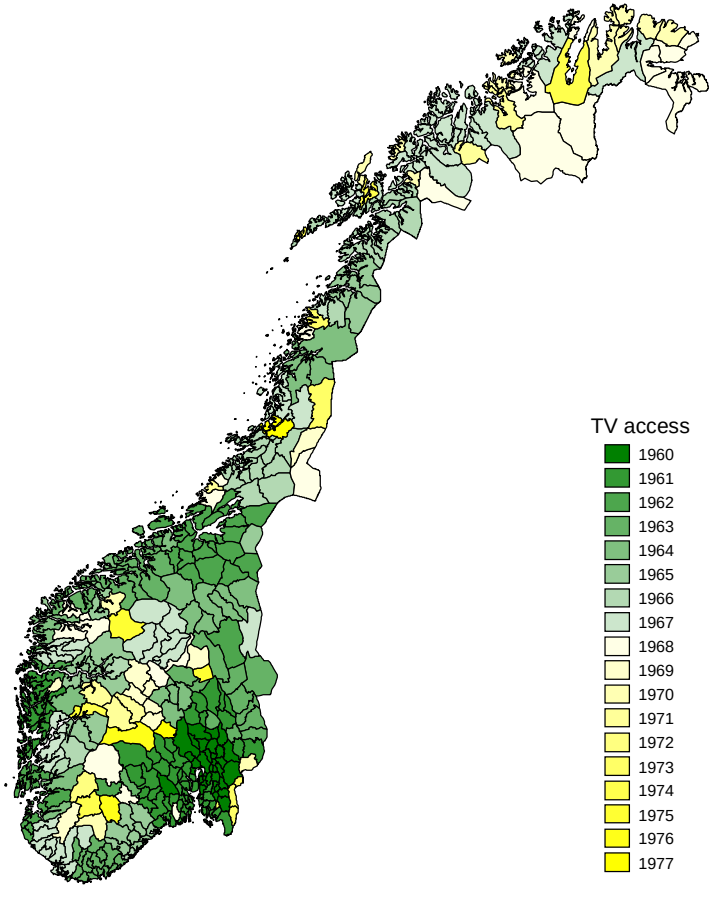
Appendix F. The timing of access to TV signals



The map shows when the first TV signals were available in each municipality

Table 1 (A). Television and local voter turnout

VARIABLES	(1) Lin.	(2) Odds	(3) Lin.	(4) Odds	(5) Lin.	(6) Odds
TV (=1)	1.152**	0.292***	1.492***	0.472***	1.708***	0.495***
	(0.358)	(0.078)	(0.327)	(0.083)	(0.348)	(0.088)
Observations	4,991	4,991	4,991	4,991	4,991	4,991
R-squared	0.547	0.534	0.659	0.761	0.829	0.842
Number of municipalities	454	454	454	454	454	454
Control variables	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Municipality FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Election year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
County-year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Trend - mun. level	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Weight	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Lin.: Linear model, Odds: Odds of voter turnout

Table 1 (B) cont. Television and national voter turnout

VARIABLES	(1) Lin.	(2) Odds	(3) Lin.	(4) Odds	(5) Lin.	(6) Odds
TV (=1)	0.134	0.200**	0.398	0.222***	0.484*	0.264***
	(0.202)	(0.062)	(0.208)	(0.066)	(0.210)	(0.068)
Observations	4,539	4,539	4,539	4,539	4,539	4,539
R-squared	0.687	0.695	0.750	0.792	0.873	0.877
Number of municipalities	454	454	454	454	454	454
Control variables	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Municipality FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Election year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
County-year FE	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Trend - mun. level	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Weight	NO	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES

Robust standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Lin.: Linear model, Odds: Odds of voter turnout

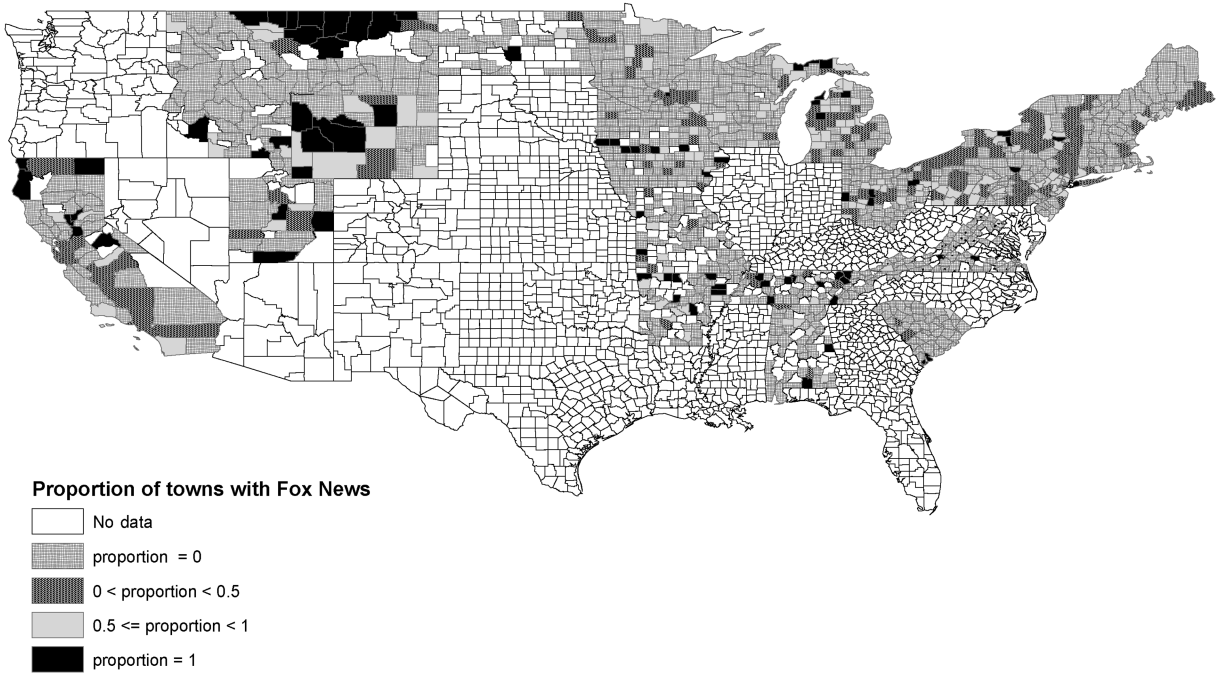


FIGURE I

Fox News Availability by County, 2000

Note: Proportion for each county is calculated as the ratio of number of towns with Fox News available via cable to total number of towns in the county. Alaska and Hawaii are also in the data set but are not included on the map due to space constraints.

TABLE III

DETERMINANTS OF FOX NEWS AVAILABILITY, LINEAR PROBABILITY MODEL

	Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000						
Dep. var.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Pres. republican vote share in 1996	0.1436	0.6363	0.3902	−0.0343	−0.0442	0.0902	0.0627
	(0.1549)	(0.2101)***	(0.1566)**	(0.0937)	(0.1024)	(0.1321)	(0.1333)
Pres. log turnout in 1996	0.1101	0.0909	0.0656	0.0139	−0.0053	0.0286	0.0257
	(0.0557)**	(0.0348)***	(0.0278)**	(0.0124)	(0.0173)	(0.0234)	(0.0258)
Pres. Rep. vote share change 1998–1992						0.214	−0.2548
						(0.2481)	(0.2345)
Control variables							
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	—	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	—	—	X	X	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	—	—	—	X	—	X	—
County fixed effects	—	—	—	—	X	—	X
F-test: Census controls = 0		$F = 3.54$***	$F = 2.73$***	$F = 1.11$	$F = 1.28$	$F = 1.57$**	$F = 1.31$
F-test: Cable controls = 0			$F = 18.08$***	$F = 21.09$***	$F = 18.61$***	$F = 8.19$***	$F = 8.75$***
R^2	0.0281	0.0902	0.4093	0.6698	0.7683	0.6313	0.7622
N	$N = 9{,}256$	$N = 9{,}256$	$N = 9{,}256$	$N = 9{,}256$	$N = 9{,}256$	$N = 3{,}722$	$N = 3{,}722$

Notes: An observation in the linear probability model is a town in one of the twenty-eight U. S. states in the sample. The dependent variable is a binary variable that equals one if Fox News was part of the town's local cable package in 2000. The log turnout measure is the log of the ratio of total votes cast in 1996 to voting-age population in the town in 1996. The population data for 1996 is interpolated from the 1990 and 2000 Census. The census controls are twelve demographic variables from the Census, present both in the 2000 values and in differences between 2000 and 1990. The Cable System Controls are deciles in the number of channels provided and in the number of potential subscribers. All controls are listed in Appendix II. The F-test is a joint test of the hypothesis that the Census controls from 1990 and 2000 (respectively, the cable controls) are jointly equal to zero. Robust standard errors clustered by local cable company in parentheses. The observations are weighted by total votes cast in 1996 presidential election.

* significant at 10 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; *** significant at 1 percent.

TABLE IV

THE EFFECT OF FOX NEWS ON THE 2000–1996 PRESIDENTIAL VOTE SHARE CHANGE

	Republican two-party vote share change between 2000 and 1996 pres. elections						
Dep. var.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000	−0.0025	0.0027	0.008	0.0042	0.0069	0.0037	0.0048
	(0.0037)	(0.0024)	(0.0026)***	(0.0015)***	(0.0014)***	(0.0021)*	(0.0019)**
Pres. Rep. vote share change 1988–1992						0.0229	0.0514
						(0.0216)	(0.0219)**
Constant	0.0347	−0.028	−0.0255	0.0116	0.0253	−0.0377	0.0081
	(0.0017)***	(0.0245)	(0.0236)	(0.0154)	(0.0185)	(0.0258)	(0.0313)
Control variables							
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	—	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	—	—	X	X	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	—	—	—	X	—	X	—
County fixed effects	—	—	—	—	X	—	X
R^2	0.0007	0.5207	0.5573	0.7533	0.8119	0.7528	0.8244
N	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 3,722	N = 3,722

Notes: An observation in the OLS regression is a town in one of the twenty-eight U. S. states in the sample. The dependent variable is the two-party Republican vote share for the 2000 presidential election minus the two-party republican vote share for the 1996 presidential election. The variable "Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000" is a binary variable that equals one if Fox News was part of the town's local cable package in 2000. The census controls are twelve demographic variables from the Census, present both in the 2000 values and in differences between 2000 and 1990. The cable system controls are deciles in the number of channels provided and in the number of potential subscribers. All controls are listed in Appendix II. Robust standard errors clustered by local cable company in parentheses. The observations are weighted by total votes cast in the 1996 presidential election.

* Significant at 10 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; *** significant at 1 percent.

TABLE V

THE FOX NEWS EFFECT: ROBUSTNESS AND PERSISTENCE

		Robustness				
		Pres. Rep. vote share change 2000–1996				Persistence Pres. Rep. vote share 2004–2000
	Rep. two-party vote share in 2000	All-party vote share	Two-party vote share			
Dep. var.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000	0.0041 (0.0016)***	0.004 (0.0016)**	0.0048 (0.0016)***	0.0041 (0.0017)***	0.0047 (0.0016)***	0.0021 (0.0020)
Republican vote share in 1996	0.9362 (0.0079)***					
Control variables						
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	X	X	X	X	X	X
Election data with high coverage	—	—	X	—	—	—
Unweighted, turnout > 2000	—	—	—	X	—	—
Nearest-neighbor matching, unweighted	—	—	—	—	X	—
R^2	0.9824	0.827	0.7556	0.7369	—	0.6281
N	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 7,758	N = 3,241	N = 9,256	N = 8,605

Notes: An observation in the OLS regression is a town in one of the twenty-eight U. S. states in the sample. In column (1), the dependent variable is the two-party Republican vote share for the 2000 presidential election. In columns (2)–(5), the dependent variable is the Republican vote share for the 2000 presidential election minus the same variables for the 1996 elections. In column (2), the Republican vote share is computed using the all-party vote share. In columns (3) through (5) the vote share refers to the two-party vote share. In column (6), the dependent variable is the two-party Republican vote share for the 2004 presidential election minus the same variables for the 2000 elections. The variable "Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000" is a binary variable that equals one if Fox News was part of the town's local cable package in 2000. The Census controls are twelve demographic variables from the Census, present both in the 2000 values and in differences between 2000 and 1990. The cable system controls are deciles in the number of channels provided and in the number of potential subscribers. All controls are listed in Appendix II.

The sample "Election data with high coverage" excludes states in which the election data in the final sample covers less than 50 percent of the total votes cast in the state in either 1996 or 2000. The sample "Unweighted, turnout > 2,000" excludes towns with turnout lower than 2,000 people in the year 2000. The specification in column (5) is the estimate of the average treatment on the treated for nearest-neighbor matching estimator, based on matching on the listed controls; the estimate averages the treatment for the closest four matches and is bias-corrected (Abadie et al., 2001). Robust standard errors clustered by local cable company in parentheses (except in column (5)). The observations are weighted total votes cast in the 1996 presidential election except in columns (4) and (5).

* significant at 10 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; *** significant at 1 percent.

TABLE VII

FOX NEWS AND OTHER POLITICAL OUTCOMES: TURNOUT AND SENATORIAL ELECTIONS

	Turnout (presidential elections)			Senatorial elections		
	Change in log (total votes cast) between 2000 and 1996 pres. elections			Republican vote share in 2000 senatorial elections		
Dep. var.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000	0.0046	0.0178	0.0147	0.0072	0.0071	0.01
	(0.0039)	(0.0051)***	(0.0061)**	(0.0026)***	(0.0028)**	(0.0035)***
Change in log (voting-age population) bw. 1996 and 2000	0.3655	0.3707	0.3641			
	(0.0427)***	(0.0440)***	(0.0425)***			
Fox News in 2000* (New York race)				0.0039	−0.0017	0.0033
				(0.0067)	(0.0060)	(0.0067)
Republican vote share in 1996 presidential elections				0.8295	0.8432	0.8289
				(0.0111)***	(0.0146)***	(0.1111)***
Fox News in 2000* (swing district)			−0.0207			−0.0042
			(0.0087)*			(0.0047)
Fox News in 2000* (Republican district)			−0.0177			−0.0075
			(0.0090)**			(0.0054)
Control variables						
Census controls: 1990 and 2000	X	X	X	X	X	X
Cable system controls	X	X	X	X	X	X
U. S. House district fixed effects	X	—	X	X	—	X
County fixed effects	—	X	—	—	X	—
R^2	0.6151	0.6863	0.658	0.9768	0.9829	0.9768
N	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 9,256	N = 8,192	N = 8,192	N = 8,192

Notes: An observation in the OLS regression is a town in one of the twenty-eight U. S. states in the sample. In columns (1) through (3), the dependent variable is the log of total votes cast in the 2000 presidential elections minus the same variable for the 1996 elections and the change in the log of the population over 18 between 1996 and 2000 is a control variable. The population data for 1996 is interpolated from the 1990 and 2000 Census. In columns (4) through (6), the dependent variable is the two-party Republican vote share for the 2000 Senate election, and the vote share in the presidential elections in 1996 in the same town is a control variable. The variable "Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000" is a binary variable that equals one if Fox News was part of the town's local cable package in 2000. The Census controls are twelve demographic variables from the Census, present both in the 2000 values and in differences between 2000 and 1990. The Cable system controls are deciles in the number of channels provided and in the number of potential subscribers. All controls are listed in Appendix II.

The indicator variables "swing district" and "Republican district" are determined dividing the 9,256 observations into thirds based on the two-party Republican vote share in the 2000 presidential elections at the U. S. House District level. The variable "swing district" indicates a district in the middle third (vote share between .49 and .552). The variable "Republican district" indicates a district in the top third (vote share higher than .552). The omitted category indicates the Democratic districts. Fox News in 2000* (New York race) is the interaction of the variable "Availability of Fox News via cable in 2000" and an indicator for New York's senatorial race between Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio, the only senatorial race in 2000 highly covered in the Fox News programming. Robust standard errors clustered by local cable company in parentheses. The observations are weighted by total votes cast in the 1996 presidential election.

* significant at 10 percent; ** significant at 5 percent; *** significant at 1 percent.

Table 2: Top 25 Partisan Phrases for Years 2000, 2004, and 2008.

2000	Party	2004	Party	2008	Party
republican leadership	D	mai 5	R	bush administr	D
clinton gore	R	ronald reagan	R	strong support	D
feder govern	R	social justic	D	african american	D
african american	D	war iraq	D	cost energi	R
civil right	D	african american	D	pass bill	D
gore administr	R	reagan said	R	will us	R
death tax	R	fail provid	D	new refineri	R
pass bill	R	illeg alien	R	civil right	D
support democrat	D	marriag licens	R	work famili	D
peopl color	D	limit govern	R	full time	D
republican propos	D	administr republican	D	democrat leadership	R
republican friend	D	presid reagan	R	democrat colleagu	R
hard earn	R	administr want	D	war iraq	D
black caucu	D	iraqi peopl	R	nuclear energi	R
republican bill	D	lost 2	D	american energi	R
congression black	D	gai lesbian	D	equal pai	D
big govern	R	administr plan	D	low incom	D
tax cut	D	presid ronald	R	presid bush	D
right organ	D	equal opportun	D	make point	R
sexual orient	D	secur plan	D	gain tax	R
american commun	D	pass bill	R	nuclear power	R
worker right	D	violenc women	D	long overdu	D
violenc countri	D	man woman	R	democrat major	R
head start	D	bush administr	D	new nuclear	R
need prescript	D	feder govern	R	bush took	D

These are the 25 phrases which have the largest absolute magnitude coefficient among those selected by the Elastic Net for the corresponding year. Word variants are stemmed to their roots.

Table 3: First Stage Regressions: Nielsen Data

	FNC Hours Per Week					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
FNC Cable Position	−0.003***	−0.002***	−0.003***	−0.003***	−0.002	−0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0004)
MSNBC Cable Position	0.001**	0.001**	0.001***	0.001**	0.001	0.001***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.0005)	(0.001)	(0.0004)
System has MSNBC Only	0.078	0.068	0.062	0.027	0.031	0.028
	(0.093)	(0.090)	(0.089)	(0.121)	(0.183)	(0.087)
System has FNC Only	0.458***	0.428***	0.393***	0.407***	0.252***	0.349***
	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.055)	(0.032)
System has Both	0.369***	0.364***	0.312***	0.309***	0.204***	0.233***
	(0.047)	(0.047)	(0.042)	(0.048)	(0.071)	(0.033)
Sat. FNC Hours						0.315***
						(0.016)
Fixed Effects:	Year	State-Year	State-Year	State-Year	County-Year	State-Year
Cable Controls:	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Demographics:	None	None	Basic	Extended	Extended	Extended
Robust F-Stat	16.8	11.5	25.6	29	2.5	37.1
Number of Clusters	5826	5826	5816	4848	4848	4761
N	73,488	73,488	73,317	61,141	61,141	52,053
R^2	0.011	0.025	0.056	0.071	0.296	0.397

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

Notes: Cluster-robust standard errors in parentheses (clustered by cable system). Instrument is the ordinal position of FNC on the local system. The omitted category for the availability dummies is systems where neither FNC nor MSNBC is available. In Column (5), the specification conditions on the average FNC ratings among satellite subscribers in the same zip code. Cable system controls include the total number of channels on the system and the number of broadcast channels on the system, as well as an indicator for Nielsen collection mode (diary vs. set-top). "Basic" demographics include the racial, gender, age, income, educational, and urban/rural makeup of the zip code. "Extended" demographics adds information on the percentage of homeowners; median housing values, sizes, ages, and property tax rates; the fraction of the population receiving food stamps; median social security income; the fraction of veterans; the fractions of married, unmarried, and same-sex couples; the share of federal campaign contributions that went to Republican candidates in 1996; the Republican presidential share of the county in 1996; and the religious composition of the county.

Table 5: Second Stage Regressions: Precinct Voting Data

	2008 McCain Vote Share		
	(1)	(2)	(3)
Pred. Cable FNC Hrs.	0.089**	0.090***	0.076**
	(0.001, 0.204)	(0.034, 0.179)	(0.008, 0.159)
Satellite FNC Hrs.			−0.023**
			(−0.047, −0.001)
Fixed Effects:	State-Year	State-Year	State-Year
Cable System Controls:	Y	Y	Y
Demographics:	Basic	Extended	Extended
Number of Clusters	6029	4814	3993
N	22,509	17,400	12,417
R^2	0.730	0.833	0.841

*p < .1; **p < .05; ***p < .01

The first stage is estimated using viewership data for all Nielsen TV households. See first stage tables for description of instruments and control variables. Confidence intervals are generated from 500 independent STID-block-bootstraps of the first and second stage datasets. Reported lower and upper bounds give the central 95 percent interval of the relevant bootstrapped statistic.

TABLE 2

NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF U.S. HOUSE MEMBERS, 1991–2000

Dependent Variable: Articles about Congressman

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
ReaderShare	177.25	164.14		
	(17.95)***	(17.06)***		
Congruence			171.10	170.64
			(19.42)***	(6.18)***
Party leader		154.62	191.93	122.70
		(50.53)***	(72.45)***	(10.65)***
Scandal		70.21	82.15	45.17
		(18.24)***	(27.37)***	(10.76)***
Higher_office (ran or appointed)		90.25	98.21	82.61
		(11.22)***	(13.02)***	(8.25)***
Out_of_state		−34.75	−10.45	−19.99
		(9.38)***	(12.26)	(4.19)***
Close_race		36.02	53.63	33.00
		(16.87)**	(20.56)**	(11.01)***
Freshman		5.32	8.07	9.66
		(3.63)	(5.08)	(4.09)**
Retired		18.38	29.43	19.94
		(7.42)**	(9.26)***	(5.88)***
% urban		−18.40	.19	−34.36
		(12.39)	(13.37)	(5.40)***
Median income		24.67	14.57	−24.79
		(37.71)	(45.38)	(17.78)
Observations	4,206	4,206	2,308	3,421
R^2	.18	.27	.26	.28

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. In cols. 1 and 2, the unit of observation is a newspaper by congress. All regressions include year fixed effects. In col. 3, the unit of observation is a congressional district by congress; in col. 4, it is congressional district by county by congress. Robust standard errors, clustered by newspaper, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 4
VOTER KNOWLEDGE OF HOUSE REPRESENTATIVE

	BASELINE		WITHIN-RACE	REDISTRICTING
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	Year	State × year	District × year	State × year, county
	Dependent Variable: ReadAboutIncumbent			
Congruence	.29	.42	.40	.30
	(.08)***	(.09)***	(.12)***	(.09)***
Observations	8,985	8,985	8,985	8,985
R^2	.12	.22	.24	.18
	Dependent Variable: NameRecall			
Congruence	.28	.35	.42	.27
	(.07)***	(.07)***	(.07)***	(.06)***
Observations	14,139	14,139	14,139	14,139
R^2	.16	.27	.30	.24
	Dependent Variable: NameRecognition			
Congruence	.04	.08	.10	.07
	(.05)	(.05)	(.06)*	(.06)
Observations	9,624	9,624	9,624	9,624
R^2	.27	.39	.42	.31
	Dependent Variable: FeelingThermometerProvided			
Congruence	.21	.20	.19	.29
	(.05)***	(.06)***	(.07)***	(.09)***
Observations	12,459	12,459	12,459	12,459
R^2	.18	.25	.28	.19
	Dependent Variable: IdeologicalRatingProvided			
Congruence	.22	.25	.30	.20
	(.09)***	(.09)***	(.10)***	(.09)**
Observations	7,441	7,441	7,441	7,441
R^2	.18	.25	.27	.19
	Dependent Variable: LikesOrDislikesProvided			
Congruence	.28	.26	.21	.30
	(.08)***	(.09)***	(.09)**	(.07)***
Observations	10,775	10,775	10,775	10,775
R^2	.17	.29	.32	.24

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. Robust standard errors, clustered by county, are in parentheses.
* Significant at 10 percent.
** Significant at 5 percent.
*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 5

PLACEBO: GENERAL POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

	DEPENDENT VARIABLE			
	NameRecall Senator (1)	Feeling Thermometer Senator (2)	KnowsHouse Majority (3)	KnowsSenate Majority (4)
Congruence	.04	−.02	.00	.03
	(.14)	(.09)	(.05)	(.06)
Observations	5,337	6,441	14,153	14,146
R^2	.30	.22	.31	.27

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. All regressions include state × year and incumbent fixed effects and controls ("baseline specification"). Robust standard errors, clustered by county, are in parentheses.

TABLE 9

ROLL-OFF FOR HOUSE RELATIVE TO PRESIDENT

	BASELINE		WITHIN-RACE		REDISTRICTING	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Congruence	−.75	−.64	−.75	−.70	−.86	−.81
	(.13)***	(.13)***	(.13)***	(.13)***	(.42)**	(.42)*
Presidential election turnout	.08	.12	.07	.10	.17	.18
	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.02)***
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Fixed effects	State × year	State × year	District × year	District × year	State × year, county	State × year, county
Observations	9,553	9,553	9,553	9,553	9,553	9,553
R^2	.42	.45	.57	.58	.64	.65

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. The unit of observation is county by district by election. Standard errors, clustered by county, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 10
INCUMBENT AND CHALLENGER EFFECTS

	READ ABOUT		NAME RECALL	
	Incumbent	Challenger	Incumbent	Challenger
Congruence	.38	.05	.34	.11
	(.12)***	(.10)	(.09)***	(.05)**
Observations	5,945	5,930	10,424	10,424
R^2	.24	.29	.29	.30

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. Subsample is contested elections. All regressions include state × year and incumbent fixed effects and controls ("baseline specification"). Robust standard errors, clustered by county, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 11

INCUMBENCY ADVANTAGE

Dependent Variable: Democratic Percentage of Two-Party Vote

	LEVITT AND WOLFRAM		BASELINE		WITHIN-RACE		REDISTRICTING	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Incumbent	9.21	10.17	8.29	9.32			10.82	12.49
	(.23)***	(.27)***	(1.39)***	(1.25)***			(1.92)***	(1.78)***
Incumbent × Congruence	.66	.67	1.13	.77	.60	.74	1.49	1.25
	(.27)**	(.26)***	(.30)***	(.30)**	(.26)**	(.26)***	(.46)***	(.44)***
Congruence	.82	.78	1.81	1.56	.65	.67	2.59	2.55
	(.28)***	(.27)***	(.31)***	(.30)***	(.27)**	(.26)***	(.74)***	(.73)***
Presidential vote share	.74	.74	.66	.67	.76	.75	.61	.59
	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.01)***	(.02)***	(.02)***
Democratic incumbent			1.35	.61			−1.19	−2.48
			(1.38)	(1.25)			(1.92)	(1.77)
Lagged Democratic vote			22.90	20.13			19.15	16.77
			(1.11)***	(1.13)***			(1.42)***	(1.40)***
Controls	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes
Fixed effects	State × year, district × plan	State × year, district × plan	State × year	State × year	District × year	District × year	State × year, county	State × year, county
Observations	17,312	17,312	14,227	14,227	14,227	14,227	14,227	14,227
R^2	.89	.90	.86	.87	.94	.95	.91	.92

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. The unit of observation is county by district by election. Standard errors, clustered by county, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 13

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: NUMBER OF WITNESS APPEARANCES BEFORE CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Congruence	.41 (.17)**	.42 (.16)***	.41 (.15)***	.43 (.21)**	.41 (.18)**	.44 (.23)*	.38 (.22)*
District controls	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Race and representative controls			X	X	X	X	X
Fixed effects	State, year	State, year	State, year	District, year	Rep., year	State, year	State, year
Estimation procedure	Poisson	NB	NB	NB	NB	Poisson	NB
Appearance before committee	All	All	All	All	All	Appr., W&M	Appr., W&M
Observations	4,890	4,890	4,890	4,890	4,890	4,890	4,890

NOTE.—Estimation procedure: NB = negative binomial regression; Poisson = Poisson regression. The unit of observation is House representative by congressional session. Appearance before committee: Appr. = Appropriations; W&M = Ways and Means. Standard errors, clustered by congressional district, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 14
Committee Assignments

	Dependent Variable					
	Distributive Committee Assignment			Policy Committee Assignment		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Congruence	.41	.15	.05	−.18	−.07	−.21
	(.07)***	(.09)	(.08)	(.06)***	(.08)	(.07)***
Controls	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Fixed effects	State × year	State × year	Year, district	State × year	State × year	Year, district
Observations	4,508	4,508	4,508	4,771	4,771	4,771
R^2	.18	.37	.56	.12	.24	.54

Note.—Results are from OLS regressions. The unit of observation is House representative by congressional session. Standard errors clustered by House representative are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.

TABLE 15

DEPENDENT VARIABLE: PERCENTAGE OF ROLL CALL VOTES WITH PARTY LEADERSHIP

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Congruence	−5.38	−4.75	−4.65	−6.75	−3.27
	(2.06)***	(2.03)**	(2.21)**	(2.63)**	(1.40)**
District controls	X	X	X	X	X
Race and representative controls		X	X	X	X
Fixed effects	State, year	State, year	State × year	District, state × year	Rep., state × year
Observations	4,534	4,534	4,534	4,534	4,534
R^2	.19	.32	.38	.68	.91

NOTE.—Results are from OLS regressions. The unit of observation is House representative by congressional session. Standard errors, clustered by congressional district, are in parentheses.

* Significant at 10 percent.

** Significant at 5 percent.

*** Significant at 1 percent.