

1 Overview

Andrew has been quick in getting his comments back to us, and I am working to adapt the paper to account for his concerns.

At our previous meeting we decided to:

- Determine what varies between those up for reelection and those not
- Get a column in the fixed effects table for ‘all’ in the paper’s appendix
- Get a summary statistics table in the paper’s appendix

First, I provide an overview of the comments provided by Andrew and how I think we ought to take them into account when writing the paper. Following this, I include additional reelection tests along with the additional tables in question below. Finally, I show the additional tables which will be placed in the appendix of the next draft.

2 Overview of Andrew’s Comments

Broad themes in Andrew’s read of our draft involved concern for what vote types the party is calling on, the identification of party calls, and differences between parties. The first of these is not something we likely want to directly address in order to publish a research note, however, it’s a criticism I think we are likely to see if we don’t head it off. One way of doing this would be to address it along with a slightly expanded description of party call identification. If we stress that ideology is being accounted for in identifying these, we can include some statement about how for this paper it’s not important what types of votes these are, but future research would do well to consider how party calls interact with different types of votes. Finally, we might do well to expand our overview to say that party calls are found across both parties for the duration of our analysis and that they mostly look the same across times and parties, but there are some meaningful differences.

More minor points raised concerned later Congresses and the specifics of our reelection tests. Making a more clear and powerful statement about the responsive extremists hypothesis holding even in later Congresses could be beneficial to address the first of these points. For the second, we need to do more to talk up the past use of same-state Senate pairs and/or point out that what we are interested in is the desires of voters who are shared by these pairs. We probably will also want to do something to account for differences between seat types, something I have attempted to do in this update. Whether or not we want to include placebo/known effects was not addressed by his comments, but we will want to think more about this as well.

I welcome any comments that you have regarding Andrew’s feedback and will take those things listed above along with anything you would add into account as I prepare the next draft of our paper in the coming week.

3 Additional Reelection Tests

First, I present the balance test between those not up for reelection and those up for reelection. An interesting avenue would be using committee status as a placebo, since this is an area which differences appear we didn't previously check. We would need to determine if this is being driven by increased seniority or if it is a way that the party tries to boost members approaching reelection and to figure out a way to break ties.

Table 1: t -Test, Up for Reelection

	μ , Not Tr.	μ , Tr.	Lower C.I.	Upper C.I.	p -value
Majority	0.5576	0.5281	-0.0178	0.0768	0.2216
Presidential Vote Share	0.5220	0.5203	-0.0075	0.0110	0.7092
Vote Share	0.6127	0.6104	-0.0071	0.0117	0.6287
South	0.2648	0.2562	-0.0331	0.0502	0.6871
First Term	0.3567	0.3656	-0.0546	0.0367	0.7014
Leader	0.0903	0.1141	-0.0530	0.0055	0.1118
Chair	0.1760	0.1875	-0.0483	0.0253	0.5401
Best Committee	12.0903	12.6438	-0.7959	-0.3109	0.0000
Power Committee	0.6978	0.7797	-0.1227	-0.0410	0.0001
Seniority	5.7850	6.9625	-1.6017	-0.7532	0.0000
Female	0.0724	0.0641	-0.0154	0.0321	0.4890
African American	0.0047	0.0031	-0.0042	0.0073	0.5956
Latino	0.0078	0.0047	-0.0041	0.0103	0.3958
Gingrich Senator	0.1005	0.0859	-0.0127	0.0418	0.2963
Ideological Extremism	0.7297	0.6122	0.0493	0.1856	0.0007
Roll Call Votes	745.8645	729.3406	-0.9998	34.0475	0.0646

Note: Results shown calculated by a two-tailed t -test for differences between those not up for reelection in a Congress and those up for reelection. The first column is the mean of those not up for reelection at the end of a congress for the listed variable, the second is the mean for those up for reelection. The next two columns give the bounds for the 95% confidence interval for the difference, and the final column shows the p -value for the differences. Variables which are significant at the $p < 0.05$ threshold are bolded.

Alternatively, we could provide analyses which take differences in seat type into account. Below, I include tests for the differences based on seat type estimated with state and Congress fixed effects. Models fail to estimate with the inclusion of more than 2 categories for seat type included, so I provide a range of tests covering the categories of interest separately.

The first set of tests uses same-party pairs as a baseline to test effects of split-party states with different parties up for reelection. Democrats are statistically different from the baseline regardless of majority status in this condition, though when in the minority it is because they are less responsive than their same-state partner and when in the majority because they are more responsive.

Table 2: Split-Party State Effects, Difference-in-Differences

	Estimate	Cluster s.e.	<i>t</i> value	Pr(> <i>t</i>)
Treated Majority	-0.2529	0.8846	-0.29	0.7751
Split, Rep. Treated	-2.0979	2.1221	-0.99	0.3233
Split, Dem. Treated	-5.2603	1.6618	-3.17	0.0016
Treated Maj. \times Split, Rep. Treated	5.0540	2.9876	1.69	0.0913
Treated Maj. \times Split, Dem. Treated	4.7130	2.0896	2.26	0.0245

The other tests consider differences between pairs based on seat types with the categories being split, 2 Reps, and 2 Dems. In each of these tests, one of the categories is omitted to allow for differences in these groups to be considered. The models will not estimate when a specific type of split is considered with other seat pairs. Though the differences are not consistent enough to achieve statistical significance, some of them are substantially different from the baseline. Still, tables like these may be good things to show in an appendix to head off concerns such as those raised by Andrew.

Table 3: Seat Type Effects, Split and 2 Republicans, Difference-in-Differences

	Estimate	Cluster s.e.	<i>t</i> value	Pr(> <i>t</i>)
Treated Majority	-0.5578	1.6377	-0.34	0.7335
Split Party	-4.2444	2.2003	-1.93	0.0542
Both Rep.	-1.6499	2.8160	-0.59	0.5582
Treated Maj. \times Split Party	4.5034	2.5326	1.78	0.0759
Treated Maj. \times Both Rep.	0.3075	3.2148	0.10	0.9238

Table 4: Seat Type Effects, Split and 2 Democrats, Difference-in-Differences

	Estimate	Cluster s.e.	<i>t</i> value	Pr(> <i>t</i>)
Treated Majority	-0.2502	1.9991	-0.13	0.9004
Split Party	-2.5945	1.7909	-1.45	0.1480
Both Dem.	1.6499	2.8158	0.59	0.5581
Treated Maj \times Split Party	4.1959	3.1299	1.34	0.1806
Treated Maj. \times Both Dem.	-0.3075	3.2153	-0.10	0.9238

Table 5: Seat Type Effects, 2 Republicans and 2 Democrats, Difference-in-Differences

	Estimate	Cluster s.e.	<i>t</i> value	Pr(> <i>t</i>)
Treated Majority	3.9456	2.3117	1.71	0.0884
Both Rep.	2.5945	1.7897	1.45	0.1477
Both Dem.	4.2444	2.2000	1.93	0.0542
Treated Maj. \times Both Rep.	-4.1959	3.1301	-1.34	0.1806
Treated Maj. \times Both Dem.	-4.5034	2.5327	-1.78	0.0759

Table 6: Senate Fixed Effects Models

	All	Democrats	Republicans	Majority	Minority
Ideological Extremism	2.36*** (0.48)	2.88*** (0.69)	4.00*** (0.75)	1.94** (0.63)	4.11*** (0.88)
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	0.35*** (0.03)	0.37*** (0.05)	0.25*** (0.05)	0.38*** (0.05)	0.22** (0.07)
Up for Reelection	-1.01*** (0.25)	-0.55* (0.27)	-1.55*** (0.34)	-1.03*** (0.28)	-0.91* (0.36)
Vote Share	-0.01 (0.02)	0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.03)	0.03 (0.03)	-0.03 (0.03)
Pres. Vote Share	0.04 (0.02)	0.27*** (0.04)	0.09 (0.05)	0.32*** (0.06)	0.16** (0.06)
Freshman	1.31*** (0.37)	0.71 (0.48)	0.98* (0.46)	0.58 (0.44)	0.64 (0.76)
Retiree	0.52 (0.63)	0.25 (0.83)	0.88 (0.83)	0.37 (0.96)	0.60 (0.85)
Best Committee	0.18 (0.10)	0.14 (0.12)	0.11 (0.16)	0.21 (0.16)	0.32 (0.17)
Power Committee	-0.66 (0.61)	-0.48 (0.70)	-0.22 (0.98)	-0.96 (0.88)	-0.51 (0.93)
Party Leader	1.27* (0.51)	0.87 (0.47)	1.46* (0.62)	1.28 (0.71)	1.12 (0.74)
Committee Chair	2.93*** (0.48)	0.38 (0.64)	0.65 (0.71)	-0.36 (0.56)	
Num. obs.	1993	1042	951	1100	893
R ²	0.87	0.89	0.91	0.91	0.93
Adj. R ²	0.85	0.87	0.88	0.88	0.90

*** $p < 0.001$, ** $p < 0.01$, * $p < 0.05$

4 Additional Tables for the Appendix

Here I provide additional tables that I will place in the appendix of the next draft. Variables will be rearranged to match those of the paper, and descriptions of variables will be included with the summary statistics tables.

Table 7: Senate Summary Statistics, All

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Majority	1,993	0.552	0.488	0.000	1.000
Pres. Vote Share	1,993	0.521	0.097	0.201	0.780
Pres. Dem. Vote Share	1,993	0.462	0.092	0.201	0.730
Vote Share	1,993	0.612	0.099	0.500	1.000
South	1,993	0.260	0.439	0	1
Party Leader	1,993	0.099	0.299	0	1
Committee Chair	1,993	0.183	0.386	0	1
Best Committee	1,993	12.277	2.740	0	15
Power Committee	1,993	0.727	0.446	0	1
Up for Reelection	1,993	0.333	0.471	0	1
Freshman	1,993	0.114	0.318	0	1
Seniority	1,993	6.254	4.618	1	26
Retiree	1,993	0.059	0.235	0	1
African Ameican	1,993	0.004	0.063	0	1
Female	1,993	0.067	0.250	0	1
Latino	1,993	0.008	0.086	0	1
Gingrich Senator	1,993	0.094	0.292	0	1
Party Free Ideal Point	1,993	0.002	1.000	−3.222	3.397
Party Call Response Rate	1,993	85.491	11.438	8.777	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	1,993	82.035	8.164	45.106	100.000
Ideological Extremism	1,993	0.689	0.724	−1.630	3.397

Table 8: Senate Summary Statistics, Democrats

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Majority	1,042	0.633	0.473	0.000	1.000
Pres. Vote Share	1,042	0.484	0.093	0.201	0.730
Pres Dem. Vote Share	1,042	0.484	0.093	0.201	0.730
Vote Share	1,042	0.619	0.102	0.500	1.000
South	1,042	0.236	0.425	0	1
Party Leader	1,042	0.083	0.277	0	1
Committee Chair	1,042	0.208	0.406	0	1
Best Committee	1,042	12.257	2.780	0	15
Power Committee	1,042	0.729	0.445	0	1
Up for Reelection	1,042	0.334	0.472	0	1
Freshman	1,042	0.105	0.306	0	1
Retiree	1,042	0.051	0.220	0	1
African American	1,042	0.005	0.069	0	1
Female	1,042	0.084	0.278	0	1
Latino	1,042	0.008	0.087	0	1
Gingrich Senator	1,042	0.000	0.000	0	0
Party Free Ideal Point	1,042	-0.657	0.657	-3.222	1.630
Party Call Response Rate	1,042	85.776	10.886	8.777	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	1,042	83.760	7.862	45.106	100.000
Ideological Extremism	1,042	0.657	0.657	-1.630	3.222

Table 9: Senate Summary Statistics, Republicans

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Majority	951	0.464	0.489	0.000	1.000
Pres. Vote Share	951	0.562	0.085	0.310	0.780
Pres. Dem. Vote Share	951	0.438	0.085	0.220	0.690
Vote Share	951	0.605	0.094	0.500	1.000
South	951	0.286	0.452	0	1
Party Leader	951	0.117	0.321	0	1
Committee Chair	951	0.155	0.362	0	1
Best Committee	951	12.300	2.697	0	15
Power Committee	951	0.723	0.448	0	1
Up for Reelection	951	0.332	0.471	0	1
Freshman	951	0.124	0.330	0	1
Seniority	951	5.677	4.163	1	24
Retiree	951	0.067	0.251	0	1
African American	951	0.003	0.056	0	1
Female	951	0.048	0.215	0	1
Latino	951	0.007	0.086	0	1
Gingrich Senator	951	0.198	0.398	0	1
Party Free Ideal Point	951	0.725	0.789	-1.595	3.397
Party Call Response Rate	951	85.180	12.011	33.232	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	951	80.144	8.073	50.070	100.000
Ideological Extremism	951	0.725	0.789	-1.595	3.397

Table 10: Senate Summary Statistics, Majority Party

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Majority	1,052	1.000	0.000	1	1
Pres. Vote Share	1,052	0.506	0.101	0.201	0.780
Pres Dem. Vote Share	1,052	0.463	0.094	0.201	0.730
Vote Share	1,052	0.614	0.100	0.500	1.000
South	1,052	0.267	0.443	0	1
Party Leader	1,052	0.096	0.295	0	1
Committee Chair	1,052	0.329	0.470	0	1
Best Committee	1,052	12.270	2.755	0	15
Power Committee	1,052	0.721	0.449	0	1
Up for Reelection	1,052	0.323	0.468	0	1
Freshman	1,052	0.129	0.336	0	1
Seniority	1,052	6.089	4.618	1	26
Retiree	1,052	0.051	0.221	0	1
African American	1,052	0.002	0.044	0	1
Female	1,052	0.065	0.246	0	1
Latino	1,052	0.010	0.097	0	1
Gingrich Senator	1,052	0.087	0.281	0	1
Party Free Ideal Point	1,052	-0.071	0.918	-1.966	2.866
Party Call Response Rate	1,052	86.934	10.350	37.020	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	1,052	83.089	8.216	45.106	100.000
Ideological Extremism	1,052	0.614	0.687	-1.630	2.866

Table 11: Senate Summary Statistics, Minority Party

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Majority	843	0.000	0.000	0	0
Pres. Vote Share	843	0.538	0.091	0.284	0.754
Pres. Dem. Vote Share	843	0.461	0.090	0.246	0.690
Vote Share	843	0.611	0.098	0.500	1.000
South	843	0.250	0.433	0	1
Party Leader	843	0.102	0.303	0	1
Committee Chair	843	0.000	0.000	0	0
Best Committee	843	12.284	2.711	0	15
Power Committee	843	0.733	0.443	0	1
Up for Reelection	843	0.345	0.476	0	1
Freshman	843	0.096	0.295	0	1
Seniority	843	6.409	4.545	1	24
Retiree	843	0.070	0.255	0	1
African American	843	0.007	0.084	0	1
Female	843	0.064	0.245	0	1
Latino	843	0.006	0.077	0	1
Gingrich Senator	843	0.094	0.292	0	1
Party Free Ideal Point	843	0.091	1.086	-3.222	3.397
Party Call Response Rate	843	83.138	12.372	8.777	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	843	80.354	8.068	50.070	100.000
Ideological Extremism	843	0.767	0.773	-1.269	3.397

Table 12: House Summary Statistics, All

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Democrat	8,544	0.555	0.497	0	1
Majority	8,544	0.573	0.495	0	1
Female	8,544	0.094	0.292	0	1
African American	8,544	0.063	0.244	0	1
Latino	8,544	0.035	0.183	0	1
Committee Chair	8,544	0.051	0.219	0	1
Power Committee	8,544	0.255	0.436	0	1
Seniority	8,544	5.331	4.054	1	29
South	8,544	0.296	0.456	0	1
Freshman	8,544	0.156	0.363	0	1
Party Leader	8,544	0.036	0.187	0	1
Pres. Vote Share	8,544	56.578	12.357	16.310	96.060
Vote Share vs. Mean Vote Share	8,544	-0.000	9.150	-15.727	31.353
Best Committee	8,544	13.822	6.376	0	22
Party Free Ideal Point	8,544	-0.004	1.003	-4.076	9.347
Party Call Response Rate	8,544	85.800	11.478	8.021	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting With Party	8,544	86.955	7.507	0.000	100.000
Ideological Extremism	8,544	0.603	0.802	-4.317	9.347

Table 13: House Summary Statistics, Democrats

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Democrat	4,746	1.000	0.000	1	1
Majority	4,746	0.700	0.458	0	1
Female	4,746	0.114	0.317	0	1
African American	4,746	0.112	0.316	0	1
Latino	4,746	0.050	0.217	0	1
Committee Chair	4,746	0.062	0.240	0	1
Power Committee	4,746	0.257	0.437	0	1
Seniority	4,746	5.752	4.376	1	29
South	4,746	0.289	0.453	0	1
Freshman	4,746	0.140	0.347	0	1
Party Leader	4,746	0.034	0.182	0	1
Pres. Vote Share	4,746	54.871	14.495	16.310	96.060
Vote Share vs. Mean Vote Share	4,746	1.319	9.905	-15.727	31.353
Best Committee	4,746	13.832	6.398	0	22
Party Free Ideal Point	4,746	-0.546	0.809	-4.076	4.317
Party Call Response Rate	4,746	86.290	12.110	8.021	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	4,746	86.996	7.214	0.000	100.000
Ideological Extremism	4,746	0.546	0.809	-4.317	4.076

Table 14: House Summary Stats, Republicans

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Democrat	3,798	0.000	0.000	0	0
Majority	3,798	0.415	0.493	0	1
Female	3,798	0.069	0.254	0	1
African American	3,798	0.002	0.049	0	1
Latino	3,798	0.016	0.126	0	1
Committee Chair	3,798	0.037	0.189	0	1
Power Committee	3,798	0.251	0.434	0	1
Seniority	3,798	4.805	3.543	1	21
South	3,798	0.304	0.460	0	1
Freshman	3,798	0.176	0.381	0	1
Party Leader	3,798	0.039	0.193	0	1
Pres. Vote Share	3,798	58.710	8.534	23.470	86.830
Vote Share vs. Mean Vote Share	3,798	-1.648	7.801	-15.707	25.673
Best Committee	3,798	13.810	6.349	0	22
Party Free Ideal Point	3,798	0.674	0.786	-2.473	9.347
Party Call Response Rate	3,798	85.186	10.605	31.276	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	3,798	86.904	7.858	28.302	100.000
Ideological Extremism	3,798	0.674	0.786	-2.473	9.347

Table 15: House Summary Statistics, Majority Party

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Democrat	4,898	0.678	0.467	0	1
Majority	4,898	1.000	0.000	1	1
Female	4,898	0.082	0.274	0	1
African American	4,898	0.060	0.238	0	1
Latino	4,898	0.032	0.176	0	1
Committee Chair	4,898	0.088	0.284	0	1
Power Committee	4,898	0.275	0.447	0	1
Seniority	4,898	5.390	4.207	1	28
South	4,898	0.323	0.468	0	1
Freshman	4,898	0.166	0.372	0	1
Party Leader	4,898	0.030	0.170	0	1
Pres. Vote Share	4,898	52.854	12.457	16.310	96.060
Vote Share vs. Mean Vote Share	4,898	0.518	9.087	-15.727	31.243
Best Committee	4,898	14.133	6.333	0	22
Party Free Ideal Point	4,898	-0.153	0.957	-4.076	9.347
Party Call Response Rate	4,898	87.607	11.437	8.021	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	4,898	87.071	7.584	0.000	100.000
Ideological Extremism	4,898	0.526	0.814	-4.317	9.347

Table 16: House Summary Statistics, Minority Party

Statistic	N	Mean	St. Dev.	Min	Max
Democrat	3,646	0.391	0.488	0	1
Majority	3,646	0.000	0.000	0	0
Female	3,646	0.110	0.313	0	1
African American	3,646	0.067	0.251	0	1
Latino	3,646	0.039	0.193	0	1
Committee Chair	3,646	0.000	0.000	0	0
Power Committee	3,646	0.227	0.419	0	1
Seniority	3,646	5.251	3.838	1	29
South	3,646	0.259	0.438	0	1
Freshman	3,646	0.142	0.349	0	1
Party Leader	3,646	0.045	0.207	0	1
Pres. Vote Share	3,646	61.580	10.284	23.470	96.050
Vote Share vs. Mean Vote Share	3,646	-0.696	9.188	-15.717	31.353
Best Committee	3,646	13.404	6.410	0	22
Party Free Ideal Point	3,646	0.197	1.028	-3.524	4.084
Party Call Response Rate	3,646	83.371	11.079	20.077	100.000
Baseline Rate of Voting with Party	3,646	86.800	7.400	38.889	100.000
Ideological Extremism	3,646	0.706	0.773	-1.756	4.084