Reps Effect	pfrate100	1.0805092	-0.3291277	2.4347626
2 Maj Reps Placebo	pfrate100	0.4701269	-1.5580550	2.6796322
2 Min Reps Effect	pfrate100	-0.3783909	-2.2545156	1.5678486
2 Min Reps Placebo	pfrate100	0.6484191	-2.8825838	1.8106381
Split, Maj Dem Effect	pfrate100	-1.3097195	-3.3250855	0.6320594
Split, Maj Dem Placebo	pfrate100	0.5617371	-3.3700814	2.9765242
Split, Maj Rep Effect	pfrate100	-0.6552082	-2.9814058	1.6811481
Split, Maj Rep Placebo	pfrate100	0.3091112	-4.2642729	1.4093758

2.2 Models With Vote Share Interaction

Table 7: Senate Inter-Party Regression With Vote Share Interaction

Table 7: Senate Inter-Party Regression With Vote Share Interaction							
	Democrats	Republicans	Majority	Minority			
$ideological_extremism$	3.141***	7.798***	4.724***	7.942***			
	(0.409)	(0.357)	(0.314)	(0.398)			
pfrate100	0.758***	0.738***	0.697^{***}	0.685^{***}			
	(0.030)	(0.031)	(0.025)	(0.036)			
pres_vote_share \times vote_share	8.236	36.837	33.931*	103.889**			
	(19.356)	(31.549)	(16.361)	(32.684)			
pres_vote_share	18.121	-35.589	-3.266	-63.056**			
	(12.592)	(19.274)	(10.542)	(20.265)			
vote_share	-9.240	-6.762	-18.502*	-49.738**			
	(9.607)	(18.774)	(8.605)	(18.277)			
female	1.730^*	0.596	0.613	4.474^{***}			
	(0.736)	(1.139)	(0.757)	(1.109)			
afam	-1.149	-10.540^*	1.616	-5.209			
	(2.790)	(4.283)	(4.177)	(3.203)			
latino	1.838	7.088^*	4.805^*	5.847			
	(2.199)	(2.783)	(1.875)	(3.489)			
$up_for_reelection$	-0.629	-1.410**	-0.919^*	-1.188^*			
	(0.426)	(0.538)	(0.411)	(0.599)			
seniority	0.040	-0.016	0.078	0.130			
	(0.052)	(0.072)	(0.060)	(0.069)			
freshman	0.755	0.372	0.574	1.006			
	(0.709)	(0.842)	(0.630)	(1.026)			
retiree	1.602	2.272^{*}	1.851^*	2.463^{*}			
	(0.897)	(0.997)	(0.849)	(1.105)			
$best_committee$	0.235	0.007	0.026	0.331			
	(0.124)	(0.154)	(0.118)	(0.174)			
leader	2.212**	0.869	1.347^{*}	2.023^*			
	(0.713)	(0.776)	(0.661)	(0.894)			
power_committee	-0.855	-0.352	-0.094	-1.402			
	(0.772)	(0.925)	(0.718)	(1.058)			
chair	0.864	3.612***	0.002				
	(0.544)	(0.700)	(0.516)				
south	-1.685^{**}	0.939	0.170	1.362^*			
	(0.558)	(0.581)	(0.430)	(0.625)			
(Intercept)	12.094	31.444**	27.678***	47.493***			
	(6.866)	(11.882)	(6.060)	(12.213)			
\mathbb{R}^2	0.689	0.642	0.685	0.619			
$Adj. R^2$	0.684	0.635	0.680	0.612			
Num. obs.	1042	951	1052	843			
RMSE	6.121	7.253	5.856	7.707			

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 8: Senate Intra-Party Regression With Vote Share Interaction

Note Note Southern Others Gingrich Senators Others	Democrats Republicans				
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$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1.774)	(0.727)		
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	retiree	` /	` /	,	,
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.260)	(0.925)	(1.617)	(1.047)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	best_committee	0.570	0.131	0.089	0.043
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.310)	(0.129)	(0.182)	(0.177)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	leader	5.730*	1.764*	1.759	0.835
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.319)	(0.695)	(1.144)	(0.839)
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$power_committee$	0.762	-1.333	1.064	-1.297
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.131)	(0.780)	(1.121)	(1.057)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	chair	3.101^*	0.572	1.291	3.649^{***}
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1.404)	(0.556)	(1.114)	(0.738)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	afam		-1.035		-7.389
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			(2.494)		(4.197)
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	latino		2.767	3.077	3.143
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			(1.969)	(2.535)	(3.611)
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	south				
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$,	\ /
R^2 0.728 0.572 0.238 0.679 Adj. R^2 0.712 0.563 0.172 0.672 Num. obs. 246 796 188 763	(Intercept)			56.912***	30.957^*
Adj. R² 0.712 0.563 0.172 0.672 Num. obs. 246 796 188 763			(9.099)		
Num. obs. 246 796 188 763					
	•				
RMSE 7.350 5.447 4.073 7.080					
	RMSE	7.350	5.447	4.073	7.080

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 9: Senate Inter-Party Fixed Effects Models With Vote Share Interaction

Democrats Republicans Majority Minority						
ideological_extremism	2.87***	3.99***	1.77**	3.86***		
	(0.68)	(0.74)	(0.63)	(0.96)		
pfrate100	0.37***	0.25***	0.37***	0.17^*		
Piracero	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)		
vote_share × pres_vote_share	22.96	54.35	28.62	57.86		
Y COLORIO Y PLONE Y COLORIO Y	(23.59)	(30.34)	(30.61)	(30.56)		
vote_share	-8.73	-37.15	-12.46	-34.12		
	(10.95)	(19.24)	(16.42)			
pres_vote_share	11.50	-24.70	10.77	-21.74		
1	(15.74)	(19.31)	(19.69)	(20.62)		
freshman	0.66	$0.99*^{'}$	0.68	0.83		
	(0.48)	(0.47)	(0.46)	(0.76)		
retiree	$0.20^{'}$	0.84	$0.40^{'}$	0.60		
	(0.83)	(0.82)	(0.99)	(0.90)		
$best_committee$	0.13	0.08	$0.27^{'}$	0.32		
	(0.12)	(0.16)	(0.15)	(0.18)		
up_for_reelection	-0.54^*	-1.51***	-0.99****	-1.05**		
	(0.27)	(0.35)	(0.28)	(0.37)		
$power_committee$	-0.46	-0.20	-1.21	-0.41		
	(0.70)	(0.98)	(0.90)	(1.01)		
leader	0.88	1.43^{*}	1.38	1.37		
	(0.49)	(0.61)	(0.77)	(0.78)		
chair	0.41	0.61	-0.54			
	(0.65)	(0.71)	(0.55)			
Num. obs.	1042	951	1052	843		
\mathbb{R}^2	0.89	0.91	0.92	0.94		
Adj. R^2	0.87	0.88	0.89	0.91		

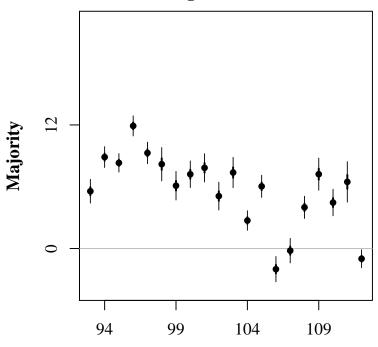
^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 10: Senate Intra-Party Fixed Effects Models With Vote Share Interaction

	Democrats		Republican	ıs
	Southern	Others	Gingrich Senators	Others
ideological_extremism	10.72***	2.04***	2.11	4.01***
	(2.58)	(0.56)	(1.52)	(0.86)
pfrate100	0.05	0.37^{***}	0.12	0.27***
	(0.15)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.06)
$vote_share \times pres_vote_share$	25.89	-14.11	-40.08	71.18*
	(31.72)	(26.42)	(24.94)	(36.07)
$vote_share$	-10.78	12.44	22.12	-48.76*
	(13.70)	(13.97)	(14.85)	(23.22)
$pres_vote_share$	2.67	22.16	24.92	-32.27
	(25.72)	(18.65)	(19.32)	(23.02)
freshman	0.57	1.09^{*}	-0.38	1.55^{*}
	(0.91)	(0.51)	(0.85)	(0.60)
retiree	-2.93	0.89	1.47	0.73
	(2.11)	(0.64)	(1.06)	(0.92)
$best_committee$	0.46	0.04	0.32	0.02
	(0.32)	(0.12)	(0.30)	(0.18)
$up_for_reelection$	-0.41	-0.46	-0.62	-1.73***
	(0.72)	(0.28)	(0.55)	(0.41)
$power_committee$	-2.01	-0.10	-0.88	0.17
	(2.23)	(0.66)	(1.20)	(1.14)
leader	2.65	0.76	0.97	1.47^{*}
	(2.16)	(0.49)	(0.89)	(0.72)
chair	1.84	0.30	-1.00	0.73
	(1.66)	(0.60)	(0.95)	(0.82)
Num. obs.	246	796	188	763
\mathbb{R}^2	0.91	0.87	0.66	0.91
Adj. R^2	0.87	0.84	0.50	0.88

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Figure 1: House Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Majority



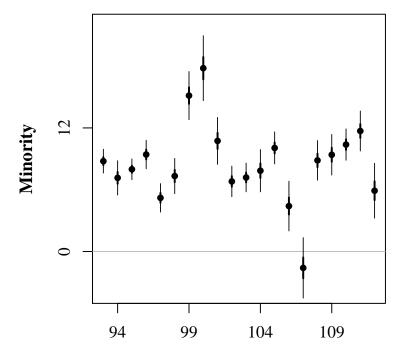
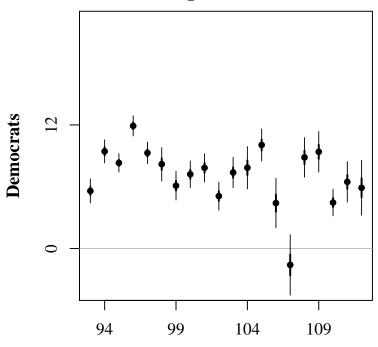


Figure 2: House Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Party



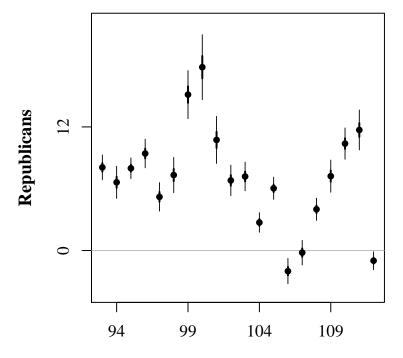
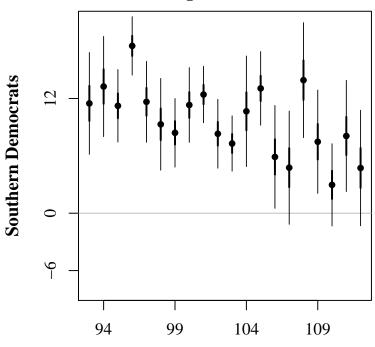


Figure 3: House Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Southern and Other Democrats



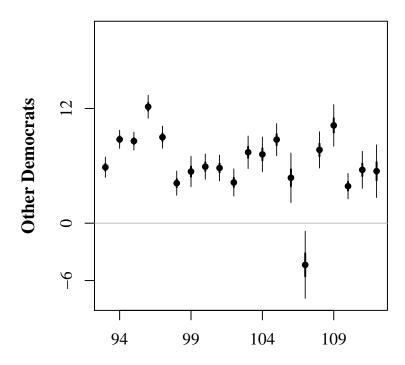
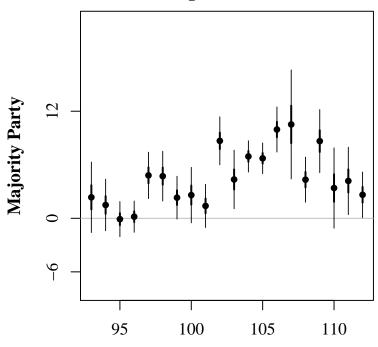


Figure 4: Senate Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Majority



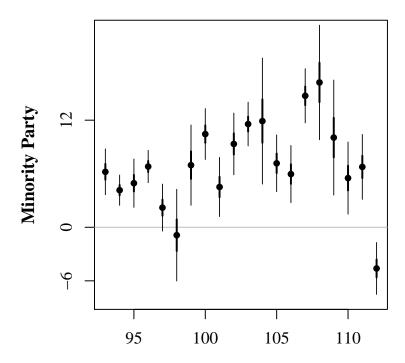
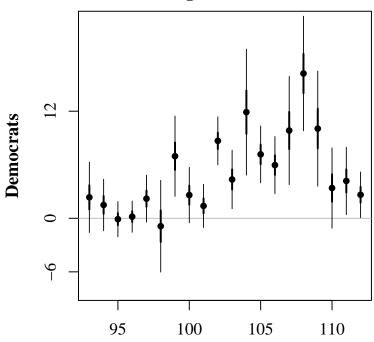


Figure 5: Senate Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Party



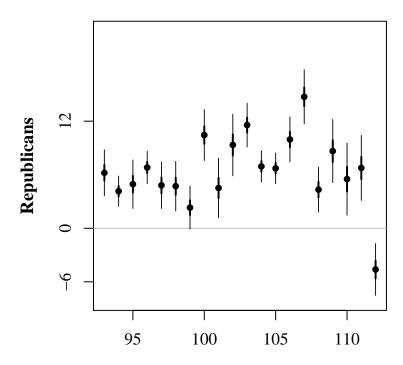
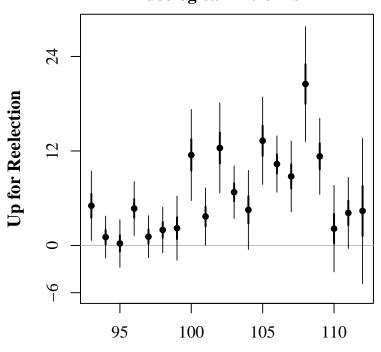


Figure 6: Senate Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Election Proximity



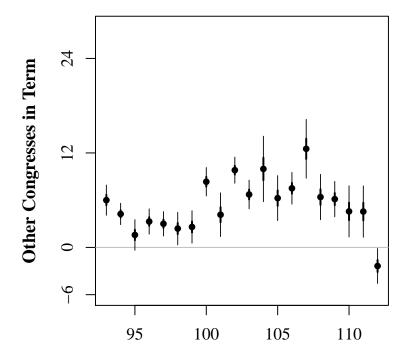
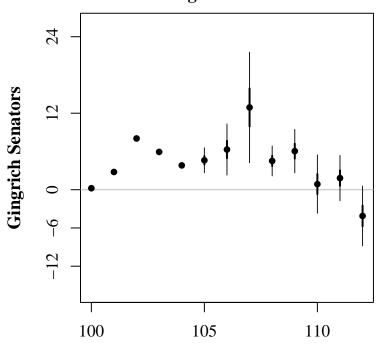


Figure 7: Senate Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Gingrich Senators and Other Republicans



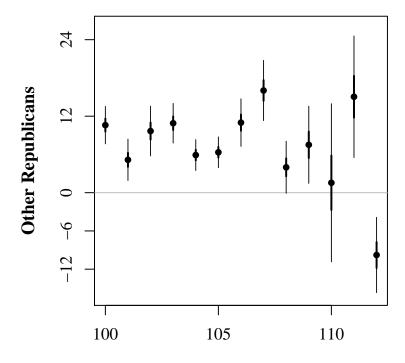
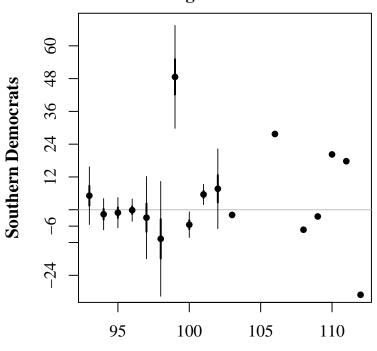
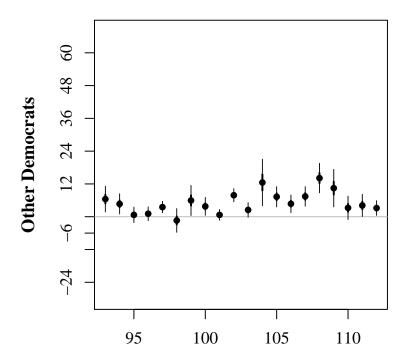


Figure 8: Senate Ideological Extremism Coefficient Plot, Southern and Other Democrats





2.3 Models Without Vote Share Interaction

Table 11: Senate Inter-Party Regression Models, DV: pirate100

Democrats Republicans Majority Minority						
ideological_extremism	6.823***	8.655***	8.004***	10.214***		
O	(0.487)	(0.451)	(0.386)	(0.465)		
pres_vote_share	33.909***	-10.484**	20.963***	-1.677		
1	(3.010)	(3.902)	(2.604)	(3.869)		
south	-3.170****	2.592***	-1.430^{*}	0.609		
	(0.706)	(0.726)	(0.561)	(0.755)		
vote_share	-7.562**	21.321***	-1.805	10.066**		
	(2.750)	(3.534)	(2.734)	(3.590)		
female	3.661***	-0.412	3.612***	6.439***		
	(0.924)	(1.434)	(0.992)	(1.345)		
afam	-2.333	-24.693^{***}	3.110	-10.298**		
	(3.552)	(5.371)	(5.537)	(3.898)		
latino	6.315^*	5.317	6.614**	7.472		
	(2.791)	(3.520)	(2.484)	(4.258)		
$up_for_reelection$	-0.483	-0.894	-0.689	-0.994		
	(0.542)	(0.681)	(0.544)	(0.732)		
seniority	-0.081	-0.054	0.216^{**}	0.145		
	(0.066)	(0.091)	(0.079)	(0.085)		
freshman	1.284	1.425	1.441	1.278		
	(0.902)	(1.066)	(0.834)	(1.253)		
retiree	1.399	0.668	0.807	1.698		
	(1.142)	(1.260)	(1.125)	(1.347)		
$best_committee$	0.367^{*}	-0.411^*	0.010	0.062		
	(0.158)	(0.194)	(0.156)	(0.211)		
leader	3.322***	3.113**	2.275^{**}	3.336**		
	(0.906)	(0.976)	(0.874)	(1.088)		
$power_committee$	0.202	1.321	1.323	-0.339		
	(0.982)	(1.168)	(0.950)	(1.290)		
chair	1.989**	4.842***	-1.149			
	(0.690)	(0.885)	(0.682)			
(Intercept)	65.124***	74.581***	70.354***	67.835***		
	(2.420)	(3.247)	(2.387)	(3.396)		
\mathbb{R}^2	0.495	0.424	0.446	0.431		
Adj. R^2	0.487	0.414	0.438	0.421		
Num. obs.	1042	951	1052	843		
RMSE	7.795	9.192	7.762	9.411		

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 12: Senate Intra-Party Regression, DV: pirate100

$ \begin{array}{ c c c c c c } \hline lode ological extremism 12.327^{***} & 4.642^{****} & 1.840^{***} & 8.372^{***} \\ \hline (1.303) & (0.471) & (0.635) & (0.528) \\ \hline pres_vote_share & 32.062^{****} & 32.871^{***} & 6.642 & -5.847 \\ \hline (6.694) & (3.090) & (4.726) & (4.593) \\ \hline latino & & 6.777^{**} & 0.509 & 4.051 \\ \hline & & (2.338) & (2.627) & (4.844) \\ \hline vote_share & -7.161 & -0.618 & 1.793 & 19.594^{***} \\ \hline (4.874) & (3.374) & (3.726) & (4.266) \\ \hline female & 2.722 & 4.003^{***} & & 1.115 \\ \hline & (2.607) & (0.872) & & & (1.501) \\ \hline up_for_reelection & -1.765 & -0.176 & -0.077 & -1.439 \\ \hline & (1.413) & (0.516) & (0.737) & (0.785) \\ \hline seniority & -0.701^{***} & 0.066 & -0.473^{**} & 0.109 \\ \hline & (0.180) & (0.065) & (0.184) & (0.101) \\ \hline freshman & 2.647 & 1.035 & -0.733 & 1.380 \\ \hline & (2.329) & (0.866) & (1.021) & (1.296) \\ \hline retiree & 3.421 & 1.813 & 2.025 & 0.744 \\ \hline & (2.966) & (1.105) & (1.702) & (1.403) \\ \hline best_committee & 0.793 & 0.243 & -0.083 & -0.327 \\ \hline & (0.404) & (0.154) & (0.190) & (0.237) \\ \hline leader & 5.668 & 2.775^{***} & 3.039^{**} & 2.860^{**} \\ \hline & (3.040) & (0.827) & (1.171) & (1.117) \\ \hline power_committee & 2.598 & -1.180 & 1.983 & 0.118 \\ \hline & (2.770) & (0.931) & (1.173) & (1.417) \\ \hline chair & 3.745^{**} & 1.974^{**} & 0.809 & 5.506^{***} \\ \hline & (1.844) & (0.657) & (1.178) & (0.985) \\ \hline south & & (2.980) & & (0.750) & (0.880) \\ \hline (Intercept) & 59.038^{***} & 64.692^{***} & 87.816^{***} & 70.926^{***} \\ \hline & (5.690) & (2.481) & (3.073) & (3.953) \\ \hline R^2 & 0.526 & 0.387 & 0.132 & 0.420 \\ \hline Adj, R^2 & 0.501 & 0.376 & 0.067 & 0.408 \\ \hline Num. obs. & 246 & 796 & 188 & 763 \\ \hline \end{array}$	1466 12. 5	Demo		Republica	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		Southern	Others		
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	ideological_extremism	12.327***	4.642***	1.840**	8.372***
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1.303)	(0.471)	(0.635)	(0.528)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	pres_vote_share	32.062***	32.871***	6.642	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(6.694)	(3.090)	(4.726)	(4.593)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	latino		6.777**	0.509	4.051
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			(2.338)	(2.627)	(4.844)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	vote_share	-7.161	-0.618	1.793	19.594***
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(4.874)	(3.374)	(3.726)	(4.266)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	female	2.722	4.003***		1.115
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.607)	(0.872)		(1.501)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$up_for_reelection$	-1.765	-0.176	-0.077	-1.439
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1.413)	(0.516)	(0.737)	(0.785)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	seniority	-0.701***	0.066	-0.473^*	0.109
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			(0.065)	(0.184)	(0.101)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	freshman	2.647	1.035	-0.733	1.380
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.329)	(0.866)	(1.021)	(1.296)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	retiree	3.421	1.813	2.025	0.744
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.966)	(1.105)	(1.702)	(1.403)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$best_committee$	0.793	0.243	-0.083	-0.327
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.404)	(0.154)	(0.190)	(0.237)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	leader	5.668	2.775***	3.039^*	2.860*
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(3.040)	(0.827)	(1.171)	(1.117)
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$power_committee$	2.598	-1.180	1.983	0.118
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.770)	(0.931)	(1.173)	(1.417)
afam $ \begin{array}{ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	chair	3.745*	1.974**	0.809	5.506***
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(1.844)	(0.657)	(1.178)	(0.985)
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	afam		-1.649		-22.812^{***}
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$			(2.980)		(5.563)
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	south			0.262	2.961***
$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$				(0.750)	(0.880)
R² 0.526 0.387 0.132 0.420 Adj. R² 0.501 0.376 0.067 0.408 Num. obs. 246 796 188 763	(Intercept)	59.038***	64.692***	87.816***	70.926***
Adj. R² 0.501 0.376 0.067 0.408 Num. obs. 246 796 188 763		(5.690)	(2.481)	(3.073)	(3.953)
Num. obs. 246 796 188 763	\mathbb{R}^2	0.526	0.387	0.132	0.420
Num. obs. 246 796 188 763	$Adj. R^2$	0.501	0.376	0.067	0.408
RMSE 9.664 6.508 4.323 9.506	-	246	796	188	763
1.020 0.000	RMSE	9.664	6.508	4.323	9.506

 $^{^{***}}p < 0.001, \, ^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 13: Senate Inter-Party Fixed Effects Models, DV: pirate100

Table 13. Senate inc	Democrats	Republicans	Majority	Minority
ideological_extremism	4.37***	4.08***	2.89**	4.03***
	(0.89)	(0.97)	(0.89)	(1.08)
vote_share	3.21	-5.73^{*}	2.88	-2.02
	(2.65)	(2.88)	(3.44)	(3.53)
$pres_vote_share$	31.19***	7.90	33.44***	15.00^*
	(5.36)	(6.19)	(7.17)	(6.34)
freshman	0.67	1.14^{*}	1.01^{*}	0.94
	(0.51)	(0.49)	(0.48)	(0.77)
retiree	0.12	0.70	0.18	0.77
	(0.91)	(0.89)	(1.10)	(0.96)
$best_committee$	0.13	0.10	0.34^{*}	0.31
	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.18)
$up_for_reelection$	-0.45	-1.44***	-0.79^*	-1.02**
	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.32)	(0.36)
$power_committee$	-0.59	-0.01	-1.52	-0.16
	(0.82)	(1.06)	(1.03)	(1.03)
leader	1.24*	1.60*	1.55	1.46
	(0.61)	(0.66)	(0.85)	(0.87)
chair	0.58	0.74	-0.67	
	(0.65)	(0.76)	(0.60)	
Num. obs.	1042	951	1052	843
\mathbb{R}^2	0.17	0.13	0.18	0.14
$Adj. R^2$	0.85	0.87	0.87	0.90

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 14: Senate Intra-Party Fixed Effects Models, DV: pirate100

	Democrats		Republicans	
	Southern	Others	Gingrich Senators	Others
ideological_extremism	11.34***	2.92***	1.78	4.31***
	(1.76)	(0.87)	(1.54)	(1.17)
$vote_share$	1.40	5.89	-0.99	-6.61
	(3.37)	(3.65)	(3.95)	(3.52)
pres_vote_share	22.41*	12.47	2.51	8.91
	(11.01)	(7.05)	(9.16)	(6.96)
freshman	0.76	1.04*	-0.55	1.89**
	(0.85)	(0.53)	(0.73)	(0.60)
retiree	-2.92	0.88	1.20	0.60
	(2.06)	(0.69)	(1.16)	(1.02)
$best_committee$	0.48	0.03	0.26	0.04
	(0.31)	(0.13)	(0.27)	(0.22)
$up_for_reelection$	-0.40	-0.36	-0.45	-1.75***
	(0.71)	(0.32)	(0.60)	(0.40)
$power_committee$	-2.19	-0.10	-0.57	0.39
	(2.22)	(0.77)	(1.10)	(1.28)
leader	2.73	1.30^{*}	1.22	1.64^{*}
	(2.33)	(0.54)	(0.85)	(0.79)
chair	1.81	0.38	-1.32	0.92
	(1.50)	(0.60)	(0.76)	(0.91)
Num. obs.	246	796	188	763
\mathbb{R}^2	0.91	0.85	0.65	0.90
Adj. \mathbb{R}^2	0.87	0.81	0.49	0.87

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 15: Senate Inter-Party Regression Models, DV: pfrate100

$ \begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		Democrats	ats Republicans Majority Minority			
$\begin{array}{c} & (0.398) & (0.373) & (0.361) & (0.377) \\ \text{pres_vote_share} & 13.872^{***} & 3.896 & 3.918 & -3.194 \\ & (2.459) & (3.235) & (2.431) & (3.131) \\ \text{south} & -1.949^{***} & 2.320^{***} & -2.114^{***} & -0.677 \\ & (0.577) & (0.602) & (0.524) & (0.611) \\ \text{vote_share} & -3.036 & 8.640^{**} & -0.894 & 3.513 \\ & (2.247) & (2.929) & (2.554) & (2.905) \\ \text{female} & 2.597^{***} & -1.164 & 4.387^{***} & 3.109^{**} \\ & (0.755) & (1.188) & (0.926) & (1.089) \\ \text{afam} & -1.540 & -18.748^{***} & 2.249 & -6.806^* \\ & (2.902) & (4.451) & (5.170) & (3.155) \\ \text{latino} & 5.929^{**} & -2.624 & 2.611 & 1.737 \\ & (2.280) & (2.917) & (2.320) & (3.445) \\ \text{up_for_reelection} & 0.195 & 0.732 & 0.374 & 0.300 \\ & (0.443) & (0.564) & (0.508) & (0.592) \\ \text{seniority} & -0.161^{**} & -0.040 & 0.197^{**} & 0.039 \\ & (0.054) & (0.076) & (0.074) & (0.068) \\ \text{freshman} & 0.679 & 1.439 & 1.197 & 0.402 \\ & (0.737) & (0.883) & (0.779) & (1.014) \\ \text{retiree} & -0.264 & -2.188^* & -1.436 & -1.249 \\ & (0.933) & (1.045) & (1.050) & (1.090) \\ \text{best_committee} & 0.171 & -0.565^{***} & -0.023 & -0.444^{**} \\ & (0.129) & (0.161) & (0.146) & (0.171) \\ \text{leader} & 1.455^* & 2.971^{***} & 1.189 & 1.988^* \\ & (0.740) & (0.809) & (0.816) & (0.881) \\ \text{power_committee} & 1.392 & 2.220^* & 1.959^* & 1.607 \\ & (0.802) & (0.968) & (0.887) & (1.044) \\ \text{chair} & 1.499^{**} & 1.640^* & -1.612^* \\ & (0.563) & (0.734) & (0.637) \\ \text{(Intercept)} & 73.355^{***} & 76.051^{***} & 76.913^{***} & 81.225^{***} \\ \end{array}$	ideological_extremism					
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	0					
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	pres_vote_share	,		,	,	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	•	(2.459)	(3.235)	(2.431)	(3.131)	
$\begin{array}{c} \text{vote_share} & -3.036 \\ (2.247) \\ (2.929) \\ (2.554) \\ (2.905) \\ \\ \text{female} \\ 2.597^{***} \\ -1.164 \\ (0.755) \\ (1.188) \\ (0.926) \\ (1.089) \\ \\ \text{afam} \\ -1.540 \\ (2.902) \\ (4.451) \\ (5.170) \\ (3.155) \\ \\ \text{latino} \\ (2.280) \\ (2.917) \\ (2.320) \\ (3.445) \\ \\ \text{up_for_reelection} \\ 0.195 \\ (0.443) \\ (0.564) \\ (0.508) \\ (0.592) \\ \\ \text{seniority} \\ -0.161^{**} \\ -0.040 \\ (0.043) \\ (0.054) \\ (0.076) \\ (0.074) \\ (0.078) \\ (0.079) \\ (0.037) \\ (0.883) \\ (0.779) \\ (1.014) \\ \text{retiree} \\ -0.264 \\ (0.933) \\ (1.045) \\ (0.129) \\ (0.161) \\ (0.146) \\ (0.171) \\ \text{leader} \\ 1.455^{*} \\ (0.740) \\ (0.802) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.887) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (0.887) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.128) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.129) \\ (0.161) \\ (0.146) \\ (0.171) \\ (0.802) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.042) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.042) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.$	south	-1.949***			-0.677	
$\begin{array}{c} \text{vote_share} & -3.036 \\ (2.247) \\ (2.929) \\ (2.554) \\ (2.905) \\ \\ \text{female} \\ 2.597^{***} \\ -1.164 \\ (0.755) \\ (1.188) \\ (0.926) \\ (1.089) \\ \\ \text{afam} \\ -1.540 \\ (2.902) \\ (4.451) \\ (5.170) \\ (3.155) \\ \\ \text{latino} \\ (2.280) \\ (2.917) \\ (2.320) \\ (3.445) \\ \\ \text{up_for_reelection} \\ 0.195 \\ (0.443) \\ (0.564) \\ (0.508) \\ (0.592) \\ \\ \text{seniority} \\ -0.161^{**} \\ -0.040 \\ (0.043) \\ (0.054) \\ (0.076) \\ (0.074) \\ (0.078) \\ (0.079) \\ (0.037) \\ (0.883) \\ (0.779) \\ (1.014) \\ \text{retiree} \\ -0.264 \\ (0.933) \\ (1.045) \\ (0.129) \\ (0.161) \\ (0.146) \\ (0.171) \\ \text{leader} \\ 1.455^{*} \\ (0.740) \\ (0.802) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.887) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (0.887) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.128) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.129) \\ (0.161) \\ (0.146) \\ (0.171) \\ (0.802) \\ (0.968) \\ (0.887) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.042) \\ (0.637) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.042) \\ (1.044) \\ (1.$		(0.577)			(0.611)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$vote_share$	-3.036	8.640**	-0.894	3.513	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.247)	(2.929)	(2.554)	(2.905)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	female	2.597***	-1.164	4.387^{***}	3.109**	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.755)	(1.188)	(0.926)	(1.089)	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	afam	-1.540	-18.748***	2.249	-6.806*	
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(2.902)	(4.451)	(5.170)	(3.155)	
$\begin{array}{c} \text{up_for_reelection} & 0.195 & 0.732 & 0.374 & 0.300 \\ & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & & &$	latino	5.929**	-2.624	2.611	1.737	
$\begin{array}{c} \text{seniority} & \begin{array}{c} (0.443) & (0.564) & (0.508) & (0.592) \\ -0.161^{**} & -0.040 & 0.197^{**} & 0.039 \\ (0.054) & (0.076) & (0.074) & (0.068) \\ \text{freshman} & \begin{array}{c} 0.679 & 1.439 & 1.197 & 0.402 \\ (0.737) & (0.883) & (0.779) & (1.014) \\ \text{retiree} & -0.264 & -2.188^* & -1.436 & -1.249 \\ (0.933) & (1.045) & (1.050) & (1.090) \\ \text{best_committee} & \begin{array}{c} 0.171 & -0.565^{***} & -0.023 & -0.444^{**} \\ (0.129) & (0.161) & (0.146) & (0.171) \\ \text{leader} & \begin{array}{c} 1.455^* & 2.971^{***} & 1.189 & 1.988^* \\ (0.740) & (0.809) & (0.816) & (0.881) \\ \text{power_committee} & \begin{array}{c} 1.392 & 2.220^* & 1.959^* & 1.607 \\ (0.802) & (0.968) & (0.887) & (1.044) \\ \text{chair} & \begin{array}{c} 1.499^{**} & 1.640^* & -1.612^* \\ (0.563) & (0.734) & (0.637) \\ \end{array} \end{array}$		(2.280)	(2.917)	(2.320)	(3.445)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$up_for_reelection$	0.195	0.732	0.374	0.300	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.443)	(0.564)	(0.508)	(0.592)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	seniority	-0.161^{**}	-0.040	0.197^{**}	0.039	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.054)	(0.076)	(0.074)	(0.068)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	freshman	0.679	1.439	1.197	0.402	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.737)	(0.883)	(0.779)	(1.014)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	retiree	-0.264	-2.188*	-1.436	-1.249	
$ \begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.933)	(1.045)	(1.050)	(1.090)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$best_committee$	0.171	-0.565***	-0.023	-0.444**	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		(0.129)	(0.161)	(0.146)	(0.171)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	leader	1.455^{*}	2.971***	1.189	1.988*	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$		\	(0.809)	(0.816)	(0.881)	
$\begin{array}{cccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	$power_committee$	1.392	2.220*	1.959*	1.607	
$\begin{array}{cccc} (0.563) & (0.734) & (0.637) \\ (\text{Intercept}) & 73.355^{***} & 76.051^{***} & 76.913^{***} & 81.225^{***} \end{array}$		(0.802)	(0.968)	(0.887)	(1.044)	
(Intercept) 73.355^{***} 76.051^{***} 76.913^{***} 81.225^{***}	chair	1.499**	1.640*	-1.612*		
		(0.563)	(0.734)	(0.637)		
(1.077) (0.001) (0.000) (0.740)	(Intercept)	73.355***	76.051***	76.913***	81.225***	
		(1.977)	(2.691)	(2.229)	(2.748)	
R^2 0.353 0.123 0.233 0.124		0.353	0.123	0.233	0.124	
Adj. R^2 0.344 0.109 0.222 0.109	$Adj. R^2$		0.109		0.109	
Num. obs. 1042 951 1052 843						
RMSE 6.368 7.619 7.249 7.616	RMSE	6.368	7.619	7.249	7.616	

 $^{^{***}}p < 0.001, \, ^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 16: Senate Intra-Party Regression, DV: pfrate100

	Democrats		Republicans		
	Southern	Others	Gingrich Senators	Others	
ideological_extremism	9.181***	3.176***	-4.803***	2.234***	
	(1.000)	(0.407)	(0.902)	(0.426)	
pres_vote_share	6.294	15.590***	24.864***	-0.677	
	(5.140)	(2.673)	(6.709)	(3.705)	
latino	,	6.314**	-9.826**	0.765	
		(2.022)	(3.729)	(3.908)	
vote_share	-5.155	4.284	-2.390	12.163***	
	(3.743)	(2.919)	(5.290)	(3.442)	
female	2.948	2.408**		-0.975	
	(2.002)	(0.755)		(1.211)	
$up_for_reelection$	-0.255	0.263	1.593	0.419	
	(1.085)	(0.446)	(1.046)	(0.633)	
seniority	-0.478^{***}	-0.110	-0.857^{**}	-0.036	
	(0.138)	(0.056)	(0.261)	(0.082)	
freshman	0.717	0.529	-2.195	1.500	
	(1.789)	(0.750)	(1.450)	(1.045)	
retiree	2.079	-0.193	-3.221	-2.011	
	(2.277)	(0.956)	(2.415)	(1.132)	
$best_committee$	0.257	0.175	-0.674^{*}	-0.449^{*}	
	(0.310)	(0.133)	(0.270)	(0.191)	
leader	-0.102	1.551^{*}	4.697**	2.292*	
	(2.334)	(0.715)	(1.662)	(0.901)	
$power_committee$	2.205	0.284	3.719^*	1.646	
	(2.127)	(0.806)	(1.665)	(1.143)	
chair	0.766	2.197***	-1.974	2.197^{**}	
	(1.416)	(0.569)	(1.672)	(0.795)	
afam		-1.005		-18.074***	
		(2.578)		(4.488)	
south			0.992	2.359***	
			(1.064)	(0.710)	
(Intercept)	76.810***	69.742***	82.148***	75.029***	
	(4.369)	(2.147)	(4.362)	(3.189)	
\mathbb{R}^2	0.455	0.223	0.313	0.161	
$Adj. R^2$	0.427	0.209	0.261	0.144	
Num. obs.	246	796	188	763	
RMSE	7.421	5.630	6.137	7.669	

 $^{^{***}}p < 0.001, \, ^{**}p < 0.01, \, ^{*}p < 0.05$

Table 17: Senate Inter-Party Fixed Effects Models, DV: pfrate100

Table 17. Senate inc	Democrats	Republicans	Majority	Minority
ideological_extremism	4.01***	0.34	2.95*	0.54
	(1.19)	(1.51)	(1.21)	(1.42)
$vote_share$	1.86	-1.25 1.64		0.21
	(3.39)	(3.73)	(4.55)	(3.86)
$pres_vote_share$	10.07	-3.02	7.55	6.13
	(5.76)	(7.31)	(5.84)	(7.52)
freshman	-0.10	0.64	0.66	0.92
	(0.50)	(0.63)	(0.53)	(0.95)
retiree	-0.33	-0.75	-0.50	0.12
	(0.76)	(0.99)	(1.08)	(1.13)
$best_committee$	-0.04	-0.03	0.14	-0.32
	(0.13)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.21)
$up_for_reelection$	0.26	0.45	0.63	0.13
	(0.33)	(0.32)	(0.34)	(0.42)
$power_committee$	-0.29	0.83	-0.72	1.63
	(0.94)	(1.12)	(1.13)	(1.02)
leader	1.01	0.57	0.44	0.88
	(0.97)	(0.55)	(0.89)	(1.04)
chair	0.53	0.37	-0.29	
	(0.61)	(0.85)	(0.73)	
Num. obs.	1042	951	1052	843
\mathbb{R}^2	0.82	0.74	0.83	0.81
$Adj. R^2$	0.77	0.68	0.76	0.73

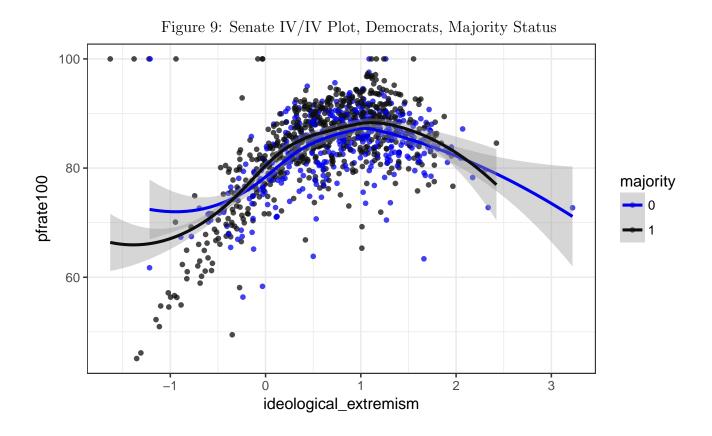
^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

Table 18: Senate Intra-Party Fixed Effects Models, DV: pfrate100

	Democrats		Republicans	
	Southern	Others	Gingrich Senators	Others
ideological_extremism	10.52***	2.33*	-2.90	1.11
	(1.76)	(1.17)	(2.54)	(1.81)
vote_share	1.59	1.93	-2.20	0.65
	(2.58)	(3.50)	(6.76)	(3.57)
pres_vote_share	14.66	-0.70	20.94	-7.71
	(9.87)	(7.53)	(18.26)	(7.22)
freshman	-0.17	-0.06	-1.27	1.31
	(0.96)	(0.53)	(1.36)	(0.67)
retiree	-0.81	0.03	-1.87	-0.62
	(1.37)	(0.77)	(3.27)	(1.03)
$best_committee$	-0.05	-0.02	-0.21	-0.06
	(0.17)	(0.13)	(0.48)	(0.24)
$up_for_reelection$	0.38	0.24	1.74^{*}	0.24
	(0.49)	(0.40)	(0.67)	(0.35)
$power_committee$	-1.56	0.01	2.35	0.98
	(0.82)	(0.74)	(2.95)	(1.08)
leader	0.06	1.37	1.80	0.47
	(1.87)	(0.94)	(1.10)	(0.58)
chair	0.91	0.23	-1.41	0.62
	(1.24)	(0.48)	(4.21)	(0.79)
Num. obs.	246	796	188	763
\mathbb{R}^2	0.92	0.75	0.68	0.78
$Adj. R^2$	0.89	0.69	0.53	0.72

^{***}p < 0.001, **p < 0.01, *p < 0.05

2.4 DV/IV and IV/IV Plots With Confidence Bands



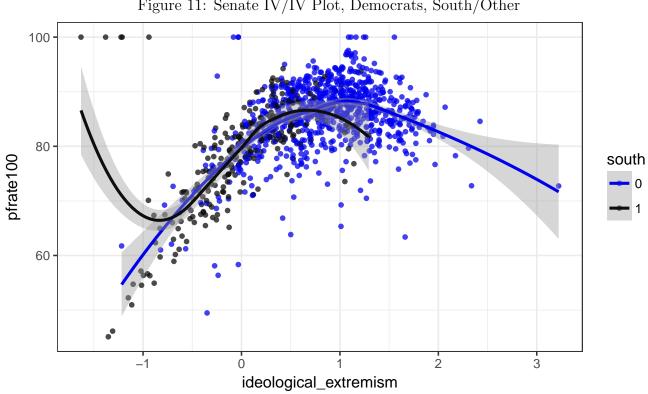
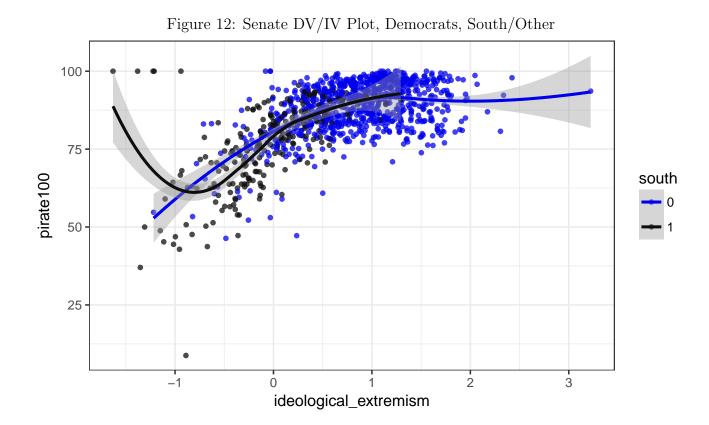


Figure 11: Senate IV/IV Plot, Democrats, South/Other



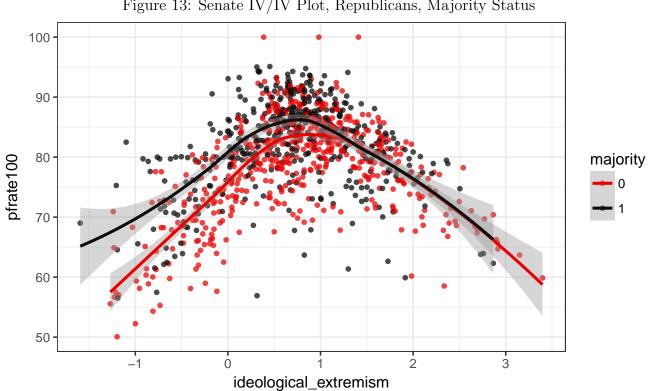
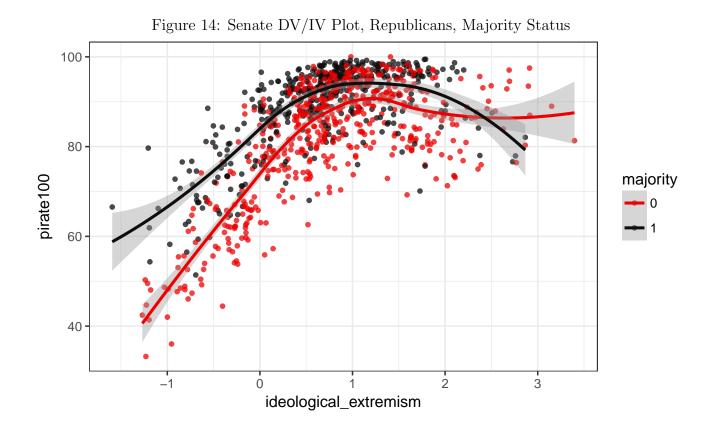


Figure 13: Senate IV/IV Plot, Republicans, Majority Status



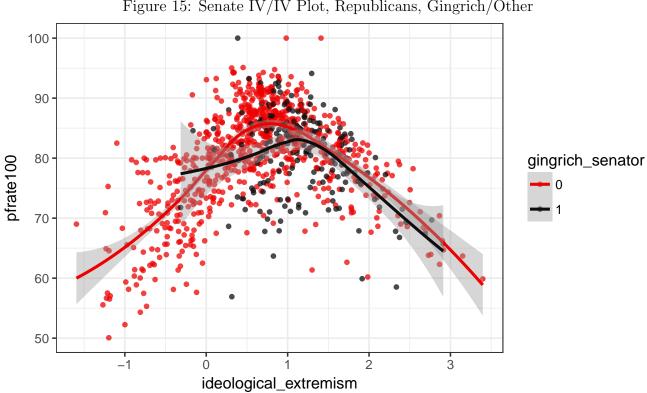
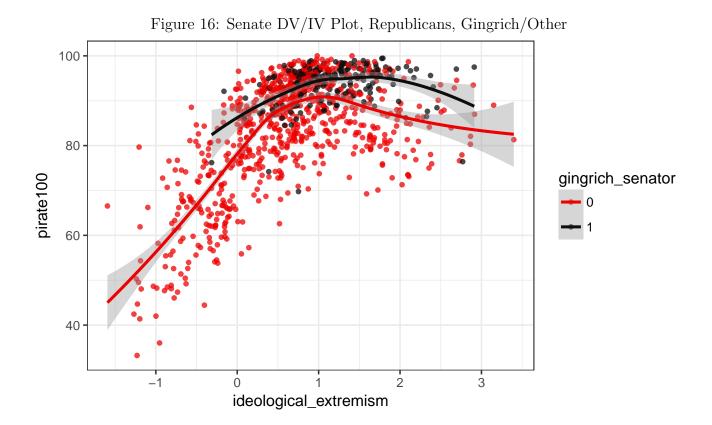


Figure 15: Senate IV/IV Plot, Republicans, Gingrich/Other



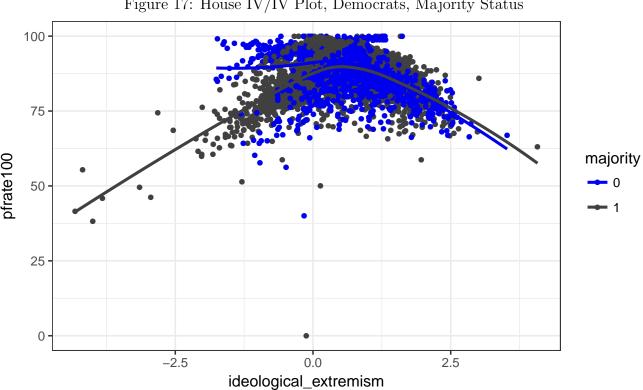
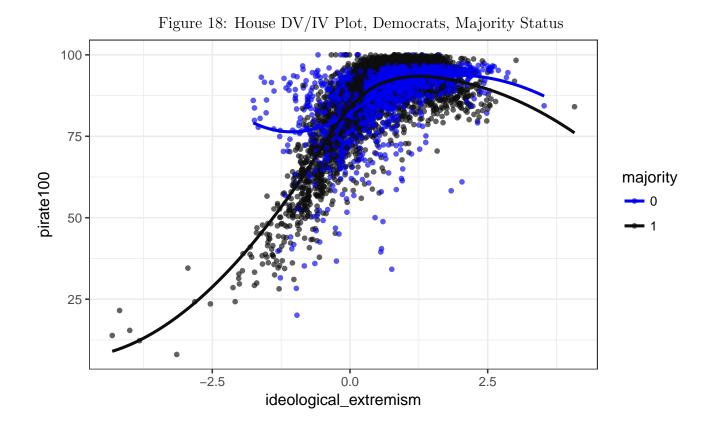


Figure 17: House IV/IV Plot, Democrats, Majority Status pfrate100



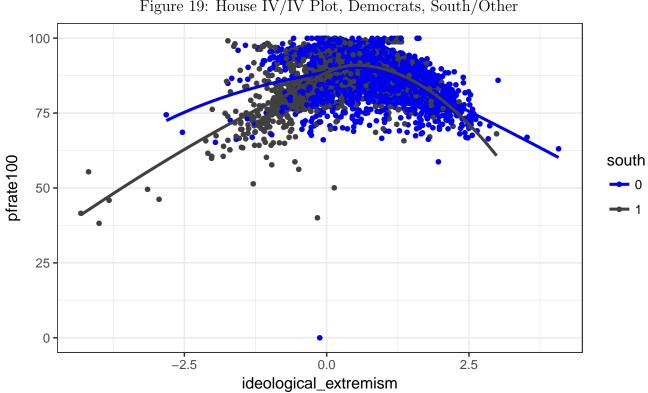
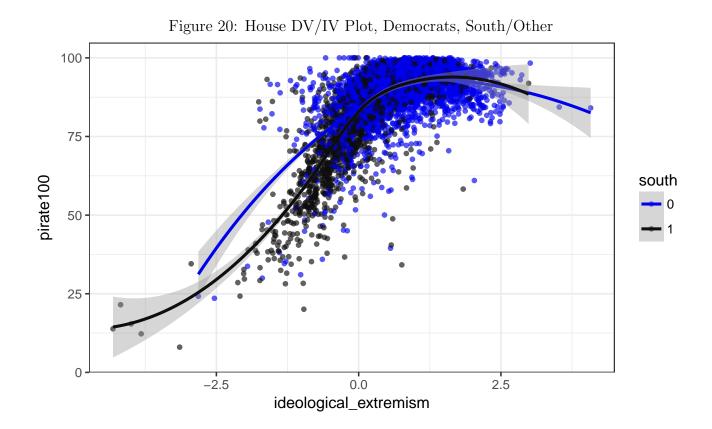


Figure 19: House IV/IV Plot, Democrats, South/Other



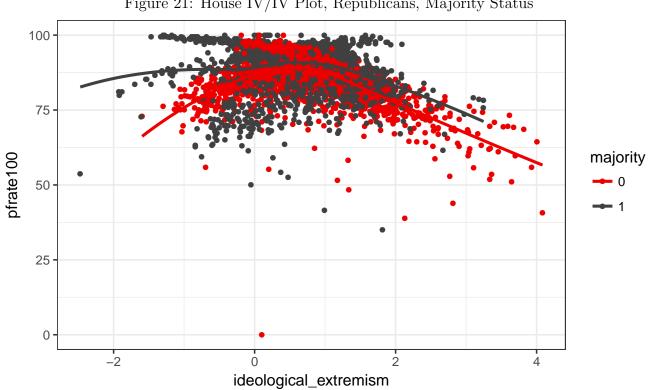


Figure 21: House IV/IV Plot, Republicans, Majority Status

