

Appendix

Appendix A: Supplement to Chapter 2

TABLE A.1. Regressions Predicting PRO-LCV Scores

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -Ratio
Without Party			
Constant	-7.647	4.548	-1.681**
South	.454	.454	1.000
McGovern vote	.114	.025	4.563****
Environmental activists	62.579	49.001	1.277
Education	.191	.301	.636
Manufacturing	.018	.016	1.122
Average age	.051	.065	.782
Growth rate	-.026	.011	-2.404***
Urbanization	.010	.006	1.564*
$R^2 = .505$ Adjusted $R^2 = .461$ SEE = 1.155 $N = 100$			
With Party			
Constant	-10.787	3.355	-3.216***
South	.014	.336	.041
McGovern vote	.092	.018	4.998****
Environmental activists	51.327	35.963	1.427*
Education	.374	.221	1.690**
Manufacturing	.027	.012	2.211**
Average age	.055	.048	1.145
Growth rate	-.018	.008	-2.281**
Urbanization	.006	.005	1.284
Political party	1.624	.183	8.896****
$R^2 = .736$ Adjusted $R^2 = .710$ SEE = .847 $N = 100$			

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .0001$.

TABLE A.2. Predictive Success of the Logits and Regressions

	Geographic Constituency		Reelection Constituency		Null Predictions
	Kalt- Zupan	Direct Survey	Kalt- Zupan	Direct Survey	
Communist					
immigration	81.1	82.6	77.8	79.1	57.0
Death penalty	90.8	90.4	87.4	86.7	72.3
Draft	78.5	79.8	75.3	73.0	50.6
Sex education	90.7	89.3	89.5	89.3	71.4
Neutron bomb	85.4	84.8	85.4	83.7	62.0
Desegregation	92.2	91.9	93.3	91.9	70.0
Abortion	72.6	72.8	70.5	68.5	57.6
Pornography	79.1	80.7	80.2	79.5	75.9
Pregnancy					
disability	90.7	92.8	91.9	90.4	86.8
Pregnancy					
discrimination	95.3	93.8	92.9	92.6	84.7
Cuba	87.8	85.9	87.8	83.1	52.1
Communist loans	79.4	77.3	78.3	70.5	62.5
Panama Canal index	.579	.583	.585	.550	

Note: Entries are percentage predicted correctly by each logit for the four equations in tables 2 and 3, together with the predictions from the null model based upon the modal vote. For the Panama Canal index, the entries are the adjusted R^2 values.

Appendix B: Supplement to Chapter 3

TABLE B.1. Constituencies and Personal-Ideology Models for Democrats

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -Statistic
A. Geographic-Constituency Personal-Ideology Model: Northern Democrats			
Constant	10.812	3.646	2.966**
State mean ideology	-3.308	1.538	-2.151**
Other party standard deviation	-1.218	1.272	-.958
Electoral heterogeneity	-.038	.021	-1.799**
Party congressional candidates	.039	.013	3.041***
Other party elite	.026	.049	.527
Growth rate	-.022	.007	-3.273***
Union share	-.038	.012	-3.083***
$R^2 = .569$ Adjusted $R^2 = .481$ SEE = .532			
B. Reelection-Constituency Personal-Ideology Model: Democrats			
Constant	6.526	4.623	1.412
State mean ideology	-1.494	2.145	-.696
Electoral heterogeneity	-.055	.030	-1.829**
Party congressional candidates	.056	.019	3.002***
State party elite	.020	.058	.350
Other party congressional candidates	.004	.005	.763
Growth rate	-.031	.009	-3.319***
Union share	-.048	.018	-2.706**
$R^2 = .524$ Adjusted $R^2 = .426$ SEE = .757			
$\text{System } R^2 = .540$ $N = 42$			

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$.

TABLE B.2. Constituencies and Personal-Ideology Models for Republicans

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -Statistic
A. Geographic-Constituency Personal-Ideology Model, Republicans			
Constant	8.603	3.626	2.373
State mean ideology	-3.770	1.332	-2.831***
Other party standard deviation	.529	2.321	.228
Electoral heterogeneity	-.030	.019	-1.631*
Party congressional candidates	.030	.009	3.523****
Other party elite	.007	.050	.131
Growth rate	-.013	.004	-2.897***
Union share	.018	.013	1.331*
$R^2 = .774$ Adjusted $R^2 = .720$ SEE = .483			
B. Reelection-Constituency Personal-Ideology Model, Republicans			
Constant	9.365	3.832	2.444
State mean ideology	-3.501	1.807	-1.937**
Electoral heterogeneity	-.005	.026	-1.888**
Party congressional candidates	.041	.012	3.435****
State party elites	.042	.008	.510
Other party congressional candidates	-.002	.008	.293
Growth rate	-.016	.006	-2.578**
Union share	.026	.018	1.442*
$R^2 = .731$ Adjusted $R^2 = .666$ SEE = .658			
System $R^2 = .748$ $N = 37$			

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .001$. **** $p < .0001$.

Appendix C: Supplement to Chapter 5

TABLE C.1. Estimations of Induced State Partisanship and Ideology

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -Ratio
A. Estimation of Induced Statewide Ideology for Incumbents			
Constant	24.656	6.152	4.008**
State mean ideology	-7.828	1.906	-4.108****
Other party standard deviation	-10.433	3.624	-2.879**
Electoral heterogeneity	.067	.020	3.294**
Congressional candidate ideology:			
Northern Democrats	.021	.012	1.735**
Other party elite	-.327	.130	-2.507**
$R^2 = .766$ Adjusted $R^2 = .708$ SEE = .469 $N = 26$			
B. Estimation of Induced State Partisanship for Incumbents			
Constant	.998	.458	2.178
Congressional candidate ideology:			
Northern Democrats	.062	.016	3.911***
State party elite ideology: GOP	.429	.179	2.397**
Other party congressional candidate ideology	.021	.009	-2.192**
Traditional party organization	.135	.066	2.053**
Senator's party opinion distribution	.281	.168	1.676*
$R^2 = .775$ Adjusted $R^2 = .719$ SEE = .594 $N = 26$			

(continued)

TABLE C.1. — *Continued*

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	<i>t</i> -Ratio
C. Estimation of Induced State Partisanship for Challengers			
Constant	5.974	0.744	8.034****
Challenger party congressional candidate ideology	.048	.006	7.762****
Incumbent party identification	-.036	.010	-3.665***
Population diversity	6.563	1.297	5.061****
Environmental activists	30.095	12.062	2.495**
$R^2 = .899$ Adjusted $R^2 = .880$ SEE = .347 $N = 26$			
<p>*$p < .10$. **$p < .05$. ***$p < .001$. ****$p < .0001$.</p>			

Appendix D: Supplement to Chapter 7

TABLE D.1. Regression Predicting Personal Ideology, ADA Scores

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Constant	.525	.367	1.431
State party elites	.241	.060	3.996****
Independent identifiers:			
liberal share	.040	.013	3.077***
Other party congressional candidates:			
standard deviation	.017	.008	2.122**
Party congressional candidates	-.028	.004	-7.328****
Growth rate	-.014	.003	-4.304****
Other party centrist opinion	-.377	.139	-2.706***
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$R^2 = .816$ Adjusted $R^2 = .804$ SEE = .443 $N = 96$			

** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .0001$.

TABLE D.2. Regression Predicting Personal Partisanship, ADA Scores

Independent Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Statistic
Constant	.937	.403	2.324
State elite opinions: GOP	.229	.153	1.502*
Party congressional candidates	-.010	.008	-1.286*
Party congressional candidates:			
Northern Democrats	-.042	.010	-4.068****
Growth rate	-.011	.005	-2.068**
State party opinion distribution	-.480	.154	-3.121***
State party elite opinions	.253	.102	2.475***
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$R^2 = .526$ Adjusted $R^2 = .494$ SEE = .711 $N = 96$			

* $p < .10$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .0001$.

