ReadMe for Replication Files of "Suspension of the Rules and Majority Party Strategy in the House"

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1 Introduction

This ReadMe file contains information about the data files, variables, and programs used to execute the analyses included in the manuscript "Suspension of the Rules and Majority Party Strategy in the House."

All data files were saved as both .Rdata files for use in R, and as .csv files for use in other programs. All the analyses were run using R, and an R script (suspensions_replication.R) is included for replication.

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

2 Data Sources

- Data on members' seniority, committee and subcommittee chair status, majority party status, DW-NOMINATE scores, and the number of bills introduced by each member in each Congress were collected from the Center for Effective Lawmaking (`https://thelawmakers.org/data-download`)
- Data on members' two-party vote share were collected from the Harvard Dataverse page for Gary Jacobson's 2015 paper in the Journal of Politics, "It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections." (`https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/29559`)
- Data on restrictive rules were collected from the UGA Congress Project (`https://www.tonymadonna.com/uga-congress-project`)
- Data on the size of the majority party in each Congress were collected from `https://history.house.gov/Institution/Party-Divisions/Party-Divisions/`
- Data on the number of bills considered under suspension and non-suspension routes in the House were collected from `https://www.congress.gov/`
- Data on bills that received a roll call vote under suspension of the rules were collected from the Political Institutions and Public Choice (PIPC) Program `http://www.ou.edu/carlalbertcenter/research/pipc-votes`, and data on bills that received a voice vote under suspension of the rules were collected from the Calendars of the United States House of Representatives (`https://history.house.gov/Institution/House-Calendars/House-Calendars/`) and `https://www.congress.gov/`.
- Data on other bill-level information was collected from the Congressional Bills Project (`http://www.congressionalbills.org/download.html`)

3 Data Files and Variable Descriptions

Data File: figure1_data.rdata (figure1_data.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 1 in the paper. It is Congress-level summary data on the percentage of House-passed measures and laws were initially considered under suspension of the rules in the House.

Variable	**Description**
Cong	Numeric variable indicating the number of each Congress (93rd-113th)
pct_suspension	Percent (of either all laws or all House-introduced, House-passed measures) that were initially considered under suspension of the rules in the House.
Type	Factor variable indicating whether the value of the pct_suspension variable, for each observation, is referring to House-introduced, House-sponsored bills, or to laws.

Data File: susp_bills_by_type.rdata (susp_bills_by_type.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 2 in the paper. There are two observations for each Congress in the study (93rd-113th)—one for the number of commemorative bills considered under suspension in each Congress, and one for the number of non-commemorative bills considered under suspension in each Congress—yielding 42 observations overall. The method used to identify commemorative bills is detailed in the body and appendix of the paper.

Variable	**Description**
Cong	Numeric variable indicating the number of each Congress (93rd-113th)
commemorative	Indicator variable for commemorative bills (1 = commemorative bills, 0 = non-commemorative bills)
n	Total number of commemorative (or non-commemorative) bills considered under suspension per Congress.

Data File: maj_pct_susp.rdata (maj_pct_susp.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 3 in the paper. The unit of analysis is a Congress, and each observation includes both the Congress number, and the percentage of bills considered under suspension that were sponsored by majority party members.

Variable	**Description**
Cong	Numeric variable indicating the number of each Congress (93rd-113th)
maj_pct	Percent of bills considered under suspension that were sponsored by majority party members.

Data File: cmte_reported_susp_bills.rdata (cmte_reported_susp_bills.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 4 in the paper. There are two observations for each Congress in the study (93rd-113th)—one for the number of bills considered under suspension that were reported out of committee in each Congress, and one for the number of bills considered under suspension that were not reported out of committee in each Congress—yielding 42 observations overall.

Variable	**Description**
Cong	Numeric variable indicating the number of each Congress (93rd-113th)
ReportH	Indicator variable for whether bills were reported by committee (ReportH == 1) or not (ReportH == 0)
n	Total number of committee-reported (or non-committee-reported) bills considered under suspension per Congress.

Data File: models_replication_data_lsq.rdata (models_replication_data_lsq.csv)

Description: This data file was used to fit the multilevel negative binomial models in the paper (using the glmer.nb() function from the lme4 package in R). The unit of analysis in this data file is a member-Congress pairing. Scaled versions of continuous variables (indicated by _scaled) are used in the models in the paper.

Variable	**Description**
PooleID_cong	Unique identifier for each member-Congress pair
congress	Congress number
icpsr	Member ICPSR number
state_icpsr	State ICPSR code
district_code	District ICPSR code
state_abbrev	State postal abbreviations
party_code	Party variable (100 = Democrat, 200 = Republican)
bioname	Member name
bioguide_id	Member ID
born	Year of member birth
died	Year of member death
nominate_dim1	First-dimension DW-NOMINATE score
chair	Indicator for committee chair status
subchr	Indicator for subcommittee chair status
seniority	Number of consecutive terms served by each member
ss_bills	Number of substantive and significant bills introduced by each member (from LES data)
s_bills	Number of substantive bills introduced by each member (from LES data)
c_bills	Number of commemorative bills introduced by each member (from LES data)

Variable	Description
all_bills	Number of bills introduced by each member (from LES data)
special_election	Indicator of whether a member won a special election in each Congress
party_switch	Indicator of whether a member switched parties duirng a Congress
left_office	Indicator of whether a member left office duirng a Congress
dv	Democrat's share of two-party vote (unopposed = missing)
dvp	Democrat's share of two-party vote, previous election
previous_voteshare	Percent of the two-party vote won in the previous election
previous_voteshare_unopposed	Pct. of the two-party vote won in the prev. election (unopposed = 100)
unopposed	Indicator variable for members who were unopposed in the prev. election
floor_median	DW-NOMINATE score of the House floor median
maj_party_median	DW-NOMINATE score of the House majority party
blockout_zone_boundary	Location of the blockout zone boundary in ideological space (DW-NOMINATE) in each Congress
thirty_zone_boundary	Location of the 30% zone boundary in ideological space (DW-NOMINATE) in each Congress
majority	Indicator variable for majority party status (1 = majority, 0 = minority)
moderate_majority	Indicator variable for moderate majority members (those on the minority party side of the majority party median)
maj_blockout	Indicator for whether a member is located in the majority party blockout zone
thirty_zone_member	Indicator for whether a member is located in the 30% zone
all_susp_bills	Total number of suspension bills introduced by each member
comm_susp_bills	Total number of commemorative suspension bills introduced by each member
noncomm_susp_bills	Total number of non-commemorative suspension bills introduced by each member

Variable	Description
tot_nonsusp_passed	Total number of bills passing the House by non-suspension routes
total_bills_considered	Total number of bills considered in the House each Congress
pct_restrictive	Percent of special rules that are restrictive in each Congress
ch_sp_rept_cong	Total number of chair-sponsored suspension bills that are referred to the chair's committee in each Congress
ch_sp_rept_imp_cong	Total number of important chair-sponsored suspension bills (based on Congressional Bills Project coding) that are referred to the chair's committee in each Congress
ch_sp_rept_cq_cong	Total number of chair-sponsored suspension bills written up in CQ that are referred to the chair's committee in each Congress
ch_sp_rept_noncomm_cong	Total number of non-commemorative chair-sponsored suspension bills that are referred to the chair's committee in each Congress
margin	Number of majority party members minus number of minority party members
previous_voteshare_scaled	Previous voteshare measure scaled using scale() function in R
seniority_scaled	Seniority measure scaled using scale() function in R
all_bills_scaled	all_bills variable scaled using scale() function in R
pct_restrictive_scaled	pct_restrictive variable scaled using scale() function in R
margin_scaled	margin variable scaled using scale() function in R
tot_nonsusp_passed_scaled	tot_nonsusp_passed variable scaled using scale() function in R
total_bills_considered_scaled	total_bills_considered variable scaled using scale() function in R
ch_sp_rept_noncomm_cong_scaled	ch_sp_rept_noncomm_cong variable scaled using scale() function in R
bw_thirty_and_party_median	Indicator variable for members b/w the 30% Zone and maj. median
majority_status	Indicator variable for majority party status (ref. category = Majority)
c_bills_scaled	c_bills variable scaled using scale() function in R
noncomm_bills_scaled	noncomm_susp_bills variable scaled using scale() function in R

Data File: member_type_pcts_lsq.rdata (member_type_pcts_lsq.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 7 in the paper. The dataframe has four observations for each Congress—one for committee chairs, one for subcommittee chairs, one for majority party rank and file members, and one for minority party members—for a total of 84 observations.

Variable	**Description**
Cong	Numeric variable indicating the number of each Congress (93rd-113th)
member_type	Factor variable for different types of members (Committee Chair, Subcommittee Chair, Majority Rank and File, Minority Party)
susp_bills	Number of suspension bills introduced by each group of members in each Congress
cong_totals	Total number of suspension bills in each Congress
pct	The percent of all suspension bills in a Congress constituted by bills introduced by each group

Data File: figure8_data.rdata (figure8_data.csv)

Description: This data file was used to create Figure 8 in the paper. The dataframe has four observations for each Congress—one for committee chairs, one for subcommittee chairs, one for majority party rank and file members, and one for minority party members—for a total of 84 observations.

Variable	**Description**
cong_type	Variable containing the Congress number and member type
n	Number of members comprising each group in each Congress
susp_bills	Number of suspension bills introduced by each group of members in each Congress
avgs	The average number of suspension bills introduced by each group member in each Congress

Data File: susp_lsq_data.rdata (susp_lsq_data.csv)

Description: This data file contains bill-level data, which is collapsed to the member level for the analyses conducted in this paper. Questions about this data can be referred to the author at bussing@live.unc.edu