![STATA logo]
Statistics/Data analysis

_____

```
     name:  <unnamed>
      log:  C:\Users\agfowler\Dropbox\Insincere Voting Congress\Fowler Lewis Replicat
 > ion Data\protestvotinglog.smcl
 log type:  smcl
opened on:   2 Dec 2025, 11:58:17
```

```
1 .
2 . ***cleaning data***
3 . clear

4 . import delimited "Hall_members.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
  (22 vars, 40,148 obs)

5 . drop if chamber == "President"
  (127 observations deleted)

6 . keep if cong >= 51 & cong <= 117
  (10,892 observations deleted)

7 . rename state_abbrev state

8 . rename congress cong

9 . rename district_code dist

10. keep icpsr cong state dist

11. save "icpsr_dist.dta", replace
  file icpsr_dist.dta saved

12.
13. clear

14. import delimited "dime_recipients_1979_2024.csv", bindquote(strict)
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
  (64 vars, 479,502 obs)

15. keep if seat == "federal:house"
  (442,523 observations deleted)

16. g wongeneral = gwinner == "W"

17. egen everwon = max(wongeneral), by(icpsr)

18. drop if everwon == 0
  (27,373 observations deleted)

19. rename recipientcfscore cfscore

20. order icpsr cycle cfscore

21. sort icpsr cycle

22. egen id = group(icpsr)

23. egen meancf = mean(cfscore), by(icpsr2)

24. g match = meancf == cfscore
```

```
25. tab match
```

match	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	19	0.20	0.20
1	9,587	99.80	100.00
Total	9,606	100.00	

```
26. drop cfscore

27. rename meancf cfscore

28. drop icpsr

29. rename icpsr2 icpsr

30. order icpsr cfscore

31. sort icpsr

32. drop if icpsr == icpsr[_n-1]
   (7,696 observations deleted)

33. drop if strpos(icpsr, "H") > 0
   (70 observations deleted)

34. drop if strpos(icpsr, "S") > 0
   (2 observations deleted)

35. drop if strpos(icpsr, "T") > 0
   (1 observation deleted)

36. drop if strpos(icpsr, "C") > 0
   (1 observation deleted)

37. drop if strpos(icpsr, "nyc") > 0
   (1 observation deleted)

38. keep icpsr cfscore

39. destring icpsr, replace
   icpsr: all characters numeric; replaced as long

40. save "cfscores.dta", replace
   file cfscores.dta saved

41.
42. clear

43. postutil clear

44. import delimited "idealpoint_estimates_51-117.csv"
   (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
   (10 vars, 28,174 obs)

45. split member, p("(")
   variables created as string:
   member1  member2
```

```
46. split member2, p(-)
   variables created as string:
   member21  member22

47. rename member21 party

48. drop member1 member2 member22

49. g dem = party == "D"

50. g rep = party == "R"

51. *rescale scores so that Republicans are higher than Democrats, on average
52. *and rescale so that mean is 0 and stdev is 1 within every Congress
53. foreach i in expressive_ideal_idp ideal_idp expressive_wnominate_idp wnominate_idp {
   2. egen meani = mean(`i'), by(cong)
   3. egen sdi = sd(`i'), by(cong)
   4. replace `i' = (`i' - meani)/sdi
   5. drop meani sdi
   6. g `i'dem = `i' if dem == 1
   7. g `i'rep = `i' if rep == 1
   8. egen meandem = mean(`i'dem), by(cong)
   9. egen meanrep = mean(`i'rep), by(cong)
  10. replace `i' = `i'*-1 if meandem > meanrep
  11. drop meandem meanrep `i'dem `i'rep
  12. }
(28,174 real changes made)
(13,160 missing values generated)
(15,195 missing values generated)
(27,731 real changes made)
(28,174 real changes made)
(13,160 missing values generated)
(15,195 missing values generated)
(27,731 real changes made)
(28,174 real changes made)
(13,160 missing values generated)
(15,195 missing values generated)
(16,921 real changes made)
(28,174 real changes made)
(13,160 missing values generated)
(15,195 missing values generated)
(16,921 real changes made)

54. *code majority party
55. egen prdem = mean(dem), by(cong)

56. egen prrep = mean(rep), by(cong)

57. tab cong if prrep > prdem
```

cong	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
51	339	3.13	3.13
54	337	3.11	6.23
55	349	3.22	9.45
56	340	3.13	12.58
57	330	3.04	15.63
58	273	2.52	18.14
59	341	3.14	21.29
60	374	3.45	24.73
61	382	3.52	28.26
66	443	4.08	32.34
67	440	4.06	36.40
68	427	3.94	40.33
69	417	3.84	44.18
70	353	3.25	47.43
71	415	3.83	51.26
80	437	4.03	55.29
83	435	4.01	59.30
104	446	4.11	63.41
105	443	4.08	67.49
106	440	4.06	71.55

107	442	4.07	75.62
108	441	4.07	79.69
109	439	4.05	83.74
112	443	4.08	87.82
113	440	4.06	91.88
114	437	4.03	95.91
115	444	4.09	100.00
Total	10,847	100.00	

```
58. /*
  > this gives us the correct majority party in all the Congresses we're studying
  > https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Party_leaders_of_the_United_States_House_of_Representa
  > tives
  > */
59. g majority = 0

60. replace majority = 1 if prdem > prrep & dem == 1
  (10,315 real changes made)

61. replace majority = 1 if prrep > prdem & rep == 1
  (6,070 real changes made)

62. drop prdem prrep

63. *merge in CF scores
64. merge m:1 icpsr using "cfscores.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	17,591	
from master	17,516	(_merge==1)
from using	75	(_merge==2)
Matched	10,658	(_merge==3)

```
65. tab cong _merge
```

cong	Matching result from merge		Total
	Master on	Matched (	
51	339	0	339
52	330	0	330
53	360	0	360
54	337	0	337
55	349	0	349
56	340	0	340
57	330	0	330
58	273	0	273
59	341	0	341
60	374	0	374
61	382	0	382
62	390	0	390
63	431	0	431
64	434	0	434
65	435	0	435
66	443	0	443
67	440	0	440
68	427	0	427
69	417	0	417
70	353	0	353
71	415	0	415
72	425	0	425
73	437	0	437
74	434	0	434
75	434	0	434
76	444	0	444
77	429	0	429
78	432	0	432
79	439	1	440

80	436	1	437
81	430	7	437
82	432	7	439
83	420	15	435
84	420	17	437
85	425	18	443
86	414	25	439
87	414	31	445
88	391	49	440
89	372	70	442
90	351	87	438
91	335	106	441
92	319	121	440
93	280	163	443
94	215	224	439
95	161	277	438
96	92	347	439
97	19	419	438
98	10	427	437
99	10	428	438
100	10	430	440
101	11	430	441
102	13	424	437
103	11	432	443
104	11	435	446
105	11	432	443
106	12	428	440
107	10	432	442
108	9	432	441
109	7	432	439
110	8	444	452
111	11	440	451
112	7	436	443
113	5	435	440
114	6	431	437
115	5	439	444
116	4	443	447
117	5	443	448
Total	17,516	10,658	28,174

```
66. drop if _merge == 2
  (75 observations deleted)

67. drop _merge

68. *merge in data from Duck-Mayr and Montgomery
69. merge 1:1 icpsr cong using "mc3ggum.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	23,769	
from master	23,769	(_merge==1)
from using	0	(_merge==2)
Matched	4,405	(_merge==3)

```
70. tab cong _merge
```

cong	Matching result from merge		Total
	Master on	Matched (	
51	339	0	339
52	330	0	330
53	360	0	360
54	337	0	337
55	349	0	349
56	340	0	340
57	330	0	330
58	273	0	273

59	341	0	341
60	374	0	374
61	382	0	382
62	390	0	390
63	431	0	431
64	434	0	434
65	435	0	435
66	443	0	443
67	440	0	440
68	427	0	427
69	417	0	417
70	353	0	353
71	415	0	415
72	425	0	425
73	437	0	437
74	434	0	434
75	434	0	434
76	444	0	444
77	429	0	429
78	432	0	432
79	440	0	440
80	437	0	437
81	437	0	437
82	439	0	439
83	435	0	435
84	437	0	437
85	443	0	443
86	439	0	439
87	445	0	445
88	440	0	440
89	442	0	442
90	438	0	438
91	441	0	441
92	440	0	440
93	443	0	443
94	439	0	439
95	438	0	438
96	439	0	439
97	438	0	438
98	437	0	437
99	438	0	438
100	440	0	440
101	441	0	441
102	437	0	437
103	443	0	443
104	446	0	446
105	443	0	443
106	440	0	440
107	2	440	442
108	2	439	441
109	2	437	439
110	4	448	452
111	4	447	451
112	6	437	443
113	1	439	440
114	2	435	437
115	6	438	444
116	2	445	447
117	448	0	448
Total	23,769	4,405	28,174

71. drop if _merge == 2
  (0 observations deleted)

72. drop _merge

73.
74. *merge in districts
75. merge 1:1 cong icpsr using "icpsr_dist.dta"

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	**1,033**	
from master	**39**	(_merge==1)
from using	**994**	(_merge==2)
Matched	**28,135**	(_merge==3)

76. drop if _merge == 2
  (994 observations deleted)

77. drop _merge

78. g eyear = 1788 + 2*cong

79. save "cleaneddata.dta", replace
  file **cleaneddata.dta** saved

80.
81.
82. ***Figure 1***
83. clear

84. use "cleaneddata.dta"

85. keep if cong == 117
  (27,726 observations deleted)

86. g squad = 0

87. replace squad = 1 if member == "Ocasio-Cortez (D-NY)"
  (1 real change made)

88. replace squad = 1 if member == "Omar (D-MN)"
  (1 real change made)

89. replace squad = 1 if member == "Pressley (D-MA)"
  (1 real change made)

90. replace squad = 1 if member == "Tlaib (D-MI)"
  (1 real change made)

91. replace squad = 1 if member == "Bowman (D-NY)"
  (1 real change made)

92. replace squad = 1 if member == "Bush (D-MO)"
  (1 real change made)

93. rename expressive_ideal_idp idealexp

```
 94. rename ideal_idp ideal

 95. g exp_squad = idealexp if squad == 1
    (442 missing values generated)

 96. g exp_dem = idealexp if party == "D" & squad == 0
    (226 missing values generated)

 97. g exp_rep = idealexp if party == "R"
    (228 missing values generated)

 98. graph twoway (lfit ideal ideal) (scatter exp_rep exp_dem exp_squad ideal)

 99. gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

100 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

101 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Standard Ideological Score

102 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule -1.5 1.5 1 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

103 gr_edit .yaxis1.reset_rule -1.5 1.5 1 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

104 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

105 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Adjusted Ideological Score

106 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

107 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

108 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

109 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

110 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

111 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(gs8) pattern(dash)) editcopy

112 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(red) line
  > style(color(red))) editcopy

113 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(blue) lin
  > estyle(color(blue))) editcopy

114 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot4.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(green) li
  > nestyle(color(green))) editcopy

115 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .799426399310031 .8899942324586996

116 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

117 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

118 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y
```

```
119 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

120 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

121 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Republicans

122 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(red) editcopy

123 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -.834086153394805 -1.5069612197405
  > 68

124 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

125 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

126 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

127 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

128 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

129 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Democrats

130 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle color(blue) editcopy

131 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].DragBy -.0300120416507453 .1551143332925046

132 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -1.55 -1.1

133 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 3

134 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 3

135 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

136 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

137 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text = {}

138 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text.Arrpush Squad

139 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle color(green) editcopy
```

```
140 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].DragBy -.0042874345215341 -.0234134842705661

141 graph export "Squad.png", replace as(png)
   (file Squad.png not found)
   file Squad.png saved as PNG format

142
143 ***Figure 2***
144 clear

145 postutil clear

146 import delimited "data_for_118th_scatter.csv"
   (encoding automatically selected: UTF-8)
   (5 vars, 451 obs)

147 g dem = type == "Democrats"

148 g defector = type == "McCarthy defectors"

149 sum expressive
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
expressive~t	451	-.0066211	1.794196	-2.797384	3.979305

```
150 replace expressive = (expressive - r(mean))/r(sd)
   (451 real changes made)

151 sum ideal
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
ideal_idpt	451	-.0133067	1.817253	-3.902724	2.634209

```
152 replace ideal = (ideal - r(mean))/r(sd)
   (451 real changes made)

153 g exp_defector = expressive if defector == 1
   (431 missing values generated)

154 g exp_dem = expressive if dem == 1
   (230 missing values generated)

155 g exp_rep = expressive if dem == 0 & defector == 0
   (241 missing values generated)

156 graph twoway (lfit ideal ideal) (scatter exp_rep exp_dem exp_defector ideal)

157 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

158 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

159 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Standard Ideological Score

160 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule -2 1 1 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

161 gr_edit .yaxis1.reset_rule -2 2 1 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

162 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}
```

```
163 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Adjusted Ideological Score

164 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

165 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

166 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

167 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

168 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

169 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(gs8) pattern(dash)) editcopy

170 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(red) line
  > style(color(red))) editcopy

171 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(blue) lin
  > estyle(color(blue))) editcopy

172 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot4.style.editstyle marker(size(medsmall) fillcolor(green) li
  > nestyle(color(green))) editcopy

173 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .9 .4

174 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

175 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

176 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

177 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

178 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

179 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Republicans

180 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(red) editcopy

181 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -.8 -1.4

182 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

183 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

184 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y
```

```
185 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

186 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

187 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Democrats

188 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle color(blue) editcopy

189 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor 1.9 .45

190 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 3

191 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 3

192 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

193 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

194 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text = {}

195 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text.Arrpush McCarthy Defectors

196 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle color(green) editcopy

197 graph export "McCarthy.png", replace as(png)
  (file McCarthy.png not found)
  file McCarthy.png saved as PNG format

198
199
200 ***Figure 3***
201 clear

202 postutil clear

203 use "cleaneddata.dta"

204 keep if cong >= 97
  (18,887 observations deleted)

205 postfile CF cong expressive nonexpressive pprob using "CF.dta", replace

206 forvalues i = 97/117 {
    2. corr expressive_ideal_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    3. scalar expressive = r(rho)
    4. corr ideal_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    5. scalar nonexpressive = r(rho)
    6. sum express_ideal_pprob if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    7. post CF (`i') (expressive) (nonexpressive) (r(mean))
    8. }
  (obs=234)
```

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.7195	1.0000

```
  (obs=234)
```

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.7231	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	243	.0232923	.0602722	0	.4113811

(obs=260)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6629	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6557	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	269	.0186265	.0490329	0	.3910581

(obs=246)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6380	1.0000

(obs=246)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6098	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	255	.0197413	.0582454	0	.429229

(obs=252)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6292	1.0000

(obs=252)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6030	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	260	.0141836	.0442612	0	.3641183

(obs=255)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6395	1.0000

(obs=255)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6111	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	262	.0125105	.0419118	0	.4175267

(obs=260)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6275	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6082	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	268	.0129192	.0371187	0	.4290208

(obs=256)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5535	1.0000

(obs=256)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5437	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	264	.0136275	.044063	0	.4579242

(obs=229)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6004	1.0000

(obs=229)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5728	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	236	.0069396	.0125273	0	.082094

(obs=223)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6383	1.0000

(obs=223)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6081	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	231	.0114184	.0254839	0	.2428517

(obs=217)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6734	1.0000

(obs=217)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6333	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	224	.0176515	.0384157	0	.2464232

(obs=220)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6171	1.0000

(obs=220)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5604	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	228	.0169211	.0450611	0	.2332249

(obs=225)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6170	1.0000

(obs=225)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6001	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	232	.0054012	.0196283	0	.2580393

(obs=230)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6015	1.0000

(obs=230)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5812	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	236	.0071867	.0245517	0	.3091156

(obs=243)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3866	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3663	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	245	.00285	.0081137	0	.0950048

(obs=264)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2943	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2850	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	268	.0049686	.0119945	0	.0907959

(obs=239)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6075	1.0000

(obs=239)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6011	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	243	.0067813	.0209172	0	.1874989

(obs=233)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6721	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6411	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	237	.0049629	.0175041	0	.1816671

(obs=244)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6608	1.0000

(obs=244)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6391	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	248	.004015	.0190244	0	.2018042

(obs=241)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6504	1.0000

(obs=241)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5880	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	245	.0066114	.0313524	0	.3154646

(obs=238)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0909	1.0000

(obs=238)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0160	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	240	.0018718	.0058503	0	.0463124

(obs=227)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.1723	1.0000

(obs=227)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0759	1.0000

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
express_id~b	228	.0016014	.0058032	0	.0490745

207 postclose CF

208 clear

209 use "CF.dta"

210 g greater = expressive > nonexpressive

211 graph twoway line expressive nonexpressive cong

212 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

213 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

214 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

215 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 97 117 5, tickset(major) ruletype(range)

216 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

217 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Correlation between RC and CF Scores

218 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

219 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

220 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

221 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

222 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

223 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(thick)) editcopy

224 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(gs8) width(thick)) editcopy

225 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .58 99

226 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

227 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

228 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle angle(default) size(sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n(gleft(sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright(sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop(sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom(sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap(sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in(gleft(sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright(sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop(sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom(sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle(width(sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

```
229 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(gs8) editcopy

230 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

231 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Standard

232 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

233 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .67 100.5

234 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

235 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

236 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

237 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

238 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

239 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Adjusted

240 graph export "CFscores.png", replace as(png)
  (file CFscores.png not found)
  file CFscores.png saved as PNG format

241
242 ***Comparisons with GGUM, discussed in main text***
243 clear

244 postutil clear

245 use "cleaneddata.dta"

246 keep if cong >= 107 & cong <= 116
  (23,738 observations deleted)

247 postfile CF cong expressive nonexpressive ggum using "CF.dta", replace

248 forvalues i = 107/116 {
    2. corr expressive_ideal_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    3. scalar expressive = r(rho)
    4. corr ideal_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    5. scalar nonexpressive = r(rho)
    6. corr mc3ggum cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
    7. scalar ggum = r(rho)
    8. post CF (`i') (expressive) (nonexpressive) (ggum)
    9. }
  (obs=220)
```

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6171	1.0000

```
  (obs=220)
```

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5604	1.0000

(obs=220)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5421	1.0000

(obs=225)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6170	1.0000

(obs=225)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6001	1.0000

(obs=224)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6311	1.0000

(obs=230)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6015	1.0000

(obs=230)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5812	1.0000

(obs=229)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6322	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3866	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3663	1.0000

(obs=241)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3684	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2943	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2850	1.0000

(obs=263)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2887	1.0000

(obs=239)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6075	1.0000

(obs=239)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6011	1.0000

(obs=238)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5961	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6721	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6411	1.0000

(obs=233)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6535	1.0000

(obs=244)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6608	1.0000

(obs=244)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6391	1.0000

(obs=243)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6338	1.0000

(obs=241)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6504	1.0000

(obs=241)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5880	1.0000

(obs=239)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6061	1.0000

(obs=238)

	ex~l_idp	cfscore
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0909	1.0000

(obs=238)

	ideal_~p	cfscore
ideal_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0160	1.0000

(obs=237)

	mc3ggum	cfscore
mc3ggum	1.0000	
cfscore	0.1044	1.0000

249 postclose CF

250 clear

251 use "CF.dta"

```
252 g ggumvsideal = ggum > nonexpressive

253 g expressivevsggum = expressive > ggum

254 tab ggumvs
```

ggumvsideal	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	3	30.00	30.00
1	7	70.00	100.00
Total	10	100.00	

```
255 tab expressivevs
```

expressivevsggum	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	3	30.00	30.00
1	7	70.00	100.00
Total	10	100.00	

```
256
257 ***Figure 4***
258 clear

259 import delimited "expressive_ideal_expected_expressive_by_votes_51-117.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-2)
  (5 vars, 32,810 obs)

260 split rollcall, p(_)
  variables created as string:
  rollcall1   rollcall2

261 rename rollcall1 cong

262 destring cong, replace
  cong: all characters numeric; replaced as int

263 rename rollcall2 bill

264 destring bill, replace
  bill: all characters numeric; replaced as int

265 drop rollcall

266 g nbills = 1

267 g possible = eexpressive != 0

268 replace eexpressive = . if eexpressive == 0
  (23,822 real changes made, 23,822 to missing)

269 collapse (mean) eexpressive (sum) possible nbills, by(cong)

270 g prop_possible = possible/nbills

271 *numbers discussed in text
272 sum prop_possible [fw = nbills]
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
prop_possi~e	32,810	.2739409	.0713395	.1075269	.4364364

```
273 scalar ppossible = r(mean)

274 sum eexpressive [fw = possible]
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
eexpressive	8,988	3.026309	1.385722	.4146884	6.964736

```
275 scalar eee = r(mean)

276 disp 1/((eee*ppossible)/435)
   524.70971

277 *figure
278 graph twoway line eexpressive cong

279 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

280 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

281 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

282 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

283 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

284 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Protest Votes Per Bill

285 gr_edit .yaxis1.reset_rule 0 6 2 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

286 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

287 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

288 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

289 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

290 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

291 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthick)) editco
  > py

292 graph export "Eexpressive.png", replace as(png)
   (file Eexpressive.png not found)
   file Eexpressive.png saved as PNG format

293
294 ***Find bills where protest voting was pivotal, discussed in main text***
295 clear

296 import delimited "expressive_ideal_expected_expressive_by_votes_51-117.csv"
   (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-2)
   (5 vars, 32,810 obs)

297 split rollcall, p(_)
   variables created as string:
   rollcall1  rollcall2
```

```
298 rename rollcall1 cong

299 destring cong, replace
    cong: all characters numeric; replaced as int

300 rename rollcall2 bill

301 destring bill, replace
    bill: all characters numeric; replaced as int

302 drop rollcall rc_idx

303 drop vote_*

304 order cong bill eexpressive

305 save "ideal_eexpressive.dta", replace
    file ideal_eexpressive.dta saved

306 clear

307 import delimited "Hall_rollcalls.csv"
    (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
    (18 vars, 57,878 obs)

308 keep if congress >= 51
    (18,570 observations deleted)

309 keep congress rollnumber yea_count nay_count vote_desc vote_question

310 rename congress cong

311 rename rollnumber bill

312 merge 1:1 cong bill using "ideal_eexpressive.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	6,730	
from master	6,614	(_merge==1)
from using	116	(_merge==2)
Matched	32,694	(_merge==3)

```
313 tab cong _merge
```

cong	Matching result from merge Master on	Using onl	Matched (	Total
51	45	0	542	587
52	25	0	279	304
53	79	0	294	373
54	4	0	158	162
55	11	0	172	183
56	8	0	141	149
57	23	0	162	185
58	2	0	85	87
59	9	0	127	136
60	73	0	239	312
61	9	0	193	202
62	11	0	251	262
63	13	0	269	282
64	8	0	149	157
65	47	0	219	266
66	61	0	278	339
67	35	0	327	362
68	13	0	166	179
69	8	0	106	114
70	4	0	68	72
71	5	0	98	103
72	7	0	116	123

73	6	0	137	143
74	6	0	206	212
75	4	0	154	158
76	10	0	217	227
77	25	0	127	152
78	21	0	135	156
79	21	0	210	231
80	15	0	148	163
81	27	0	248	275
82	20	0	161	181
83	27	0	120	147
84	27	0	122	149
85	20	0	173	193
86	18	0	162	180
87	35	0	205	240
88	28	0	204	232
89	87	0	307	394
90	83	0	395	478
91	84	0	359	443
92	104	0	545	649
93	139	0	939	1,078
94	193	0	1,080	1,273
95	295	0	1,245	1,540
96	190	0	1,086	1,276
97	122	0	690	812
98	109	0	797	906
99	110	0	780	890
100	160	0	779	939
101	118	0	761	879
102	113	0	788	901
103	120	0	974	1,094
104	139	0	1,182	1,321
105	210	0	956	1,166
106	316	0	893	1,209
107	303	0	687	990
108	366	0	852	1,218
109	301	0	909	1,210
110	467	0	1,398	1,865
111	648	0	999	1,647
112	163	0	1,439	1,602
113	177	0	1,025	1,202
114	190	0	1,132	1,322
115	242	0	965	1,207
116	132	0	820	952
117	123	116	744	983
Total	6,614	116	32,694	39,424

```
314 keep if _merge == 3
  (6,730 observations deleted)

315 drop _merge

316 replace eexpressive = 0 if eexpressive == .
  (0 real changes made)

317 g margin = yea_count - nay_count

318 g pivotal = margin < 0 & eexpressive > margin*-1
```

```
319 browse if pivotal == 1

320
321 ***Figure 5***
322 clear

323 postutil clear

324 use "cleaneddata.dta"

325 postfile Correlations cong ideal_majority using "Correlations.dta", replace

326 forvalues i = 51/117 {
    2. corr expressive_ideal_idp ideal_idp if cong == `i' & majority == 1
    3. scalar ideal_majority = r(rho)
    4. post Correlations (`i') (ideal_majority)
    5. }
  (obs=178)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9881	1.0000

```
  (obs=237)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9993	1.0000

```
  (obs=218)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9934	1.0000

```
  (obs=239)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9726	1.0000

```
  (obs=198)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9530	1.0000

```
  (obs=183)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9622	1.0000

```
  (obs=195)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9857	1.0000

```
  (obs=147)
```

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.8001	1.0000

(obs=224)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9955	1.0000

(obs=216)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9803	1.0000

(obs=214)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9857	1.0000

(obs=226)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9876	1.0000

(obs=287)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9854	1.0000

(obs=227)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9827	1.0000

(obs=216)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9882	1.0000

(obs=244)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9550	1.0000

(obs=302)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9749	1.0000

(obs=220)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9872	1.0000

(obs=235)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9697	1.0000

(obs=192)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9967	1.0000

(obs=257)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9918	1.0000

(obs=217)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9361	1.0000

(obs=312)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9897	1.0000

(obs=319)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9884	1.0000

(obs=330)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9950	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9972	1.0000

(obs=259)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9726	1.0000

(obs=219)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9946	1.0000

(obs=246)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9975	1.0000

(obs=247)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9418	1.0000

(obs=261)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9967	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9991	1.0000

(obs=219)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9952	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9962	1.0000

(obs=238)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9981	1.0000

(obs=282)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9981	1.0000

(obs=271)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9931	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9961	1.0000

(obs=300)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9998	1.0000

(obs=249)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9998	1.0000

(obs=246)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9999	1.0000

(obs=256)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9985	1.0000

(obs=245)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9982	1.0000

(obs=292)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9991	1.0000

(obs=291)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9990	1.0000

(obs=279)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9977	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9958	1.0000

(obs=269)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9928	1.0000

(obs=255)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9559	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9722	1.0000

(obs=262)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9718	1.0000

(obs=268)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9833	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9834	1.0000

(obs=236)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9826	1.0000

(obs=231)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9859	1.0000

(obs=224)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9523	1.0000

(obs=228)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9299	1.0000

(obs=232)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9808	1.0000

(obs=236)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9873	1.0000

(obs=245)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9608	1.0000

(obs=268)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9911	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9843	1.0000

(obs=237)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9625	1.0000

(obs=248)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9750	1.0000

(obs=245)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.8367	1.0000

(obs=240)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.9323	1.0000

(obs=228)

	ex~l_idp	ideal_~p
expres~l_idp	1.0000	
ideal_idp	0.8858	1.0000

```
327 postclose Correlations

328 clear

329 use "Correlations.dta"

330 graph twoway line ideal_majority cong

331 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

332 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

333 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

334 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

335 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

336 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Correlation between Standard and Adjusted Estimat
  > es

337 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

338 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

339 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

340 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

341 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

342 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthick)) editco
  > py

343 graph export "IdeologyCorrelations.png", replace as(png)
  (file IdeologyCorrelations.png not found)
  file IdeologyCorrelations.png saved as PNG format

344
345 ***Appendix Figure 1***
346 clear

347 import delimited "stacked_idealpoints.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
  (9 vars, 28,174 obs)

348 split member_label, p("(")
  variables created as string:
  member_lab~1  member_lab~2

349 split member_label2, p(-)
  variables created as string:
  member_la~21  member_la~22

350 rename member_label21 party

351 drop if party == "I"
  (181 observations deleted)
```

```
352 g dem = party == "D"

353 egen cong_dem = group(congress dem)

354 collapse *_idp congress dem, by(cong_dem)

355 drop cong_dem

356 rename stacked_ideal_idp ideal

357 rename stacked_ideal_exp_idp idealexp

358 rename stacked_wnom_idp nom

359 rename stacked_wnom_exp_idp nomexp

360 foreach i in ideal idealexp nom nomexp {
    2. replace `i' = `i'*-1
    3. }
  (134 real changes made)
  (134 real changes made)
  (134 real changes made)
  (134 real changes made)

361 reshape wide ideal idealexp nom nomexp, i(cong) j(dem)
  (j = 0 1)

  Data                                   Long    ->   Wide
  ─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
  Number of observations                  134    ->    67
  Number of variables                       6    ->     9
  j variable (2 values)                   dem    ->    (dropped)
  xij variables:
                                        ideal    ->    ideal0 ideal1
                                     idealexp    ->    idealexp0 idealexp1
                                          nom    ->    nom0 nom1
                                       nomexp    ->    nomexp0 nomexp1
  ─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────

362 foreach i in ideal idealexp nom nomexp {
    2. g polarization_`i' = `i'0 - `i'1
    3. }

363 g diff = polarization_idealexp - polarization_ideal

364 g demdiff = ideal1 - idealexp1

365 g repdiff = idealexp0 - ideal0

366 *Average difference in polarization between two measures
367 sum polarization_idealexp
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polariz~lexp	67	2.484908	.6540817	1.836687	3.896128

```
368 scalar avgexp = r(mean)

369 sum polarization_ideal
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polarizati~l	67	2.357519	.6097069	1.783683	3.714234

```
370 disp avgexp/r(mean)
   1.0540355

371 *Difference in average increase in polarization between two measures
372 sum polarization_idealexp if cong == 90
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polariz~lexp	1	2.070479	.	2.070479	2.070479

```
373 scalar start = r(mean)

374 sum polarization_idealexp if cong == 117
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polariz~lexp	1	3.855118	.	3.855118	3.855118

```
375 scalar increaseexp = r(mean) - start

376 sum polarization_ideal if cong == 90
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polarizati~l	1	1.91448	.	1.91448	1.91448

```
377 scalar start = r(mean)

378 sum polarization_ideal if cong == 117
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
polarizati~l	1	3.610824	.	3.610824	3.610824

```
379 scalar increasestandard = r(mean) - start

380 disp increaseexp/increasestandard
   1.0520504

381 *figure
382 graph twoway line ideal1 ideal0 idealexp1 idealexp0 congress

383 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

384 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

385 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

386 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

387 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

388 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Estimated Ideology

389 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

390 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy
```

```
391 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

392 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

393 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

394 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(red) width(medthick)) editcopy

395 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot4.style.editstyle line(color(maroon) width(medthick)) editc
  > opy

396 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(blue) width(medthick)) editcop
  > y

397 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle line(color(navy) width(medthick)) editcop
  > y

398 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .9107055281641272 63.9624842028243
  > 4

399 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

400 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

401 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

402 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(red) editcopy

403 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

404 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Republicans (standard)

405 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

406 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].DragBy -.1030545221960519 -1.224028558022152

407 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].DragBy .0154581783294083 -.5245836677237908

408 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor 1.266243629740505 63.0298910157598
  > 4

409 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

410 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

411 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y
```

```
412 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

413 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

414 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Republicans (adjusted)

415 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle color(maroon) editcopy

416 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].DragBy -.0618327133176323 .4662965935322422

417 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].DragBy .0515272610980255 -4.604678861130964

418 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -.5526686870198043 69.208320880062
  > 13

419 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 3

420 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 3

421 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

422 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

423 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text = {}

424 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].text.Arrpush Democrats (standard)

425 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].style.editstyle color(blue) editcopy

426 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -.5423632348001988 75.969621486279
  > 76

427 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 4

428 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 4

429 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[4].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

430 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].DragBy -.0154581783294079 -5.478984974003945

431 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[3].DragBy -.0154581783294083 -1.748612225745935
```

```
432 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor -.9648867758040098 64.312206647973
  > 53

433 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 5

434 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 5

435 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

436 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

437 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].text = {}

438 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].text.Arrpush Democrats (adjusted)

439 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].style.editstyle color(navy) editcopy

440 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[5].DragBy -.0154581783294081 -.3497224451491953

441 graph save "Polarization1.gph", replace
  file Polarization1.gph saved

442 graph twoway line demdiff repdiff congress

443 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

444 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

445 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

446 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

447 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

448 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Difference in Estimated Extremism

449 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

450 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

451 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

452 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

453 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

454 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(blue) width(medthick)) editcop
  > y
```

```
455 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(red) width(medthick)) editcopy

456 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .024 54

457 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

458 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

459 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

460 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(blue) editcopy

461 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

462 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Democrats

463 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

464 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .056 55

465 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

466 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

467 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

468 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

469 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle color(red) editcopy

470 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

471 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Republicans

472 graph save "Polarization2.gph", replace
  file Polarization2.gph saved

473 graph twoway line polarization_ideal polarization_idealexp congress

474 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

475 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}
```

```
476 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

477 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

478 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

479 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Estimated Polarization

480 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

481 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

482 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

483 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

484 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

485 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(gs8) width(medthick)) editcopy

486 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthick)) editco
  > py

487 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor 1.75 64.5

488 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

489 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

490 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

491 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(gs8) editcopy

492 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

493 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Standard

494 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

495 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor 2 66

496 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2

497 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

498 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y
```

```
499 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

500 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

501 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Adjusted

502 graph save "Polarization3.gph", replace
    file Polarization3.gph saved

503 graph twoway line diff congress

504 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

505 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

506 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

507 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 51 117 11 , tickset(major) ruletype(range)

508 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

509 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Difference in Estimated Polarization

510 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

511 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

512 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

513 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

514 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

515 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthick)) editco
  > py

516 graph save "Polarization4.gph", replace
    file Polarization4.gph saved

517 graph combine "Polarization1.gph" "Polarization2.gph" "Polarization3.gph" "Polarizat
  > ion4.gph", col(2)

518 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(zero) editcopy

519 gr_edit .style.editstyle boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white))) editcopy

520 gr_edit .style.editstyle boxstyle(linestyle(color(white))) editcopy

521 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph1.yaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

522 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph2.yaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

523 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph3.yaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

524 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph4.yaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

525 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph1.xaxis1.title.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)
```

```
526 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph2.xaxis1.title.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

527 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph1.plotregion1.added_text[2].DragBy .1823123707348621 -.421
  > 1735607050578

528 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph2.plotregion1.added_text[1].DragBy -.0032305729073626 -1.1
  > 81986828942222

529 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph1.plotregion1.added_text[5].DragBy -.1823123707348642 -3.8
  > 95855436521797

530 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph3.plotregion1.added_text[2].DragBy .223063367413133 -1.396
  > 893525113504

531 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph3.xaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

532 gr_edit .plotregion1.graph4.xaxis1.title.style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

533 graph export "Polarization.png", replace as(png)
  (file Polarization.png not found)
  file Polarization.png saved as PNG format

534
535 ***Appendix Table 1***
536 clear

537 use "cleaneddata.dta"

538 *drop if multiple people served in the same seat (or there were multimember dists)
539 duplicates tag state dist eyear, g(repeat)

  Duplicates in terms of state dist eyear

540 keep if repeat == 0
  (855 observations deleted)

541 drop repeat

542 tostring dist, replace
  dist was byte now str2

543 replace dist = state + "-" + dist
  variable dist was str2 now str5
  (27,319 real changes made)

544 drop state

545 merge 1:1 dist eyear using "Pres_CD_1952_2020.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	12,847	
from master	12,469	(_merge==1)
from using	378	(_merge==2)
Matched	14,850	(_merge==3)

```
546 tab eyear _merge
```

eyear	Matching result from merge			Total
	Master on	Using onl	Matched (	
1890	319	0	0	319
1892	322	0	0	322
1894	340	0	0	340
1896	327	0	0	327
1898	341	0	0	341
1900	332	0	0	332
1902	322	0	0	322
1904	266	0	0	266
1906	334	0	0	334

1908	365	0	0	365
1910	374	0	0	374
1912	378	0	0	378
1914	402	0	0	402
1916	420	0	0	420
1918	415	0	0	415
1920	411	0	0	411
1922	418	0	0	418
1924	425	0	0	425
1926	415	0	0	415
1928	353	0	0	353
1930	413	0	0	413
1932	423	0	0	423
1934	378	0	0	378
1936	424	0	0	424
1938	422	0	0	422
1940	416	0	0	416
1942	421	0	0	421
1944	420	0	0	420
1946	422	0	0	422
1948	421	0	0	421
1950	425	0	0	425
1952	16	28	407	451
1954	3	9	426	438
1956	4	12	423	439
1958	4	17	419	440
1960	2	10	427	439
1962	23	31	404	458
1964	5	24	411	440
1966	4	15	420	439
1968	1	10	425	436
1970	1	9	426	436
1972	11	16	419	446
1974	0	8	427	435
1976	1	5	430	436
1978	1	4	431	436
1980	1	5	430	436
1982	18	21	414	453
1984	1	3	432	436
1986	1	4	431	436
1988	1	6	429	436
1990	1	5	430	436
1992	20	22	413	455
1994	6	2	433	441
1996	1	10	425	436
1998	1	7	428	436
2000	1	4	431	436
2002	13	18	417	448
2004	1	5	430	436
2006	1	3	432	436
2008	6	11	424	441
2010	7	9	426	442
2012	13	21	414	448
2014	1	6	429	436
2016	1	1	434	436
2018	0	11	424	435
2020	6	6	429	441
2022	428	0	0	428
Total	12,469	378	14,850	27,697

547 keep if _merge == 3
  (12,847 observations deleted)

548 drop _merge

549 rename pres presvs

550 egen party_year = group(dem rep eyear)

551 lab var presvs "Presidential Vote Share"

552 lab var ideal_idp "Ideology (standard)"

553 lab var expressive_ideal_idp "Ideology (adjusted)"

554 est clear

555 eststo: areg ideal_idp presvs, a(eyear) cluster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs    =  14,850
Absorbed variable: eyear                          No. of categories =      35
                                                  F(1, 2766)       = 3299.97
                                                  Prob > F         =  0.0000
                                                  R-squared        =  0.4561
                                                  Adj R-squared    =  0.4549
                                                  Root MSE         =  0.7363
```

                              (Std. err. adjusted for 2,767 clusters in icpsr)

ideal_idp	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvs	5.154268	.0897247	57.45	0.000	4.978334	5.330202
_cons	.0379361	.014815	2.56	0.011	.0088865	.0669857

  (est1 stored)

556 eststo: areg expressive_ideal_idp presvs, a(eyear) cluster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs    =  14,850
Absorbed variable: eyear                          No. of categories =      35
                                                  F(1, 2766)       = 3311.81
                                                  Prob > F         =  0.0000
                                                  R-squared        =  0.4612
                                                  Adj R-squared    =  0.4599
                                                  Root MSE         =  0.7331
```

                              (Std. err. adjusted for 2,767 clusters in icpsr)

expres~l_idp	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvs	5.183853	.0900783	57.55	0.000	5.007225	5.36048
_cons	.0380295	.0147927	2.57	0.010	.0090236	.0670354

  (est2 stored)

557 eststo: areg ideal_idp presvs, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs    =  14,850
Absorbed variable: party_year                     No. of categories =      83
                                                  F(1, 2766)       =  956.80
                                                  Prob > F         =  0.0000
                                                  R-squared        =  0.7429
                                                  Adj R-squared    =  0.7415
                                                  Root MSE         =  0.5071
```

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,767** clusters in **icpsr**)

ideal_idp	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvs	**2.433138**	**.0786605**	**30.93**	**0.000**	**2.278899**	**2.587378**
_cons	**.0191027**	**.0103744**	**1.84**	**0.066**	**-.0012396**	**.039445**

(**est3** stored)

558 eststo: areg expressive_ideal_idp presvs, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **14,850**
No. of categories =	**83**
F(**1, 2766**)	= **881.79**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.7491**
Adj R-squared	= **0.7477**
Root MSE	= **0.5011**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,767** clusters in **icpsr**)

expres~l_idp	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvs	**2.452814**	**.0826005**	**29.69**	**0.000**	**2.290849**	**2.614779**
_cons	**.0191275**	**.010323**	**1.85**	**0.064**	**-.0011141**	**.0393691**

(**est4** stored)

559 esttab using representation.tex, replace b(3) se(3) r2 nomtitle label star(* .05 **
> .01)
   (file **representation.tex** not found)
   (output written to representation.tex)

560
561 ***Appendix Tables 2, 3, and 4***
562 clear

563 import delimited "house_member_campaign_receipts.csv"
   (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
   (11 vars, 6,520 obs)

564 rename year eyear

565 *drop duplicate cases (one case where a child mistakenly got matched to the same icp
> sr code, another where someone switched parties)
566 drop if eyear == 2004 & fecname == "tauzin, wilbert j iii"
   (1 observation deleted)

567 drop if fecname == "fish, hamilton jr" & cand_pty_affiliation == "DEM"
   (1 observation deleted)

568 duplicates report eyear icpsr

   Duplicates in terms of **eyear icpsr**

Copies	Observations	Surplus
1	**6518**	**0**

569 drop congress bioname cand_pty state cd district

570 save "fec_receipts.dta", replace
   file **fec_receipts.dta** saved

571 clear

572 use "cleaneddata.dta"

573 *drop redistricting years
574 drop if eyear - 2 == floor(eyear/10)*10
   (5,876 observations deleted)

575 *drop if multiple people served in the same seat (or there were multimember dists)
576 duplicates tag state dist eyear, g(repeat)

   Duplicates in terms of **state dist eyear**

577 keep if repeat == 0
   (693 observations deleted)

578 drop repeat

579 merge 1:1 state dist eyear using "HouseVoteShares.dta"
   (variable **dist** was **byte**, now **float** to accommodate using data's values)

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	**4,282**	
from master	**2,930**	(_merge==1)
from using	**1,352**	(_merge==2)
Matched	**18,675**	(_merge==3)

580 tab eyear _merge

eyear	Master on	Using onl	Matched (	Total
1880	**0**	**208**	**0**	**208**
1884	**0**	**220**	**0**	**220**
1886	**0**	**220**	**0**	**220**
1888	**0**	**233**	**0**	**233**
1890	**104**	**2**	**215**	**321**
1894	**111**	**5**	**229**	**345**
1896	**94**	**7**	**233**	**334**
1898	**69**	**3**	**272**	**344**
1900	**64**	**6**	**268**	**338**
1904	**32**	**82**	**234**	**348**
1906	**49**	**20**	**285**	**354**
1908	**43**	**12**	**322**	**377**
1910	**69**	**6**	**305**	**380**
1914	**68**	**12**	**334**	**414**
1916	**47**	**2**	**373**	**422**
1918	**63**	**8**	**352**	**423**
1920	**67**	**4**	**344**	**415**
1924	**49**	**2**	**376**	**427**
1926	**34**	**6**	**381**	**421**
1928	**20**	**54**	**333**	**407**
1930	**38**	**8**	**375**	**421**
1934	**58**	**34**	**320**	**412**
1936	**69**	**3**	**355**	**427**
1938	**59**	**6**	**363**	**428**
1940	**36**	**9**	**380**	**425**
1944	**51**	**12**	**369**	**432**
1946	**60**	**8**	**362**	**430**
1948	**50**	**10**	**371**	**431**
1950	**40**	**7**	**385**	**432**
1954	**38**	**5**	**391**	**434**
1956	**36**	**8**	**391**	**435**
1958	**49**	**10**	**374**	**433**

1960	42	7	387	436
1964	47	16	369	432
1966	35	9	389	433
1968	41	8	385	434
1970	49	5	378	432
1974	61	6	366	433
1976	61	4	370	435
1978	72	3	360	435
1980	55	3	376	434
1984	44	3	389	436
1986	55	1	377	433
1988	43	5	387	435
1990	42	5	389	436
1994	71	2	368	441
1996	69	7	357	433
1998	59	6	370	435
2000	43	1	389	433
2004	48	4	383	435
2006	50	3	383	436
2008	47	9	383	439
2010	50	6	383	439
2014	62	5	368	435
2016	59	1	376	436
2018	89	0	335	424
2020	69	1	366	436
Total	2,930	1,352	18,675	22,957

```
581 keep if _merge == 3
  (4,282 observations deleted)

582 drop _merge

583 g cycle = floor((eyear - 4)/10)*10 + 4

584 g extremism1 = ideal_idp

585 replace extremism1 = ideal_idp*-1 if dem == 1
  (10,061 real changes made)

586 g extremism2 = expressive_ideal_idp

587 replace extremism2 = expressive_ideal_idp*-1 if dem == 1
  (10,061 real changes made)

588 tostring dist, replace
  dist was float now str2

589 replace dist = state + "-" + dist
  variable dist was str2 now str5
  (18,675 real changes made)

590 drop state

591 merge 1:1 dist eyear using "Pres_CD_1952_2020.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	12,825	
from master	8,136	(_merge==1)
from using	4,689	(_merge==2)
Matched	10,539	(_merge==3)

592 tab eyear _merge

eyear	Matching result from merge			Total
	Master on	Using onl	Matched (	
1890	215	0	0	215
1894	229	0	0	229
1896	233	0	0	233
1898	272	0	0	272
1900	268	0	0	268
1904	234	0	0	234
1906	285	0	0	285
1908	322	0	0	322
1910	305	0	0	305
1914	334	0	0	334
1916	373	0	0	373
1918	352	0	0	352
1920	344	0	0	344
1924	376	0	0	376
1926	381	0	0	381
1928	333	0	0	333
1930	375	0	0	375
1934	320	0	0	320
1936	355	0	0	355
1938	363	0	0	363
1940	380	0	0	380
1944	369	0	0	369
1946	362	0	0	362
1948	371	0	0	371
1950	385	0	0	385
1952	0	435	0	435
1954	0	44	391	435
1956	0	44	391	435
1958	0	62	374	436
1960	0	50	387	437
1962	0	435	0	435
1964	0	66	369	435
1966	0	46	389	435
1968	0	50	385	435
1970	0	57	378	435
1972	0	435	0	435
1974	0	69	366	435
1976	0	65	370	435
1978	0	75	360	435
1980	0	59	376	435
1982	0	435	0	435
1984	0	46	389	435
1986	0	58	377	435
1988	0	48	387	435
1990	0	46	389	435
1992	0	435	0	435
1994	0	67	368	435
1996	0	78	357	435
1998	0	65	370	435
2000	0	46	389	435
2002	0	435	0	435
2004	0	52	383	435
2006	0	52	383	435
2008	0	52	383	435
2010	0	52	383	435
2012	0	435	0	435
2014	0	67	368	435
2016	0	59	376	435
2018	0	100	335	435
2020	0	69	366	435
Total	8,136	4,689	10,539	23,364

```
593 keep if _merge == 3
  (12,825 observations deleted)

594 drop _merge

595 rename pres presvs

596 *recode presvs to be in the direction of the member
597 replace presvs = presvs*-1 if dem == 1
  (5,897 real changes made)

598 rename presvs presvoteshare

599 keep if eyear >= 1954
  (0 observations deleted)

600 egen party_year = group(eyear dem)

601 *Appendix Table 2
602 lab var incvoteshare "Incumbent Vote Share"

603 lab var extremism1 "Extremism (standard)"

604 lab var extremism2 "Extremism (adjusted)"

605 lab var express_ideal_pprob "Protest Voting"

606 lab var presvoteshare "Presidential Vote Share"

607 est clear

608 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 presvoteshare, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **10,539**
No. of categories =	**56**
F(**2, 2478**)	= **805.23**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3629**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3595**
Root MSE	= **0.1209**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	-.0754137	.004136	-18.23	0.000	-.0835241	-.0673033
presvoteshare	.7754086	.0197759	39.21	0.000	.7366296	.8141875
_cons	.696233	.0042934	162.16	0.000	.6878139	.7046521

(**est1** stored)

```
609 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism2 presvoteshare, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **10,539**
No. of categories =	**56**
F(**2, 2478**)	= **865.29**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3668**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3633**
Root MSE	= **0.1205**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	−.0788817	.0040445	−19.50	0.000	−.0868126	−.0709508
presvoteshare	.7865871	.0195	40.34	0.000	.7483491	.8248252
_cons	.6984311	.0042468	164.46	0.000	.6901035	.7067587

(**est2** stored)

610 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 extremism2 presvoteshare, a(party_year) cluster
> (icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **10,539**
No. of categories	= **56**
F(**3, 2478**)	= **599.29**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3674**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3639**
Root MSE	= **0.1205**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.0447961	.0171121	2.62	0.009	.0112407	.0783515
extremism2	−.1236853	.0169592	−7.29	0.000	−.1569409	−.0904296
presvoteshare	.7878514	.0193938	40.62	0.000	.7498217	.825881
_cons	.6984759	.0042317	165.06	0.000	.6901778	.706774

(**est3** stored)

611 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 extremism2 presvoteshare if majority == 1, a(pa
> rty_year) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **6,086**
No. of categories	= **28**
F(**3, 1949**)	= **410.03**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3653**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3621**
Root MSE	= **0.1262**

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,950** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.0152547	.0264217	0.58	0.564	−.0365631	.0670725
extremism2	−.101388	.0243177	−4.17	0.000	−.1490795	−.0536965
presvoteshare	.8150148	.0248699	32.77	0.000	.7662403	.8637893
_cons	.705296	.0051352	137.35	0.000	.695225	.715367

(**est4** stored)

612 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism2 express_ideal_pprob presvoteshare, a(party_year
>) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **10,539**
No. of categories	= **56**
F(**3, 2478**)	= **585.41**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3670**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3635**
Root MSE	= **0.1205**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	-.0793567	.0039556	-20.06	0.000	-.0871133	-.0716001
express_ideal_pprob	-.08494	.0872478	-0.97	0.330	-.2560261	.086146
presvoteshare	.7873741	.0194893	40.40	0.000	.749157	.8255911
_cons	.6993297	.0041659	167.87	0.000	.6911607	.7074987

(**est5** stored)

613 esttab using electoral.tex, replace b(3) se(3) nomtitle label star(* .05 ** .01) ar2
(file **electoral.tex** not found)
(output written to electoral.tex)

614 *Appendix Table 3
615 sum cong

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
cong	10,539	99.37916	10.05	83	116

616 g time = (cong - r(min))/(r(max) - r(min))

617 g extremism1_time = extremism1*time

618 g extremism2_time = extremism2*time

619 g pprob_time = express_ideal_pprob*time

620 lab var incvoteshare "Incumbent Vote Share"

621 lab var extremism1 "Extremism (standard)"

622 lab var extremism2 "Extremism (adjusted)"

623 lab var express_ideal_pprob "Protest Voting"

624 lab var presvoteshare "Presidential Vote Share"

625 lab var extremism1_time "Extremism (standard)*Time"

626 lab var extremism2_time "Extremism (adjusted)*Time"

627 lab var pprob_time "Protest Voting*Time"

628 lab var time "Time"

629 est clear

630 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 extremism1_time presvoteshare, a(party_year) cl
> uster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs    = 10,539
Absorbed variable: party_year                     No. of categories =     56
                                                  F(3, 2478)       = 692.05
                                                  Prob > F         = 0.0000
                                                  R-squared        = 0.3754
                                                  Adj R-squared    = 0.3719
                                                  Root MSE         = 0.1197
```

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	-.115856	.0061811	-18.74	0.000	-.1279767	-.1037353
extremism1_time	.1245645	.0135102	9.22	0.000	.0980721	.1510569
presvoteshare	.7220259	.0215583	33.49	0.000	.6797518	.7643
_cons	.679361	.0041246	164.71	0.000	.671273	.6874489

(**est1** stored)

631 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism2 extremism2_time presvoteshare, a(party_year) cl
> uster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators   Number of obs   = **10,539**
Absorbed variable: **party_year**   No. of categories =   **56**
                                                 F(**3, 2478**)   = **727.30**
                                                 Prob > F   = **0.0000**
                                                 R-squared   = **0.3786**
                                                 Adj R-squared   = **0.3751**
                                                 Root MSE   = **0.1194**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	-.119028	.0062153	-19.15	0.000	-.1312158	-.1068402
extremism2_time	.1249333	.0139308	8.97	0.000	.097616	.1522505
presvoteshare	.7312231	.0215824	33.88	0.000	.6889017	.7735445
_cons	.6813207	.0041004	166.16	0.000	.6732801	.6893612

(**est2** stored)

632 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 extremism2 extremism1_time extremism2_time pres
> voteshare, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators   Number of obs   = **10,539**
Absorbed variable: **party_year**   No. of categories =   **56**
                                                 F(**5, 2478**)   = **457.02**
                                                 Prob > F   = **0.0000**
                                                 R-squared   = **0.3804**
                                                 Adj R-squared   = **0.3769**
                                                 Root MSE   = **0.1193**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.1881858	.0402213	4.68	0.000	.1093149	.2670567
extremism2	-.3089737	.0409455	-7.55	0.000	-.3892647	-.2286827
extremism1_time	-.2186279	.052278	-4.18	0.000	-.3211411	-.1161148
extremism2_time	.3474112	.0546862	6.35	0.000	.2401758	.4546467
presvoteshare	.7328573	.0214826	34.11	0.000	.6907315	.774983
_cons	.6813368	.0040556	168.00	0.000	.673384	.6892896

(**est3** stored)

```
633 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism1 extremism2 extremism1_time extremism2_time pres
  > voteshare if majority == 1, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **6,086**
No. of categories =	**28**
F(**5, 1949**)	= **365.23**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3794**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3761**
Root MSE	= **0.1248**

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,950** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.2116793	.0569345	3.72	0.000	.1000204	.3233382
extremism2	-.3341712	.0553076	-6.04	0.000	-.4426394	-.2257029
extremism1_time	-.219038	.0723567	-3.03	0.003	-.3609425	-.0771334
extremism2_time	.3470695	.0711211	4.88	0.000	.207588	.486551
presvoteshare	.7649679	.0272159	28.11	0.000	.7115926	.8183431
_cons	.6866104	.0049192	139.58	0.000	.676963	.6962578

(**est4** stored)

```
634 eststo: areg incvoteshare extremism2 express_ideal_pprob extremism2_time pprob_time
  > presvoteshare, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs	= **10,539**
No. of categories =	**56**
F(**5, 2478**)	= **441.56**
Prob > F	= **0.0000**
R-squared	= **0.3791**
Adj R-squared	= **0.3755**
Root MSE	= **0.1194**

(Std. err. adjusted for **2,479** clusters in **icpsr**)

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	-.1203375	.0061667	-19.51	0.000	-.13243	-.1082451
express_ideal_pprob	-.1378485	.1194579	-1.15	0.249	-.3720962	.0963991
extremism2_time	.1266964	.0139474	9.08	0.000	.0993467	.1540462
pprob_time	.0241601	.252445	0.10	0.924	-.4708647	.519185
presvoteshare	.7316439	.0215639	33.93	0.000	.6893588	.7739291
_cons	.6824574	.0040309	169.31	0.000	.6745532	.6903616

(**est5** stored)

```
635 esttab using electoral_time.tex, replace b(3) se(3) nomtitle label star(* .05 ** .01
  > ) ar2
  (file electoral_time.tex not found)
  (output written to electoral_time.tex)

636 *Appendix Table 4
637 merge 1:1 icpsr eyear using "FEC_receipts.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	**8,207**	
from master	**6,114**	(_merge==1)
from using	**2,093**	(_merge==2)
Matched	**4,425**	(_merge==3)

```
638 keep if _merge == 3
  (8,207 observations deleted)

639 drop _merge

640 order member fecname

641 replace ttl_receipts = ttl_receipts/1000
  (4,424 real changes made)

642 g logreceipts = log(ttl_receipts + 1)

643 egen party_cycle = group(eyear dem)

644 sum party_cycle
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
party_cycle	4,425	17.64678	9.916593	1	34

```
645 local npartycycles = r(max)

646 g pincvote = .
  (4,425 missing values generated)

647 forvalues i = 1/`npartycycles' {
  2. reg incvoteshare presvoteshare if party_cycle == `i'
  3. predict temp
  4. replace pincvote = temp if party_cycle == `i'
  5. drop temp
  6. }
```

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	.082540712	1	.082540712		
Residual	1.04605647	89	.011753443		
Total	1.12859718	90	.012539969		

Number of obs = 91
F(1, 89) = 7.02
Prob > F = 0.0095
R-squared = 0.0731
Adj R-squared = 0.0627
Root MSE = .10841

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]
presvoteshare	.3970626	.149833	2.65	0.010	.0993477 .6947776
_cons	.684185	.0139209	49.15	0.000	.6565244 .7118456

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(91 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	1.41887602	1	1.41887602		
Residual	2.75111081	169	.016278762		
Total	4.16998683	170	.024529334		

Number of obs = 171
F(1, 169) = 87.16
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.3403
Adj R-squared = 0.3364
Root MSE = .12759

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]
presvoteshare	.7292935	.0781161	9.34	0.000	.5750844 .8835026
_cons	.6335092	.0106486	59.49	0.000	.6124878 .6545305

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(171 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS		
Model	.304511471	1	.304511471		
Residual	.749103697	96	.007803164		
Total	1.05361517	97	.010862012		

Number of obs = 98
F(1, 96) = 39.02
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.2890
Adj R-squared = 0.2816
Root MSE = .08834

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.737282	.1180231	6.25	0.000	.5030079	.9715561
_cons	.6536796	.0123551	52.91	0.000	.6291549	.6782043

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(98 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.857961575	1	.857961575			
Residual	3.42873331	161	.02129648			
Total	4.28669488	162	.02646108			

Number of obs = 163
F(1, 161) = 40.29
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.2001
Adj R-squared = 0.1952
Root MSE = .14593

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.5795652	.0913108	6.35	0.000	.3992438	.7598866
_cons	.6701722	.0123793	54.14	0.000	.6457256	.6946189

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(163 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.194197777	1	.194197777			
Residual	1.69075813	106	.015950548			
Total	1.88495591	107	.01761641			

Number of obs = 108
F(1, 106) = 12.17
Prob > F = 0.0007
R-squared = 0.1030
Adj R-squared = 0.0946
Root MSE = .1263

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.6414758	.1838425	3.49	0.001	.2769901	1.005961
_cons	.6415769	.0171579	37.39	0.000	.6075596	.6755942

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(108 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.417612428	1	.417612428			
Residual	2.72497107	143	.019055742			
Total	3.14258349	144	.021823496			

Number of obs = 145
F(1, 143) = 21.92
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.1329
Adj R-squared = 0.1268
Root MSE = .13804

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.4343538	.0927833	4.68	0.000	.2509498	.6177579
_cons	.7459476	.0131085	56.91	0.000	.7200361	.7718591

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(145 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.148713112	1	.148713112			
Residual	1.48551067	109	.013628538			
Total	1.63422378	110	.01485658			

Number of obs = 111
F(1, 109) = 10.91
Prob > F = 0.0013
R-squared = 0.0910
Adj R-squared = 0.0827
Root MSE = .11674

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.5427382	.1643011	3.30	0.001	.2170988	.8683775
_cons	.6718459	.0157439	42.67	0.000	.6406419	.7030499

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(111 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	166
				F(1, 164)	=	31.84
Model	.58863773	1	.58863773	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	3.03163385	164	.018485572	R-squared	=	0.1626
				Adj R-squared	=	0.1575
Total	3.62027158	165	.02194104	Root MSE	=	.13596

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.464922	.0823896	5.64	0.000	.3022409	.6276032
_cons	.7279751	.0118846	61.25	0.000	.7045086	.7514416

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(166 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	103
				F(1, 101)	=	3.51
Model	.091338915	1	.091338915	Prob > F	=	0.0638
Residual	2.62588533	101	.025998865	R-squared	=	0.0336
				Adj R-squared	=	0.0240
Total	2.71722425	102	.026639453	Root MSE	=	.16124

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.4647586	.2479572	1.87	0.064	−.0271218	.956639
_cons	.6646371	.0234363	28.36	0.000	.6181458	.7111283

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(103 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	166
				F(1, 164)	=	24.43
Model	.418239189	1	.418239189	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	2.80745699	164	.01711864	R-squared	=	0.1297
				Adj R-squared	=	0.1244
Total	3.22569618	165	.019549674	Root MSE	=	.13084

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.41392	.0837411	4.94	0.000	.2485703	.5792697
_cons	.6765957	.0114859	58.91	0.000	.6539165	.699275

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(166 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	102
				F(1, 100)	=	46.70
Model	.583590526	1	.583590526	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	1.24968878	100	.012496888	R-squared	=	0.3183
				Adj R-squared	=	0.3115
Total	1.8332793	101	.01815128	Root MSE	=	.11179

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	1.052427	.1540065	6.83	0.000	.7468829	1.357972
_cons	.6649886	.0162248	40.99	0.000	.632799	.6971781

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(102 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.60161192	1	1.60161192			
Residual	1.57252006	159	.009890063			
Total	3.17413198	160	.019838325			

Number of obs = 161
F(1, 159) = 161.94
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.5046
Adj R-squared = 0.5015
Root MSE = .09945

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.8273261	.0650126	12.73	0.000	.6989265	.9557258
_cons	.5756628	.0090154	63.85	0.000	.5578574	.5934682

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(161 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.499912709	1	.499912709			
Residual	1.12081825	136	.008241311			
Total	1.62073096	137	.011830153			

Number of obs = 138
F(1, 136) = 60.66
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.3084
Adj R-squared = 0.3034
Root MSE = .09078

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.7475897	.0959874	7.79	0.000	.5577687	.9374107
_cons	.5829539	.0094833	61.47	0.000	.5642001	.6017077

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(138 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.1465215	1	1.1465215			
Residual	.771392628	114	.006766602			
Total	1.91791412	115	.016677514			

Number of obs = 116
F(1, 114) = 169.44
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.5978
Adj R-squared = 0.5943
Root MSE = .08226

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.7316289	.0562063	13.02	0.000	.6202847	.8429732
_cons	.6261566	.0096212	65.08	0.000	.6070971	.645216

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(116 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.737319107	1	.737319107			
Residual	2.17147296	125	.017371784			
Total	2.90879207	126	.023085651			

Number of obs = 127
F(1, 125) = 42.44
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.2535
Adj R-squared = 0.2475
Root MSE = .1318

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	1.006037	.1544217	6.51	0.000	.7004173	1.311657
_cons	.6286473	.016227	38.74	0.000	.596532	.6607625

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(127 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	119
				F(1, 117)	=	30.75
Model	.611668386	1	.611668386	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	2.32764745	117	.019894423	R-squared	=	0.2081
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2013
Total	2.93931583	118	.024909456	Root MSE	=	.14105

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.5615969	.101282	5.54	0.000	.3610131	.7621806
_cons	.6858344	.0167896	40.85	0.000	.6525835	.7190852

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(119 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	122
				F(1, 120)	=	37.60
Model	.643747827	1	.643747827	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	2.05454378	120	.017121198	R-squared	=	0.2386
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2322
Total	2.69829161	121	.022299931	Root MSE	=	.13085

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.8731655	.1423986	6.13	0.000	.5912261	1.155105
_cons	.6419272	.016364	39.23	0.000	.6095276	.6743269

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(122 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	137
				F(1, 135)	=	64.51
Model	1.01832942	1	1.01832942	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	2.1311523	135	.015786313	R-squared	=	0.3233
				Adj R-squared	=	0.3183
Total	3.14948173	136	.023157954	Root MSE	=	.12564

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.6053759	.075374	8.03	0.000	.4563094	.7544424
_cons	.6857133	.0140916	48.66	0.000	.6578445	.7135821

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(137 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	117
				F(1, 115)	=	39.34
Model	.679026965	1	.679026965	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	1.98476245	115	.017258804	R-squared	=	0.2549
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2484
Total	2.66378942	116	.022963702	Root MSE	=	.13137

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	1.064321	.1696815	6.27	0.000	.7282148	1.400428
_cons	.6220519	.0176044	35.33	0.000	.5871809	.6569228

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(117 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	125
				F(1, 123)	=	106.62
Model	1.02213798	1	1.02213798	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	1.17913244	123	.009586443	R-squared	=	0.4643
				Adj R-squared	=	0.4600
Total	2.20127042	124	.017752181	Root MSE	=	.09791

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.7226497	.0699845	10.33	0.000	.5841197	.8611798
_cons	.641743	.0125301	51.22	0.000	.6169405	.6665456

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(125 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	120
				F(1, 118)	=	34.84
Model	.358535288	1	.358535288	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	1.21445169	118	.010291963	R-squared	=	0.2279
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2214
Total	1.57298698	119	.013218378	Root MSE	=	.10145

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.7753451	.1313646	5.90	0.000	.5152075	1.035483
_cons	.5506562	.0137851	39.95	0.000	.523358	.5779544

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(120 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	112
				F(1, 110)	=	47.08
Model	.672472103	1	.672472103	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	1.57103717	110	.014282156	R-squared	=	0.2997
				Adj R-squared	=	0.2934
Total	2.24350927	111	.020211795	Root MSE	=	.11951

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.6315174	.0920333	6.86	0.000	.4491289	.8139058
_cons	.6908921	.016679	41.42	0.000	.6578383	.7239459

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(112 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
				Number of obs	=	104
				F(1, 102)	=	93.84
Model	.667562998	1	.667562998	Prob > F	=	0.0000
Residual	.725580259	102	.007113532	R-squared	=	0.4792
				Adj R-squared	=	0.4741
Total	1.39314326	103	.013525663	Root MSE	=	.08434

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.9563607	.098723	9.69	0.000	.7605442	1.152177
_cons	.536307	.0124836	42.96	0.000	.5115458	.5610681

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(104 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.995793553	1	.995793553			
Residual	2.1762707	145	.015008763			
Total	3.17206425	146	.021726467			

Number of obs = 147
F(1, 145) = 66.35
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.3139
Adj R-squared = 0.3092
Root MSE = .12251

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.6209716	.0762359	8.15	0.000	.4702944	.7716487
_cons	.6821932	.0126041	54.12	0.000	.6572816	.7071048

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(147 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS
Model	.542292937	1	.542292937
Residual	.865101027	90	.009612234
Total	1.40739396	91	.015465868

Number of obs = 92
F(1, 90) = 56.42
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.3853
Adj R-squared = 0.3785
Root MSE = .09804

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.9544462	.1270711	7.51	0.000	.7019974	1.206895
_cons	.6275795	.0154777	40.55	0.000	.5968304	.6583287

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(92 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS
Model	2.60549063	1	2.60549063
Residual	.502303382	171	.002937447
Total	3.10779401	172	.01806857

Number of obs = 173
F(1, 171) = 886.99
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.8384
Adj R-squared = 0.8374
Root MSE = .0542

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.929362	.0312051	29.78	0.000	.8677652	.9909587
_cons	.5217543	.0050869	102.57	0.000	.5117131	.5317954

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(173 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS
Model	.286236791	1	.286236791
Residual	1.48473589	134	.011080119
Total	1.77097268	135	.013118316

Number of obs = 136
F(1, 134) = 25.83
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.1616
Adj R-squared = 0.1554
Root MSE = .10526

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.6737318	.1325551	5.08	0.000	.4115609	.9359028
_cons	.6163928	.0170876	36.07	0.000	.5825965	.6501891

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(136 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	2.06011024	1	2.06011024			
Residual	1.63463373	119	.013736418			
Total	3.69474397	120	.030789533			

Number of obs	=	121
F(1, 119)	=	149.97
Prob > F	=	0.0000
R-squared	=	0.5576
Adj R-squared	=	0.5539
Root MSE	=	.1172

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	1.092313	.0891946	12.25	0.000	.915699	1.268928
_cons	.5313845	.0170475	31.17	0.000	.4976288	.5651402

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(121 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.891710006	1	.891710006			
Residual	1.8636221	160	.011647638			
Total	2.75533211	161	.017113864			

Number of obs	=	162
F(1, 160)	=	76.56
Prob > F	=	0.0000
R-squared	=	0.3236
Adj R-squared	=	0.3194
Root MSE	=	.10792

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.8661124	.0989877	8.75	0.000	.6706214	1.061603
_cons	.5728243	.0140368	40.81	0.000	.5451031	.6005455

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(162 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.956465336	1	.956465336			
Residual	1.61113393	115	.01400986			
Total	2.56759926	116	.022134476			

Number of obs	=	117
F(1, 115)	=	68.27
Prob > F	=	0.0000
R-squared	=	0.3725
Adj R-squared	=	0.3671
Root MSE	=	.11836

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.7610666	.0921096	8.26	0.000	.5786152	.943518
_cons	.6005929	.0195345	30.75	0.000	.5618987	.6392871

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(117 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.687077041	1	.687077041			
Residual	.730701132	137	.005333585			
Total	1.41777817	138	.010273755			

Number of obs	=	139
F(1, 137)	=	128.82
Prob > F	=	0.0000
R-squared	=	0.4846
Adj R-squared	=	0.4809
Root MSE	=	.07303

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.8450847	.0744573	11.35	0.000	.6978506	.9923188
_cons	.4917523	.0110755	44.40	0.000	.4698512	.5136533

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(139 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.29492348	1	1.29492348			
Residual	.959227561	116	.008269203			
Total	2.25415104	117	.019266248			

Number of obs = 118
F(1, 116) = 156.60
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.5745
Adj R-squared = 0.5708
Root MSE = .09094

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.8901791	.0711356	12.51	0.000	.749286	1.031072
_cons	.5822177	.015062	38.65	0.000	.5523854	.6120499

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(118 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	.661324245	1	.661324245			
Residual	.957427995	123	.007783967			
Total	1.61875224	124	.013054454			

Number of obs = 125
F(1, 123) = 84.96
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.4085
Adj R-squared = 0.4037
Root MSE = .08823

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.9902685	.1074351	9.22	0.000	.7776073	1.20293
_cons	.5294581	.01668	31.74	0.000	.496441	.5624751

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(125 real changes made)

Source	SS	df	MS			
Model	1.96536072	1	1.96536072			
Residual	.995788866	171	.005823327			
Total	2.96114959	172	.017215986			

Number of obs = 173
F(1, 171) = 337.50
Prob > F = 0.0000
R-squared = 0.6637
Adj R-squared = 0.6617
Root MSE = .07631

incvoteshare	Coefficient	Std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
presvoteshare	.929221	.0505805	18.37	0.000	.8293783	1.029064
_cons	.5429807	.0084015	64.63	0.000	.5263966	.5595647

(option **xb** assumed; fitted values)
(173 real changes made)

648 g pcompetitiveness = 1 - abs(pincvote - .5)*2

649 lab var incvoteshare "Incumbent Vote Share"

650 lab var extremism1 "Extremism (standard)"

651 lab var extremism2 "Extremism (adjusted)"

652 lab var express_ideal_pprob "Protest Voting"

653 lab var presvoteshare "Presidential Vote Share"

654 lab var pcompetitiveness "Predicted Competitiveness"

655 est clear

656 eststo: areg logreceipts extremism1 pcompetitiveness, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs      =    4,425
Absorbed variable: party_year                     No. of categories  =       34
                                                  F(2, 1511)         =    66.27
                                                  Prob > F           =   0.0000
                                                  R-squared          =   0.6201
                                                  Adj R-squared      =   0.6171
                                                  Root MSE           =   0.6066
```

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,512** clusters in **icpsr**)

logreceipts	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.1001789	.0425609	2.35	0.019	.0166943	.1836636
pcompetitiveness	1.645093	.1510611	10.89	0.000	1.348781	1.941404
_cons	5.474287	.1217825	44.95	0.000	5.235407	5.713168

(**est1** stored)

657 eststo: areg logreceipts extremism2 pcompetitiveness, a(party_year) cluster(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs      =    4,425
Absorbed variable: party_year                     No. of categories  =       34
                                                  F(2, 1511)         =    65.58
                                                  Prob > F           =   0.0000
                                                  R-squared          =   0.6198
                                                  Adj R-squared      =   0.6167
                                                  Root MSE           =   0.6069
```

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,512** clusters in **icpsr**)

logreceipts	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	.0880763	.042009	2.10	0.036	.0056743	.1704784
pcompetitiveness	1.627402	.1521322	10.70	0.000	1.328989	1.925815
_cons	5.495893	.1223223	44.93	0.000	5.255954	5.735833

(**est2** stored)

658 eststo: areg logreceipts extremism1 extremism2 pcompetitiveness, a(party_year) clust
> er(icpsr)

```
Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs      =    4,425
Absorbed variable: party_year                     No. of categories  =       34
                                                  F(3, 1511)         =    45.19
                                                  Prob > F           =   0.0000
                                                  R-squared          =   0.6204
                                                  Adj R-squared      =   0.6172
                                                  Root MSE           =   0.6065
```

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,512** clusters in **icpsr**)

logreceipts	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.2499229	.1672661	1.49	0.135	-.0781754	.5780212
extremism2	-.1569245	.1650906	-0.95	0.342	-.4807555	.1669065
pcompetitiveness	1.631449	.1519256	10.74	0.000	1.333442	1.929457
_cons	5.489017	.1224005	44.84	0.000	5.248924	5.729109

(**est3** stored)

659 eststo: areg logreceipts extremism1 extremism2 pcompetitiveness if majority == 1, a(
> party_year) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs   = **2,526**
No. of categories = **17**
F(**3, 1177**)   = **47.78**
Prob > F   = **0.0000**
R-squared   = **0.6382**
Adj R-squared   = **0.6355**
Root MSE   = **0.6318**

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,178** clusters in **icpsr**)

logreceipts	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism1	.4511313	.2885763	1.56	0.118	-.11505	1.017313
extremism2	-.2861016	.2577018	-1.11	0.267	-.7917078	.2195046
pcompetitiveness	1.778162	.1596015	11.14	0.000	1.465026	2.091297
_cons	5.307535	.1341846	39.55	0.000	5.044267	5.570803

(**est4** stored)

660 eststo: areg logreceipts extremism2 express_ideal_pprob pcompetitiveness, a(party_ye
> ar) cluster(icpsr)

Linear regression, absorbing indicators
Absorbed variable: **party_year**

Number of obs   = **4,425**
No. of categories = **34**
F(**3, 1511**)   = **45.98**
Prob > F   = **0.0000**
R-squared   = **0.6243**
Adj R-squared   = **0.6212**
Root MSE   = **0.6034**

(Std. err. adjusted for **1,512** clusters in **icpsr**)

logreceipts	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf. interval]	
extremism2	.076888	.040644	1.89	0.059	-.0028366	.1566127
express_ideal_pprob	-2.599702	1.173154	-2.22	0.027	-4.900885	-.2985195
pcompetitiveness	1.609163	.1508503	10.67	0.000	1.313265	1.905061
_cons	5.531655	.1204739	45.92	0.000	5.295341	5.767969

(**est5** stored)

661 esttab using fundraising.tex, replace b(3) se(3) nomtitle label star(* .05 ** .01) a
> r2
(file **fundraising.tex** not found)
(output written to fundraising.tex)

```
662
663
664 ***Appendix Figure 9***
665 clear

666 postutil clear

667 use "cleaneddata.dta"

668 keep if cong >= 97
   (18,887 observations deleted)

669 postfile CF cong expressive nonexpressive using "CF.dta", replace

670 forvalues i = 97/117 {
   2. corr expressive_wnominate_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
   3. scalar expressive = r(rho)
   4. corr wnominate_idp cfscore if majority == 1 & cong == `i'
   5. scalar nonexpressive = r(rho)
   6. post CF (`i') (expressive) (nonexpressive)
   7. }
   (obs=234)
```

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.7295	1.0000

(obs=234)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.7267	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6335	1.0000

(obs=260)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6457	1.0000

(obs=246)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6387	1.0000

(obs=246)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6252	1.0000

(obs=252)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6337	1.0000

(obs=252)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6204	1.0000

(obs=255)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6366	1.0000

(obs=255)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6237	1.0000

(obs=260)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6217	1.0000

(obs=260)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5811	1.0000

(obs=256)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5475	1.0000

(obs=256)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5310	1.0000

(obs=229)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6015	1.0000

(obs=229)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5759	1.0000

(obs=223)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6589	1.0000

(obs=223)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6530	1.0000

(obs=217)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6751	1.0000

(obs=217)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6758	1.0000

(obs=220)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6209	1.0000

(obs=220)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6179	1.0000

(obs=225)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6175	1.0000

(obs=225)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6170	1.0000

(obs=230)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6084	1.0000

(obs=230)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6176	1.0000

(obs=243)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3755	1.0000

(obs=243)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3653	1.0000

(obs=264)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.3020	1.0000

(obs=264)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.2993	1.0000

(obs=239)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5833	1.0000

(obs=239)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.5835	1.0000

(obs=233)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6556	1.0000

(obs=233)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6527	1.0000

(obs=244)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6459	1.0000

(obs=244)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6418	1.0000

(obs=241)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6445	1.0000

(obs=241)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.6533	1.0000

(obs=238)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0636	1.0000

(obs=238)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.0568	1.0000

(obs=227)

	ex~e_idp	cfscore
expres~e_idp	1.0000	
cfscore	0.1550	1.0000

(obs=227)

	wnomin~p	cfscore
wnominate_~p	1.0000	
cfscore	0.1418	1.0000

671 postclose CF

672 clear

673 use "CF.dta"

674 g greater = expressive > nonexpressive

675 tab greater

greater	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	5	23.81	23.81
1	16	76.19	100.00
Total	21	100.00	

676 sum

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
cong	21	107	6.204837	97	117
expressive	21	.5547039	.1766856	.0635719	.7295268
nonexpress~e	21	.5478756	.1783275	.0567643	.7266743
greater	21	.7619048	.4364358	0	1

```
677 graph twoway line expressive nonexpressive cong

678 gr_edit .legend.draw_view.setstyle, style(no)

679 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

680 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Congress

681 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 97 117 5, tickset(major) ruletype(range)

682 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

683 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Correlation between NOMINATE and CF Scores

684 gr_edit .yaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

685 gr_edit .xaxis1.style.editstyle majorstyle(gridstyle(linestyle(color(white)))) editc
  > opy

686 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(4) editcopy

687 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_xsize(5.5) editcopy

688 gr_edit .style.editstyle margin(vsmall) boxstyle(shadestyle(color(white)) linestyle(
  > color(white))) editcopy

689 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(thick)) editcopy

690 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(gs8) width(thick)) editcopy

691 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .58 99

692 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 1

693 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 1

694 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

695 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle color(gs8) editcopy

696 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text = {}

697 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].text.Arrpush Standard

698 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[1].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

699 gr_edit .plotregion1.AddTextBox added_text editor .67 100.5

700 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_new = 2
```

```
701 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text_rec = 2

702 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle  angle(default) size( sztype(rela
  > tive) val(3.4722) allow_pct(1)) color(black) horizontal(left) vertical(middle) margi
  > n( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) allo
  > w_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val(
  > 0) allow_pct(1))) linegap( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) drawbox(no) boxmarg
  > in( gleft( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gright( sztype(relative) val(0) all
  > ow_pct(1)) gtop( sztype(relative) val(0) allow_pct(1)) gbottom( sztype(relative) val
  > (0) allow_pct(1))) fillcolor(bluishgray) linestyle( width( sztype(relative) val(.2)
  > allow_pct(1)) color(black) pattern(solid) align(inside)) box_alignment(east) editcop
  > y

703 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].style.editstyle size(small) editcopy

704 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text = {}

705 gr_edit .plotregion1.added_text[2].text.Arrpush Adjusted

706 graph export "CF_nom.png", replace as(png)
  (file CF_nom.png not found)
  file CF_nom.png saved as PNG format

707
708 log close
       name:  <unnamed>
        log:  C:\Users\agfowler\Dropbox\Insincere Voting Congress\Fowler Lewis Replicat
  > ion Data\protestvotinglog.smcl
   log type:  smcl
   closed on:   2 Dec 2025, 12:00:09
  ─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────
```