## 8 Appendix

Table 2: Inter-Party Agreement on Senate Roll Call Votes with Different Measures of Majority’s Electoral Prospects

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Expected Sign | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) |
| 4 Year Avg | 4 Year Avg | 8 Year Avg | 8 Year Avg | 10 Year Avg | 10 Year Avg |
| Majority Party’s | + | 0.183\*\* | 0.150\* | 0.243\*\*\* | 0.229\*\*\* | 0.205\*\*\* | 0.188\*\*\* |
| Electoral Prospects |  | (0.081) | (0.087) | (0.067) | (0.070) | (0.060) | (0.062) |
| Divided Gov’t | + | 0.060\* | 0.079\*\* | 0.060 | 0.082\*\* | 0.058\* | 0.079\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.032) | (0.031) | (0.037) | (0.032) | (0.035) | (0.030) |
| Size of the | + | -0.070 | -0.007 | 0.190 | 0.217 | 0.204 | 0.225 |
| Majority Party |  | (0.284) | (0.304) | (0.213) | (0.217) | (0.200) | (0.202) |
| Terms in Minority | + | 0.008\*\* | 0.005\* | 0.015\*\*\* | 0.012\*\*\* | 0.012\*\*\* | 0.009\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.003) | (0.003) |
| Midterm | - | -0.077\*\*\* | -0.066\*\* | -0.089\*\*\* | -0.076\*\*\* | -0.077\*\* | -0.064\*\* |
|  |  | (0.029) | (0.027) | (0.034) | (0.029) | (0.032) | (0.027) |
| 60 Vote Cloture | - | -0.060\* | -0.052 | -0.028 | -0.020 | -0.034 | -0.028 |
|  |  | (0.034) | (0.036) | (0.032) | (0.033) | (0.032) | (0.034) |
| Days to Election | - | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Procedural Vote | - | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.123\*\*\* | -0.099\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| Issue Divisiveness | - | -0.234\*\*\* | -0.218\*\*\* | -0.235\*\*\* | -0.220\*\*\* | -0.238\*\*\* | -0.222\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) |
| Nominations | + | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.048\*\* | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.049\*\* | 0.112\*\*\* | 0.053\*\* |
|  |  | (0.034) | (0.023) | (0.035) | (0.023) | (0.035) | (0.023) |
| Constant |  | 0.695\*\*\* | 0.662\*\*\* | 0.510\*\*\* | 0.480\*\*\* | 0.541\*\*\* | 0.518\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.168) | (0.175) | (0.142) | (0.146) | (0.134) | (0.136) |
|  |  | 0.007 | 0.007 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 |
|  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
|  |  |  | 0.007 |  | 0.007 |  | 0.007 |
|  |  |  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) |
|  |  |  | 0.020 |  | 0.019 |  | 0.018 |
|  |  |  | (0.004) |  | (0.004) |  | (0.004) |
|  |  | 27,140 | 27,140 | 26,351 | 26,351 | 25,943 | 25,943 |
|  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Log-Likelihood |  | -4097.520 | -3821.394 | -3935.004 | -3658.625 | 3814.545 | -3539.920 |

\*p0.1;\*\*p0.05;\*\*\*p0.01

*Note:* Dependent variable measures the amount of bipartisanship on a roll call vote. A value of 1 means the same percentage of Senators from each party voted the same way and a value of 0 is total inter-party disagreement. All models are estimated with robust standard errors.

Table 3: Third Party Adjustment Robustness Checks

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  |  | (1) | (2) |
| Expected | No Adjustment | Southern Dems |
| Sign |  | Adjustment (1948-1968) |
| Majority Party’s | + | 0.166 | 0.276\*\*\* |
| Electoral Prospects |  | (0.113) | (0.085) |
| Divided Government | + | 0.058 | 0.066\* |
|  |  | (0.036) | (0.034) |
| Size of the | + | 0.037 | -0.144 |
| Majority Party |  | (0.327) | (0.262) |
| Terms in Minority | + | 0.010 | 0.016\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.006) | (0.004) |
| Midterm | - | -0.087\*\*\* | -0.086\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.032) | (0.031) |
| 60 Vote Cloture | - | -0.053 | -0.051 |
|  |  | (0.035) | (0.032) |
| Days to Election | - | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Procedural Vote | - | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.014) | (0.014) |
| Issue Divisiveness | - | -0.235\*\*\* | -0.235\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) | (0.028) |
| Nominations | + | 0.112\*\*\* | 0.112\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.035) | (0.035) |
| Constant |  | 0.660\*\*\* | 0.680\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.186) | (0.166) |
|  |  | 0.007 | 0.006 |
|  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) |
|  |  | 26734 | 26734 |
|  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Log-Likelihood |  | -3987.198 | -3983.333 |

\*p0.1; \*\*p0.05; \*\*\*p0.01

*Note:* Dependent variable measures the amount of bipartisanship on a roll call vote. A value of 1 means the same percentage of Senators from each party voted the same way and a value of 0 is total inter-party disagreement. Model 1 does not include any third party adjustment. Model 2 only includes a third party adjustment for southern Democratic Senators whose Democratic presidential vote totals were affected by third party southern presidential candidates in 1948, 1960, and 1968. Both models are estimated with robust standard errors and random slopes by congress.

Table 4: Inter-Party Agreement on Senate Roll Call Votes Including Time Trend, 1917-2014

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Expected Sign | (1) | (2) |
| Majority Party’s | + | 0.176\*\*\* | 0.144\*\* |
| Electoral Prospects |  | (0.058) | (0.063) |
| Divided Government | + | 0.057\*\* | 0.076\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.023) | (0.026) |
| Size of the | + | -0.150 | -0.108 |
| Majority Party |  | (0.221) | (0.233) |
| Terms in Minority | + | 0.008 | 0.004 |
|  |  | (0.005) | (0.005) |
| Midterm | - | -0.076\*\*\* | -0.064\*\* |
|  |  | (0.025) | (0.026) |
| 60 Vote Cloture | - | -0.085\*\*\* | -0.090\*\* |
|  |  | (0.033) | (0.036) |
| Days to Election | - | -0.0001\*\*\* | -0.0001\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Procedural Vote | - | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| Issue Divisiveness | - | -0.233\*\*\* | -0.217\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) | (0.027) |
| Nomination | + | 0.113\*\*\* | 0.053\*\* |
|  |  | (0.034) | (0.023) |
| Time | + | 0.011\*\*\* | 0.012\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.004) | (0.004) |
| Time | - | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
| Constant |  | 0.681\*\*\* | 0.653\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.143) | (0.152) |
|  |  | 0.003 | 0.004 |
|  |  | (0.001) | (0.001) |
|  |  |  | 0.006 |
|  |  |  | (0.002) |
|  |  |  | 0.020 |
|  |  |  | (0.004) |
|  |  | 26,734 | 26,734 |
|  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Log-Likelihood |  | -3970.933 | -3695.967 |

\*p0.1; \*\*p0.05; \*\*\*p0.01

*Note:* Dependent variable measures the amount of bipartisanship on a roll call vote. A value of 1 means the same percentage of Senators from each party voted the same way and a value of 0 is total inter-party disagreement. Model 1 includes random intercepts by Congress. Model 2 includes random intercepts and random slopes. Both models are estimated with robust standard errors.

Table 5: Inter-Party Agreement on Senate Roll Call Votes with Divided Government and Electoral Prospects Interaction

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Expected | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) |
|  | Sign | 4 Year Avg | 4 Year Avg | 6 Year Avg | 6 Year Avg | 8 Year Avg | 8 Year Avg | 10 Year Avg | 10 Year Avg |
| Majority’s Electoral Prospects x | - | 0.156 | 0.161 | -0.042 | -0.056 | -0.047 | -0.070 | -0.006 | -0.042 |
| Divided Government |  | (0.151) | (0.156) | (0.147) | (0.146) | (0.093) | (0.094) | (0.071) | (0.072) |
| Majority Party’s | + | 0.078 | 0.042 | 0.275\* | 0.259\* | 0.271\*\*\* | 0.270\*\*\* | 0.208\*\*\* | 0.206\*\*\* |
| Electoral Prospects |  | (0.145) | (0.156) | (0.148) | (0.152) | (0.094) | (0.094) | (0.074) | (0.075) |
| Divided Government | + | -0.052 | -0.037 | 0.090 | 0.120 | 0.092 | 0.129 | 0.062 | 0.106\* |
|  |  | (0.118) | (0.122) | (0.121) | (0.119) | (0.080) | (0.079) | (0.066) | (0.063) |
| Size of | + | 0.069 | 0.136 | -0.110 | -0.083 | 0.157 | 0.168 | 0.200 | 0.203 |
| Majority Party |  | (0.314) | (0.339) | (0.274) | (0.279) | (0.221) | (0.223) | (0.202) | (0.206) |
| Terms in Minority | + | 0.011\*\* | 0.009\*\* | 0.015\*\*\* | 0.012\*\* | 0.014\*\*\* | 0.010\*\* | 0.012\*\*\* | 0.008\*\* |
|  |  | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.005) | (0.005) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.004) | (0.003) |
| Midterm | - | -0.090\*\*\* | -0.080\*\* | -0.088\*\* | -0.073\*\* | -0.083\*\* | -0.067\*\* | -0.076\*\* | -0.060\*\* |
|  |  | (0.033) | (0.032) | (0.036) | (0.031) | (0.037) | (0.032) | (0.036) | (0.030) |
| 60 Vote Cloture | - | -0.064\* | -0.049 | -0.042 | -0.029 | -0.021 | -0.035 | -0.031 | -0.031 |
|  |  | (0.036) | (0.038) | (0.034) | (0.036) | (0.032) | (0.033) | (0.032) | (0.034) |
| Days to Election | - | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* | -0.001\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) | (0.000) |
| Procedural Vote | - | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.122\*\*\* | -0.098\*\*\* | -0.123\*\*\* | -0.099\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.013) | (0.014) | (0.013) |
| Issue Divisiveness | - | -0.233\*\*\* | -0.218\*\*\* | -0.234\*\*\* | -0.219\*\*\* | -0.235\*\*\* | -0.219\*\*\* | -0.238\*\*\* | -0.222\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.028) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) | (0.028) | (0.027) |
| Nominations | + | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.048\*\* | 0.112\*\*\* | 0.052\*\* | 0.111\*\*\* | 0.049\*\* | 0.112\*\*\* | 0.053\*\* |
|  |  | (0.034) | (0.023) | (0.035) | (0.023) | (0.035) | (0.023) | (0.035) | (0.023) |
| Constant |  | 0.705\*\*\* | 0.673\*\*\* | 0.656\*\*\* | 0.623\*\*\* | 0.506\*\*\* | 0.476\*\*\* | 0.540\*\*\* | 0.516\*\*\* |
|  |  | (0.171) | (0.181) | (0.176) | (0.182) | (0.145) | (0.149) | (0.135) | (0.137) |
|  |  | 0.007 | 0.008 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 | 0.006 |
|  |  | (0.002) | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.002) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) | (0.001) |
|  |  |  | 0.006 |  | 0.006 |  | 0.007 |  | 0.007 |
|  |  |  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) |  | (0.002) |
|  |  |  | 0.020 |  | 0.019 |  | 0.019 |  | 0.018 |
|  |  |  | (0.004) |  | (0.004) |  | (0.004) |  | (0.004) |
|  |  | 27140 | 27140 | 26734 | 26734 | 26351 | 26351 | 25943 | 25943 |
|  |  | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 | 0.000 |
| Log-Likelihood |  | -4096.35 | -3820.20 | -3983.60 | -3707.97 | -3934.89 | -3658.38 | -3814.54 | -3539.82 |

\*p0.1; \*\*p0.05; \*\*\*p0.01

*Note:* Dependent variable measures the amount of bipartisanship on a roll call vote. A value of 1 means the same percentage of Senators from each party voted the same way and a value of 0 is total inter-party disagreement. All models are estimated with robust standard errors.