

Homework 5

Mark Tao

Ideology of US Supreme Court Justices

This week we explored an important programming method called the *loop*. In this exercise, we will practice using loops with data on the ideological positions of United States Supreme Court Justices. Just like legislators, justices make voting decisions that we can use to estimate their ideological positions. This exercise is based in part on Andrew Martin and Kevin Quinn. (2002). ‘Dynamic Ideal Point Estimation via Markov Chain Monte Carlo for the U.S. Supreme Court, 1953-1999’ *Political Analysis*, 10:2, pp.134-154.

Loading the data

```
justices <- read.csv("/data/qss/PREDICTION/justices.csv", stringsAsFactors = FALSE)
```

| Name | Description |
|---------|---|
| term | Supreme Court term |
| justice | Justice’s family name |
| idealpt | Justice’s estimated ideal point |
| pparty | Political party of the nominating president |
| pres | President’s name |

The ideal points of the justices are negative to indicate liberal leanings and positive to indicate conservative leanings.

Questions

Question 1

1.1. We wish to know the median ideal point for the Court during each term included in the dataset. Use a loop to calculate the median ideal point of the justices during each term of the Court. Store the calculated medians in a single vector called `median.ideal.point`.

```
terms <- unique(justices$term)
n <- length(terms)

median.ideal.point <- rep(NA, len = n)
names(median.ideal.point) <- terms

for (i in 1:n) {

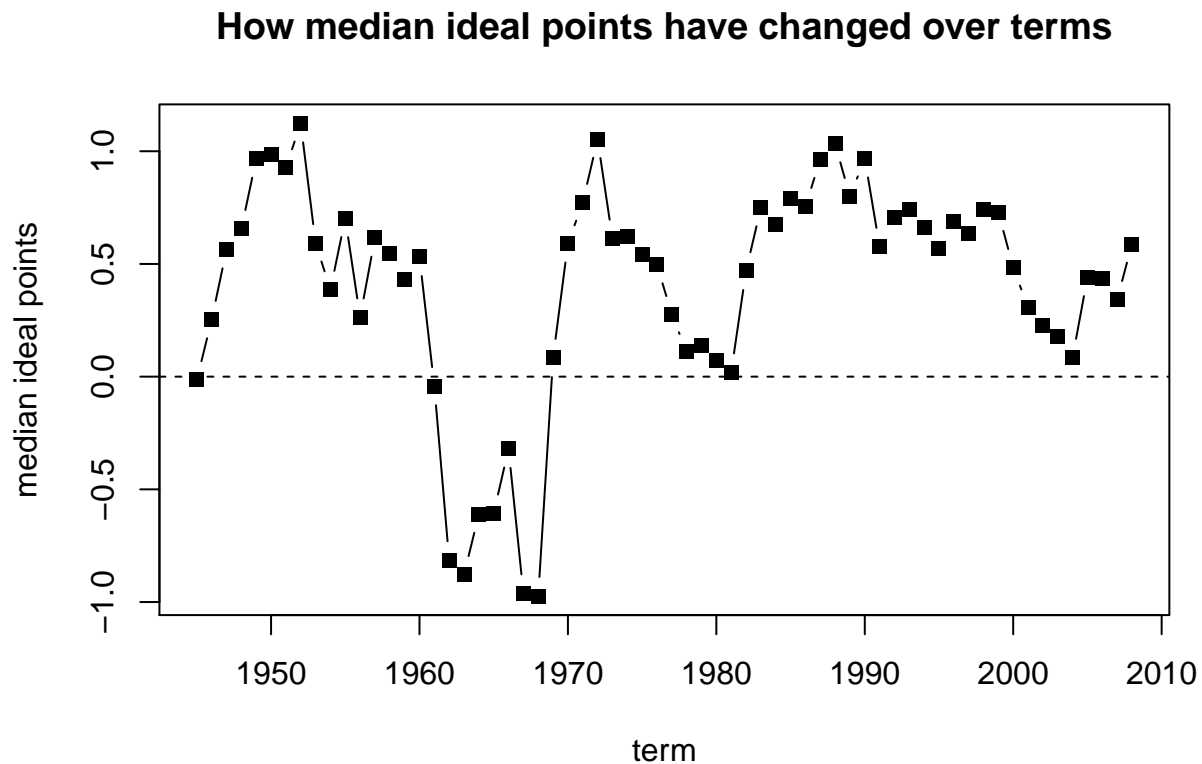
  median.ideal.point[i] <- median(justices$idealpt[justices$term ==
    terms[i]])

}
median.ideal.point
```

```
## 1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954
## -0.014 0.253 0.564 0.656 0.966 0.985 0.928 1.124 0.592 0.386
## 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964
## 0.703 0.263 0.616 0.545 0.432 0.531 -0.042 -0.815 -0.879 -0.610
## 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974
## -0.606 -0.320 -0.962 -0.974 0.083 0.591 0.772 1.054 0.612 0.623
## 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984
## 0.544 0.496 0.276 0.110 0.139 0.070 0.019 0.469 0.750 0.676
## 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994
## 0.792 0.756 0.963 1.033 0.799 0.968 0.576 0.705 0.741 0.661
## 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004
## 0.568 0.689 0.633 0.740 0.729 0.484 0.307 0.228 0.179 0.084
## 2005 2006 2007 2008
## 0.441 0.435 0.342 0.588
```

1.2. Next, generate a plot with term on the horizontal axis and median ideal point on the vertical axis. Include a dashed horizontal line at zero to indicate a “neutral” ideal point. The points on the plot should be connected by a line, so as to display the trend over time (hint: use `type = "b"`). Be sure to include informative axis labels and a plot title.

```
plot(x = terms, y = median.ideal.point, xlab = "term", main = "How median ideal points have changed over",
     ylab = "median ideal points", pch = 16, type = "n")
points(terms, median.ideal.point, pch = 15, col = "black", type = "b")
abline(h = 0, lty = "dashed")
```



Question 2

2.1. Use a loop to identify the name of the justice with the median ideal point **for each term**. Store the names in a single vector called `median.name`.

```
justicenames <- unique(justices$justice)
num <- length(justicenames)
median.name <- rep(NA, len = n)
names(median.name) <- terms

for (i in 1:n) {

  median.name[i] <- justices$justice[justices$term == terms[i] &
    justices$idealpt == median.ideal.point[i]]

}
median.name
```

| | | | | | |
|----|---------------|------------|------------|---------------|---------------|
| ## | 1945 | 1946 | 1947 | 1948 | 1949 |
| ## | "Reed" | "Reed" | "Reed" | "Frankfurter" | "Burton" |
| ## | 1950 | 1951 | 1952 | 1953 | 1954 |
| ## | "Burton" | "Burton" | "Clark" | "Clark" | "Frankfurter" |
| ## | 1955 | 1956 | 1957 | 1958 | 1959 |
| ## | "Frankfurter" | "Clark" | "Clark" | "Clark" | "Clark" |
| ## | 1960 | 1961 | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 |
| ## | "Stewart" | "White" | "Goldberg" | "Brennan" | "Goldberg" |
| ## | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 |
| ## | "Black" | "Black" | "Marshall" | "Marshall" | "Black" |
| ## | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 |
| ## | "Harlan" | "White" | "White" | "White" | "White" |
| ## | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 |
| ## | "Stewart" | "Stewart" | "Blackmun" | "Blackmun" | "White" |
| ## | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | 1983 | 1984 |
| ## | "White" | "White" | "White" | "White" | "Powell" |
| ## | 1985 | 1986 | 1987 | 1988 | 1989 |
| ## | "Powell" | "Powell" | "White" | "White" | "White" |
| ## | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 |
| ## | "Souter" | "Souter" | "O'Connor" | "Kennedy" | "O'Connor" |
| ## | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 |
| ## | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | "O'Connor" |
| ## | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 |
| ## | "O'Connor" | "O'Connor" | "O'Connor" | "O'Connor" | "O'Connor" |
| ## | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | |
| ## | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | "Kennedy" | |

2.2. How many terms did the justice with the median ideal point in the most terms serve on the Court?

```
max(table(median.name))
```

```
## [1] 13
```

```
print("White")
```

```
## [1] "White"
```

2.3. What was this justice's average ideal point over his/her entire tenure on the Court?

```
mean(justices$idealpt[justices$justice == "White"])
```

```
## [1] 0.4401563
```

Question 3

3.1. Turning to the relationship between Supreme Court ideology and presidential party, we want to see how the ideology of the Supreme Court changes over the course of each president's time in office. Begin by creating two empty 'container' vectors: one to hold values for each unique Democratic president (call it `Democrat.Change`), and another to hold values for each unique Republican president (call it `Republican.Change`). The vectors should also be named. Use the `names()` function to label the elements of both vectors with the corresponding presidents' names. Print the (empty) content of both vectors.

```
Democrat.Change <- rep(NA, len = length(unique(justices$pres[justices$pparty ==  
  "D"])))  
Republican.Change <- rep(NA, len = length(unique(justices$pres[justices$pparty ==  
  "R"])))
```

```
names(Democrat.Change) <- unique((justices$pres[justices$pparty ==  
  "D"]))  
names(Republican.Change) <- unique((justices$pres[justices$pparty ==  
  "R"]))
```

```
Democrat.Change
```

```
## Truman Kennedy Johnson Carter Clinton  
##      NA      NA      NA      NA      NA
```

```
Republican.Change
```

```
## Eisenhower      Nixon      Ford      Reagan BushSenior BushJunior  
##           NA      NA      NA      NA      NA      NA
```

3.2. For each Democratic president, calculate the shift in Supreme Court ideology by subtracting the Court's median ideal point in the president's first year from its median ideal point in the president's last year. Use a loop to store these values in your Democratic container vector `Democrat.Change`. Print the results.

```
Democratic.presidents <- unique(justices$pres[justices$pres ==  
  "Truman" | justices$pres == "Kennedy" | justices$pres ==  
  "Johnson" | justices$pres == "Carter" | justices$pres ==  
  "Clinton"])  
  
for (i in 1:length(Democratic.presidents)) {  
  
  dem.presidents <- justices[justices$pres == Democratic.presidents[i],  
    ]  
  first.idealpt <- median(dem.presidents$idealpt[dem.presidents$term ==  
    min(dem.presidents$term)])  
  second.idealpt <- median(dem.presidents$idealpt[dem.presidents$term ==  
    max(dem.presidents$term)])  
  
  Democrat.Change[i] <- second.idealpt - first.idealpt  
  
}  
Democrat.Change
```

```
## Truman Kennedy Johnson Carter Clinton
## 1.138 -0.837 -0.364 -0.206 -0.257
```

3.3. Repeat the same process for Republican presidents, using a loop to store these values in your Republican container vector `Republican.Change`. Print the results.

```
Republican.Pres <- unique(justices$pres[justices$pparty == "R"])

for (i in 1:length(Republican.Pres)) {

  Republican.Change[i] <- (median(justices$idealpt[justices$pres ==
    Republican.Pres[i] & justices$term == max(justices$term[justices$pres ==
    Republican.Pres[i]])])) - (median(justices$idealpt[justices$pres ==
    Republican.Pres[i] & justices$term == min(justices$term[justices$pres ==
    Republican.Pres[i]])]))

}

Republican.Change
```

```
## Eisenhower Nixon Ford Reagan BushSenior BushJunior
## -0.06099999 0.54000003 -0.04800004 1.01399999 -0.09400004 0.28099999
```

Question 4

4.1. What was the mean and standard deviation of the Supreme Court ideology shifts you just calculated for Democratic presidencies?

```
sd(Democrat.Change)
```

```
## [1] 0.7384542
```

```
mean(Democrat.Change)
```

```
## [1] -0.1052
```

4.2. What about for the Republican presidencies?

```
sd(Republican.Change)
```

```
## [1] 0.4403894
```

```
mean(Republican.Change)
```

```
## [1] 0.272
```

4.3. Which Republican president's tenure had the largest conservative (positive) shift on the Court?

```
max(Republican.Change)
```

```
## [1] 1.014
```

```
Republican.Change[4]
```

```
## Reagan
```

```
## 1.014
```

4.4. Which Democratic president's tenure had the largest liberal (negative) shift?

```
min(Democrat.Change)
```

```
## [1] -0.837
```

```
Democrat.Change[2]
```

```
## Kennedy
```

```
## -0.837
```