Supplementary Information For:

Oversight From Below and Above:
Individual and Institutional Legislative Influence on Agencies

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This file includes supplementary analysis related to our *JLEO* article. In particular, it includes the results of various robustness checks, many of which we describe in the article. We summarize the main set of robustness models in Table SI.3. This table reports the coefficients and standard errors for the variables and relevant linear combinations of them. The full results for the models reported in Table SI.3 follow in Tables SI.4 through SI.15. Access to files to replicate the results in our paper and this supplementary information file is available on the Harvard Dataverse at https://doi.org/10.15139/S3/12151.

Table SI.1
Aggregate Chamber and Individual-Level Preferences Affect Nursing Home Deficiencies – Exponentiated Coefficients

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	0.985*	(0.003)	0.987*	(0.003)	0.984*	(0.006)
Upper Representative Ideology	0.984*	(0.003)	0.983*	(0.003)	1.027*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			0.887*	(0.006)	0.899*	(0.009)
Lower Rep. in Majority					0.991*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					1.005	(0.010)
Upper Rep. in Majority					0.981*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.925*	(0.007)
Republican Governor			1.083*	(0.005)	1.086*	(0.005)
Number of Beds (100s)	1.145*	(0.006)	1.144*	(0.006)	1.145*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	0.799*	(0.014)	0.800*	(0.014)	0.798*	(0.014)
RN Hours per Resident	0.861*	(0.005)	0.862*	(0.005)	0.862*	(0.005)
Medicaid Only	0.880*	(0.014)	0.881*	(0.014)	0.881*	(0.014)
Medicare Only	0.788*	(0.013)	0.787*	(0.013)	0.787*	(0.013)
Hospital Based	1.017	(0.014)	1.016	(0.014)	1.016	(0.014)
Nonprofit	0.873*	(0.006)	0.873*	(0.006)	0.873*	(0.006)
Government Owned	0.895*	(0.011)	0.901*	(0.011)	0.900*	(0.011)
Resident and Family	0.999	(0.005)	0.999	(0.005)	0.999	(0.005)
Resident Council	0.945	(0.040)	0.940	(0.040)	0.940	(0.039)
Family Council	0.960*	(0.014)	0.960*	(0.014)	0.959*	(0.014)
constant	6.240*	(0.197)	6.091*	(0.195)	6.240*	(0.202)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.323*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)
Var(u)	1.113*	(0.002)	1.114*	(0.002)	1.113*	(0.002)
N	179,199		178,870		178,426	

Note. Shows identical results as Table 2, only with exponentiated coefficients and delta method standard errors for easier interpretation. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.2a
Legislative Capacity Modifies the Influence of Aggregate Chamber and Individual-Level Preferences on Nursing Home Deficiencies

Lower Representative Ideology	-0.021*	(0.004)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.028*	(0.004)
Lower Chamber Ideology	-0.138*	(0.007)
Legislative Professionalism	0.110*	(0.007)
Lower Rep. Ideology * Leg. Prof.	0.004*	(0.001)
Upper Rep. Ideology * Leg. Prof.	0.006*	(0.001)
Lower Chamber Ideology * Leg. Prof.	0.035*	(0.004)
Republican Governor	0.078*	(0.005)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.134*	(0.005)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.223*	(0.018)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.148*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.126*	(0.015)
Medicare Only	-0.242*	(0.016)
Hospital Based	0.015	(0.013)
Nonprofit	-0.135*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.108*	(0.012)
Resident and Family	0.000	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.061	(0.042)
Family Council	-0.040*	(0.015)
constant	1.997*	(0.034)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.320*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.107*	(0.002)
N	178,870	

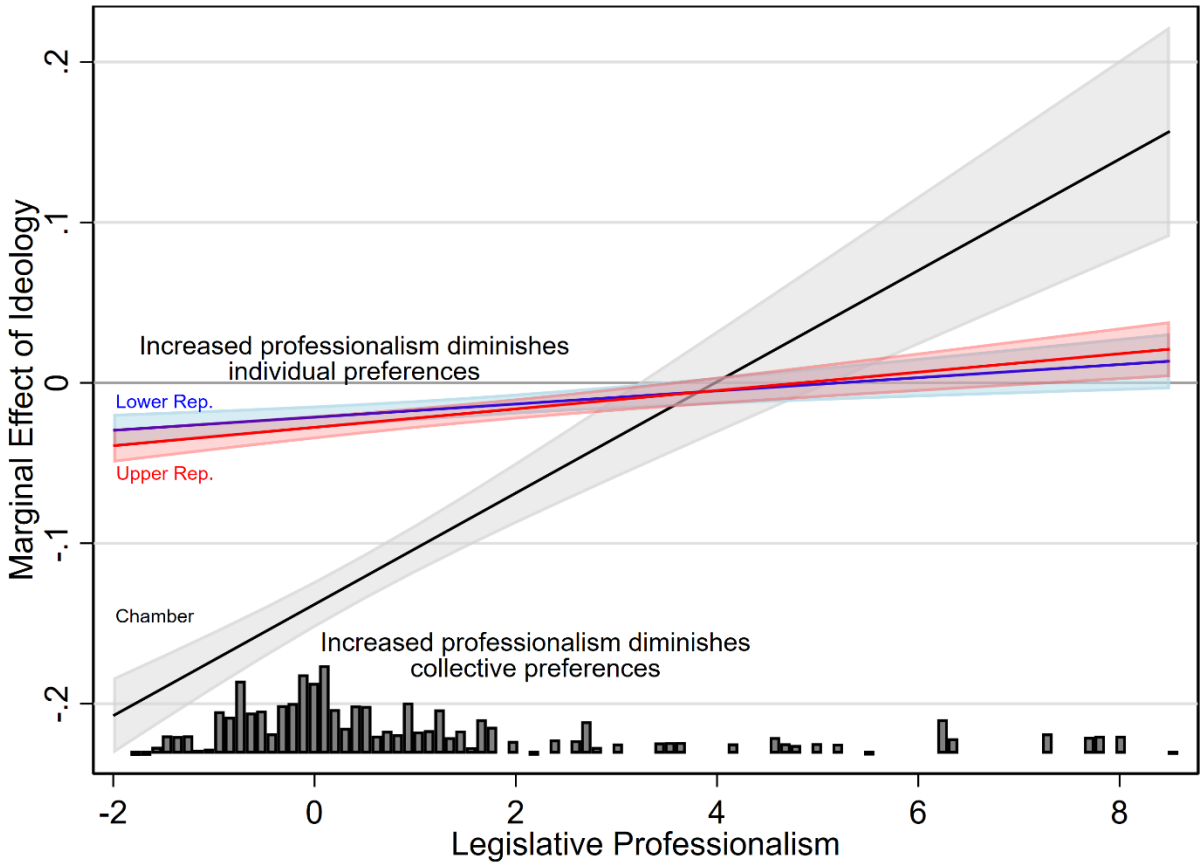
Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported). * indicates coefficient significantly different from zero at the .05 level. *Legislative Professionalism* uses Bowen and Greene's (2014) first-dimension professionalism score.

Table SI.2b
Legislative Capacity Modifies the Influence of Aggregate Chamber and Individual-Level Preferences on Nursing Home Deficiencies – Exponentiated Coefficients

Lower Representative Ideology	0.979*	(0.004)
Upper Representative Ideology	0.973*	(0.004)
Lower Chamber Ideology	0.871*	(0.006)
Legislative Professionalism	1.116*	(0.008)
Lower Rep. Ideology * Leg. Prof.	1.004*	(0.001)
Upper Rep. Ideology * Leg. Prof.	1.006*	(0.001)
Lower Chamber Ideology * Leg. Prof.	1.035*	(0.004)
Republican Governor	1.082*	(0.005)
Number of Beds (100s)	1.144*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	0.800*	(0.014)
RN Hours per Resident	0.863*	(0.005)
Medicaid Only	0.881*	(0.014)
Medicare Only	0.785*	(0.013)
Hospital Based	1.015	(0.013)
Nonprofit	0.873*	(0.006)
Government Owned	0.897*	(0.011)
Resident and Family	1.000	(0.005)
Resident Council	0.941	(0.039)
Family Council	0.961*	(0.014)
constant	7.366*	(0.251)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.320*	(0.002)
Var(u)	1.113*	(0.002)
N	178,870	

Note. Shows identical results as Table SI.2a, only with exponentiated coefficients and delta method standard errors for easier interpretation. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported). * indicates coefficient significantly different from zero at the .05 level.

Figure SI.1
Increasing Legislative Capacity Decreases the Influence of Legislative Preferences



Notes. Figure plots the marginal effect of individual and institutional ideology on the latent deficiency scale for different values of legislative professionalism using the models in SI.2a (i.e., $\beta_{ideo.} + \beta_{ideo.*prof.} * Professionalism$). Shaded areas represent a 95% confidence interval for the reported linear combination of coefficients. Chamber results shaded black; upper chamber representative results colored red; lower chamber representative results colored blue. The histogram describes the distribution of values of legislative professionalism in the estimation sample.

Table SI.3
Summary of Robustness Models for Coefficients of Primary Interest

	Model 1		Model 2			Model 3				
	L	**U**	**L**	**U**	**Ch**	**Lm**	**Um**	**LxM**	**UxM**	**Ch**
Base Model (Table 2 in paper)	-0.015*	-0.016*	-0.013*	-0.017*	-0.120*	-0.016*	0.027*	0.005	-0.078*	-0.107*
Zero-Inflated Neg. Binomial	-0.028*	-0.014*	-0.026*	-0.015*	-0.110*	-0.042*	0.032*	0.028*	-0.086*	-0.112*
Severe Deficiencies only	-0.008	-0.007	-0.008	-0.008	-0.027	-0.035	0.030	0.053	-0.068*	-0.048
Non-severe Deficiencies only	-0.015*	-0.017*	-0.013*	-0.017*	-0.123*	-0.016*	0.026*	0.005	-0.078*	-0.111*
With urban/rural control	-0.014*	-0.015*	-0.011*	-0.016*	-0.121*	-0.014*	0.028*	0.005	-0.078*	-0.108*
One Legislator per District	-0.014*	-0.016*	-0.012*	-0.017*	-0.121*	-0.027*	0.039*	0.027*	-0.101*	-0.123*
Excluding Multi-member Dist.	-0.015*	-0.016*	-0.012*	-0.017*	-0.122*	-0.026*	0.039*	0.025*	-0.101*	-0.122*
High-Certainty Geo-Merges	-0.015*	-0.017*	-0.013*	-0.018*	-0.114*	-0.020*	0.025*	0.012	-0.076*	-0.107*
Upper Chamber District FEs	-0.021*	0.005	-0.020*	0.003	-0.105*	-0.006	0.043*	-0.026	-0.071*	-0.073*
Lower Chamber District FEs	-0.026*	-0.014*	-0.024*	-0.015*	-0.101*	-0.011	0.018*	0.025	-0.061*	-0.071*
Facility Fixed Effects	0.009	-0.011	0.012*	-0.002	-0.110*	0.013	0.030*	-0.002	-0.057*	-0.098*
Facility FEs (Dispersion)	-0.013*	-0.025*	0.003	-0.015*	-0.169*	-0.011	0.029*	0.025*	-0.076*	-0.161*
Clustered by State, Facility REs	-0.015	-0.016	-0.013	-0.017	-0.120*	-0.016	0.027	0.005	-0.078*	-0.107*

Note. Reports estimates of coefficients of interest for robustness checks included in this supplemental information file and reported in Tables SI4-SI.15. U=upper chamber legislator ideology, L=lower chamber legislator ideology, Ch=chamber ideology, Um=upper chamber legislator ideology for minority legislators, Lm=lower chamber legislator ideology for minority legislators, UxM=upper chamber legislator ideology for majority legislators relative to minority legislators, LxM=lower chamber legislator ideology for majority legislators relative to minority legislators. * indicates coefficient significantly different from zero at the .05 level.

Table SI.4
Zero-Inflated Negative Binomial Model

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Number of Deficiencies Equation:						
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.028*	(0.003)	-0.026*	(0.003)	-0.042*	(0.006)
Upper Representative. Ideology	-0.014*	(0.003)	-0.015*	(0.003)	0.032*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.110*	(0.008)	-0.112*	(0.010)
Republican Governor			0.073*	(0.005)	0.076*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.022*	(0.004)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.028*	(0.009)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.027*	(0.004)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.086*	(0.007)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.123*	(0.003)	0.123*	(0.003)	0.123*	(0.003)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.372*	(0.016)	-0.372*	(0.016)	-0.376*	(0.016)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.173*	(0.006)	-0.173*	(0.006)	-0.173*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.069*	(0.012)	-0.069*	(0.012)	-0.070*	(0.012)
Medicare Only	-0.194*	(0.012)	-0.195*	(0.012)	-0.196*	(0.012)
Hospital Based	0.072*	(0.010)	0.072*	(0.010)	0.072*	(0.010)
Nonprofit	-0.140*	(0.005)	-0.140*	(0.005)	-0.139*	(0.005)
Government Owned	-0.142*	(0.009)	-0.140*	(0.009)	-0.140*	(0.009)
Resident and Family	-0.004	(0.004)	-0.004	(0.004)	-0.004	(0.004)
Resident Council	-0.093*	(0.040)	-0.096*	(0.040)	-0.095*	(0.040)
Family Council	-0.024	(0.014)	-0.024	(0.014)	-0.025	(0.014)
constant	2.791*	(0.483)	2.717*	(0.499)	2.723*	(0.494)
Zero-Inflated Equation:						
Number of Beds (100s)	-1.737*	(0.154)	-1.747*	(0.156)	-1.736*	(0.156)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	0.711	(0.460)	0.698	(0.463)	0.653	(0.458)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.135*	(0.065)	-0.142*	(0.067)	-0.144*	(0.067)
Medicaid Only	0.704*	(0.115)	0.707*	(0.116)	0.712*	(0.117)
Medicare Only	0.784*	(0.117)	0.794*	(0.118)	0.798*	(0.119)
Hospital Based	-0.040	(0.101)	-0.032	(0.101)	-0.022	(0.101)
Nonprofit	0.497*	(0.083)	0.478*	(0.084)	0.492*	(0.085)
Government Owned	-0.266	(0.189)	-0.287	(0.191)	-0.256	(0.190)
Resident and Family	0.389*	(0.080)	0.379*	(0.081)	0.381*	(0.082)
Resident Council	0.353	(0.484)	0.337	(0.492)	0.384	(0.481)
Family Council	0.760*	(0.132)	0.763*	(0.133)	0.761*	(0.134)
constant	-3.722*	(0.415)	-3.699*	(0.417)	-3.685*	(0.412)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.395*	(0.002)	0.394*	(0.002)	0.393*	(0.002)
N	179,199		178,870		178,426	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.015*	(0.005)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.054*	(0.004)

Note. Zero-inflated negative binomial model estimated using *zinb* command in Stata 18.0. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.5
Negative Binomial Model for Count of Severe Deficiencies

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.008	(0.012)	-0.008	(0.012)	-0.035	(0.025)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.007	(0.013)	-0.008	(0.013)	0.030	(0.021)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.027	(0.032)	-0.048	(0.043)
Republican Governor			0.055*	(0.020)	0.061*	(0.021)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.056*	(0.018)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.053	(0.038)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.045*	(0.019)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.068*	(0.030)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.217*	(0.016)	0.217*	(0.016)	0.220*	(0.016)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.508*	(0.066)	-0.507*	(0.066)	-0.516*	(0.066)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.330*	(0.024)	-0.331*	(0.024)	-0.329*	(0.024)
Medicaid Only	-0.189*	(0.048)	-0.186*	(0.048)	-0.186*	(0.048)
Medicare Only	-0.344*	(0.058)	-0.344*	(0.058)	-0.344*	(0.058)
Hospital Based	0.111*	(0.045)	0.113*	(0.045)	0.111*	(0.045)
Nonprofit	-0.123*	(0.023)	-0.123*	(0.023)	-0.122*	(0.023)
Government Owned	-0.103*	(0.041)	-0.103*	(0.041)	-0.105*	(0.041)
Resident and Family	0.013	(0.018)	0.010	(0.018)	0.011	(0.018)
Resident Council	-0.458*	(0.194)	-0.458*	(0.194)	-0.459*	(0.194)
Family Council	-0.162*	(0.062)	-0.160*	(0.062)	-0.162*	(0.062)
constant	-1.737*	(0.103)	-1.779*	(0.106)	-1.688*	(0.108)
Overdispersion (alpha)	4.433*	(0.062)	4.427*	(0.062)	4.429*	(0.062)
Var(u)	0.350*	(0.016)	0.346*	(0.016)	0.342*	(0.016)
N	179,199		178,870		178,426	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					0.018	(0.021)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.038*	(0.019)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.6
Negative Binomial Model for Count of Non-Severe Deficiencies

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.015*	(0.003)	-0.013*	(0.003)	-0.016*	(0.006)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.017*	(0.003)	-0.017*	(0.003)	0.026*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.123*	(0.007)	-0.111*	(0.010)
Republican Governor			0.082*	(0.004)	0.085*	(0.004)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.008	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.005	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.019*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.078*	(0.007)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.132*	(0.005)	0.131*	(0.005)	0.132*	(0.005)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.227*	(0.017)	-0.226*	(0.017)	-0.228*	(0.017)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.147*	(0.006)	-0.146*	(0.006)	-0.146*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.124*	(0.015)	-0.124*	(0.015)	-0.123*	(0.015)
Medicare Only	-0.233*	(0.016)	-0.235*	(0.016)	-0.234*	(0.016)
Hospital Based	0.017	(0.013)	0.016	(0.013)	0.016	(0.013)
Nonprofit	-0.138*	(0.007)	-0.137*	(0.007)	-0.137*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.110*	(0.012)	-0.104*	(0.012)	-0.104*	(0.012)
Resident and Family	-0.002	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.047	(0.042)	-0.052	(0.041)	-0.052	(0.041)
Family Council	-0.039*	(0.015)	-0.039*	(0.015)	-0.040*	(0.015)
constant	1.811*	(0.031)	1.786*	(0.032)	1.809*	(0.032)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.308*	(0.002)	0.306*	(0.002)	0.306*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.104*	(0.002)	0.104*	(0.002)	0.104*	(0.002)
N	179,199		178,870		178,426	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.011	(0.005)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.052*	(0.005)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.7
Negative Binomial Model with Urban/Rural Controls via RUCA Codes at ZIP Level

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.014*	(0.003)	-0.011*	(0.003)	-0.014*	(0.006)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.015*	(0.003)	-0.016*	(0.003)	0.028*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.121*	(0.007)	-0.108*	(0.010)
Republican Governor			0.079*	(0.004)	0.082*	(0.004)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.009	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.005	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.019*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.078*	(0.007)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.126*	(0.006)	0.125*	(0.006)	0.126*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.240*	(0.018)	-0.239*	(0.018)	-0.242*	(0.018)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.154*	(0.006)	-0.154*	(0.006)	-0.153*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.121*	(0.015)	-0.121*	(0.015)	-0.120*	(0.015)
Medicare Only	-0.252*	(0.016)	-0.253*	(0.016)	-0.252*	(0.016)
Hospital Based	0.026	(0.013)	0.025	(0.013)	0.024	(0.013)
Nonprofit	-0.135*	(0.007)	-0.134*	(0.007)	-0.134*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.100*	(0.012)	-0.094*	(0.012)	-0.095*	(0.012)
Resident and Family	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.001	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.063	(0.042)	-0.068	(0.042)	-0.068	(0.042)
Family Council	-0.044*	(0.015)	-0.044*	(0.015)	-0.045*	(0.015)
Resident and Family	0.107*	(0.013)	0.109*	(0.013)	0.108*	(0.013)
Resident Council	0.087*	(0.015)	0.088*	(0.015)	0.088*	(0.015)
Family Council	0.058*	(0.015)	0.059*	(0.015)	0.058*	(0.015)
constant	1.768*	(0.033)	1.745*	(0.034)	1.769*	(0.034)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.323*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.106*	(0.002)	0.107*	(0.002)	0.106*	(0.002)
N	178,819		178,490		178,046	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					0.010	(0.005)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.050*	(0.005)

Note. Because urban facilities might be expected to have more deficiencies, and because liberal legislators are more likely to represent urban areas, we ran alternate models that incorporated RUCA (Rural-Urban Commuting Area) codes – which "classify U.S. census tracts using measures of population density, urbanization, and daily commuting" (for details see https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/rural-urban-commuting-area-codes/) – by zip code to measure whether the nursing home is in an urban or rural area. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.8
Negative Binomial Model Using Observations with One Legislator per District per Year

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representatives Ideology	-0.014*	(0.003)	-0.012*	(0.003)	-0.027*	(0.007)
Upper Representatives Ideology	-0.016*	(0.003)	-0.017*	(0.003)	0.039*	(0.005)
House Ideology			-0.121*	(0.008)	-0.123*	(0.011)
Republican Governor			0.084*	(0.005)	0.088*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.013*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.027*	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.025*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.101*	(0.008)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.130*	(0.006)	0.130*	(0.006)	0.131*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.226*	(0.018)	-0.224*	(0.018)	-0.228*	(0.018)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.148*	(0.006)	-0.147*	(0.006)	-0.146*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.130*	(0.016)	-0.129*	(0.016)	-0.128*	(0.016)
Medicare Only	-0.233*	(0.017)	-0.235*	(0.017)	-0.234*	(0.017)
Hospital Based	0.008	(0.014)	0.007	(0.014)	0.007	(0.014)
Nonprofit	-0.132*	(0.007)	-0.132*	(0.007)	-0.132*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.108*	(0.013)	-0.102*	(0.013)	-0.102*	(0.013)
Resident and Family	0.002	(0.005)	0.002	(0.005)	0.002	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.019	(0.045)	-0.024	(0.044)	-0.024	(0.044)
Family Council	-0.033*	(0.016)	-0.033*	(0.016)	-0.035*	(0.016)
constant	1.830*	(0.032)	1.803*	(0.033)	1.840*	(0.033)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.323*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)	0.320*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.109*	(0.002)	0.109*	(0.002)	0.108*	(0.002)
N	160,196		159,876		159,432	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.000	(0.006)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.062*	(0.005)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.9
Negative Binomial Model Using only States with no Multi-Member Districts

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representatives Ideology	-0.015*	(0.003)	-0.012*	(0.003)	-0.026*	(0.007)
Upper Representatives Ideology	-0.016*	(0.003)	-0.017*	(0.003)	0.039*	(0.005)
House Ideology			-0.122*	(0.007)	-0.122*	(0.011)
Republican Governor			0.084*	(0.005)	0.089*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.013*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.025*	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.025*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.101*	(0.008)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.130*	(0.006)	0.129*	(0.006)	0.130*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.223*	(0.018)	-0.221*	(0.018)	-0.225*	(0.018)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.148*	(0.006)	-0.147*	(0.006)	-0.147*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.131*	(0.016)	-0.130*	(0.016)	-0.129*	(0.016)
Medicare Only	-0.236*	(0.017)	-0.238*	(0.017)	-0.237*	(0.017)
Hospital Based	0.010	(0.014)	0.008	(0.014)	0.008	(0.014)
Nonprofit	-0.133*	(0.007)	-0.132*	(0.007)	-0.133*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.109*	(0.013)	-0.102*	(0.013)	-0.103*	(0.013)
Resident and Family	0.003	(0.005)	0.003	(0.005)	0.003	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.016	(0.045)	-0.022	(0.044)	-0.021	(0.044)
Family Council	-0.029	(0.016)	-0.029	(0.016)	-0.031*	(0.016)
constant	1.824*	(0.032)	1.798*	(0.033)	1.834*	(0.033)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.323*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)	0.321*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.109*	(0.002)	0.110*	(0.002)	0.109*	(0.002)
N	162,703		162,374		161,932	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.001	(0.006)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.062*	(0.005)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 39 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.10
Negative Binomial Model Using only High-Certainty Geographic Merges

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.015*	(0.003)	-0.013*	(0.003)	-0.020*	(0.007)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.017*	(0.004)	-0.018*	(0.004)	0.025*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.114*	(0.008)	-0.107*	(0.011)
Republican Governor			0.081*	(0.005)	0.084*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.009	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.012	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.022*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.076*	(0.008)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.134*	(0.006)	0.134*	(0.006)	0.135*	(0.006)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.226*	(0.019)	-0.225*	(0.019)	-0.228*	(0.019)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.148*	(0.006)	-0.147*	(0.006)	-0.147*	(0.006)
Medicaid Only	-0.128*	(0.019)	-0.127*	(0.019)	-0.126*	(0.019)
Medicare Only	-0.229*	(0.017)	-0.230*	(0.017)	-0.229*	(0.017)
Hospital Based	0.030*	(0.015)	0.028	(0.015)	0.028	(0.015)
Nonprofit	-0.134*	(0.007)	-0.132*	(0.007)	-0.133*	(0.007)
Government Owned	-0.111*	(0.013)	-0.104*	(0.013)	-0.105*	(0.013)
Resident and Family	-0.005	(0.005)	-0.004	(0.005)	-0.004	(0.005)
Resident Council	-0.047	(0.047)	-0.052	(0.047)	-0.053	(0.047)
Family Council	-0.043*	(0.016)	-0.043*	(0.016)	-0.044*	(0.016)
constant	1.599*	(0.364)	1.487*	(0.364)	1.498*	(0.365)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.316*	(0.002)	0.314*	(0.002)	0.314*	(0.002)
Var(u)	0.106*	(0.002)	0.106*	(0.002)	0.106*	(0.002)
N	151,271		151,081		150,695	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.008	(0.006)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.051*	(0.005)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.11
Poisson Model with Upper Chamber District Fixed Effects

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.021*	(0.007)	-0.020*	(0.007)	-0.006	(0.011)
Upper Representative. Ideology	0.005	(0.012)	0.003	(0.011)	0.043*	(0.014)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.105*	(0.012)	-0.073*	(0.018)
Republican Governor			0.079*	(0.010)	0.082*	(0.010)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.005	(0.009)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.026	(0.019)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.021	(0.012)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.071*	(0.015)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.138*	(0.006)	0.138*	(0.007)	0.138*	(0.007)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.353*	(0.021)	-0.352*	(0.021)	-0.352*	(0.021)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.168*	(0.008)	-0.167*	(0.008)	-0.167*	(0.008)
Medicaid Only	-0.113*	(0.019)	-0.112*	(0.019)	-0.112*	(0.019)
Medicare Only	-0.240*	(0.017)	-0.240*	(0.017)	-0.240*	(0.017)
Hospital Based	0.035*	(0.014)	0.034*	(0.014)	0.034*	(0.014)
Nonprofit	-0.148*	(0.008)	-0.147*	(0.008)	-0.148*	(0.008)
Government Owned	-0.141*	(0.013)	-0.138*	(0.013)	-0.139*	(0.013)
Resident and Family	-0.005	(0.006)	-0.005	(0.006)	-0.005	(0.006)
Resident Council	-0.084	(0.060)	-0.089	(0.060)	-0.090	(0.061)
Family Council	-0.054*	(0.017)	-0.054*	(0.017)	-0.055*	(0.017)
N	179,126		178,797		178,353	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.032*	(0.012)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.028*	(0.012)

Note. Fixed effects Poisson model estimated using *xtpoisson* command in Stata 18.0. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year fixed effects also included (not reported).

Table SI.12
Poisson Model with Lower Chamber District Fixed Effects

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.026*	(0.009)	-0.024*	(0.008)	-0.011	(0.013)
Upper Representative. Ideology	-0.014*	(0.006)	-0.015*	(0.006)	0.018*	(0.009)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.101*	(0.010)	-0.071*	(0.018)
Republican Governor			0.079*	(0.008)	0.082*	(0.008)
Lower Rep. In Majority					0.006	(0.008)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.025	(0.019)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.018*	(0.008)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.061*	(0.012)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.145*	(0.007)	0.145*	(0.007)	0.145*	(0.007)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.336*	(0.020)	-0.334*	(0.020)	-0.335*	(0.020)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.163*	(0.008)	-0.163*	(0.008)	-0.163*	(0.008)
Medicaid Only	-0.105*	(0.019)	-0.104*	(0.019)	-0.104*	(0.019)
Medicare Only	-0.243*	(0.018)	-0.243*	(0.018)	-0.243*	(0.018)
Hospital Based	0.037*	(0.014)	0.036*	(0.014)	0.036*	(0.014)
Nonprofit	-0.149*	(0.008)	-0.148*	(0.008)	-0.149*	(0.008)
Government Owned	-0.138*	(0.013)	-0.136*	(0.013)	-0.136*	(0.013)
Resident and Family	-0.006	(0.006)	-0.006	(0.006)	-0.006	(0.006)
Resident Council	-0.094	(0.054)	-0.098	(0.054)	-0.099	(0.054)
Family Council	-0.055*	(0.017)	-0.056*	(0.017)	-0.056*	(0.017)
N	179,102		178,773		178,329	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.035*	(0.012)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.043*	(0.008)

Note. Fixed effects Poisson model estimated using *xtpoisson* command in Stata 18.0. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year fixed effects also included (not reported).

Table SI.13
Poisson Model with Facility Fixed Effects

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	0.009	(0.005)	0.012*	(0.005)	0.013	(0.008)
Upper Representative. Ideology	-0.001	(0.005)	-0.002	(0.005)	0.030*	(0.007)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.110*	(0.008)	-0.098*	(0.012)
Republican Governor			0.077*	(0.005)	0.079*	(0.005)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.002	(0.006)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.002	(0.012)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.010	(0.006)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.057*	(0.009)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.066*	(0.020)	0.060*	(0.019)	0.061*	(0.019)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.031	(0.025)	-0.028	(0.025)	-0.029	(0.025)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.074*	(0.010)	-0.072*	(0.010)	-0.072*	(0.010)
Medicare Only	-0.051	(0.049)	-0.055	(0.048)	-0.054	(0.048)
Hospital Based	-0.021	(0.028)	-0.021	(0.028)	-0.022	(0.028)
Nonprofit	-0.036*	(0.016)	-0.032*	(0.015)	-0.034*	(0.015)
Government Owned	-0.052*	(0.023)	-0.037	(0.023)	-0.038	(0.023)
Resident and Family	0.005	(0.006)	0.006	(0.006)	0.006	(0.006)
Resident Council	0.064	(0.055)	0.057	(0.055)	0.057	(0.055)
Family Council	0.028	(0.020)	0.029	(0.020)	0.029	(0.020)
N	178,791		178,460		178,011	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					0.011	(0.007)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.027*	(0.006)

Note. Fixed effects Poisson model estimated using *xtpoisson* command in Stata 18.0. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year fixed effects also included (not reported). Medicaid only variable excluded since it does not vary over time within facility in our data.

Table SI.14
Negative Binomial Model with Facility Fixed Effects (Dispersion Equation)

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.013*	(0.003)	0.003	(0.003)	-0.011	(0.006)
Upper Representative. Ideology	-0.025*	(0.003)	-0.015*	(0.003)	0.029*	(0.005)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.169*	(0.005)	-0.161*	(0.008)
Republican Governor			0.087*	(0.004)	0.089*	(0.004)
Lower Rep. In Majority					0.002	(0.005)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.025*	(0.009)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.014*	(0.005)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.076*	(0.007)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.120*	(0.008)	0.107*	(0.008)	0.110*	(0.008)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	0.011	(0.019)	-0.026	(0.019)	-0.026	(0.019)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.063*	(0.007)	-0.076*	(0.007)	-0.076*	(0.007)
Medicaid Only	-0.124*	(0.029)	-0.120*	(0.029)	-0.123*	(0.029)
Medicare Only	-0.116*	(0.025)	-0.124*	(0.025)	-0.121*	(0.025)
Hospital Based	0.045*	(0.018)	0.034	(0.018)	0.032	(0.018)
Nonprofit	-0.036*	(0.009)	-0.029*	(0.009)	-0.031*	(0.009)
Government Owned	-0.016	(0.015)	0.010	(0.015)	0.008	(0.015)
Resident and Family	0.008	(0.005)	0.008	(0.005)	0.008	(0.005)
Resident Council	0.062	(0.047)	0.036	(0.047)	0.032	(0.047)
Family Council	0.025	(0.017)	0.027	(0.017)	0.026	(0.017)
constant	0.786*	(0.364)	0.685	(0.374)	0.683	(0.372)
N	178,791		178,460		178,011	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					0.014*	(0.006)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.048*	(0.005)

Note. Fixed effects negative binomial model estimated using *xtnbreg* command in Stata 18.0. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).

Table SI.15
Negative Binomial Model with State-Level Clustering

	Model 1		*Model 2*		*Model 3*	
Lower Representative Ideology	-0.015	(0.008)	-0.013	(0.008)	-0.016	(0.027)
Upper Representative Ideology	-0.016	(0.011)	-0.017	(0.010)	0.027	(0.018)
Lower Chamber Ideology			-0.120*	(0.037)	-0.107*	(0.051)
Republican Governor			0.080*	(0.032)	0.082*	(0.032)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.009	(0.011)
Lower Rep. Ideology * In Majority					0.005	(0.046)
Lower Rep. In Majority					-0.020	(0.010)
Upper Rep. Ideology * In Majority					-0.078*	(0.029)
Number of Beds (100s)	0.135*	(0.033)	0.135*	(0.033)	0.135*	(0.032)
Beds Occupied (proportion)	-0.224*	(0.035)	-0.223*	(0.036)	-0.226*	(0.037)
RN Hours per Resident	-0.150*	(0.013)	-0.149*	(0.014)	-0.149*	(0.014)
Medicaid Only	-0.127*	(0.030)	-0.127*	(0.029)	-0.126*	(0.029)
Medicare Only	-0.238*	(0.025)	-0.239*	(0.025)	-0.239*	(0.025)
Hospital Based	0.017	(0.019)	0.016	(0.019)	0.016	(0.020)
Nonprofit	-0.136*	(0.014)	-0.135*	(0.014)	-0.136*	(0.014)
Government Owned	-0.110*	(0.020)	-0.104*	(0.021)	-0.105*	(0.021)
Resident and Family	-0.001	(0.006)	-0.001	(0.006)	-0.001	(0.006)
Resident Council	-0.056	(0.048)	-0.061	(0.049)	-0.061	(0.049)
Family Council	-0.041*	(0.019)	-0.041*	(0.019)	-0.042*	(0.019)
constant	1.831*	(0.075)	1.807*	(0.092)	1.831*	(0.103)
Overdispersion (alpha)	0.323*	(0.021)	0.321*	(0.021)	0.321*	(0.021)
Var(u)	0.107*	(0.008)	0.108*	(0.008)	0.107*	(0.008)
N	179,157		178,828		178,384	
test: Lower + Lower*In Majority					-0.011	(0.021)
test: Upper + Upper*In Majority					-0.052*	(0.016)

Note. Random effects negative binomial model estimated using *menbreg* command in Stata 18.0; random effects included at the facility level. 49 states included in the analysis (excludes Nebraska) covering the period 2000 to 2016. Year and state fixed effects included (not reported).