ReadMe for Replication Files of

"Knowledge, Expertise, and Committee Power in the Contemporary Congress"

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1. Introduction

This ReadMe file contains information about the data files, variables, and programs used to execute the analyses included in the manuscript and in the supplemental appendix.

All data files were saved as both .dta files for use in STATA and as .csv files for use in other programs. All the analyses were run using STATA. As such, an executable .do file replicating all of the analyses is also included (*_curry - replicate all analyses.do*).

Further information about how each variable was collected and coded is found in the manuscript.

2. Data Sources

The data used for the analyses are included in four datasets. Various sources were drawn from to collect the data:

- Data on bills, including their sponsors and committee referrals, were collected from the Congressional Bills Project (http://www.congressionalbills.org/).
- Data on amendments offered to each bill in the datasets, including the sponsors of each amendment and the fate of each amendment (i.e., adopted/reject, roll-call vote breakdowns) were collected from available on Congress.gov (https://www.congress.gov/) as maintained by the Library of Congress and the Clerk of the House of Representatives.
- Several variables utilizing DW-NOMINATE scores were gathered from data maintained by https://voteview.com.
- Data on the chamber seniority of members of Congress were collected from Charles Stewart's and Jonathan Woon's House membership data found here: http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html#2 (Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. House Membership Data, 8/15/2017)
- Data on the committee assignments of members of Congress were collected from Charles Stewart's and Jonathan Woon's committee assignments data found here: http://web.mit.edu/17.251/www/data_page.html#2 (Charles Stewart III and Jonathan Woon. Congressional Committee Assignments, 103rd to 114th Congresses, 1993—2017: House of Representatives, 11/17/2017)
- Data on two-party presidential vote percentages by congressional district were gathered from editions of the *Almanac of American Politics*.
- Data on the statements and cues provided by committee leaders during floor debates were collected from the *Congressional Record*.
- The data on the frequency of committee reports, multiple referrals, and conference reports in each congress (Figure 1 in the article) were collected from the Congressional Bills Project and Congress.gov
- The data on congressional staff (Figure 2 in the paper) were collected from *Vital Statistics on Congress* (https://www.brookings.edu/multi-chapter-report/vital-statistics-on-congress/)

3. Data Files & Variable Descriptions

Data File: curry-amendments-data.dta (curry-amendments-data.csv)

Description: This data file includes data on every floor amendment to every bill considered on the floor of the House of Representatives during the 109th and 110th congresses (2005-08). This file was used to conduct all the analyses predicting the likelihood an amendment was adopted or rejected. It was also used for Table 1, which provides an overview of committee leaders' involvement in the floor consideration of each amendments. Each observation in the data file is for a different amendment.

Variables:

variable	**description**
cong	congress in which amendment was offered
cong110	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered in the 110th congress
sponsor_id	voteview id of amendment sponsor
amend_id	unique identifier for each amendment
bill	bill number for the bill to which the amendment was offered
comm_manage	name of the committee that managed debate on the amendment
committees	all committees to which the relevant bill was referred
openrule	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered under an open rule
amendment	combined amendment sponsor and amendment number
appropsbill	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered to an appropriations bill
offmaj	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered by a majority party member
pass	indicator (=1) if the amendment was adopted
rollcall	indicator (=1) if the amendment received a roll-call vote
vv	indicator (=1) if the amendment was dispensed with by a voice vote
poo	indicator (=1) if the amendment was rules out of order by a point of order
withdrawn	indicator (=1) that the amendment was withdrawn by its sponsor
yeavotes	# of yea votes the amendment received
nayvotes	# of nay votes the amendment received
majyea	# of majority party yea votes the amendment received
minyea	# of minority party yea votes the amendment received
majpctyea	% of the majority party voting yea on the amendment
minpctyea	% of the minority party voting yea on the amendment
chair_id	voteview ID of the debate managing committee's chair
chair_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing committee's chair
maj_chair	Name of the debate managing committee's chair
chair_manage	indicator (=1) if the chair managed debate on the amendment

chair_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the committee chair during the debate
rm_id	voteview ID of the debate managing committee's ranking member
rm_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing committee's ranking member
min_rm	Name of the debate managing committee's ranking member
rm_manage	indicator (=1) if the ranking member managed debate on the amendment
rm_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the committee ranking member during the debate
subchair_id	voteview ID of the debate managing subcommittee chair
subchair_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing subcommittee's chair
maj_subcom	Name of the debate managing subcommittee's chair
majsub_manage	indicator (=1) if the subcommittee chair managed debate on the amendment
subchair_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the subcommittee chair during the debate
subrm_id	voteview ID of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
subrm_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
min_subcomm	Name of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
minsub_manage	indicator (=1) if the subcommittee ranking member managed debate on the amendment
subrm_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the subcommittee ranking member during the debate
seniority	chamber seniority of the amendment sponsor
comm_hetero	Heterogeneity of managing committee's membership (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
commdiffchammed	Managing committee median's difference from chamber median (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
oncommittee	indicator (=1) if the amendment sponsor sits on the committee managing the debate
spon_distfrommedian	Amendment sponsor's distance from the chamber median (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
chair_amend	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered by the managing committee's chair
commmajcue	combined cue of committee chair and subcommittee chair
commmincue	combined cue of committee ranking member and subcommittee ranking member

Data File: curry-rollcall-data.dta (curry-rollcall-data.csv)

Description: This data file includes data on every roll-call vote taken by each individual member of the House of Representatives on every floor amendment to every bill considered on the floor of the House of Representatives that received a roll-call vote during the 109th and 110th congresses (2005-08). This file was used to conduct all the analyses predicting the likelihood each member voted to adopt each amendment. The unit of analysis in the data is each vote per each member per each amendment.

Variables:

variable	**description**
cong	congress in which amendment was offered
cong110	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered in the 110th congress
id	voteview id of voting member
name	full name of voting member
democrats	indicator (=1) if voting member was a Democrat
majority	indicator (=1) if voting member was in the majority party
vote	indicator (=1) if voting member voted to adopt the amendment (0 if opposed, empty if not voting)
dwnom1	voting member's first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score
dwnom2	voting member's second-dimension DW-NOMINATE score
comm_manage	code for the committee managing the bill (Stewart and Woon data)
openrule	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered under an open rule
sponsor_id	voteview id of amendment sponsor
sponsor_dwnom1	first dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the amendment sponsor
amend_id	unique identifier for each amendment
bill	bill number for the bill to which the amendment was offered
committees	name of the committee that managed debate on the amendment
amendment	combined amendment sponsor and amendment number
appropsbill	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered to an appropriations bill
offmaj	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered by a majority party member
pass	indicator (=1) if the amendment was adopted
rollcall	indicator (=1) if the amendment received a roll-call vote
vv	indicator (=1) if the amendment was dispensed with by a voice vote
poo	indicator (=1) if the amendment was rules out of order by a point of order
withdrawn	indicator (=1) that the amendment was withdrawn by its sponsor
chair_id	voteview ID of the debate managing committee's chair
chair_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing committee's chair
maj_chair	Name of the debate managing committee's chair
chair_manage	indicator (=1) if the chair managed debate on the amendment

chair_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the committee chair during the debate
rm_id	voteview ID of the debate managing committee's ranking member
rm_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing committee's ranking member
min_rm	Name of the debate managing committee's ranking member
rm_manage	indicator (=1) if the ranking member managed debate on the amendment
rm_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the committee ranking member during the debate
subchair_id	voteview ID of the debate managing subcommittee chair
subchair_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing subcommittee's chair
maj_subcom	Name of the debate managing subcommittee's chair
majsub_manage	indicator (=1) if the subcommittee chair managed debate on the amendment
rm_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the subcommittee chair during the debate
subrm_id	voteview ID of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
subrm_dwnom1	first-dimension DW-NOMINATE score of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
min_subcomm	Name of the debate managing subcommittee's ranking member
minsub_manage	indicator (=1) if the subcommittee ranking member managed debate on the amendment
subrm_position	indicator (-1, 0, 1) of the position taking by the subcommittee ranking member during the debate
seniority	chamber seniority of the amendment sponsor
comm_median	Heterogeneity of managing committee's membership (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
comm_hetero	Managing committee median's difference from chamber median (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
spon_dist_med	Amendment sponsor's distance from the chamber median (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
commdiffchammed	Managing committee median's difference from chamber median (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
dw_diff_spon	Voting member's distance from amendment sponsor (DW-NOMINATE, first dimension)
oncommittee	indicator (=1) if the amendment sponsor sits on the committee managing the debate
dist_party_fav	percent of the two-party vote won by the presidential candidate of voting member's party in the last election
chair_amend	indicator (=1) if amendment was offered by the managing committee's chair
commmajcue	combined cue of committee chair and subcommittee chair

commmincue	combined cue of committee ranking member and subcommittee ranking member
dw_diff_commmed	voting member's distance from committee median of committee managing the bill (first dimension, DW-NOMINATE)
relative_dist	relative distance of the voting member from the amendment sponsor and the committee median of the committee managing the bill (first dimension, DW-NOMINATE)

Data File: Fig1-data_committee-processes.dta (Fig1-data_committee-processes.csv)

Description: This data file was used to make Figure 1. It includes congress-level data on the percent of passed bills first reported by a committee (for the House and Senate), the percent of all bills referred to multiple committees (for the House and Senate), and the frequency of use of conference committees in each congress. The unit of analysis in the data file is each congress.

Variables:

variable	**description**
cong	congress
perc_houserpt	% of House passed bills with a committee report
perc_senaterpt	% of Senate passed bills with a committee report
perc_housemultref	% of House bills referred to more than one committee
perc_senatemultref	% of Senate bills referred to more than one committee
num_confrpt	number of conference reports filed during each congress
pct_confrpt	% of bills passed by the House and Senate that had a conference report

Data File: Fig2-data_staff.dta (Fig2-data_staff.csv)

Description: This data file includes data on personal and committee office staff for members of Congress, 96th-114th congresses. Data for the first year of each congress were used where data on both years was available. The unit of analysis in the data file is each congress.

Variables:

variable	**description**
cong	congress
house_percomm	average # of staff employed per House committee
house_permem	average # of staff employed per House member (personal office)
senate_percomm	average # of staff employed per Senate committee
senate_permem	average # of staff employed per senator (personal office)