## A Retrospective Exploration of the US Senate through Data

Jordan Poles, Tony Chen and Aparna Narendrula

December 1, 2015

#### 1 An Introduction to the Data

Our analysis covers a dataset which has been extracted from several different sources covering the timespan from the 101st to 113th US Congress. This corresponds to years of 1989 through 2014. The goal of our analysis was to assess trends in the members and bills passed by the US Senate. Our group found it most sensible to focus our efforts on one of the two chambers of Congress (the other being the House of Representatives).

We selected the Senate for two reasions:

- 1. The Senate provides a more representaive overview of the political sentiments present on the state scale
- 2. The Senate provided the lists of Roll Call votes used in our analysis in a much more accessible format (XML) than the House of Representatives (HTML)

To begin our analysis, we examined the characteristics of the senators who participated in each congress, using the Congress API provided by the NY Times. This dataset was made retreived as JSON from a URI based API. These JSON files - as well as all of the other datafiles we fetched - were cleaned by an R script, prior to storage in a SQLite database for analysis. This data was stored in the "members" table, and contains a variety of variables, including identifiers such as name, ID, party, state, and seniority in addition to metrics like percentage of votes with party and vote miss rate.

The member data we retreived got us interested in examining the voting behaviour of the senators. We proceed with our analysis by examining the bills which were voted on in each session of the senate. We focus our analysis on roll-call bills - those bills where the vote of each senator is individually recorded. In order to examine these bills we first fetched a series of files from senate.gov containing lists of roll-call votes (and metadata) for each session or year of congress in an XML format. These data were stored in the "senateRollCalls" table, which contains the date of each vote, the issue at hand, and the outcome - overall number of yeas and nays.

While the roll-call vote data from the senate tells us about passage rates for individual bills, it does not reveal individual voting behaviour. Indeed, this data was initially retreived in the interest of compiling a complete list of roll-call votes for lookup on our third and final data-source, govtrack.org. The govtrack group provides a bulk data API which can be used to lookup the vote of each individual senator on a given bill. This data was retreived as JSON, before being stored in our third table "votes". We use this information to examine each senators voting behavior individually, and in comparison to the corresponding parties or congresses.

## 2 The Importance of Assessing our Government

The US government is said to be by the people, of the people, and for the people. The importance of transparency cannot be overstated in order for such a government to remain accountable to the people. It was for this reason that our group was surprised that there was no readily published workflow for citizen analysis of data on important governmental bodies like the senate. In this report we detail a protocol which can be used to fetch and store data regarding senate members, and their voting behaviours; the three-step process we detail for aquiring this data, is not very straightforward. We hope that the publication of workflows such as this will make US Government data more accessible to the public. This workflow may also serve as an entry point into more advanced analysis - such as corpus analysis and machine learning - of Senate proceedings and bills.

### 3 Examining The Members of Senate

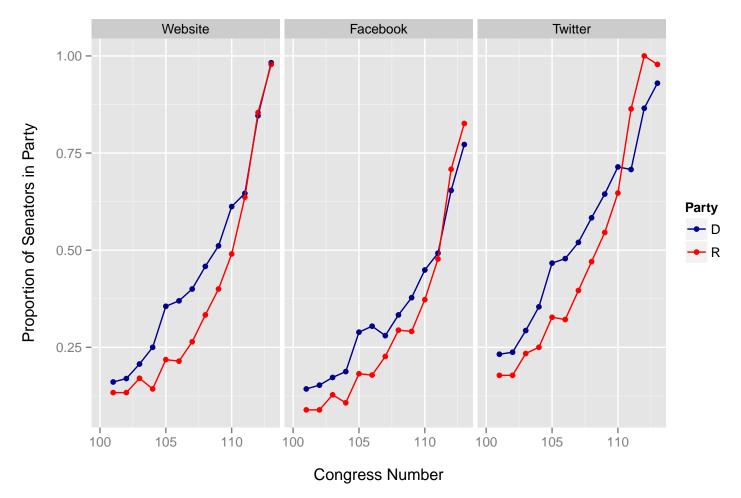
#### 3.1 How have senators adopted web platforms over time?

The integration of technology into the modern American political process presents a number of interesting paradigms for exploration. Of course, it was technology (the electronic cateloging and publication of Senate roll-call votes) which has made all of this analysis possible in the first place; allowing for greater government transparency.

To begin our analysis, we turn to the use of web platforms by Senators. These platforms (including websites, Facebook, and Twitter) have become more common over time. Since the inception of FDR's fireside chats, electronic media has permitted mass communication of political thought; this capacity has been greatly expanded by the interenet. In our plot we display lifetime usage of each platform. We show that usage has grown rapidly for all platforms, though Facebook has lagged behind.

#### Senators Who Have Ever Used a Web Platform In Their Political Career

Facebook Appears to Lag Behind Websites and Twitter



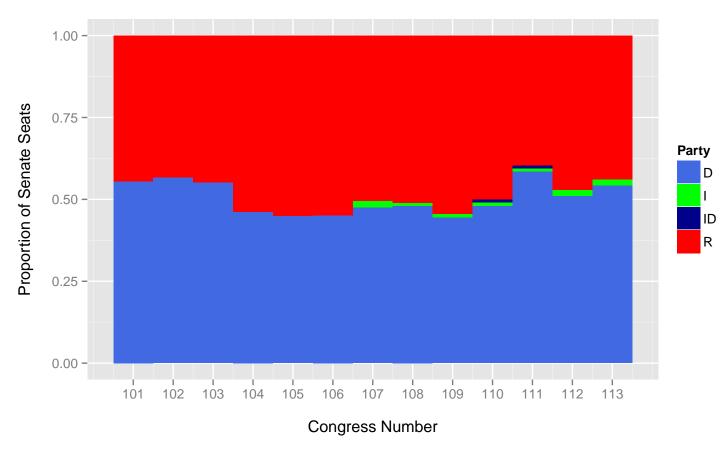
#### 3.2 What are the dynamics of political parties in the US Senate over time?

The subsequent figure is the culmination of an analysis of the power held by each of the political parties in the US Senate. We confirm the prevailing understanding of American politics as a system dominated by two major political parties - a bipartisan system. In recent years, an independent party has emerged. However, since then the party has not grown significantly; they have never held more than 2 seats. There is one minor party featured in this plot, the lowa Democrats, who are an offshoot of the Democratic party. They have only ever held two seats in the US Senate, but do hold a good deal of power in the state; the party also has a noteworthy involvement in the lowa Caucuses, which are important for presidential elections<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> http://iowademocrats.org/

### Senate Seats Held Per Party Is Fairly Stable over Time

Republicans and Democrats Hold Majority of Seats; Independents New on the Scene



### 3.3 How often do multiple senators share a surname?

We find that there are 12 surnames held by more than one senator; these are shown below. Several of these pairs of senators are relatives of one another, indicating the possibility of some degree of nepotism in the Senate. For instance, in Rhode Island, the Chafee family has held Senate seats for over three decades. Both Republicans, John Chafee held the seat from 1976-1999,<sup>2</sup> and his son Lincoln Chafee (who made a run for President in 2016 but has already dropped out) held the seat directly after him from 1999-2007.<sup>3</sup>. This suggests that some families have a high level of power in US Governance (another instance that comes to mind is the Clinton Family).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Last Name	Brown	Burdick	Chafee	Dole	Graham	Johnson	Murkowski	Nelson	Pryor	Smith	Udall	Warner
# of Senators	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=c000269

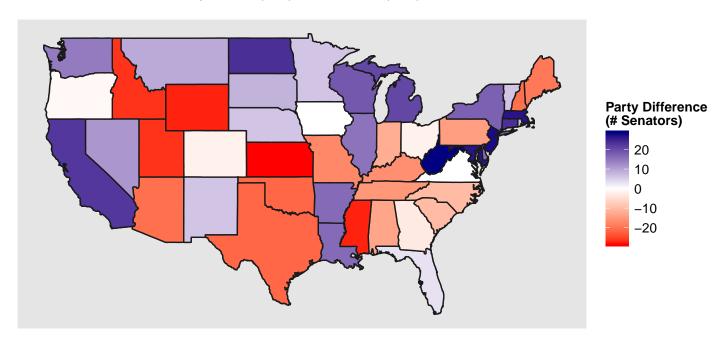
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=C001040

#### 3.4 Examining State Party Preferences

Over the course of the period examined, many states elected similar numbers of senators from both major parties (white); these are states in which senatorial elections may be more contentious. Those states shown in red represent a Republican majority; blue a Democratic majority. The steadfast democratic states are primarily found in the Northeast, while several states in the South and Middle of America are dominated by the Republican party.

### Party Preferences By State as Determined by Senate Seats

Republicans (Red) vs. Democrats (Blue)



#### 3.5 Indepdendent Senators

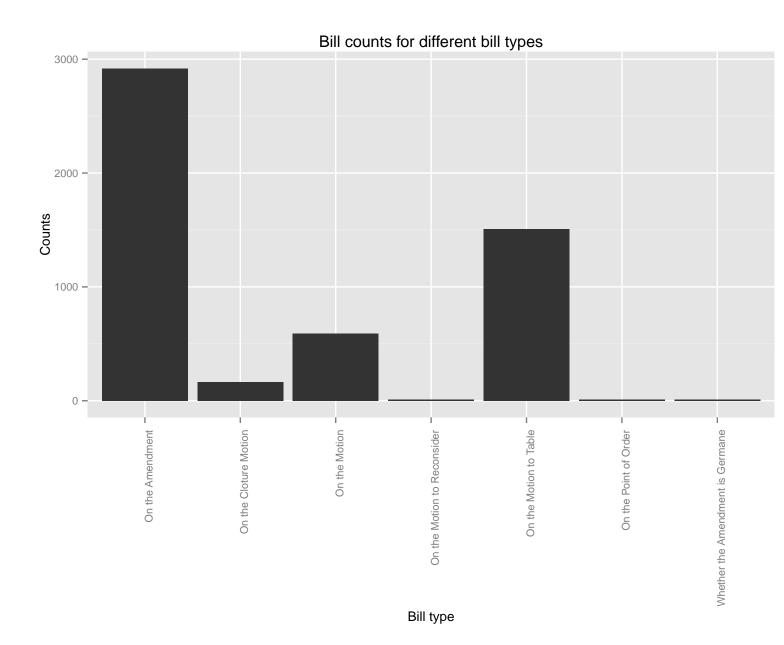
Given that they are a small cohort, we thought that the independent senators deserved some analytical consideration. We note that the majority of elections won by independent senators are in the state of Vermont (VT), and that there are a small overall number of candidates per number of elections won. Senator Barkley had a small number of votes; further research revealed that he temporarily held the chair of another senator who had died in a plane crash (Paul Wellstone)<sup>4</sup>.

	Name	State	Congress #	Total Votes
1	Joseph Lieberman	CT	112	487
2	Angus King	ME	113	657
3	Dean Barkley	MN	107	14
4	James Jeffords	VT	107	463
5	James Jeffords	VT	108	675
6	James Jeffords	VT	109	645
7	Bernard Sanders	VT	110	657
8	Bernard Sanders	VT	111	677
9	Bernard Sanders	VT	112	487
10	Bernard Sanders	VT	113	657

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>http://www.nytimes.com/2002/10/25/politics/25CND-CRASH.html

## 4 Examining Patterns in Bill Passage

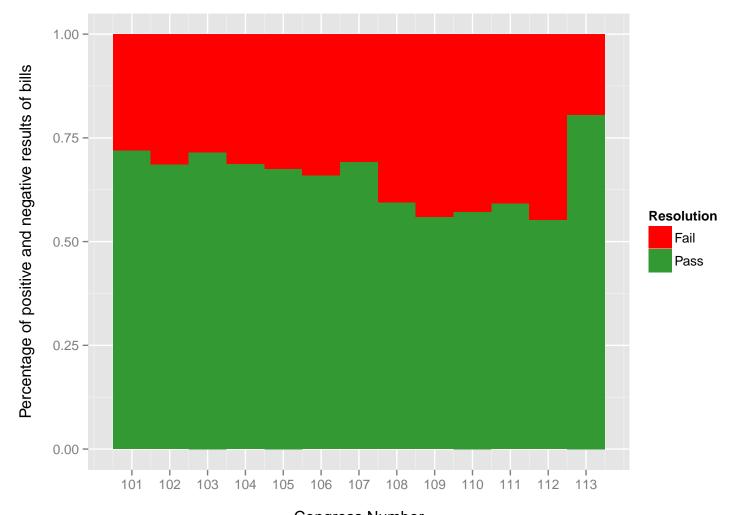
#### 4.1 What Types Votes are Handled By US Senate?



```
passedQuery <- "select 'Pass' as res, congressNumber, count(*) as cnt</pre>
          from senateRollCalls
          where result == 'Agreed to'
                or result == 'Confirmed'
                or result == 'Passed'
          group by congressNumber"
passedResults <- queryDB(passedQuery, "data.sqlite")</pre>
failedQuery <- "select 'Fail' as res, congressNumber, count(*) as cnt</pre>
          from senateRollCalls
          where result == 'Rejected'
          group by congressNumber"
failedResults <- queryDB(failedQuery, "data.sqlite")</pre>
results <- rbind(passedResults, failedResults)</pre>
ggplot(results) + aes(x=congressNumber, y=cnt, fill=res) +
  geom_histogram(position="fill", stat="identity", width=1) +
  scale_fill_manual(name = "Resolution", values = c("Pass"="#339933", "Fail"="red")) +
 xlab("\nCongress Number\n") +
  scale_x_continuous(breaks=101:113) +
 ylab("\nPercentage of positive and negative results of bills\n") +
  ggtitle(expression(atop("Percentage of Bills Passed Per Year", atop(italic("Pass Rate Decreases Before Peak
```

### Percentage of Bills Passed Per Year

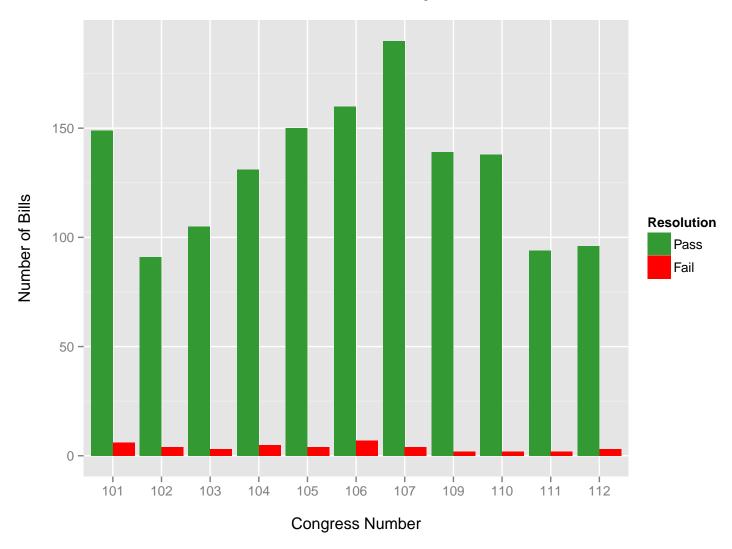
Pass Rate Decreases Before Peaking in 113th Congress



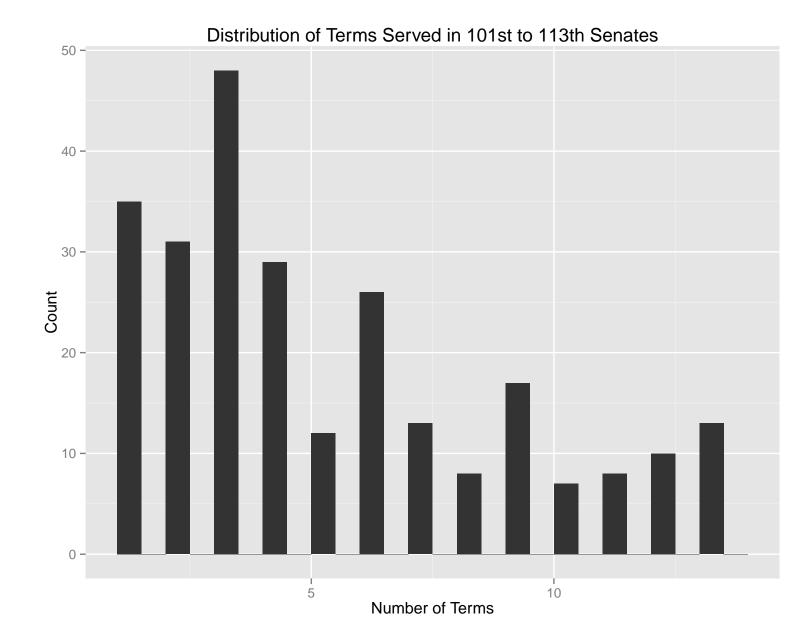
```
query <- "select pass, fail, p.congressNumber</pre>
          (select congressNumber, count(*) as Pass
          from senateRollCalls
          where CAST(nays as INTEGER) <= 5
          group by congressNumber) as p
          join
          (select congressNumber, count(*) as Fail
          from senateRollCalls
          where CAST(yeas as INTEGER) <= 5
           group by congressNumber) as f
          on p.congressNumber == f.congressNumber"
unanimous <- queryDB(query, "data.sqlite")</pre>
unanimous$congressNumber <- factor(unanimous$congressNumber)</pre>
unanimous <- melt(unanimous[,c('congressNumber','Pass','Fail')],id.vars = 1)
ggplot(unanimous,aes(x = congressNumber,y = value)) +
 geom_bar(stat='identity',aes(fill = variable),position = "dodge")+
 scale_fill_manual(name = "Resolution", values = c("Pass"="#339933", "Fail"="red")) +
 xlab("\nCongress Number\n") +
 ylab("\nNumber of Bills\n") +
 ggtitle(expression(
   atop("Number of Bills Resolved Unanimously Per Congress",
   atop(italic("Bills with 5 or Fewer Dissenting Votes")))
 ))
```

# Number of Bills Resolved Unanimously Per Congress

Bills with 5 or Fewer Dissenting Votes



#ggsave("fig5.png", width = 11, height = 6, dpi = 600)

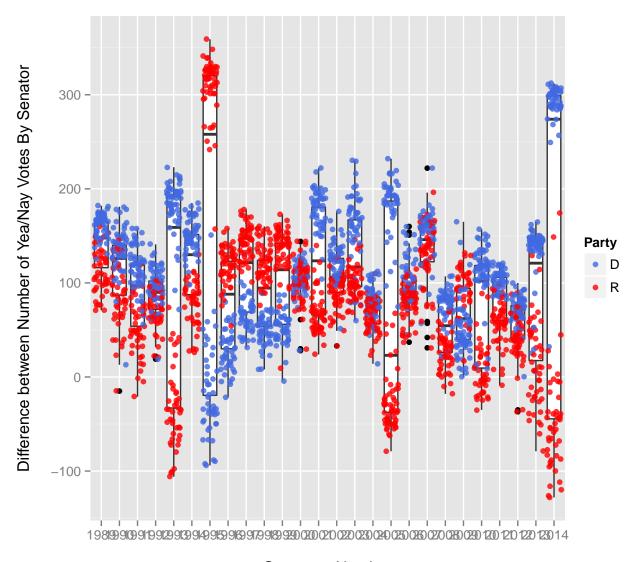


```
votedata = queryDB("SELECT id, party, vote, count(*) as ct, year FROM votes WHERE party in ('D', 'R') GROUP BY
votedatawide = dcast(votedata, id+year+party~vote, value.var="ct")
votedatawide$diff = (votedatawide$Yea-votedatawide$Nay)
ggplot(votedatawide, aes(x=as.factor(year), y=diff))+
    geom_boxplot()+
    geom_jitter(aes(color=party), alpha=.8)+
    scale_color_manual(name="Party", values=c("royal blue", "red"))+
    xlab("\nCongress Number\n")+
    ylab("\nDifference between Number of Yea/Nay Votes By Senator\n")+
    ggtitle(expression(
        atop("Number of Bills Approved By Senators Changes by Year",
        atop(italic("There is Clear Separation of Party Voting Patterns in Many Congresses")))
    ))

## Warning: Removed 3 rows containing non-finite values (stat_boxplot).
## Warning: Removed 3 rows containing missing values (geom_point).
```

### Number of Bills Approved By Senators Changes by Year

There is Clear Separation of Party Voting Patterns in Many Congresses

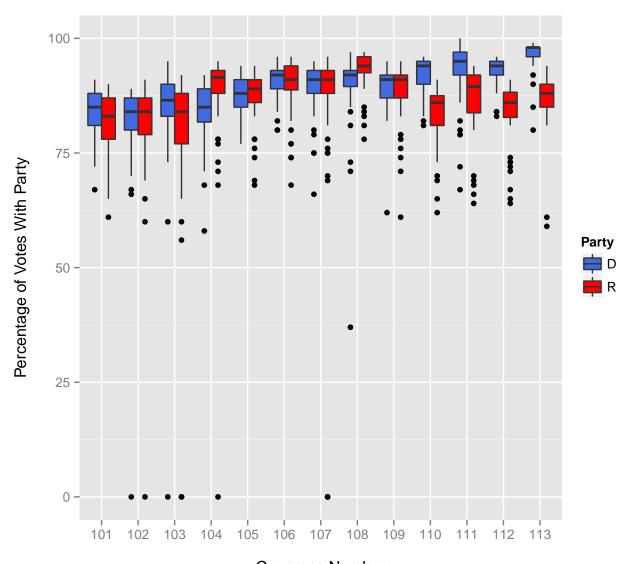


Congress Number

```
memberPct = queryDB("SELECT id, party, missed_votes_pct as missed, votes_with_party_pct as withParty, next_ele
memberPct$withParty = as.integer(as.character(memberPct$withParty))
memberPct$congressNumber = as.factor(memberPct$congressNumber)
ggplot(memberPct, aes(x=congressNumber, y=withParty, fill=party))+
geom_boxplot()+
xlab("\nCongress Number\n")+
ylab("\nPercentage of Votes With Party\n")+
scale_fill_manual(name="Party", values = c("royal blue", "red"))+
ggtitle(expression(
atop("Senators Typically Vote Along their Party Lines",
atop(italic("% of Votes Has Increased Among Democrats in Recent Years")))
))
```

### Senators Typically Vote Along their Party Lines

% of Votes Has Increased Among Democrats in Recent Years



#ggsave("fig7.png", width = 11, height = 6, dpi = 600)

```
query = "select r.year as year, r.voteNumber as voteNumber,
           abs(r.c - d.c) * 1.0 / (r.c + d.c) as diff
         from (select voteNumber, year, count(*) as c
              from votes
               where vote == 'Yea' and party == 'R' group by year, voteNumber)
              join
            (select voteNumber, year, count(*) as c
              from votes
               where vote == 'Yea' and party == 'D' group by year, voteNumber)
            on r.voteNumber == d.voteNumber and r.year == d.year"
yeaDiff = queryDB(query, "data.sqlite")
yeaDiffMean = setNames(aggregate(diff ~ year, yeaDiff, mean), c("year", "mean"))
yeaDiffSd = setNames(aggregate(diff ~ year, yeaDiff, sd), c("year", "std"))
yeaDiffDistribution = merge(yeaDiffMean, yeaDiffSd, by="year")
ggplot(yeaDiffDistribution) +
aes(x = year, y = mean) +
scale_x_discrete(breaks=c(1989,1994,1999,2004,2009,2014)) +
labs(title="Mean of difference of 'yea' votes of two majority parties
     \ndivided by total 'yea' votes from 1989 to 2014") +
xlab("Year") +
ylab("Mean difference of each year") +
geom_bar(stat="identity")
```

# Mean of difference of 'yea' votes of two majority parties

