

Vote Prediction in the House of Representatives

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1 Introduction

The federal government of the United States is organized into three branches: Executive, Legislative and Judicial. The legislative branch (Congress) is responsible for sponsoring bills and voting on whether bills should become law. The United States Congress is divided into two sections, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The House of Representatives is made up of 435 representatives, each of which is elected every two years. The Senate is made up of 100 senators, 2 from each state and are elected on staggered six year cycles. The general process for a bill becoming a law is as follows. Each bill has a sponsor and is introduced to the House of Representatives, the bill then goes to committee where it is revised, researched and then sent to the House. The bill is debated by the representatives, and changes and amendments are recommended. The bill is then voted on by the members of the House. If it passes it is sent to the Senate where it goes through a similar process. If it is passed by the Senate it is sent to the president to be signed.

A new law passed by Congress may have vast effects on American citizens and corporations, affecting revenue, assets, income, rights and freedoms. If citizens and corporations could know whether a bill would be passed by

Congress before it was voted on it would give them advance warning so they can lobby for changes to the bill, lobby for it to be shut down or passed, or prepare themselves for the resulting effects. Further, if an individual representative or senator's vote could be predicted for a given bill it could give insights into the actual beliefs and platform of that congressperson. With these reasons in mind we will tackle the problem of vote prediction in the House of Representatives. We will approach the problem by considering a separate prediction problem for each representative, predicting his or her vote on a bill and then use those predictions to predict whether a bill will pass the House of Representatives. There has been very little exploration of this space, the only related work uses the text of the bills to predict roll call votes by extending the ideal point model (Gerrish & Blei, 2011). Our work focuses on metadata for the bill, instead of bill text, and does not extend the ideal point model.

In the following sections we will discuss our methodology for modeling and vote prediction. We examine and discuss our data extraction and feature selection. Further we show that bill metadata can be used to accurately predict the votes of individual representatives in the House using support vector machines and compare our results against a baseline model for a

representative’s vote.

2 The Problem

We are specifically interested in two questions:

1. Can we predict an individual member of the House of Representative’s vote on a bill with high accuracy in comparison to a baseline prediction model?
2. Can we use prediction of individual representative’s vote to successfully predict whether a bill will be passed by the House of Representatives?

Other questions we were interested in, but do not directly address in this publication are:

1. What features of a bill are most important to members of the House when voting?
2. What machine learning algorithms are most effective for this problem?

3 Algorithms and Methods

To address our first question we focused primarily on using support vector machines to predict how each Representative would vote. For each representative we trained, tuned using a validation set, and tested a separate support vector machine. To compare the success of support vector machines in predicting representatives’ votes we used a baseline hypothesis which predicted that if a representative was of the same party as the sponsor of the bill he or she would vote ”Yea” or if not, would vote ”Nay.” To predict whether a bill would be passed or not we

did not use a standard machine learning algorithm as we had already done the prediction part using the individual support vector machines that predicted representatives’ votes. Instead we used a simple algorithm that took a sum of predicted votes, where each vote is weighted by the accuracy of the representative’s support vector machine on the test set for that representative.

4 Methodology

4.1 Data

We pulled data from www.govtrack.us, a website promoting government transparency. From Govtrack’s database we pulled data about all current representatives. We excluded five representatives from our experiment as there were problems with their information in the database, leaving us with 430 representatives. We used Govtrack’s database to extract the voting records of these 430 representatives. For each representative we pulled all bills which were being voted on for passage on which they had ever voted. Each bill represented an input datapoint for a representative. The data from the database about each bill included information about the status of the bill; when it was introduced; congress number; when it was voted on; its title; and information about the sponsor of the bill such as name, district, and party.

A month after we pulled all the bills which the current members of the House had voted on we pulled the six bills which had been voted on for passage in that month. These bills were then used to predict if the bill would pass or not.

4.2 Feature Selection

Feature set:

- Party of bill sponsor
- Name of bill sponsor
- District of bill sponsor
- Gender of bill sponsor
- Date bill sponsor joined House of Representatives
- Whether bill sponsor has Twitter
- Whether bill sponsor has a website
- Whether sponsor has a nickname
- Length of time bill has been alive
- Congressional Session
- Year the bill was introduced
- Day the bill was voted on
- Month the bill was voted on
- Year the bill was voted on
- Year the bill was voted on mod 2
- Year the bill was voted on mod 4
- Year the bill was voted on mod 6

From the metadata of each bill, we selected a set of features we wanted to consider in our models. The first was the party of the bill sponsor, we believe that representatives are likely to be have party bias and thus this is an important feature. We also used the sponsor’s gender, as some representatives may have gender bias. Further we chose the sponsor’s district

and name as well, as representative’s vote may be dependent upon certain districts or particular sponsors. For each representative, we binarized the bill sponsor’s district and name features; meaning if there were ten training bills for a representative, there may be up to ten features for sponsor name and up to ten for sponsor district. Additional sponsor information we used as features was the date the sponsor joined the House, whether he or she had a Twitter, whether he or she had a website, and finally whether he or she had a nickname—each of these features were considered important as they could be indicators of the influence, popularity and experience of the sponsor which may be relevant to the voting representative.

We included several other pieces of information about the bill. We extracted seven features from the date of the vote on the bill: the day of the vote, the month of the vote, the year of the vote, the year mod two, the year mod four and the year mod six. The day, month and year may all matter as priorities change given the time of year. The year mod features align with voting cycles: representatives are elected every two years, president every four and senators every six. Thus if a representative was running in one of those elections, the time in relation to the cycle may affect his or her vote. Finally we included the congressional session in which the bill was voted on and the length of time the bill was active in days before it was voted on. These two features were included as the length of time a bill is debated for as well as the session in which it is voted on may effect the vote. All of these features constituted the feature set we used in our models.

4.3 Model Selection

The machine learning model we chose to use for representatives' prediction tasks was a support vector machine. We treated each representative as a separate prediction task. Thus we had a separate data set for each member of the House. We split each data set into training, validation and testing sets. Thirty percent of the data for each member was used for testing, the remaining seventy percent was split between training and validation, with eighty percent going to training and twenty percent to validation. Then for each representative we trained and tuned a separate support vector machine with a linear kernel, using the validation set to pick the best C value from five options [0.0001, 0.001, 0.01, 0.05, 0.1]. All support vector machine models were done in Python using the scikit-learn library. Thus we had 430 separate support vector machines. We tested each tuned support vector machine on the test set, recording the bills on which the support vector machine incorrectly predicted the House member's vote as well as the accuracy. We then tested our baseline model, which predicts that a representative will vote "yea" if he or she aligns with the same party as the bill sponsor and "nay" otherwise for all representatives, individually. We also tried using decision trees to predict votes, to compare the performance of our support vector machine model against another machine learning model.

To predict the outcome of a vote on bill passage we created a model which combined our individual predictions of representatives' votes into a single prediction. To do this we used a simple model which used predictions for a given bill to compute a weighted sum of votes. Each vote was weighted by the accuracy of the op-

timized support vector machine on the representative's test set. The weighted sums of nay and yea were then compared to determine the outcome.

4.4 Statistical Analysis

To analyze the performance of our support vector machine models we compared them against our baseline hypothesis. We performed an individual McNemar's Test with the null hypothesis that both the algorithms were different and a confidence interval of 95% for every representative, resulting in 430 tests. Then, to determine whether our optimized support vector machines were performing statistically better we compared the number of McNemar's Tests which determined that the optimized support vector machine had performed better against the number of tests which had determined our baseline to perform better with 95% confidence.

5 Results

The results of tuning our support vector machines for each representative indicate that for most representatives a C value of 0.1 is the best. As can be seen in figure 1, the vast majority of optimized C values were 0.1 with small numbers of representatives' optimized C values being 0.05, 0.01, and 0.001.

The average accuracy of the optimized support vector machines on each representative's test set was 84.60%, while the baseline model had an average accuracy of 80.80% on those same test sets. Thus the optimized support vector machine had an average accuracy 3.80% higher than that of the baseline model. The average accuracy of each representatives' trained decision tree, using the CART (Classification

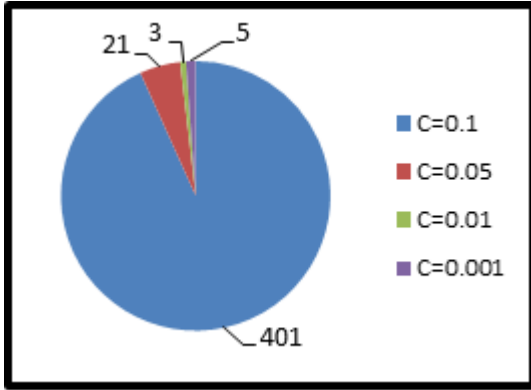


Figure 1: Pie chart showing the portion of representatives' optimized support vector machines with the given C value.

and Regression Trees) algorithm, on the test sets was 81.98%, a 1.18% increase over the baseline model. However, the model fell more than two and half percent short of the optimized support vector machine model so was not pursued further.

For 355 of the 430 representatives the support vector machine did as well as or better than the baseline. Of those 355 representatives, only eighty five had approximately equal results between the optimized support vector machine and the baseline hypothesis (Figure 2).

As can be seen in Figure 3, the support vector machine's performance was particularly good in comparison to the baseline for representatives where the baseline had relatively poor test accuracy. For representatives on which the baseline test accuracy was higher, the optimized support vector machines fell more into line with the baseline, typically doing better than it.

The results of our statistical analysis of the baseline hypothesis and the optimized support vector machines can be seen in Figure 4. The

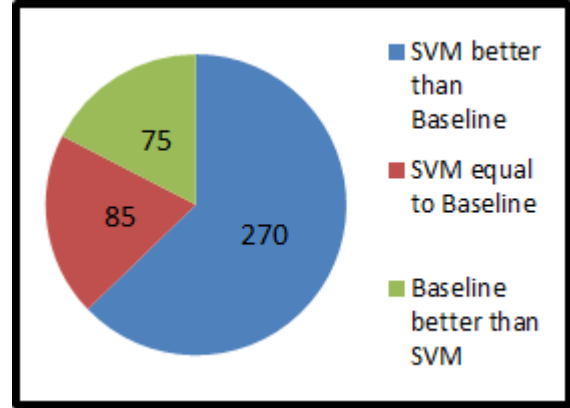


Figure 2: A pie chart comparing for how many representatives the support vector machine performs better than the baseline, how many each model performs approximately the same and for how many the baseline performs better

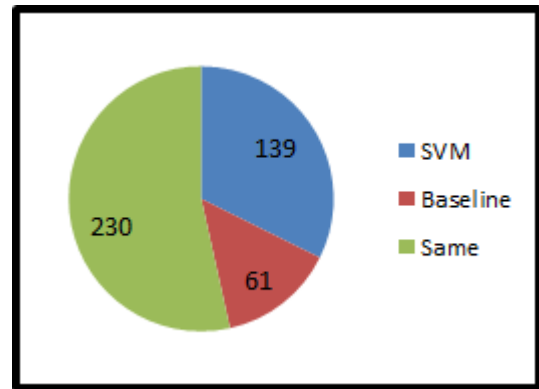


Figure 4: A pie chart showing the cumulative results of McNemar's Tests on each representative. "SVM" indicates the null hypothesis was rejected and the SVM performed better, vice versa for "Baseline" and "Same" indicates the null hypothesis could not be rejected.

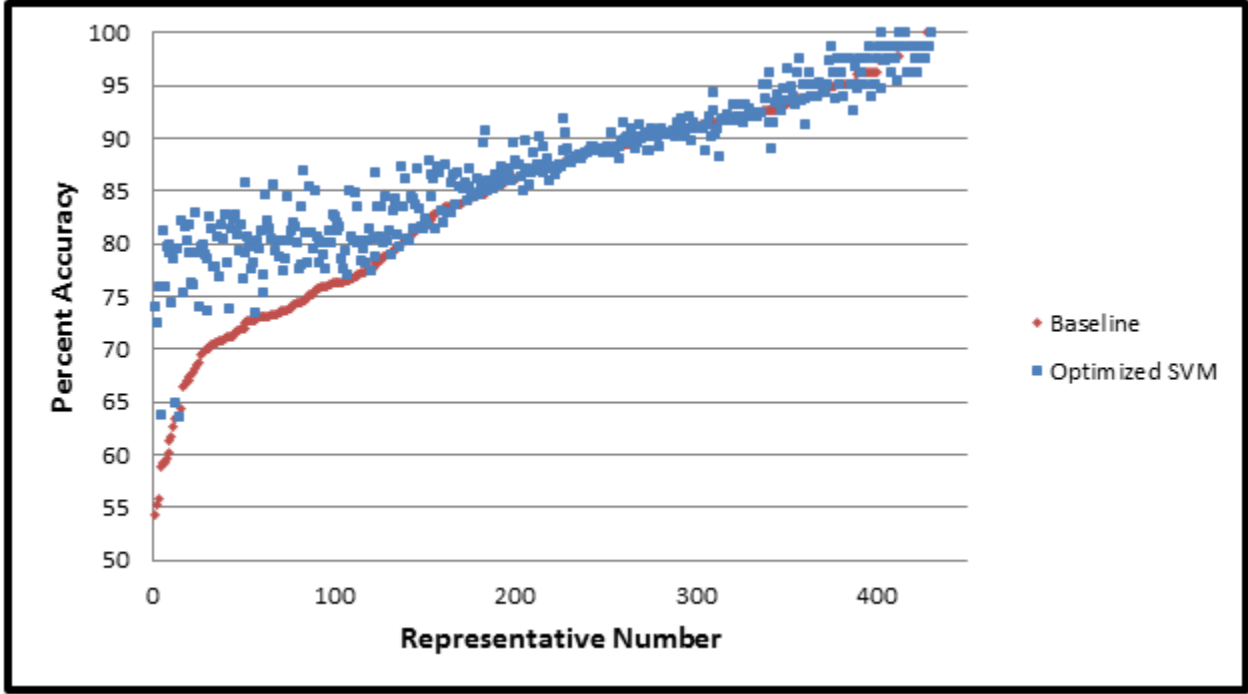


Figure 3: A comparison of the baseline accuracy and optimized SVM accuracy sorted by representative such that baseline accuracy is increasing as representative id number(arbitrary) progresses.

results are similarly encouraging to the observational results detailed above. Cumulatively, for 139 representatives we can reject the null hypothesis of the McNemar's Test with 95% confidence and say that the optimized support vector machine is a better hypothesis as it performed better in these 139 cases. For 61 representatives the opposite was true and the null hypothesis was rejected in favor of the baseline model. Thus for more than twice as many representatives the optimized support vector machines are better with 95% confidence. This indicates that overall the optimized support vector machine model is a better model than the baseline model.

We further examined our results to see how

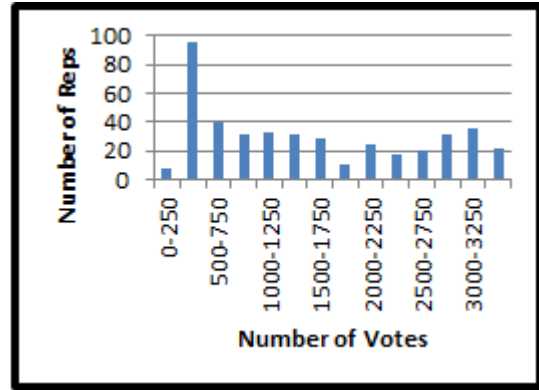


Figure 5: Histogram showing how many representatives have the number of votes in their dataset lying within each bin.

Percent of House	Prediction
0.565	Pass
0.588	Pass
0.586	Pass
0.574	Pass
0.804	Pass
0.591	Pass

Table 1: Table showing the ratio (percent) of the weighted sum of predicted "yea" votes to the weighted sum of predicted "nay" votes as well as whether passage was predicted.

data sparseness could be affecting our results. As can be seen in Figure 5, nearly a quarter of current representatives have fewer than 500 votes each, giving us little data with which to work. Thus we were concerned that the amount of data we had for each representative may be affecting the performance of the baseline model and the support vector machine model.

In Figure 6, the performance of the baseline and the optimized support vector machines on the test sets can be seen, with representatives sorted by the number of votes we had for each, from smallest to largest. As can be seen by the trendlines, the test accuracy for both models declines slightly as the number of votes increases; however, the baseline accuracy decreases more than the optimized support vector machine. Further it can be seen that test accuracies appear to vary less as the number of votes increase.

We did no thorough examination of predicting passage of bills. Due to the sparseness of our data (Figure 5) we used every bill that we could for training, validation and testing. That left us with six bills that had been voted on for passage in the month after we originally pulled

our data. We then used our model for predicting bill passage on each of these six bills. As can be seen in Table 1, above, we correctly predicted that each bill passed.

6 Conclusion

From our results, we can conclude that for representatives that are less biased along party lines, and hence give a low test accuracy with the baseline model, our support vector machine model captures other factors to perform better than the baseline model on the prediction task, as can be seen in Figure 3. When the baseline accuracy is very high, we can deduce that the representative is highly biased along party lines; even for these representatives, the support vector machine model performs comparable to the baseline model. We can now also draw conclusions regarding the bias of a representative towards his party relative to the other representatives by observing the trend in Figure 3. From the results of the McNemar’s tests, under the null hypothesis that both algorithms have different performance, the support vector machine model proved to be better than the baseline model for 69.5% of the reps for which the null hypothesis was rejected by the test. Hence we can conclude that the support vector machine model is a better model than the baseline and is an appropriate model for prediction of votes on bills for representatives in the House of Representatives.

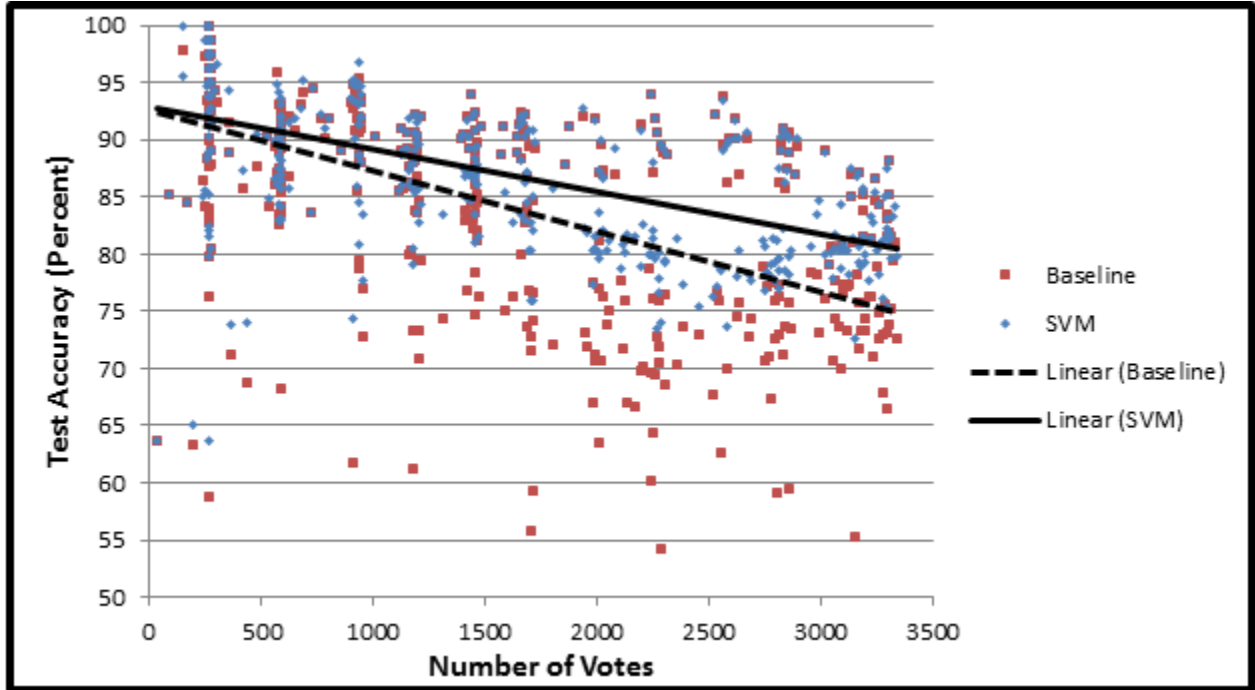


Figure 6: Comparison of test accuracies between baseline and optimized support vector machine, representatives sorted by number of votes. Linear trendlines included to show trends.

7 Discussion

8 Related Work

The only work similar to ours as described here was conducted by Princeton researchers Gerrish and Blei and described in their paper *Predicting Legislative Roll Calls from Text*. Their work focuses upon the text of bills for which there were roll call votes, using only text to predict votes and their work spanned both the Senate and the House of Representatives (Gerrish & Blei, 2011). They developed models for votes which extended the ideal point model from political science, which places a representative in space, this point being their ideal point, and

bills in the same space (Gerrish & Blei, 2011). The vote of the congressperson is a function of his or her ideal point and the location of the bill in the space. From this initial model they developed three models: The Bayesian ideal point model, ideal points with text regression and an ideal point topic model (Gerrish & Blei, 2011).

The Bayesian model is a generative model for predicting votes. It uses the ideal point of the congressperson and the bill’s ideal point, biased by a term which accounts for how much political division a bill has and applies a logistic regression with random effects to the result (Gerrish & Blei, 2011).

The text regression model takes the ideal point model and fits a training set to it and

then applies a regression model to it (Gerrish & Blei, 2011).

The ideal point topic model takes text of bills to come up with the topic of a bill and relates it to sentiment on the bill (Gerrish & Blei, 2011).

Our problem is far different. We do not limit our bills to roll call votes and instead of focusing on both the Senate and the House we look only at the House. Further we do more than predict individual votes, but also take our individual predicts and use them to predict bill passage. Gerrish and Blei used the text of bills to create various extended ideal point models to predict how a congressperson will vote. We do not use the ideal point model, or any of the machine learning techniques applied by Gerrish and Blei. Instead we use a support vector machine and metadata about bills, rather than bill text. Our problem is more general in its scope and has further applications to the general public and industry, as predicting bill passage could prove to be useful for corporations and citizens. Further our approach is simpler, applying the commonly used support vector machines to small, computationally inexpensive feature vectors easily pulled from bill metadata.

9 Future Work

Our work thus far has focused only on bill metadata while the work of Gerrish and Blei focused only on the text of bills. We would like to continue our work by trying to incorporate both metadata and bill text to more accurately predict votes. Though we had made initial attempts to incorporate both, there are huge computational costs in using bill text that we have not yet further overcome. One interesting avenue we are looking into is using topic

modeling to greatly decrease the size of the feature set generated from a simple bag of words of a bill’s text.

Further, we have only created models for the House of Representatives here. We are interested in generalizing and extending our models such that they can be used to predict votes of senators as well as representatives.

Finally in this paper we focus upon only a couple simple machine learning models for our work. We explored simple decision trees, support vector machines and our baseline model. We would like to explore support vector machines further, trying different kernels as well as larger C values. Due to computation time costs we could not use C values greater than 0.1 as training time for a single support vector machine could take more than 10 minutes. We would also like to explore other models such as generative models, regression models, or nearest neighbor methods.

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References

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