Statistics/Data analysis

```
      name:  <unnamed>
       log:  C:\Users\agfowler\Dropbox\Party Leaders\Fowler Leaders Replication Data\p
> artyleaderslog.smcl
  log type:  smcl
 opened on:  12 Nov 2025, 15:04:30

1 .
2 . *Preparing data set for analyses
3 . clear

4 . use "CVP_1_117.dta"

5 . keep chamber congress icpsr party cvp_gls_adjusted

6 . g house = chamber == "House"

7 . keep if party == 100 | party == 200
  (7,087 observations deleted)

8 . g dem = party == 100

9 . drop party chamber

10. rename cvp cvp

11. merge m:1 icpsr dem house using "HouseSenateLeaders.dta"
  (variable icpsr was long, now double to accommodate using data's values)

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                        41,922
          from master                    41,922  (_merge==1)
          from using                          0  (_merge==2)

      Matched                               495  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

12. preserve

13. *extract leader ideologies
14. keep if _merge == 3
  (41,922 observations deleted)

15. drop _merge

16. drop if congress >= mincong
  (187 observations deleted)

17. collapse (mean) cvp house dem, by(icpsr)

18. merge 1:1 icpsr house dem using "HouseSenateLeaders.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                             0
      Matched                                39  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

19. drop _merge
```

```
20. rename mincong cong0

21. forvalues i = 1/15 {
    2. g cong`i' = cong0 + `i' if cong0 + `i' <= maxcong
    3. }
  (3 missing values generated)
  (9 missing values generated)
  (17 missing values generated)
  (25 missing values generated)
  (30 missing values generated)
  (33 missing values generated)
  (34 missing values generated)
  (36 missing values generated)
  (36 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)

22. drop maxcong

23. reshape long cong, i(icpsr) j(num)
  (j = 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15)

  Data                                Wide   ->   Long
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Number of observations               39    ->   624
  Number of variables                  20    ->   6
  j variable (16 values)                     ->   num
  xij variables:
                 cong0 cong1 ... cong15      ->   cong
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------

24. drop if cong == .
  (456 observations deleted)

25. drop num icpsr

26. sort house dem cong

27. rename cvp leader_cvp

28. g leader_next = leader_cvp[_n+1] if house == house[_n+1] & dem == dem[_n+1]
  (4 missing values generated)

29. g leader_prev = leader_cvp[_n-1] if house == house[_n-1] & dem == dem[_n-1]
  (4 missing values generated)

30. rename cong congress

31. save "LeaderCVP_HouseSenate.dta", replace
  (file LeaderCVP_HouseSenate.dta not found)
  file LeaderCVP_HouseSenate.dta saved

32. restore

33. drop if _merge == 3 & congress >= mincong
  (187 observations deleted)
```

```
34. drop _merge mincong maxcong

35. /*
  > classify members as moderate:
  > -compute first adjusted CVP for each member-party-chamber
  > -compute median first adjusted CVP for each congress-party-chamber
  > -if Dem is more conservative or Rep is more liberal than median, classify as a moder
  > ate member-Congress
  > -compute share of moderate Congresses for each member
  > -classify member as moderate if they are moderate for more than half of their congre
  > sses
  > */
36. egen member = group(icpsr dem house)

37. egen mincong = min(congress), by(member)

38. g temp = cvp if congress == mincong
  (31,911 missing values generated)

39. egen firstcvp = mean(temp), by(member)

40. drop temp mincong

41. keep if congress >= 76 & congress <= 117
  (19,517 observations deleted)

42. egen cong_chamber_party = group(congress house dem)

43. egen medianfirst = median(firstcvp), by(cong_chamber_party)

44. g moderate = 0

45. replace moderate = 1 if firstcvp > medianfirst & dem == 1
  (6,244 real changes made)

46. replace moderate = 1 if firstcvp < medianfirst & dem == 0
  (5,069 real changes made)

47. egen meanmoderate = mean(moderate), by(member)

48. drop moderate

49. g moderate = meanmoderate > .5

50. drop member firstcvp cong_chamber_party medianfirst meanmoderate

51. *merge in leader CVP
52. merge m:1 congress house dem using "LeaderCVP_HouseSenate.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                             0
    Matched                            22,713  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

53. drop _merge

54. save "Member_CVP_Cleaned.dta", replace
  (file Member_CVP_Cleaned.dta not found)
  file Member_CVP_Cleaned.dta saved
```

```
55.
56. clear

57. import delimited "HSall_members.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
  (22 vars, 50,485 obs)

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

59. g house = chamber == "House"

60. keep if congress >= 76 & congress <= 117
  (27,344 observations deleted)

61. keep if party == 100 | party == 200
  (75 observations deleted)

62. g dem = party == 100

63. keep congress house icpsr bioname dem

64. merge 1:1 congress house icpsr dem using "Member_CVP_Cleaned.dta"
  (variable congress was int, now float to accommodate using data's values)
  (variable icpsr was long, now double to accommodate using data's values)

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                           226
        from master                       226  (_merge==1)
        from using                          0  (_merge==2)

    Matched                            22,713  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

65. keep if _merge == 3
  (226 observations deleted)

66. drop _merge

67. g majority = dem

68. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress == 81 & house == 1
  (441 real changes made)

69. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress == 83 & house == 1
  (438 real changes made)

70. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress >= 104 & congress <= 109 & house == 1
  (2,630 real changes made)

71. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress >= 112 & congress <= 115 & house == 1
  (1,770 real changes made)

72. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress == 81 & house == 0
  (105 real changes made)

73. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress == 83 & house == 0
  (107 real changes made)
```

```
74. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress >= 104 & congress <= 109 & house == 0
  (584 real changes made)

75. replace majority = 1 - dem if congress >= 112 & congress <= 115 & house == 0
  (397 real changes made)

76. save "members_cleaned.dta", replace
  (file members_cleaned.dta not found)
  file members_cleaned.dta saved

77.
78. clear

79. import delimited "HSall_votes.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-2)
  (6 vars, 25,532,272 obs)

80. keep if congress >= 76 & congress <= 117
  (8,178,958 observations deleted)

81. drop if cast_code == 0 | cast_code == 7 | cast_code == 8 | cast_code == 9
  (1,218,038 observations deleted)

82. g yea = cast_code <= 3

83. g house = chamber == "House"

84. drop cast_code prob

85. merge m:1 icpsr congress house using "members_cleaned.dta"
  (variable congress was int, now float to accommodate using data's values)
  (variable icpsr was long, now double to accommodate using data's values)

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                   143,422
        from master               143,422  (_merge==1)
        from using                      0  (_merge==2)

    Matched                       15,991,854  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

86. keep if _merge == 3
  (143,422 observations deleted)

87. drop _merge

88. egen member_party_chamber = group(icpsr dem chamber)

89. egen party_chamber = group(dem chamber)

90. egen party_chamber_congress = group(dem chamber congress)

91. egen bill = group(congress chamber rollnumber)

92. g demyea = yea if dem == 1
  (7,378,950 missing values generated)

93. g repyea = yea if dem == 0
  (8,612,904 missing values generated)
```

```
. egen meandemyea = mean(demyea), by(bill)

. egen meanrepyea = mean(repyea), by(bill)
  (94 missing values generated)

. *drop unanimous votes
. drop if meandemyea == 1 & meanrepyea == 1
  (1,405,208 observations deleted)

. drop if meandemyea == 0 & meanrepyea == 0
  (9,288 observations deleted)

. drop bill

. egen bill = group(congress chamber rollnumber)

. g conservative = yea

. replace conservative = 1 - yea if meandemyea > meanrepyea
  (8,091,227 real changes made)

. g withrepublicans = yea

. replace withrepublicans = 1 - yea if meanrepyea < .5
  (5,669,710 real changes made)

. g againstdemocrats = yea

. replace againstdemocrats = 1 - yea if meandemyea > .5
  (9,276,117 real changes made)

. drop *demyea *repyea chamber

. sort congress house bill icpsr

. order congress house rollnumber icpsr dem majority bioname yea conservative withrepu
  > blicans againstdemocrats bill member_party_chamber party_chamber party_chamber_congr
  > ess

. save "rollcalls_prelim.dta", replace
  (file rollcalls_prelim.dta not found)
  file rollcalls_prelim.dta saved

. keep bill conservative cvp

. save "votes_prelim.dta", replace
  (file votes_prelim.dta not found)
  file votes_prelim.dta saved

.
. clear

. postutil clear

. postfile Recodings bill recode using "Recodings.dta", replace
  (file Recodings.dta not found)

. use "votes_prelim.dta"

. sum bill
```

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. dev.	Min	Max
bill	**14,577,358**	**29199.13**	**15199.04**	**1**	**54545**

```
119 local nbills = r(max)

120 quietly {
  500 15:12:01
  1000 15:17:30
  1500 15:23:02
  2000 15:28:44
  2500 15:34:32
  3000 15:40:07
  3500 15:45:33
  4000 15:50:45
  4500 15:56:02
  5000 16:01:21
  5500 16:06:43
  6000 16:11:51
  6500 16:17:08
  7000 16:22:29
  7500 16:27:40
  8000 16:32:54
  8500 16:38:11
  9000 16:43:29
  9500 16:48:43
  10000 16:54:00
  10500 16:59:17
  11000 17:04:30
  11500 17:09:47
  12000 17:15:27
  12500 17:21:00
  13000 17:26:04
  13500 17:31:26
  14000 17:36:50
  14500 17:42:11
  15000 17:47:31
  15500 17:52:27
  16000 17:57:52
  16500 18:01:28
  17000 18:04:24
  17500 18:07:21
  18000 18:10:15
  18500 18:13:09
  19000 18:16:06
  19500 18:19:02
  20000 18:21:55
  20500 18:24:48
  21000 18:27:42
  21500 18:30:37
  22000 18:33:30
  22500 18:36:27
  23000 18:39:22
  23500 18:42:15
  24000 18:45:10
  24500 18:48:06
  25000 18:50:58
  25500 18:53:53
  26000 18:56:46
  26500 18:59:40
  27000 19:02:36
  27500 19:05:29
  28000 19:08:22
  28500 19:11:15
  29000 19:14:09
  29500 19:17:01
  30000 19:19:56
  30500 19:22:50
  31000 19:25:43
  31500 19:28:36
  32000 19:31:29
  32500 19:34:24
  33000 19:37:18
  33500 19:40:14
  34000 19:43:07
  34500 19:45:59
```

```
  35000 19:48:52
  35500 19:51:47
  36000 19:55:11
  36500 19:58:03
  37000 20:00:56
  37500 20:03:49
  38000 20:06:43
  38500 20:09:36
  39000 20:12:28
  39500 20:15:22
  40000 20:18:17
  40500 20:21:13
  41000 20:24:08
  41500 20:27:01
  42000 20:29:54
  42500 20:32:49
  43000 20:35:45
  43500 20:38:37
  44000 20:41:31
  44500 20:44:24
  45000 20:47:17
  45500 20:50:10
  46000 20:53:02
  46500 20:55:56
  47000 20:58:48
  47500 21:01:40
  48000 21:04:34
  48500 21:07:27
  49000 21:10:19
  49500 21:13:11
  50000 21:16:04
  50500 21:18:56
  51000 21:21:49
  51500 21:24:41
  52000 21:27:33
  52500 21:30:27
  53000 21:33:20
  53500 21:36:18
  54000 21:39:09
  54500 21:42:02

121 postclose Recodings

122 clear

123 use "Recodings.dta"

124 sum recode

    Variable |        Obs        Mean    Std. dev.       Min        Max
-------------+---------------------------------------------------------
      recode |      1,884           1           0         1          1

125 disp r(N) " " `nbills' " " r(max)/`nbills'
  1884 54545 .00001833

126
127 *update leader CVP for Senate Republicans in 91st Congress
128 clear
```

```
129 import delimited "S091_rollcalls.csv"
  (encoding automatically selected: ISO-8859-1)
  (18 vars, 666 obs)

130 keep rollnumber date

131 g day = date(date, "YMD")

132 sort day

133 *Dirksen died on September 7, 1969 (day 3537)
134 *Scott elected minority leader on September 24, 1969 (day 3554)
135 g noleader = day >= 3537 & day < 3554

136 g scott = day >= 3554

137 g congress = 91

138 g house = 0

139 drop day date

140 save "billdates.dta", replace
  (file billdates.dta not found)
  file billdates.dta saved

141
142 clear

143 use "rollcalls_prelim.dta"

144 merge m:1 bill using "Recodings.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                    14,194,020
          from master                14,194,020  (_merge==1)
          from using                          0  (_merge==2)

      Matched                           383,338  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

145 g reppartyvote = conservative

146 replace conservative = 1 - conservative if recode == 1
  (383,338 real changes made)

147 drop recode _merge

148 merge m:1 congress house rollnumber using "billdates.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                    14,526,728
          from master                14,526,649  (_merge==1)
          from using                         79  (_merge==2)

      Matched                            50,709  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------
```

```
149 drop if _merge == 2
  (79 observations deleted)

150 drop _merge

151 replace noleader = 0 if dem == 1 & house == 0 & congress == 91
  (470 real changes made)

152 replace scott = 0 if dem == 1 & house == 0 & congress == 91
  (24,438 real changes made)

153 replace leader_cvp = . if noleader == 1
  (361 real changes made, 361 to missing)

154 sum leader_cvp if dem == 0 & house == 0 & congress == 90

    Variable |        Obs        Mean    Std. dev.       Min        Max
-------------+---------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |     17,879      .48585           0     .48585     .48585

155 replace leader_cvp = r(mean) if dem == 0 & house == 0 & congress == 91 & scott + nol
  > eader == 0
  (2,498 real changes made)

156 order congress house rollnumber icpsr dem majority bioname yea conservative repparty
  > vote withrepublicans againstdemocrats bill member_party_chamber party_chamber party_
  > chamber_congress

157 save "CleanedRollCallData.dta", replace
  file CleanedRollCallData.dta saved

158
159
160 *Figure 1
161 clear

162 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

163 egen member_party_chamber_congress = group(icpsr dem house congress)

164 sort member_party_chamber_congress

165 drop if member_party_chamber_congress == member_party_chamber_congress[_n-1]
  (14,554,650 observations deleted)

166 drop if rollnumber == .
  (0 observations deleted)

167 collapse (mean) cvp leader_cvp dem house congress, by(party_chamber_congress)

168 drop party_chamber_congress

169 egen chamber_congress = group(house congress)

170 reshape wide cvp leader_cvp, i(chamber_congress) j(dem)
  (j = 0 1)

  Data                               Long   ->   Wide
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Number of observations              168   ->   84
  Number of variables                   6   ->   7
  j variable (2 values)               dem   ->   (dropped)
  xij variables:
                                      cvp   ->   cvp0 cvp1
                                leader_cvp   ->   leader_cvp0 leader_cvp1
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
171 g eyear = 1786 + cong*2

172 g year = eyear + 1.5

173 g reppre = cvp0 if cong <= 92
  (50 missing values generated)

174 g reppost = cvp0 if cong >= 92
  (32 missing values generated)

175 g dempre = cvp1 if cong <= 92
  (50 missing values generated)

176 g dempost = cvp1 if cong >= 92
  (32 missing values generated)

177 graph twoway (line cvp0 cvp1 year) (scatter leader_cvp0 leader_cvp1 year) (lfit repp
  > re year) (lfit reppost year) (lfit dempre year) (lfit dempost year) if house == 1

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

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

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

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

182 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

183 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush CVP

184 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

185 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Year

186 gr_edit .xaxis1.plotregion.xscale.curmax = 2021

187 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(red) width(thick)) editcopy

188 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(midblue) width(thick)) editcop
  > y

189 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle marker(size(small) fillcolor(maroon) line
  > style(color(maroon))) editcopy

190 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot4.style.editstyle marker(size(small) fillcolor(navy) linest
  > yle(color(navy))) editcopy

191 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot5.style.editstyle line(color(cranberry) pattern(dash)) edit
  > copy

192 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot6.style.editstyle line(color(cranberry) pattern(dash)) edit
  > copy

193 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot7.style.editstyle line(color(blue) pattern(dash)) editcopy

194 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot8.style.editstyle line(color(blue) pattern(dash)) editcopy
```

```
195 gr_edit .title.style.editstyle color(black) editcopy

196 gr_edit .title.text = {}

197 gr_edit .title.text.Arrpush House

198 graph save "PolarizationHouse.gph", replace
  (file PolarizationHouse.gph not found)
  file PolarizationHouse.gph saved

199 graph twoway (line cvp0 cvp1 year) (scatter leader_cvp0 leader_cvp1 year) (lfit repp
  > re year) (lfit reppost year) (lfit dempre year) (lfit dempost year) if house == 0

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

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

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

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

204 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

205 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush CVP

206 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

207 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Year

208 gr_edit .xaxis1.plotregion.xscale.curmax = 2021

209 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(red) width(thick)) editcopy

210 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(midblue) width(thick)) editcop
  > y

211 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle marker(size(small) fillcolor(maroon) line
  > style(color(maroon))) editcopy

212 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot4.style.editstyle marker(size(small) fillcolor(navy) linest
  > yle(color(navy))) editcopy

213 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot5.style.editstyle line(color(cranberry) pattern(dash)) edit
  > copy

214 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot6.style.editstyle line(color(cranberry) pattern(dash)) edit
  > copy

215 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot7.style.editstyle line(color(blue) pattern(dash)) editcopy

216 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot8.style.editstyle line(color(blue) pattern(dash)) editcopy

217 gr_edit .title.style.editstyle color(black) editcopy

218 gr_edit .title.text = {}

219 gr_edit .title.text.Arrpush Senate
```

```
220 graph save "PolarizationSenate.gph", replace
  (file PolarizationSenate.gph not found)
  file PolarizationSenate.gph saved

221 graph combine "PolarizationHouse.gph" "PolarizationSenate.gph", col(1)

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

223 gr_edit .style.editstyle declared_ysize(8) editcopy

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

225
226
227 *Table 1
228 clear

229 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

230 keep if congress >= 77 & congress <= 116
  (587,769 observations deleted)

231 *correlations reported in footnote
232 corr conservative reppartyvote withrepublicans againstdemocrats
  (obs=13,989,589)

             | conser~e reppar~e withre~s agains~s
-------------+------------------------------------
conservative |   1.0000
reppartyvote |   0.9453   1.0000
withrepubl~s |   0.5531   0.5731   1.0000
againstdem~s |   0.6853   0.6724   0.3015   1.0000


233 g leader_cvp_dem = leader_cvp*dem
  (361 missing values generated)

234 g leader_cvp_majority = leader_cvp*majority
  (361 missing values generated)

235 g leader_cvp_house = leader_cvp*house
  (361 missing values generated)

236 g leader_cvp_moderate = leader_cvp*moderate
  (361 missing values generated)

237
238 areg conservative leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_
  > chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
```

```
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09

Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators                 Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                        Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                     F(1, 159)     =      25.33
  min =    160                                          Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                          R-squared     =     0.5529
  max = 21,610                                          Adj R-squared =     0.5511
                                                        Root MSE      =     0.3334

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative |Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .3893818   .0773733     5.03   0.000     .2365697    .5421939
       _cons |   .3770847   .0149459    25.23   0.000     .3475665    .4066029
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

239 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", replace 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next l
  > eader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

240 areg conservative leader_next leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster m
  > ember_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.087e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       13.48
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.5529
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.5511
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3334

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |   .0441072   .1114423     0.40   0.693    -.175991    .2642053
  leader_cvp |    .360764   .1129513     3.19   0.002     .1376856    .5838424
       _cons |   .3741148   .0156937    23.84   0.000     .3431198    .4051098
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

241 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
  > ader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

242 areg conservative leader_next leader_cvp leader_prev, a(member_party_chamber bill) v
  > ce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008241
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005819
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006616
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001232
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002592
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.434e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.751e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(3, 159)     =      17.24
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5534
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5516
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3332

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |    .0539272   .1149792     0.47   0.640    -.1731562    .2810107
  leader_cvp |   -.0581575   .1313159    -0.44   0.658     -.317506     .201191
 leader_prev |    .5808103   .1149839     5.05   0.000     .3537176     .807903
       _cons |    .3416279   .0166077    20.57   0.000     .3088277     .374428
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

243 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
  > ader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

244 areg conservative leader_cvp leader_cvp_house, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clus
  > ter member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       14.05
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.5530
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.5512
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3333

                                        (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .1611693   .0626456     2.57   0.011     .0374445    .2848942
leader_cvp_~e|   .4434923   .1447104     3.06   0.003     .1576898    .7292947
       _cons |   .3372858   .0246593    13.68   0.000     .2885838    .3859879
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

245 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
> ader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

246 areg conservative leader_cvp leader_cvp_dem, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
> r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001053
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      15.63
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5529
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5511
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3334

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .4446362   .0849708     5.23   0.000     .2768192    .6124531
leader_cvp_~m|  -.1501701    .185264    -0.81   0.419    -.5160658    .2157256
       _cons |   .3595549   .0219547    16.38   0.000     .3161945    .4029153
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

247 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
> ader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

248 areg conservative leader_cvp leader_cvp_majority, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(c
> luster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .1015
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05568
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02669
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05127
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02269
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007504
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .004196
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001672
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .001032
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0004369
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0003134
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002368
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000242
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 4.047e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.941e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       13.22
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.5529
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.5511
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3334

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .3960603   .0823706     4.81   0.000     .2333786    .5587419
leader_cvp_~y|  -.0139546   .0333624    -0.42   0.676    -.0798452     .051936
       _cons |   .3769678   .0149096    25.28   0.000     .3475213    .4064142
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

249 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
> ader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

250 areg conservative leader_cvp leader_cvp_moderate, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(c
> luster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03895
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02857
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .009356
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003386
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008816
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005758
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006145
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0002503
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001303
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00009942
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001004
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 5.025e-06
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 3.835e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.671e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.108e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.112e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.985e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.242e-09
```

```
  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001422
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                      Cluster comb. =          3
  Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      14.30
    min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
    avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5530
    max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5511
                                                      Root MSE      =     0.3334

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .3026316   .0822959     3.68   0.000     .1400975    .4651658
leader_cvp_~e|   .1705866   .0734436     2.32   0.021     .0255357    .3156374
       _cons |   .3777875   .0149156    25.33   0.000     .3483292    .4072458
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

251 outreg2 using "Table1_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next le
  > ader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

252
253 areg reppartyvote leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_
  > chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00004226
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001391
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =      .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =     .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =   .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(1, 159)     =       25.98
  min =     160                                     Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =   8,596                                     R-squared     =      0.5503
  max =  21,610                                     Adj R-squared =      0.5484
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3348

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |    .3850429   .0755415     5.10   0.000     .2358487     .534237
       _cons |    .3850273    .014598    26.38   0.000     .3561963    .4138582
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

254 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", replace 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader
  > _next leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

255 areg reppartyvote leader_next leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster m
  > ember_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =      .0374
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .02544
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =     .01871
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =     .00764
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .003482
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .003424
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =     .00296
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =      .0017
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =    .000648
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =    .000247
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =   .0001668
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =     .00003
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .00004226
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .00001391
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =      .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =     .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =   .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.087e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      13.72
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5503
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5484
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3348

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
reppartyvote | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |   .0395158   .1078009     0.37   0.714    -.1733905    .2524222
  leader_cvp |    .359404   .1094811     3.28   0.001     .1431792    .5756289
       _cons |   .3823665   .0153657    24.88   0.000     .3520194    .4127136
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

256 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
  > next leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

257 areg reppartyvote leader_next leader_cvp leader_prev, a(member_party_chamber bill) v
  > ce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .00004226
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .00001391
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008241
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005819
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006616
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001232
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002592
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.434e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.751e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(3, 159)     =      17.22
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5507
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5489
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3346

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |     .049123   .1118295     0.44   0.661    -.1717399    .2699859
  leader_cvp |    -.050435   .1275191    -0.40   0.693    -.3022847    .2014147
 leader_prev |     .568218   .1123534     5.06   0.000     .3463205    .7901155
       _cons |    .3505839   .0163693    21.42   0.000     .3182545    .3829133
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

258 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
  > next leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

259 areg reppartyvote leader_cvp leader_cvp_house, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clus
  > ter member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00004226
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001391
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      14.55
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5504
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5485
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3348

                                        (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .1694055   .0596306     2.84   0.005     .0516354    .2871757
leader_cvp_~e |   .4190546   .1414806     2.96   0.004     .1396309    .6984783
       _cons |   .3474214    .024252    14.33   0.000     .2995238     .395319
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

260 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
> next leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

261 areg reppartyvote leader_cvp leader_cvp_dem, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
> r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00004226
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001391
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001053
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      16.17
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5503
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5485
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3348

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .4356236   .0823092     5.29   0.000     .2730631     .598184
leader_cvp_dem |  -.137468   .1837147    -0.75   0.455    -.5003038    .2253677
       _cons |   .3689802   .0214392    17.21   0.000     .3266379    .4113225
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

262 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
  > next leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

263 areg reppartyvote leader_cvp leader_cvp_majority, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(c
  > luster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00004226
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001391
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .1015
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05568
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02669
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05127
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02269
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007504
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .004196
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001672
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .001032
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0004369
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0003134
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002368
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000242
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 4.047e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.941e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       13.61
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.5503
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.5484
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3348

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |    .3917831   .0806495     4.86   0.000     .2325006    .5510656
leader_cvp_~y |   -.0140837   .0333191    -0.42   0.673    -.0798888    .0517215
       _cons |    .3849092   .0145592    26.44   0.000     .3561548    .4136637
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

264 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
> next leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

265 areg reppartyvote leader_cvp leader_cvp_moderate, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(c
> luster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0374
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02544
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01871
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00764
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003482
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003424
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00296
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0017
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000648
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .000247
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001668
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =    .00003
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00004226
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001391
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 6.269e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.255e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.356e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.877e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 5.191e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001422
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      14.94
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.5503
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5485
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3348

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .3075568   .0824712     3.73   0.000     .1446765     .470437
leader_cvp_~e |   .1523696   .0708493     2.15   0.033     .0124425    .2922967
       _cons |    .385655   .0145815    26.45   0.000     .3568566    .4144534
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

266 outreg2 using "Table1_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_
  > next leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

267
268 areg withrepublicans leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_par
  > ty_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(1, 159)     =      36.43
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4433
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4410
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3591

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepubl~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |    .4924553   .0815871     6.04   0.000     .3313211    .6535895
       _cons |    .5454517   .0157548    34.62   0.000     .5143361    .5765673
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

269 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", replace 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
  > t leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

270 areg withrepublicans leader_next leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
  > r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.087e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                      Cluster comb. =          3
  Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      18.90
    min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
    avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4433
    max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4410
                                                      Root MSE      =     0.3591

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepubl~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |    .1218622   .1058887     1.15   0.252    -.0872674    .3309919
  leader_cvp |    .4133881   .1018211     4.06   0.000     .2122918    .6144844
       _cons |    .5372464   .0176306    30.47   0.000      .502426    .5720667
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

271 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
  >  leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

272 areg withrepublicans leader_next leader_cvp leader_prev, a(member_party_chamber bill
  > ) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008241
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005819
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006616
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001232
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002592
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.434e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.751e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(3, 159)     =      19.75
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4438
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4416
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3590

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepubl~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |    .1323402   .1107942     1.19   0.234    -.0864781    .3511584
  leader_cvp |   -.0335976    .126445    -0.27   0.791    -.2833259    .2161308
 leader_prev |    .6197196   .1190688     5.20   0.000     .3845591    .8548801
       _cons |    .5025831   .0191065    26.30   0.000     .4648479    .5403183
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

273 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
  >  leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

274 areg withrepublicans leader_cvp leader_cvp_house, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(c
  > luster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       20.85
  min =     160                                     Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =   8,596                                     R-squared     =      0.4434
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.4412
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3591

                                        (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepublicans |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
      leader_cvp |   .2547992   .0684093     3.72   0.000     .1196911    .3899073
leader_cvp_house |   .4618444   .1521209     3.04   0.003     .1614062    .7622826
           _cons |   .5040059   .0256603    19.64   0.000      .453327    .5546848
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

275 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
  >  leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

276 areg withrepublicans leader_cvp leader_cvp_dem, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clu
  > ster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001053
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      21.23
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4433
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4410
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3591

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepubli~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |    .5524217   .0899698     6.14   0.000     .3747317    .7301118
leader_cvp_dem |   -.1629766   .1809009    -0.90   0.369    -.5202551    .1943019
       _cons |     .526427   .0225927    23.30   0.000     .4818065    .5710474
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

277 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
>  leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

278 areg withrepublicans leader_cvp leader_cvp_majority, a(member_party_chamber bill) vc
> e(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .1015
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05568
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02669
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05127
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02269
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007504
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .004196
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001672
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .001032
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0004369
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0003134
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002368
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000242
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 4.047e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.941e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      22.29
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4434
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4412
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3591

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepublic~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .4584768   .0880219     5.21   0.000     .2846339    .6323197
leader_cvp_~y |    .070998   .036704     1.93   0.055    -.0014923    .1434884
       _cons |   .5460467   .0161448    33.82   0.000     .5141607    .5779326
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

279 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
> leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

280 areg withrepublicans leader_cvp leader_cvp_moderate, a(member_party_chamber bill) vc
> e(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04526
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .04361
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03403
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006116
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01891
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01023
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003496
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002038
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001245
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002316
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00007754
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00003284
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00005757
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = .00001421
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.964e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.058e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 3.687e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 8.475e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 6.138e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001422
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      19.07
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4433
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4410
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3591

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepublicans |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
        leader_cvp |   .4784949    .092314     5.18   0.000     .2961751    .6608147
leader_cvp_moderate |   .0274519   .0646961     0.42   0.672    -.1003227    .1552265
              _cons |   .5455648   .0157971    34.54   0.000     .5143657    .5767639
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

281 outreg2 using "Table1_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_next
  >  leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

282
283 areg againstddemocrats leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_pa
  > rty_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(1, 159)     =      27.22
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4485
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4463
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3533

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdem~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |    .4913656   .0941724     5.22   0.000     .3053754    .6773558
       _cons |    .2500295   .0181666    13.76   0.000     .2141504    .2859085
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

284 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", replace 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_ne
> xt leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

285 areg againstdemocrats leader_next leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clust
> er member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.087e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      14.70
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4485
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4463
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3533

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdem~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |    .0146371   .1316454     0.11   0.912    -.2453621    .2746362
  leader_cvp |    .4818687   .1417162     3.40   0.001     .2019798    .7617576
       _cons |    .2490439   .0181875    13.69   0.000     .2131236    .2849642
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

286 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
> t leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

287 areg againstdemocrats leader_next leader_cvp leader_prev, a(member_party_chamber bil
> l) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008241
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005819
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .006616
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007313
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001232
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002592
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.023e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.434e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 3.751e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 8.370e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(3, 159)     =      19.08
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4492
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4470
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3531

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdem~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
 leader_next |    .0263564   .1371037     0.19   0.848    -.244423    .2971357
  leader_cvp |   -.0180755   .1604904    -0.11   0.910   -.3350435    .2988924
 leader_prev |    .6931436   .1351407     5.13   0.000    .4262412     .960046
       _cons |    .2102737   .0188139    11.18   0.000    .1731164     .247431
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

288 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
  > t leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

289 areg againstdemocrats leader_cvp leader_cvp_house, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(
  > cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                      Cluster comb. =          3
  Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      15.90
    min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
    avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4488
    max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4465
                                                      Root MSE      =     0.3532

                                        (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdemo~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
      leader_cvp |   .1865479   .0654483     2.85   0.005     .0572878    .3158081
leader_cvp_house |   .5923614   .1729451     3.43   0.001     .2507956    .9339273
           _cons |   .1968711   .0302493     6.51   0.000     .1371288    .2566135
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

290 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
  > t leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

291 areg againstdemocrats leader_cvp leader_cvp_dem, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cl
  > uster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001053
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference = .00008679
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =      16.77
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =     0.4485
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =     0.4463
                                                    Root MSE      =     0.3533

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdemoc~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
    leader_cvp |    .518611   .0970558     5.34   0.000     .3269261    .7102958
leader_cvp_dem |  -.0740475   .2188509    -0.34   0.736    -.5062771    .3581822
         _cons |   .2413857   .0249632     9.67   0.000     .1920835    .2906879
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

292 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
  > t leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

293 areg againstdemocrats leader_cvp leader_cvp_majority, a(member_party_chamber bill) v
  > ce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .1015
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05568
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05893
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02669
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05127
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02269
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007504
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .004196
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001672
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =   .001032
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0004369
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0003134
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002368
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000242
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 4.047e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.941e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       14.41
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.4486
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.4464
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3532

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdemo~s| Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
      leader_~p|   .5170546   .0972872     5.31   0.000     .3249128    .7091964
leader_cvp_m~y|  -.0536772    .035783    -1.50   0.136    -.1243485    .0169942
       _cons|   .2495797   .0177035    14.10   0.000     .2146154     .284544
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

294 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
> t leader_cvp leader_prev)
dir : seeout

295 areg againstdemocrats leader_cvp leader_cvp_moderate, a(member_party_chamber bill) v
> ce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01653
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01068
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008038
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005906
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001754
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001049
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00127
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003028
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001687
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001353
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00006517
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000208
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003086
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 9.158e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.331e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 5.508e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 7.739e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 1.363e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 1.350e-09
```

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05072
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0215
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01512
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007332
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005705
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005201
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002405
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006931
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001041
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001422
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001124
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00002002
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001074
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 6.606e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 2.641e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.002e-06
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 4.247e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.650e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 4.510e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,989,228
                                                    Cluster comb. =           3
Clusters per comb.:                                 F(2, 159)     =       15.89
  min =    160                                      Prob > F      =      0.0000
  avg =  8,596                                      R-squared     =      0.4485
  max = 21,610                                      Adj R-squared =      0.4463
                                                    Root MSE      =      0.3533

                                          (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdemo~s| Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
  leader_cvp |   .4564774   .1054157     4.33   0.000     .2482818    .6646729
leader_cvp_~e|   .0686046   .0635449     1.08   0.282    -.0568963    .1941055
       _cons |   .2503121   .0182262    13.73   0.000     .2143155    .2863088
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

296 outreg2 using "Table1_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_nex
  > t leader_cvp leader_prev)
  dir : seeout

297
298
299 *Table 2
300 clear

301 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

302 keep if house == 1
  (2,115,545 observations deleted)

303 *focus on Congresses 87-91, where the only leader change in either party was from Ha
  > lleck to Ford
304 keep if congress >= 87 & congress <= 91
  (11,846,786 observations deleted)

305 *keep only members who served under both Halleck and Ford
```

```
306 egen mincong = min(congress), by(member_party_chamber)

307 egen maxcong = max(congress), by(member_party_chamber)

308 keep if mincong <= 88 & maxcong >= 89
  (177,334 observations deleted)

309 merge m:1 icpsr using "fordvotes.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                   285,855
          from master               285,832  (_merge==1)
          from using                     23  (_merge==2)

      Matched                       151,861  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

310 replace fordvote1 = 0 if fordvote1 == .
  (285,832 real changes made)

311 replace fordvote2 = 0 if fordvote2 == .
  (285,832 real changes made)

312 g fordleadership = dem == 0 & congress >= 89

313 g ford_ford1 = fordleadership*fordvote1

314 g ford_ford2 = fordleadership*fordvote2

315
316 areg conservative fordleadership, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_pa
  > rty_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005706
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001518
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.380e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.172e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 9.077e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators               Number of obs = 437,693
                                                        Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                   F(1, 9)       =   22.05
    min =    10                                         Prob > F      =  0.0011
    avg =   643                                         R-squared     =  0.5042
    max = 1,564                                         Adj R-squared =  0.5019
                                                        Root MSE      =  0.3456

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
  conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.1374549   .0292742    -4.70   0.001    -.2036777   -.0712322
         _cons |   .4356329    .010398    41.90   0.000     .412111    .4591548
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.
```

```
317 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", replace 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

318 areg conservative fordleadership ford_ford1, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
  > r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005706
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001518
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.380e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.172e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 9.077e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 9)       =   11.58
    min =    10                                          Prob > F      =  0.0032
    avg =   643                                          R-squared     =  0.5042
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.5019
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3456

                                       (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.1373436   .0303307    -4.53   0.001    -.2059565   -.0687307
    ford_ford1 |  -.0002447   .0084566    -0.03   0.978    -.0193749    .0188855
         _cons |   .4356331   .0103984    41.89   0.000     .4121101     .459156
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

319 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

320 areg conservative fordleadership ford_ford2, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
  > r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005706
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001518
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.380e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.172e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 9.077e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 9)       =   11.02
    min =    10                                          Prob > F      =  0.0038
    avg =   643                                          R-squared     =  0.5042
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.5019
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3456
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1362603**	**.0293423**	**-4.64**	**0.001**	**-.2026371**	**-.0698834**
ford_ford2	**-.002312**	**.0096563**	**-0.24**	**0.816**	**-.024156**	**.019532**
_cons	**.4356352**	**.0104015**	**41.88**	**0.000**	**.4121053**	**.459165**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

321 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

322 areg conservative fordleadership if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(member_party_
> chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.002464**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00004762**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.956e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **2.627e-10**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.01221**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00002347**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.028e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **7.454e-11**
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance **matrix** is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Number of obs = **173,956**
Cluster comb. = **3**
F(**1, 3**) = **132.57**
Prob > F = **0.0014**
R-squared = **0.5104**
Adj R-squared = **0.5078**
Root MSE = **0.3409**

Clusters per comb.:
min = **4**
avg = **351**
max = **694**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.0529386**	**.0045978**	**-11.51**	**0.001**	**-.0675707**	**-.0383064**
_cons	**.3930863**	**.0009693**	**405.52**	**0.000**	**.3900015**	**.3961712**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

323 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

324 areg conservative fordleadership ford_ford1 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(me
> mber_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.002464**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00004762**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.956e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **2.627e-10**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.01221**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00002347**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.028e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **7.454e-11**
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance **matrix** is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **173,956**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 3**) = **67.70**
min = **4** — Prob > F = **0.0032**
avg = **351** — R-squared = **0.5104**
max = **694** — Adj R-squared = **0.5078**
Root MSE = **0.3409**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.0467663**	**.0054762**	**-8.54**	**0.003**	**-.0641938**	**-.0293387**
ford_ford1	**-.0122786**	**.0065128**	**-1.89**	**0.156**	**-.0330051**	**.008448**
_cons	**.3930999**	**.0009549**	**411.65**	**0.000**	**.3900608**	**.3961389**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

325 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

326 areg conservative fordleadership ford_ford2 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(me
> mber_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.002464**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00004762**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.956e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **2.627e-10**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.01221**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00002347**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.028e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **7.454e-11**
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance **matrix** is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **173,956**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 3**) = **66.40**
min = **4** — Prob > F = **0.0033**
avg = **351** — R-squared = **0.5104**
max = **694** — Adj R-squared = **0.5078**
Root MSE = **0.3409**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.0498222**	**.0057794**	**-8.62**	**0.003**	**-.0682149**	**-.0314295**
ford_ford2	**-.0055196**	**.0067553**	**-0.82**	**0.474**	**-.0270181**	**.015979**
_cons	**.3930926**	**.000955**	**411.62**	**0.000**	**.3900534**	**.3961318**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

327 outreg2 using "Table2_conservative.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

```
328
329 areg reppartyvote fordleadership, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_pa
  > rty_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00738
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001316
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.103e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.316e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 9.449e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(1, 9)       =   22.13
    min =    10                                          Prob > F      =  0.0011
    avg =   643                                          R-squared     =  0.4974
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.4951
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3529

                                       (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership|  -.1285094   .0273182    -4.70   0.001    -.1903074   -.0667114
        _cons |   .4762976   .0096999    49.10   0.000     .4543549    .4982403
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

330 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", replace 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

331 areg reppartyvote fordleadership ford_ford1, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
  > r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00738
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001316
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.103e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.316e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 9.449e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 9)       =   12.68
    min =    10                                          Prob > F      =  0.0024
    avg =   643                                          R-squared     =  0.4974
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.4951
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3529
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

reppartyvote	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1295225**	**.0290558**	**-4.46**	**0.002**	**-.1952513**	**-.0637937**
ford_ford1	**.0022278**	**.0083923**	**0.27**	**0.797**	**-.0167569**	**.0212124**
_cons	**.4762962**	**.0096958**	**49.12**	**0.000**	**.4543628**	**.4982297**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

332 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

333 areg reppartyvote fordleadership ford_ford2, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluste
> r member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.00738**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0001316**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **2.103e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.316e-08**
Iteration 5: Maximum absolute difference = **9.449e-11**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.02583**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0003896**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **5.587e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.820e-08**
Iteration 5: Maximum absolute difference = **1.509e-10**

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Number of obs = **437,693**
Cluster comb. = **3**
F(**2, 9**) = **11.29**
Prob > F = **0.0035**
R-squared = **0.4974**
Adj R-squared = **0.4951**
Root MSE = **0.3529**

Clusters per comb.:
min = **10**
avg = **643**
max = **1,564**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

reppartyvote	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1279359**	**.0281605**	**-4.54**	**0.001**	**-.1916393**	**-.0642325**
ford_ford2	**-.0011099**	**.0084292**	**-0.13**	**0.898**	**-.0201781**	**.0179583**
_cons	**.4762987**	**.0097015**	**49.10**	**0.000**	**.4543524**	**.4982449**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

334 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

335 areg reppartyvote fordleadership if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(member_party_
> chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.00252**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00004294**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **6.005e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.354e-10**

```
Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                       Cluster comb. =       3
Clusters per comb.:                                    F(1, 3)       =  120.80
  min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0016
  avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.5083
  max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.5057
                                                       Root MSE      =  0.3468

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.0502092   .0045682   -10.99   0.002    -.0647472   -.0356712
        _cons |   .4286492   .0009627   445.24   0.000     .4255854    .4317131
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

336 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

337 areg reppartyvote fordleadership ford_ford1 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(me
  > mber_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00252
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00004294
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.005e-08
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.354e-10

Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                       Cluster comb. =       3
Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =   62.08
  min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0036
  avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.5084
  max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.5057
                                                       Root MSE      =  0.3468

                                   (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote | Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.0429861   .0053497    -8.04   0.004    -.0600113    -.025961
    ford_ford1 |   -.014369   .0064225    -2.24   0.111    -.0348081    .0060702
        _cons |   .4286651   .0009478   452.27   0.000     .4256488    .4316815
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.
```

```
338 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

339 areg reppartyvote fordleadership ford_ford2 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(me
  > mber_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00252
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00004294
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.005e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.354e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =   60.96
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0037
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.5084
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.5057
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3468

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
 reppartyvote |Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership|  -.0445738   .0056852    -7.84   0.004    -.0626666   -.026481
    ford_ford2|  -.0099812   .0067192    -1.49   0.234    -.0313647   .0114023
         _cons|   .4286606    .000947   452.63   0.000     .4256467   .4316745
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

340 outreg2 using "Table2_republicandirection.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

341
342 areg withrepublicans fordleadership, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member
  > _party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00956
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001736
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 4.999e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 4.887e-09

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(1, 9)       =   12.85
    min =   10                                           Prob > F      =  0.0059
    avg =  643                                           R-squared     =  0.3592
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.3562
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3791
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepublic~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.104836**	**.0292453**	**-3.58**	**0.006**	**-.1709935**	**-.0386785**
_cons	**.6914289**	**.0102877**	**67.21**	**0.000**	**.6681564**	**.7147014**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

343 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", replace 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

344 areg withrepublicans fordleadership ford_ford1, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clu
> ster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.00956**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0001736**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **4.999e-07**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **4.887e-09**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.02583**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0003896**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **5.587e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.820e-08**
Iteration 5: Maximum absolute difference = **1.509e-10**

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **437,693**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 9**) = **8.39**
min = **10** — Prob > F = **0.0088**
avg = **643** — R-squared = **0.3592**
max = **1,564** — Adj R-squared = **0.3562**
Root MSE = **0.3791**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepublic~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1044677**	**.0322373**	**-3.24**	**0.010**	**-.1773936**	**-.0315418**
ford_ford1	**-.0008098**	**.0122168**	**-0.07**	**0.949**	**-.0284461**	**.0268264**
_cons	**.6914294**	**.0102885**	**67.20**	**0.000**	**.6681552**	**.7147036**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

345 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

346 areg withrepublicans fordleadership ford_ford2, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clu
> ster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.00956**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0001736**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **4.999e-07**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **4.887e-09**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.02583**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0003896**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **5.587e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.820e-08**
Iteration 5: Maximum absolute difference = **1.509e-10**

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **437,693**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 9**) = **7.31**
min = **10** — Prob > F = **0.0130**
avg = **643** — R-squared = **0.3592**
max = **1,564** — Adj R-squared = **0.3562**
Root MSE = **0.3791**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepublic~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1043606**	**.0322268**	**-3.24**	**0.010**	**-.1772628**	**-.0314584**
ford_ford2	**-.0009201**	**.013444**	**-0.07**	**0.947**	**-.0313325**	**.0294924**
_cons	**.6914298**	**.0102877**	**67.21**	**0.000**	**.6681573**	**.7147022**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

347 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

348 areg withrepublicans fordleadership if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(member_par
> ty_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.003195**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00003381**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **1.968e-07**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **3.395e-10**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.01221**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00002347**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **7.028e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **7.454e-11**
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance **matrix** is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **173,956**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**1, 3**) = **30.05**
min = **4** — Prob > F = **0.0119**
avg = **351** — R-squared = **0.4023**
max = **694** — Adj R-squared = **0.3990**
Root MSE = **0.3755**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepublic~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.024933**	**.0045486**	**-5.48**	**0.012**	**-.0394088**	**-.0104573**
_cons	**.6289513**	**.0009421**	**667.57**	**0.000**	**.625953**	**.6319496**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

349 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

```
350 areg withrepublicans fordleadership ford_ford1 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a
  > (member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003195
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00003381
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.968e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.395e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =   15.34
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0266
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.4023
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.3990
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3755

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
withrepublic~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.0198832   .0051934    -3.83   0.031    -.0364108   -.0033556
    ford_ford1 |  -.0100457   .0067067    -1.50   0.231    -.0313893     .011298
         _cons |   .6289624   .0009305   675.92   0.000     .6260011    .6319238
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

351 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

352 areg withrepublicans fordleadership ford_ford2 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a
  > (member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .003195
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00003381
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.968e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.395e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =   15.31
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0267
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.4023
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.3990
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3755
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepublic~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.0232189**	**.0053558**	**-4.34**	**0.023**	**-.0402633**	**-.0061745**
ford_ford2	**-.003036**	**.0069923**	**-0.43**	**0.693**	**-.0252887**	**.0192167**
_cons	**.6289548**	**.0009311**	**675.49**	**0.000**	**.6259915**	**.631918**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
353 outreg2 using "Table2_withrepublicans.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

354
355 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster membe
  > r_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005971
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001658
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.067e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.042e-09

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 437,693
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(1, 9)       =   22.72
    min =    10                                          Prob > F      =  0.0010
    avg =   643                                          R-squared     =  0.3365
    max = 1,564                                          Adj R-squared =  0.3334
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3641
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

againstdemoc~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1503882**	**.0315503**	**-4.77**	**0.001**	**-.22176**	**-.0790165**
_cons	**.3137271**	**.0112902**	**27.79**	**0.000**	**.2881868**	**.3392674**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
356 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", replace 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

357 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership ford_ford1, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cl
  > uster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005971
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001658
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.067e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.042e-09

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02583
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003896
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.587e-06
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.820e-08
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.509e-10
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Number of obs = **437,693**
Cluster comb. = **3**
F(**2, 9**) = **11.80**
Prob > F = **0.0030**
R-squared = **0.3365**
Adj R-squared = **0.3334**
Root MSE = **0.3641**

Clusters per comb.:
min = **10**
avg = **643**
max = **1,564**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

against democ~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1531849**	**.0327689**	**-4.67**	**0.001**	**-.2273131**	**-.0790566**
ford_ford1	**.0061497**	**.0068362**	**0.90**	**0.392**	**-.0093149**	**.0216142**
_cons	**.3137234**	**.011279**	**27.81**	**0.000**	**.2882084**	**.3392384**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

358 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

359 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership ford_ford2, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cl
> uster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.005971**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0001658**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **1.067e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **6.042e-09**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.02583**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.0003896**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **5.587e-06**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.820e-08**
Iteration 5: Maximum absolute difference = **1.509e-10**

Linear regression, absorbing indicators

Number of obs = **437,693**
Cluster comb. = **3**
F(**2, 9**) = **11.44**
Prob > F = **0.0034**
R-squared = **0.3365**
Adj R-squared = **0.3334**
Root MSE = **0.3641**

Clusters per comb.:
min = **10**
avg = **643**
max = **1,564**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

against democ~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	**-.1510744**	**.031615**	**-4.78**	**0.001**	**-.2225925**	**-.0795564**
ford_ford2	**.001328**	**.0073251**	**0.18**	**0.860**	**-.0152425**	**.0178986**
_cons	**.3137258**	**.0112877**	**27.79**	**0.000**	**.2881912**	**.3392604**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

360 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

```
361 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89, a(member_pa
  > rty_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002375
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.387e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.065e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.307e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(1, 3)       =  235.78
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0006
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.3852
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.3819
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3572

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdemoc~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
fordleadership |  -.0638151   .0041559   -15.36   0.001    -.0770411   -.0505891
         _cons |   .3045408   .0008698   350.14   0.000     .3017728    .3073088
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and party_chamber_congress.

362 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

363 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership ford_ford1 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89,
  > a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress
  > )

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002375
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.387e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.065e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.307e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =  120.55
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0014
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.3853
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.3819
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3572
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

against~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	-.058034	.0050847	-11.41	0.001	-.0742158	-.0418522
ford_ford1	-.0115004	.0059966	-1.92	0.151	-.0305843	.0075835
_cons	.3045535	.000856	355.79	0.000	.3018294	.3072777

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
364 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

365 areg againstdemocrats fordleadership ford_ford2 if congress >= 88 & congress <= 89,
  > a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress
  > )

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002375
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.387e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.065e-07
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.307e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01221
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00002347
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.028e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 7.454e-11
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 173,956
                                                         Cluster comb. =       3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 3)       =  118.64
    min =   4                                            Prob > F      =  0.0014
    avg = 351                                            R-squared     =  0.3852
    max = 694                                            Adj R-squared =  0.3819
                                                         Root MSE      =  0.3572
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

against~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
fordleadership	-.0594329	.0053503	-11.11	0.002	-.0764598	-.042406
ford_ford2	-.0077616	.0062827	-1.24	0.305	-.0277561	.0122329
_cons	.3045496	.0008554	356.04	0.000	.3018274	.3072719

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
366 outreg2 using "Table2_againstdemocrats.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

367
368
369 *Table 3
370 clear
```

```
371 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

372 keep if house == 0
  (12,461,813 observations deleted)

373 keep if congress == 91
  (2,064,836 observations deleted)

374 areg conservative noleader scott, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_pa
  > rty_chamber bill)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .000867
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 3.068e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.069e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.622e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002229
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00001172
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 4.496e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.876e-10
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 50,709
                                                         Cluster comb. =      3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 98)      =   1.73
    min =     99                                         Prob > F      = 0.1824
    avg = 17,132                                         R-squared     = 0.4428
    max = 50,709                                         Adj R-squared = 0.4352
                                                         Root MSE      = 0.3751

                                    (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
conservative |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
    noleader |  -.1014597   .0620013    -1.64   0.105    -.2244993    .0215798
       scott |  -.0095539   .0391465    -0.24   0.808    -.0872389     .068131
       _cons |    .475315   .0153499    30.97   0.000     .4448537    .5057763
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and bill.

375 outreg2 using "Table3.txt", replace 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

376 areg reppartyvote noleader scott, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_pa
  > rty_chamber bill)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0007848
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.341e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.724e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 5.519e-11

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002229
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00001172
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 4.496e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.876e-10
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.
```

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **50,709**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 98**) = **4.05**
min = **99** — Prob > F = **0.0203**
avg = **17,132** — R-squared = **0.3871**
max = **50,709** — Adj R-squared = **0.3787**
Root MSE = **0.3941**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

reppartyvote	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
noleader	**-.1095389**	**.0484312**	**-2.26**	**0.026**	**-.205649**	**-.0134288**
scott	**-.0088234**	**.0353085**	**-0.25**	**0.803**	**-.078892**	**.0612452**
_cons	**.4965856**	**.0138361**	**35.89**	**0.000**	**.4691283**	**.5240429**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **bill**.

377 outreg2 using "Table3.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

378 areg withrepublicans noleader scott, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member
> _party_chamber bill)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.0008387**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **4.409e-06**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **1.890e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **8.795e-11**

Independent variables:
Iteration 1: Maximum absolute difference = **.002229**
Iteration 2: Maximum absolute difference = **.00001172**
Iteration 3: Maximum absolute difference = **4.496e-08**
Iteration 4: Maximum absolute difference = **1.876e-10**
note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance **matrix** is not positive semidefinite.

Linear regression, absorbing indicators — Number of obs = **50,709**
Cluster comb. = **3**
Clusters per comb.: — F(**2, 98**) = **1.90**
min = **99** — Prob > F = **0.1551**
avg = **17,132** — R-squared = **0.2448**
max = **50,709** — Adj R-squared = **0.2344**
Root MSE = **0.4168**

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

withrepubl~s	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
noleader	**-.145181**	**.0757749**	**-1.92**	**0.058**	**-.2955538**	**.0051919**
scott	**-.0279506**	**.042967**	**-0.65**	**0.517**	**-.1132173**	**.0573161**
_cons	**.6636465**	**.0168401**	**39.41**	**0.000**	**.6302279**	**.6970651**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **bill**.

379 outreg2 using "Table3.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
dir : seeout

```
380 areg againstdemocrats noleader scott, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster membe
  > r_party_chamber bill)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001331
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = 6.424e-06
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 2.885e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.059e-10

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002229
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference = .00001172
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference = 4.496e-08
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference = 1.876e-10
  note: multiway-cluster variance-covariance matrix is not positive semidefinite.

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators                Number of obs = 50,709
                                                         Cluster comb. =      3
  Clusters per comb.:                                    F(2, 98)      =   3.25
    min =     99                                         Prob > F      = 0.0429
    avg = 17,132                                         R-squared     = 0.2315
    max = 50,709                                         Adj R-squared = 0.2209
                                                         Root MSE      = 0.4139

                                  (Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
againstdem~s |  Coefficient  std. err.      t    P>|t|     [95% conf. interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
    noleader |  -.2134313   .0878393    -2.43   0.017    -.3877456    -.039117
       scott |  -.0261142   .0441248    -0.59   0.555    -.1136784    .0614499
       _cons |   .3379385   .0173416    19.49   0.000     .3035247    .3723523
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Cluster combinations formed by member_party_chamber and bill.

381 outreg2 using "Table3.txt", append 2aster dec(3)
  dir : seeout

382
383
384 *Appendix Figure A1
385 clear

386 postutil clear

387 use "CVP_1_117.dta"

388 keep chamber congress icpsr party cvp_gls_adjusted

389 g house = chamber == "House"

390 keep if party == 100 | party == 200
  (7,087 observations deleted)

391 g dem = party == 100

392 drop party chamber
```

```
393 rename cvp cvp

394 merge m:1 icpsr dem house using "HouseSenateLeaders.dta"
  (variable icpsr was long, now double to accommodate using data's values)

      Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                        41,922
          from master                    41,922  (_merge==1)
          from using                          0  (_merge==2)

      Matched                               495  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

395 keep if _merge == 3
  (41,922 observations deleted)

396 drop _merge

397 drop if congress >= mincong
  (187 observations deleted)

398 preserve

399 collapse (mean) cvp house dem, by(icpsr)

400 merge 1:1 icpsr house dem using "HouseSenateLeaders.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                             0
      Matched                                39  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

401 drop _merge

402 rename mincong cong0

403 forvalues i = 1/15 {
    2. g cong`i' = cong0 + `i' if cong0 + `i' <= maxcong
    3. }
  (3 missing values generated)
  (9 missing values generated)
  (17 missing values generated)
  (25 missing values generated)
  (30 missing values generated)
  (33 missing values generated)
  (34 missing values generated)
  (36 missing values generated)
  (36 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)

404 drop maxcong

405 reshape long cong, i(icpsr) j(num)
  (j = 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15)

  Data                               Wide   ->   Long
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Number of observations               39   ->   624
  Number of variables                  20   ->   6
  j variable (16 values)                    ->   num
  xij variables:
                  cong0 cong1 ... cong15    ->   cong
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
406 drop if cong == .
  (456 observations deleted)

407 drop num

408 rename icpsr leader_icpsr

409 sort house dem cong

410 rename cvp leader_cvp

411 rename cong congress

412 save "Leader_CVP_ICPSR.dta", replace
  (file Leader_CVP_ICPSR.dta not found)
  file Leader_CVP_ICPSR.dta saved

413 keep if congress >= 77 & congress <= 116
  (8 observations deleted)

414 keep leader_*

415 collapse leader_cvp, by(leader_icpsr)

416 save "Leader_CVP_temp.dta", replace
  (file Leader_CVP_temp.dta not found)
  file Leader_CVP_temp.dta saved

417 keep if leader_icpsr == 437 | leader_icpsr == 6367 | leader_icpsr == 7753 | leader_i
  > cpsr == 6033
  (35 observations deleted)

418 save "firstleaders.dta", replace
  (file firstleaders.dta not found)
  file firstleaders.dta saved

419 restore

420 drop mincong maxcong

421 merge m:1 congress house dem using "Leader_CVP_ICPSR.dta"

      Result                           Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                            73
          from master                        49  (_merge==1)
          from using                         24  (_merge==2)

      Matched                               259  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

422 keep if _merge == 3
  (73 observations deleted)

423 egen party_chamber = group(dem house)

424 g temp = leader_cvp if congress == 77
  (254 missing values generated)

425 egen firstleader_cvp = mean(temp), by(party_chamber)
```

```
426 drop temp party_chamber

427 drop _merge leader_cvp

428 save "futureleaders.dta", replace
  (file futureleaders.dta not found)
  file futureleaders.dta saved

429 clear

430 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

431 keep if congress >= 77 & congress <= 116
  (587,769 observations deleted)

432 drop majority bioname yea reppartyvote withrepublicans againstdemocrats cvp moderate
  >  leader_next leader_prev leader_cvp

433 merge m:1 house dem congress using "Leader_CVP_ICPSR.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                             8
          from master                         0  (_merge==1)
          from using                          8  (_merge==2)

      Matched                        13,989,589  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------


434 drop if noleader == 1
  (361 observations deleted)

435 sum leader_icpsr if dem == 0 & house == 0 & congress == 90

    Variable |        Obs        Mean    Std. dev.       Min        Max
-------------+---------------------------------------------------------
leader_icpsr |     17,879        2609           0        2609        2609

436 replace leader_icpsr = r(mean) if dem == 0 & house == 0 & congress == 91 & scott + n
  > oleader == 0
  (2,498 real changes made)

437 drop _merge noleader scott leader_cvp

438 save "CleanedDataForIterative.dta", replace
  (file CleanedDataForIterative.dta not found)
  file CleanedDataForIterative.dta saved

439
440 clear

441 postutil clear

442 postfile Results coef sterr pval iteration using "Results.dta", replace
  (file Results.dta not found)

443 scalar leadereffect = 0

444 forvalues i = 1/16 {
    2. quietly {
    3. clear
    4. use "futureleaders.dta"
    5. merge m:1 leader_icpsr using "Leader_CVP_temp.dta"
    6. keep if _merge == 3
    7. g cvp_corrected = cvp - (leader_cvp - firstleader_cvp)*leadereffect
    8. collapse cvp_corrected, by(icpsr)
    9. rename cvp_corrected leader_cvp
   10. rename icpsr leader_icpsr
   11. append using "firstleaders.dta"
   12. save "Leader_CVP_temp.dta", replace
   13. clear
   14. use "CleanedDataForIterative.dta"
```

```
 15. merge m:1 leader_icpsr using "Leader_CVP_temp"
 16. drop _merge
 17. areg conservative leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_par
> ty_chamber party_chamber_congress)
 18. scalar leadereffect = _b[leader_cvp]
 19. post Results (_b[leader_cvp]) (_se[leader_cvp]) (2*ttail(e(df_r),abs(_b[leader_cv
> p]/_se[leader_cvp]))) (`i')
 20. }
 21. disp `i' " $S_TIME " leadereffect
 22. }
1 21:59:11 .40624374
2 21:59:29 .33064033
3 21:59:47 .34246153
4 22:00:04 .34050556
5 22:00:21 .33990928
6 22:00:39 .34031138
7 22:00:56 .3402014
8 22:01:13 .34022415
9 22:01:30 .34022097
10 22:01:48 .34022056
11 22:02:06 .34022097
12 22:02:24 .34022076
13 22:02:42 .3402208
14 22:03:00 .34022079
15 22:03:18 .34022079
16 22:03:34 .34022079

445 postclose Results

446 clear

447 use "Results.dta"

448 g upper = coef + sterr*1.96

449 g lower = coef - sterr*1.96

450 graph twoway line upper lower coef iteration, yline(0)

451 gr_edit .plotregion1._xylines[1].style.editstyle linestyle(color(gs8) width(medthin)
  > ) editcopy

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

453 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text = {}

454 gr_edit .xaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Iteration

455 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text = {}

456 gr_edit .yaxis1.title.text.Arrpush Estimated Leader Effect

457 gr_edit .xaxis1.reset_rule 1 16 3, tickset(major) ruletype(range)

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

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

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

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

462 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot1.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthin) pattern(
  > dash)) editcopy

463 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot2.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(medthin) pattern(
  > dash)) editcopy

464 gr_edit .plotregion1.plot3.style.editstyle line(color(black) width(thick)) editcopy

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

466
467
468 *Appendix Table 1
469 clear

470 use "SenateAllLeaders.dta"

471 g whip0 = whip_start
  (12 missing values generated)

472 forvalues i = 1/11 {
    2. g whip`i' = whip0 + `i' if whip0 + `i' <= whip_end
    3. }
  (19 missing values generated)
  (24 missing values generated)
  (32 missing values generated)
  (36 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (39 missing values generated)
  (40 missing values generated)

473 g leader0 = leader_start
  (19 missing values generated)

474 forvalues i = 1/11 {
    2. g leader`i' = leader0 + `i' if leader0 + `i' <= leader_end
    3. }
  (21 missing values generated)
  (24 missing values generated)
  (28 missing values generated)
  (31 missing values generated)
  (33 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (38 missing values generated)
  (40 missing values generated)
  (40 missing values generated)
  (40 missing values generated)
  (40 missing values generated)

475 drop whip_* leader_*
```

```
476 reshape long whip leader, i(icpsr) j(num)
  (j = 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11)

  Data                                Wide   ->   Long
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------
  Number of observations               40    ->   480
  Number of variables                  27    ->   6
  j variable (12 values)                     ->   num
  xij variables:
                 whip0 whip1 ... whip11     ->   whip
            leader0 leader1 ... leader11    ->   leader
  -----------------------------------------------------------------------------

477 drop if whip == . & leader == .
  (323 observations deleted)

478 drop num

479 preserve

480 drop leader

481 drop if whip == .
  (72 observations deleted)

482 rename whip congress

483 g whip = 1

484 save "whip.dta", replace
  (file whip.dta not found)
  file whip.dta saved

485 restore

486 drop whip

487 drop if leader == .
  (69 observations deleted)

488 rename leader congress

489 g leader = 1

490 append using "whip.dta"

491 replace leader = 0 if leader == .
  (85 real changes made)

492 replace whip = 0 if whip == .
  (88 real changes made)

493 save "SenateAllLeadersCleaned.dta", replace
  (file SenateAllLeadersCleaned.dta not found)
  file SenateAllLeadersCleaned.dta saved

494 egen firstcongasleader = min(congress), by(icpsr)

495 keep icpsr name firstcong
```

```
496 sort icpsr

497 drop if icpsr == icpsr[_n-1]
  (133 observations deleted)

498 save "SenateAllLeadersFirst.dta", replace
  (file SenateAllLeadersFirst.dta not found)
  file SenateAllLeadersFirst.dta saved

499 clear

500 use "CVP_1_117.dta"

501 rename name name2

502 keep chamber congress icpsr party cvp_gls_adjusted name2

503 keep if chamber == "Senate"
  (39,801 observations deleted)

504 keep if party == 100 | party == 200
  (1,477 observations deleted)

505 merge m:1 icpsr using "SenateAllLeadersFirst.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                         7,787
          from master                     7,787  (_merge==1)
          from using                          0  (_merge==2)

      Matched                               439  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------

506 keep if _merge == 3
  (7,787 observations deleted)

507 drop _merge

508 *Kenneth Wherry was party whip in first Congress, so use his score from his first Co
  > ngress
509 replace firstcongasleader = firstcongasleader + 1 if icpsr == 9998
  (5 real changes made)

510 drop if congress >= firstcongasleader
  (254 observations deleted)

511 collapse cvp_gls_adjusted, by(icpsr)

512 rename cvp_gls_adjusted ideology

513 save "SenateAllLeadersIdeologies.dta", replace
  (file SenateAllLeadersIdeologies.dta not found)
  file SenateAllLeadersIdeologies.dta saved

514 clear

515 use "SenateAllLeadersCleaned.dta"

516 merge m:1 icpsr using "SenateAllLeadersIdeologies.dta"

      Result                      Number of obs
      -----------------------------------------
      Not matched                             0
      Matched                               173  (_merge==3)
      -----------------------------------------
```

```
517 drop _merge

518 *no Republican Senate whip in 77th congress, just focus on 78th through 117th
519 keep if congress >= 78 & congress <= 117
  (13 observations deleted)

520 egen party_cong = group(dem congress)

521 g leader_cvp = ideology if leader == 1
  (80 missing values generated)

522 g otherleader_cvp = ideology if whip == 1
  (80 missing values generated)

523 collapse leader_cvp otherleader_cvp dem congress, by(party_cong)

524 drop party_cong

525 save "SenateAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta", replace
  (file SenateAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta not found)
  file SenateAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta saved

526 clear

527 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

528 keep if house == 0
  (12,461,813 observations deleted)

529 merge m:1 icpsr congress using "SenateAllLeadersCleaned.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                     2,071,038
        from master                 2,070,947  (_merge==1)
        from using                         91  (_merge==2)

    Matched                            44,598  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

530 keep if _merge == 1
  (44,689 observations deleted)

531 drop _merge

532 drop leader_*

533 merge m:1 dem congress using "SenateAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                        32,562
        from master                    32,562  (_merge==1)
        from using                          0  (_merge==2)

    Matched                         2,038,385  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

534 tab congress _merge

           |  Matching result from
           |          merge
  congress | Master on  Matched (  |     Total
-----------+-----------------------+----------
        76 |    19,642          0  |    19,642
        77 |    12,920          0  |    12,920
        78 |         0     15,999  |    15,999
        79 |         0     17,902  |    17,902
        80 |         0     19,953  |    19,953
        81 |         0     36,703  |    36,703
        82 |         0     24,273  |    24,273
        83 |         0     21,025  |    21,025
```

84	0	16,580	16,580
85	0	23,640	23,640
86	0	34,480	34,480
87	0	37,197	37,197
88	0	47,095	47,095
89	0	40,505	40,505
90	0	46,465	46,465
91	0	49,689	49,689
92	0	67,828	67,828
93	0	86,068	86,068
94	0	98,806	98,806
95	0	93,131	93,131
96	0	82,760	82,760
97	0	77,551	77,551
98	0	52,910	52,910
99	0	63,964	63,964
100	0	61,784	61,784
101	0	49,636	49,636
102	0	45,554	45,554
103	0	61,931	61,931
104	0	77,034	77,034
105	0	49,616	49,616
106	0	55,102	55,102
107	0	45,620	45,620
108	0	49,351	49,351
109	0	49,129	49,129
110	0	51,859	51,859
111	0	58,068	58,068
112	0	40,404	40,404
113	0	51,507	51,507
114	0	40,054	40,054
115	0	51,027	51,027
116	0	62,495	62,495
117	0	83,690	83,690
Total	32,562	2,038,385	2,070,947

```
535 keep if _merge == 3
  (32,562 observations deleted)

536 drop _merge

537 keep congress house rollnumber icpsr dem conservative bill-party_chamber_congress le
  > ader_cvp otherleader_cvp

538 save "CleanedRollCallData_SenateAllLeaders.dta", replace
  (file CleanedRollCallData_SenateAllLeaders.dta not found)
  file CleanedRollCallData_SenateAllLeaders.dta saved

539 clear

540 use "HouseAllLeaders.dta"

541 reshape long leader whip ml, i(icpsr) j(num)
  (j = 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16)
  (variable ml9 not found)
  (variable ml10 not found)
  (variable leader11 not found)
  (variable ml11 not found)
  (variable leader12 not found)
  (variable ml12 not found)
  (variable leader13 not found)
  (variable ml13 not found)
  (variable leader14 not found)
  (variable ml14 not found)
  (variable leader15 not found)
  (variable ml15 not found)
  (variable leader16 not found)
  (variable ml16 not found)
```

Data	Wide	->	Long
Number of observations	**41**	->	**656**
Number of variables	**37**	->	**7**
j variable (16 values)		->	**num**
xij variables:			
leader1 leader2 ... leader16		->	**leader**
whip1 whip2 ... whip16		->	**whip**
ml1 ml2 ... ml16		->	**ml**

```
542 drop if whip == . & leader == . & ml == .
  (482 observations deleted)

543 drop num

544 preserve

545 drop leader ml

546 drop if whip == .
  (81 observations deleted)

547 rename whip congress

548 g whip = 1

549 save "whip.dta", replace
  file whip.dta saved

550 restore

551 preserve

552 drop whip leader

553 drop if ml == .
  (131 observations deleted)

554 rename ml congress

555 g ml = 1

556 save "ml.dta", replace
  (file ml.dta not found)
  file ml.dta saved

557 restore

558 drop whip ml

559 drop if leader == .
  (89 observations deleted)

560 rename leader congress

561 g leader = 1

562 append using "whip.dta"
```

```
563 append using "ml.dta"

564 sort icpsr congress

565 replace leader = 0 if leader == .
  (136 real changes made)

566 g otherleader = whip == 1 | ml == 1

567 drop whip ml

568 save "HouseAllLeadersCleaned.dta", replace
  (file HouseAllLeadersCleaned.dta not found)
  file HouseAllLeadersCleaned.dta saved

569 egen firstcongasleader = min(congress), by(icpsr)

570 keep icpsr name firstcong

571 sort icpsr

572 drop if icpsr == icpsr[_n-1]
  (180 observations deleted)

573 save "HouseAllLeadersFirst.dta", replace
  (file HouseAllLeadersFirst.dta not found)
  file HouseAllLeadersFirst.dta saved

574 clear

575 use "CVP_1_117.dta"

576 rename name name2

577 keep chamber congress icpsr party cvp_gls_adjusted name2

578 keep if chamber == "House"
  (9,703 observations deleted)

579 keep if party == 100 | party == 200
  (5,610 observations deleted)

580 merge m:1 icpsr using "HouseAllLeadersFirst.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                        33,702
        from master                    33,702  (_merge==1)
        from using                          0  (_merge==2)

    Matched                               489  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

581 keep if _merge == 3
  (33,702 observations deleted)

582 drop _merge

583 drop if congress >= firstcongasleader
  (232 observations deleted)
```

```
584 collapse cvp_gls_adjusted, by(icpsr)

585 rename cvp_gls_adjusted ideology

586 save "HouseAllLeadersIdeologies.dta", replace
  (file HouseAllLeadersIdeologies.dta not found)
  file HouseAllLeadersIdeologies.dta saved

587 clear

588 use "HouseAllLeadersCleaned.dta"

589 merge m:1 icpsr using "HouseAllLeadersIdeologies.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                             0
    Matched                               221  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

590 drop _merge

591 keep if congress >= 77 & congress <= 117
  (17 observations deleted)

592 egen party_cong = group(dem congress)

593 g leader_cvp = ideology if leader == 1
  (122 missing values generated)

594 g otherleader_cvp = ideology if otherleader == 1
  (82 missing values generated)

595 collapse leader_cvp otherleader_cvp dem congress, by(party_cong)

596 drop party_cong

597 save "HouseAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta", replace
  (file HouseAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta not found)
  file HouseAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta saved

598 clear

599 use "CleanedRollCallData.dta"

600 keep if house == 1
  (2,115,545 observations deleted)

601 merge m:1 icpsr congress using "HouseAllLeadersCleaned.dta"

    Result                      Number of obs
    -----------------------------------------
    Not matched                    12,375,132
        from master                12,375,035  (_merge==1)
        from using                         97  (_merge==2)

    Matched                            86,778  (_merge==3)
    -----------------------------------------

602 keep if _merge == 1
  (86,875 observations deleted)
```

```
603 drop _merge

604 drop leader_*

605 merge m:1 dem congress using "HouseAllLeaderIdeologiesByPartyCongress.dta"
```

Result	Number of obs	
Not matched	**79,837**	
from master	**79,837**	(_merge==1)
from using	**0**	(_merge==2)
Matched	**12,295,198**	(_merge==3)

```
606 tab congress _merge
```

congress	Matching result from merge		Total
	Master on	Matched (	
76	**79,837**	**0**	**79,837**
77	**0**	**45,537**	**45,537**
78	**0**	**49,973**	**49,973**
79	**0**	**75,725**	**75,725**
80	**0**	**58,799**	**58,799**
81	**0**	**95,566**	**95,566**
82	**0**	**62,384**	**62,384**
83	**0**	**50,533**	**50,533**
84	**0**	**55,094**	**55,094**
85	**0**	**73,095**	**73,095**
86	**0**	**69,363**	**69,363**
87	**0**	**84,862**	**84,862**
88	**0**	**84,839**	**84,839**
89	**0**	**130,351**	**130,351**
90	**0**	**162,655**	**162,655**
91	**0**	**147,996**	**147,996**
92	**0**	**223,578**	**223,578**
93	**0**	**396,548**	**396,548**
94	**0**	**468,063**	**468,063**
95	**0**	**569,132**	**569,132**
96	**0**	**472,537**	**472,537**
97	**0**	**299,842**	**299,842**
98	**0**	**338,546**	**338,546**
99	**0**	**337,716**	**337,716**
100	**0**	**339,767**	**339,767**
101	**0**	**333,041**	**333,041**
102	**0**	**339,837**	**339,837**
103	**0**	**426,885**	**426,885**
104	**0**	**515,607**	**515,607**
105	**0**	**442,170**	**442,170**
106	**0**	**438,437**	**438,437**
107	**0**	**332,299**	**332,299**
108	**0**	**401,193**	**401,193**
109	**0**	**427,380**	**427,380**
110	**0**	**635,819**	**635,819**
111	**0**	**498,949**	**498,949**
112	**0**	**629,547**	**629,547**
113	**0**	**455,008**	**455,008**
114	**0**	**505,501**	**505,501**
115	**0**	**451,245**	**451,245**
116	**0**	**370,454**	**370,454**
117	**0**	**399,325**	**399,325**
Total	**79,837**	**12,295,198**	**12,375,035**

```
607 keep if _merge == 3
  (79,837 observations deleted)

608 drop _merge

609 keep congress house rollnumber icpsr dem conservative bill-party_chamber_congress le
  > ader_cvp otherleader_cvp

610 append using "CleanedRollCallData_SenateAllLeaders.dta"

611 keep if congress >= 78 & congress <= 116
  (528,552 observations deleted)

612 areg conservative leader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_party_
  > chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03924
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03242
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01604
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008142
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002698
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008995
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005247
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0004608
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001578
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001452
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00008428
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = 8.607e-06
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 4.358e-06
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 5.082e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.067e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 7.575e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.883e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 4.918e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 3.123e-09

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =     .0494
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02038
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01628
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007818
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005851
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .005826
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =    .00203
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0006347
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001451
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001341
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001044
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = .00001895
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00001868
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 5.999e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 1.772e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 4.541e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 2.127e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.594e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 2.896e-09

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators             Number of obs = 13,805,031
                                                      Cluster comb. =          3
  Clusters per comb.:                                 F(1, 155)     =      26.77
    min =    156                                      Prob > F      =     0.0000
    avg =  8,306                                      R-squared     =     0.5532
    max = 20,870                                      Adj R-squared =     0.5514
                                                      Root MSE      =     0.3333
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
leader_cvp	.3671982	.0709736	5.17	0.000	.2269979	.5073984
_cons	.37845	.0142373	26.58	0.000	.3503257	.4065742

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
613 outreg2 using "OtherLeaders.txt", replace 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_cvp otherlead
  > er_cvp)
dir : seeout

614 areg conservative otherleader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(cluster member_p
  > arty_chamber party_chamber_congress)

Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

Dependent variable:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03924
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03242
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01604
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008142
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002698
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008995
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005247
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0004608
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001578
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001452
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00008428
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = 8.607e-06
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 4.358e-06
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 5.082e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.067e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 7.575e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.883e-07
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 4.918e-08
Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 3.123e-09

Independent variables:
Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05824
Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02916
Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01806
Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008841
Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008935
Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007235
Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002187
Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001161
Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003874
Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002199
Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00005095
Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000846
Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003357
Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 4.852e-06
Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 1.113e-06
Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 1.635e-07
Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 9.183e-08
Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 6.065e-09

Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs = 13,805,031
                                                 Cluster comb. =          3
Clusters per comb.:                              F(1, 155)     =       2.05
  min =    156                                   Prob > F      =     0.1545
  avg =  8,306                                   R-squared     =     0.5529
  max = 20,870                                   Adj R-squared =     0.5511
                                                 Root MSE      =     0.3334
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
otherleader_cvp	-.1341058	.0937242	-1.43	0.154	-.3192473	.0510358
_cons	.479328	.020243	23.68	0.000	.4393403	.5193157

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
615 outreg2 using "OtherLeaders.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_cvp otherleade
  > r_cvp)
  dir : seeout

616 areg conservative leader_cvp otherleader_cvp, a(member_party_chamber bill) vce(clust
  > er member_party_chamber party_chamber_congress)

  Halperin APM for regression coefficients:

  Dependent variable:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03924
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .03242
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01604
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008142
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002698
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0008995
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0005247
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0004608
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0001578
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001452
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference = .00008428
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference = 8.607e-06
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = 4.358e-06
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 5.082e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 3.067e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 7.575e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 1.883e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 4.918e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 3.123e-09

  Independent variables:
  Iteration 1:  Maximum absolute difference =    .05824
  Iteration 2:  Maximum absolute difference =    .02916
  Iteration 3:  Maximum absolute difference =    .01806
  Iteration 4:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008841
  Iteration 5:  Maximum absolute difference =   .008935
  Iteration 6:  Maximum absolute difference =   .007235
  Iteration 7:  Maximum absolute difference =   .002187
  Iteration 8:  Maximum absolute difference =   .001161
  Iteration 9:  Maximum absolute difference =  .0003874
  Iteration 10: Maximum absolute difference =  .0002199
  Iteration 11: Maximum absolute difference =  .0001044
  Iteration 12: Maximum absolute difference =  .0000846
  Iteration 13: Maximum absolute difference = .00003357
  Iteration 14: Maximum absolute difference = 5.999e-06
  Iteration 15: Maximum absolute difference = 1.772e-06
  Iteration 16: Maximum absolute difference = 4.541e-07
  Iteration 17: Maximum absolute difference = 2.127e-07
  Iteration 18: Maximum absolute difference = 2.594e-08
  Iteration 19: Maximum absolute difference = 2.896e-09

  Linear regression, absorbing indicators          Number of obs = 13,805,031
                                                   Cluster comb. =          3
  Clusters per comb.:                              F(2, 155)     =      17.39
    min =    156                                   Prob > F      =     0.0000
    avg =  8,306                                   R-squared     =     0.5532
    max = 20,870                                   Adj R-squared =     0.5514
                                                   Root MSE      =     0.3333
```

(Std. err. adjusted for multiway clustering)

conservative	Coefficient	Robust std. err.	t	P>|t|	[95% conf.	interval]
leader_cvp	**.3504534**	**.0596568**	**5.87**	**0.000**	**.2326081**	**.4682987**
otherleader_cvp	**-.0557616**	**.0896391**	**-0.62**	**0.535**	**-.2328335**	**.1213102**
_cons	**.393629**	**.0207552**	**18.97**	**0.000**	**.3526294**	**.4346286**

Cluster combinations formed by **member_party_chamber** and **party_chamber_congress**.

```
617 outreg2 using "OtherLeaders.txt", append 2aster dec(3) sortvar(leader_cvp otherleade
  > r_cvp)
  dir : seeout

618
619
620 log close
       name:  <unnamed>
        log:  C:\Users\agfowler\Dropbox\Party Leaders\Fowler Leaders Replication Data\p
  > artyleaderslog.smcl
    log type:  smcl
   closed on:  12 Nov 2025, 22:05:05
```