

Additional Materials

The following materials reference data issues and models discussed in the text and Appendix of “From Goals to Actions.” The first two tables provide more detail on differences between the data used in the original 1996 Kessler and Krehbiel analysis of the 103rd Congress and those used in our Appendix. The first (Table B-1) lists the number of cosponsorships claimed for a member (as distinguished by state (ST) and congressional district (CD)) for all 51 proposals in the original Kessler and Krehbiel data (#KK) and the same information for our verified data (#GRS). As one can see by the structure of #KK and #GRS, the #GRS for one case equals the #KK for the next case, with only a small number of discrepancies, reasons for which are detailed in the second table (Table B-2).

The third table (Table B-3) provides estimates of three models that are referred to in the text of the paper (along with our basic model results for ease of comparison) but are deemed insufficiently important or distinct to merit inclusion in a published version. Finally, the fourth table (Table B-4) includes descriptive statistics for the independent variables used in the empirical analysis.

Table B-1: Comparison of Cosponsorship Coding Differences

Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS
CALLAHAN	AL	1	0	8	LONG	IN	4	9	8	LANCASTER	NC	3	15	15
EVERETT	AL	2	8	8	BUYER	IN	5	8	4	PRICE	NC	4	15	19
BROWDER	AL	3	8	7	BURTON	IN	6	4	11	NEAL	NC	5	19	10
BEVILL	AL	4	7	8	MYERS	IN	7	11	9	COBLE	NC	6	10	9
CRAMER	AL	5	8	15	MCCLOSKEY	IN	8	9	15	ROSE	NC	7	9	13
BACHUS	AL	6	15	9	HAMILTON	IN	9	15	7	HEFNER	NC	8	13	9
HILLIARD	AL	7	9	14	JACOBS	IN	10	7	20	MCMILLAN	NC	9	9	8
YOUNG	AK	0	14	8	LEACH	IA	1	20	11	BALLENGER	NC	10	8	9
COPPERSMITH	AZ	1	8	15	NUSSLE	IA	2	11	5	TAYLOR	NC	11	9	6
PASTOR	AZ	2	15	23	LIGHTFOOT	IA	3	5	9	WATT	NC	12	6	12
STUMP	AZ	3	23	12	SMITH	IA	4	9	7	POMEROY	ND	0	12	9
KYL	AZ	4	12	14	GRANDY	IA	5	7	8	MANN	OH	1	9	7
KOLBE	AZ	5	14	7	ROBERTS	KS	1	8	7	PORTMAN	OH	2	7	6
ENGLISH	AZ	6	7	15	SLATTERY	KS	2	7	12	HALL	OH	3	6	13
LINCOLN	AR	1	14	8	MEYERS	KS	3	12	14	OXLEY	OH	4	13	9
THORNTON	AR	2	8	10	GLICKMAN	KS	4	14	17	GILLMOR	OH	5	9	9
HUTCHINSON	AR	3	10	11	BARLOW	KY	1	17	14	STRICKLAND	OH	6	9	10
DICKEY	AR	4	11	7	NATCHER	KY	2	14	1	HOBSON	OH	7	10	9
HAMBURG	CA	1	8	16	MAZZOLI	KY	3	1	17	BOEHNER	OH	8	9	7
HERGER	CA	2	16	9	BUNNING	KY	4	17	9	KAPTUR	OH	9	7	12
FAZIO	CA	3	9	24	ROGERS	KY	5	9	5	HOKE	OH	10	12	7
DOOLITTLE	CA	4	24	8	BAESLER	KY	6	5	7	STOKES	OH	11	7	19
MATSUI	CA	5	8	18	LIVINGSTON	LA	1	7	9	KASICH	OH	12	19	4
WOOLSEY	CA	6	18	25	JEFFERSON	LA	2	9	23	BROWN	OH	13	4	11
MILLER	CA	7	25	20	TAUZIN	LA	3	23	9	SAWYER	OH	14	11	16
PELOSI	CA	8	20	25	FIELDS	LA	4	9	7	PRYCE	OH	15	16	12
DELLUMS	CA	9	25	30	MCCRERY	LA	5	7	9	REGULA	OH	16	12	6
BAKER	CA	10	30	6	BAKER	LA	6	9	9	TRAFICANT	OH	17	6	15
POMBO	CA	11	6	6	HAYES	LA	7	9	11	APPLEGATE	OH	18	15	11
LANTOS	CA	12	6	21	ANDREWS	ME	1	11	19	FINGERHUT	OH	19	11	23
STARK	CA	13	21	23	SNOWE	ME	2	19	16	INHOFE	OK	1	23	11
ESHOO	CA	14	23	20	GILCHREST	MD	1	16	10	SYNAR	OK	2	11	15
MINETA	CA	15	20	<u>22</u>	BENTLEY	MD	2	10	7	BREWSTER	OK	3	15	11
EDWARDS	CA	16	<u>21</u>	21	CARDIN	MD	3	7	14	MCCURDY	OK	4	11	13
FARR	CA	17	21	15	WYNN	MD	4	14	<u>30</u>	ISTOOK	OK	5	13	7
CONDIT	CA	18	15	8	HOYER	MD	5	<u>29</u>	15	ENGLISH	OK	6	7	9
LEHMAN	CA	19	8	16	BARTLETT	MD	6	15	11	FURSE	OR	1	10	25
DOOLEY	CA	20	16	12	MFUME	MD	7	11	15	SMITH	OR	2	25	8
THOMAS	CA	21	12	6	MORELLA	MD	8	15	28	WYDEN	OR	3	8	14
HUFFINGTON	CA	22	6	4	OLVER	MA	1	28	21	DEFAZIO	OR	4	14	17
GALLEGLY	CA	23	4	9	NEAL	MA	2	21	15	KOPETSKI	OR	5	17	32
BEILENSON	CA	24	9	18	BLUTE	MA	3	15	10	FOGLIETTA	PA	1	32	24
MCKEON	CA	25	19	8	FRANK	MA	4	10	32	BLACKWELL	PA	2	24	23
BERMAN	CA	26	8	22	MEEHAN	MA	5	32	13	BORSKI	PA	3	23	17
MOORHEAD	CA	27	22	5	TORKILDSEN	MA	6	13	12	KLINK	PA	4	17	8
DREIER	CA	28	5	5	MARKEY	MA	7	12	18	CLINGER	PA	5	8	6
WAXMAN	CA	29	5	19	KENNEDY	MA	8	18	19	HOLDEN	PA	6	6	13
BECERRA	CA	30	19	16	MOAKLEY	MA	9	19	10	WELDON	PA	7	13	11
MARTINEZ	CA	31	16	16	STUDDS	MA	10	10	15	GREENWOOD	PA	8	11	9
DIXON	CA	32	16	23	STUPAK	MI	1	15	11	SHUSTER	PA	9	9	4

Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS
ROYBAL-ALLARD	CA	33	22	16	HOEKSTRA	MI	2	11	9	MCDADE	PA	10	4	6
TORRES	CA	34	16	20	EHLERS	MI	3	9	0	KANJORSKI	PA	11	6	10
WATERS	CA	35	20	15	CAMP	MI	4	1	6	MURTHA	PA	12	10	9
HARMAN	CA	36	15	15	BARCIA	MI	5	6	10	MARGOLIES-MEZVINSKY	PA	13	9	17
TUCKER	CA	37	15	21	UPTON	MI	6	10	10	COYNE	PA	14	17	13
HORN	CA	38	21	8	SMITH	MI	7	10	4	MCHALE	PA	15	13	9
ROYCE	CA	39	8	9	CARR	MI	8	4	8	WALKER	PA	16	9	5
LEWIS	CA	40	9	6	KILDEE	MI	9	8	15	GEKAS	PA	17	5	7
KIM	CA	41	6	7	BONIOR	MI	10	15	17	SANTORUM	PA	18	7	6
BROWN	CA	42	7	22	KNOLLENBERG	MI	11	17	9	GOODLING	PA	19	6	6
CALVERT	CA	43	22	10	LEVIN	MI	12	9	13	MURPHY	PA	20	6	11
MCCANDLESS	CA	44	10	6	FORD	MI	13	13	16	RIDGE	PA	21	11	7
ROHRABACHER	CA	45	6	10	CONYERS	MI	14	16	24	MACHTLEY	RI	1	7	16
DORNAN	CA	46	10	17	COLLINS	MI	15	24	14	REED	RI	2	16	10
COX	CA	47	17	8	DINGELL	MI	16	14	4	RAVENEL	SC	1	10	18
PACKARD	CA	48	8	6	PENNY	MN	1	4	12	SPENCE	SC	2	18	11
SCHENK	CA	49	6	15	MINGE	MN	2	12	15	DERRICK	SC	3	11	10
FILNER	CA	50	15	33	RAMSTAD	MN	3	15	10	INGLIS	SC	4	10	8
CUNNINGHAM	CA	51	33	12	VENTO	MN	4	10	20	SPRATT	SC	5	8	10
HUNTER	CA	52	12	8	SABO	MN	5	20	17	CLYBURN	SC	6	10	18
SCHROEDER	CO	1	8	18	GRAMS	MN	6	17	7	JOHNSON	SD	0	18	17
SKAGGS	CO	2	18	10	PETERSON	MN	7	7	22	QUILLEN	TN	1	17	8
MCINNIS	CO	3	10	4	OBERSTAR	MN	8	22	17	DUNCAN	TN	2	8	10
ALLARD	CO	4	4	6	WHITTEN	MS	1	17	8	LLOYD	TN	3	10	14
HEFLEY	CO	5	6	4	THOMPSON	MS	2	8	13	COOPER	TN	4	14	10
SCHAEFFER	CO	6	4	9	MONTGOMERY	MS	3	12	11	CLEMENT	TN	5	10	11
KENNELLY	CT	1	9	20	PARKER	MS	4	11	20	GORDON	TN	6	11	14
GEJDENSON	CT	2	20	23	TAYLOR	MS	5	20	9	SUNDQUIST	TN	7	14	8
DELAURO	CT	3	23	19	CLAY	MO	1	9	20	TANNER	TN	8	8	7
SHAYS	CT	4	19	24	TALENT	MO	2	20	7	FORD	TN	9	7	13
FRANKS	CT	5	24	8	GEPHARDT	MO	3	7	8	CHAPMAN	TX	1	13	9
JOHNSON	CT	6	8	11	SKELTON	MO	4	8	9	WILSON	TX	2	9	14
CASTLE	DE	0	11	9	WHEAT	MO	5	9	25	JOHNSON	TX	3	14	4
HUTTO	FL	1	9	12	DANNER	MO	6	25	10	HALL	TX	4	4	9
PETERSON	FL	2	12	16	HANCOCK	MO	7	10	7	BRYANT	TX	5	9	16
BROWN	FL	3	16	21	EMERSON	MO	8	7	14	BARTON	TX	6	16	8
FOWLER	FL	4	21	14	VOLKMER	MO	9	13	8	ARCHER	TX	7	8	4
THURMAN	FL	5	14	14	WILLIAMS	MT	0	8	18	FIELDS	TX	8	4	10
STEARNS	FL	6	14	10	BEREUTER	NE	1	18	13	BROOKS	TX	9	10	4
MICA	FL	7	10	6	HOAGLAND	NE	2	13	13	PICKLE	TX	10	4	5
MCCOLLUM	FL	8	6	10	BARRETT	NE	3	12	7	EDWARDS	TX	11	5	6
BILIRAKIS	FL	9	10	11	BILBRAY	NV	1	7	14	GEREN	TX	12	6	17
YOUNG	FL	10	11	0	VUCANOVICH	NV	2	14	13	SARPALIUS	TX	13	17	14
GIBBONS	FL	11	0	9	ZELIFF	NH	1	13	9	LAUGHLIN	TX	14	14	9
CANADY	FL	12	9	9	SWETT	NH	2	9	17	DE LA GARZA	TX	15	9	4
MILLER	FL	13	9	7	ANDREWS	NJ	1	17	21	COLEMAN	TX	16	4	21
GOSS	FL	14	7	10	HUGHES	NJ	2	20	18	STENHOLM	TX	17	21	9
BACCHUS	FL	15	10	18	SAXTON	NJ	3	17	11	WA	TX	18	9	19
LEWIS	FL	16	18	11	SMITH	NJ	4	11	12	COMBEST	TX	19	19	6
MEEK	FL	17	11	31	ROUKEMA	NJ	5	12	11	GONZALEZ	TX	20	6	11
ROS-LEHTINEN	FL	18	31	8	PALLONE	NJ	6	11	15	SMITH	TX	21	11	8
JOHNSTON	FL	19	8	26	FRANKS	NJ	7	15	5	DELAY	TX	22	8	3

Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS	Member	ST	CD	#KK	#GRS
DEUTSCH	FL	20	26	22	KLEIN	NJ	8	5	18	BONILLA	TX	23	3	9
DIAZ-BALART	FL	21	22	13	TORRICELLI	NJ	9	18	18	FROST	TX	24	9	35
SHAW	FL	22	13	7	PAYNE	NJ	10	18	20	ANDREWS	TX	25	35	11
HASTINGS	FL	23	7	23	GALLO	NJ	11	20	10	ARMEY	TX	26	11	5
KINGSTON	GA	1	23	11	ZIMMER	NJ	12	10	8	ORTIZ	TX	27	5	6
BISHOP	GA	2	11	20	MENENDEZ	NJ	13	8	9	TEJEDA	TX	28	6	12
COLLINS	GA	3	20	9	SCHIFF	NM	1	9	18	GREEN	TX	29	12	24
LINDER	GA	4	9	11	SKEEN	NM	2	18	12	JOHNSON	TX	30	24	24
LEWIS	GA	5	11	22	RICHARDSON	NM	3	12	18	HANSEN	UT	1	24	11
GINGRICH	GA	6	22	14	HOCHBRUECKNER	NY	1	18	26	SHEPHERD	UT	2	11	18
DARDEN	GA	7	14	11	LAZIO	NY	2	26	10	ORTON	UT	3	18	10
ROWLAND	GA	8	11	10	KING	NY	3	10	14	SANDERS	VT	0	10	22
DEAL	GA	9	10	7	LEVY	NY	4	14	13	BATEMAN	VA	1	22	15
JOHNSON	GA	10	7	9	ACKERMAN	NY	5	13	28	PICKETT	VA	2	15	8
MCKINNEY	GA	11	9	25	FLAKE	NY	6	28	15	SCOTT	VA	3	8	24
ABERCROMBIE	HA	1	25	24	MANTON	NY	7	15	14	SISISKY	VA	4	24	10
MINK	HA	2	24	22	NADLER	NY	8	14	18	PAYNE	VA	5	10	11
LAROCCO	ID	1	22	10	SCHUMER	NY	9	18	18	GOODLATTE	VA	6	11	9
CRAPO	ID	2	10	7	TOWNS	NY	10	18	25	BLILEY	VA	7	9	7
RUSH	IL	1	7	19	OWENS	NY	11	25	26	MORAN	VA	8	7	19
REYNOLDS	IL	2	19	23	VELAZQUEZ	NY	12	26	20	BOUCHER	VA	9	19	10
LIPINSKI	IL	3	23	16	MOLINARI	NY	13	20	17	WOLF	VA	10	10	14
GUTIERREZ	IL	4	16	23	MALONEY	NY	14	17	21	BYRNE	VA	11	14	22
ROSTENKOWSKI	IL	5	23	1	RANGEL	NY	15	21	24	CANTWELL	WA	1	22	9
HYDE	IL	6	1	13	SERRANO	NY	16	24	21	SWIFT	WA	2	9	12
COLLINS	IL	7	13	19	ENGEL	NY	17	21	29	UNSOELD	WA	3	12	25
CRANE	IL	8	19	6	LOWEY	NY	18	29	18	INSLEE	WA	4	25	11
YATES	IL	9	6	22	FISH	NY	19	18	10	FOLEY	WA	5	11	0
PORTER	IL	10	22	12	GILMAN	NY	20	10	15	DICKS	WA	6	0	15
SANGMEISTER	IL	11	12	10	MCNULTY	NY	21	15	9	MCDERMOTT	WA	7	14	22
COSTELLO	IL	12	10	7	SOLOMON	NY	22	9	13	DUNN	WA	8	22	6
FAWELL	IL	13	7	5	BOEHLERT	NY	23	13	11	KREIDLER	WA	9	6	22
HASTERT	IL	14	5	5	MCHUGH	NY	24	11	8	MOLLOHAN	WV	1	22	4
EWING	IL	15	5	5	WALSH	NY	25	8	14	WISE	WV	2	4	11
MANZULLO	IL	16	5	8	HINCHEY	NY	26	14	25	RAHALL	WV	3	11	12
EVANS	IL	17	8	27	PAXON	NY	27	25	8	BARCA	WI	1	12	11
MICHEL	IL	18	27	7	SLAUGHTER	NY	28	8	21	KLUG	WI	2	11	11
POSHARD	IL	19	7	9	LAFALCE	NY	29	21	9	GUNDERSON	WI	3	11	13
DURBIN	IL	20	9	17	QUINN	NY	30	9	12	KLECZKA	WI	4	13	7
VISCLOSKEY	IN	1	17	8	HOUGHTON	NY	31	12	7	BARRETT	WI	5	7	24
SHARP	IN	2	8	4	CLAYTON	NC	1	7	22	PETRI	WI	6	24	10
ROEMER	IN	3	4	9	VALENTINE	NC	2	22	15	OBEY	WI	7	10	5
										THOMAS	WY	0	13	7

Table B-2: Corrections to 1996 Dataset

<i>Member (State and District)</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Arizona 4 th	Member with a similar last name from Washington 6 th credited with cosponsorship.
Arizona 6 th	Member with same last name from Oklahoma 6 th credited with cosponsorship.
California 15 th	Not credited with cosponsorship.
California 24 th	Inappropriately credited with cosponsorship.
California 32 nd	Not credited with cosponsorship.
Maryland 4 th	Not credited with cosponsorship.
Michigan 3 rd	Inappropriately credited with cosponsorship.
Mississippi 2 nd	Not credited with cosponsorship.
Missouri 8 th	Not credited with cosponsorship.
Nebraska 2 nd	Not credited with cosponsorship.
New Jersey 1 st	Not credited with cosponsorship.
New Jersey 2 nd	Not credited with cosponsorship.
New Jersey 8 th	Not credited with cosponsorship.
Note: Changes refer to districts once correction made to 1996 data linking cosponsorship data with correct legislator.	

Table B-3: Effects on Cosponsorship Hazards

<i>Variable</i>	All Proposals	Binding Bills	SQ and Proposal Estimated	Days Left in Session
Ideological Distance	-1.262* (-89.92)	-1.271* (-85.21)	-	-1.265* (-90.28)
Conservatism	-0.238* (-37.62)	-0.246* (-36.42)	0.120* (2.49)	-0.241* (-38.16)
On Considering Committee	0.553* (73.00)	0.568* (71.06)	0.547* (16.77)	0.556* (73.30)
Same Party Sponsor	-0.021 (-1.66)	-0.026 (-1.90)	0.398* (6.49)	-0.023 (-1.78)
Republican	-0.451* (-64.04)	-0.480* (-64.04)	0.057 (0.89)	-0.452* (-64.21)
Lame Duck	-0.209* (-13.59)	-0.216* (-13.08)	-0.095 (-1.51)	-0.134* (-8.70)
Seniority	-0.004* (-9.91)	-0.004* (-9.99)	-0.007* (-3.26)	-0.004* (-10.22)
Electoral Security	-0.000* (-2.23)	-0.000 (-1.78)	-0.002* (-2.42)	-0.000* (-2.37)
Member Utility	-	-	0.514* (23.53)	-
Days Left in Session	-	-	-	0.001* (70.42)
Number of Cases	2,460,780	2,222,640	50,403	2,460,780
Chi-Squared	39,016*	35,493*	1667*	44,200

Notes: Dependent variable is cosponsoring a proposal.

Coefficients are maximum likelihood estimates of the Cox proportional hazard model, with z-scores in parentheses (* $p < 0.05$, two-tailed test).

“All Proposals” replicates our basic model, and is placed here for comparison.

“Binding Bills” is mentioned on page 23.

“SQ and Proposal Estimated” is mentioned in footnote 39.

“Days Left in Session” is mentioned in footnote 35.

Table B-4: Summary Statistics

<i>Variable</i>	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Ideological Distance	0.657	0.567	0.493	0	1.955
Conservatism	-0.053	-0.023	0.82	-1.955	1.955
On Considering Committee	0.132	0	0.339	0	1
Same Party Sponsor	0.501	1	0.5	0	1
Republican	0.51	1	0.5	0	1
Lame Duck	0.058	0	0.233	0	1
Seniority	8.08	6	7.4	0	43
Electoral Security	72.9	68.2	16.2	50.2	100
Days Left in Session	424.6	459	212.3	1	710