Exploring the Role of Sectionalism in Congressional Roll Call Votes, 1885-1907
By Amy Semet

Abstract: Richard Bensel reinvigorated the debate concerning the defining role of sectionalist tensions in impacting political struggle. In his seminal work on the subject, *Sectionalism and American Political Development*, *1880-1980* (1984), Bensel analyzed selected roll call votes in the House of Representatives and concluded that sectionalism is one of the "primal causes" of American political development. In this essay, I reanalyze the roll call votes of the 49th, 54th and 59th Congresses of the House of Representatives to test Bensel's theories. I specifically group representatives according to the regional groups devised by Bensel. My preliminary results partly support Bensel's theory. I find statistically significant support for region variables on roll call votes concerning matters Bensel emphasized —admissions of new states and "private" bills. However, while my results show sectionalism to be a key factor, it is not necessarily the "dominant" factor. Ideological disposition as well as policy content of the roll call vote may have as much or even greater impact on vote choice than sectionalism alone.

Sectional divides have long plagued the development of the American polity. Indeed, the sectional divide over slavery drove many of the key debates illuminating the framing of our very own Constitution. Richard Bensel advances a theory advocating the deterministic and continuing power of sectionalism in shaping political outcomes. As he puts it, "sectional influence has been clearly dominant" in influencing political development (Bensel 1984, 24). In *Sectionalism and American Political Development*, he proves his point by finding relationships between congressional roll call votes and designated geographic regions on several highly selective and sectionally-charged issues ranging from 1880 to 1980. How does Bensel's theory stand up to statistical test? In this paper, I will test Bensel's claims in a more rigorous manner than previously employed by analyzing roll call votes in the House of Representatives during the period 1885-1907 using multivariate statistical analysis. The results indicate that while sectionalism is important, it is not as deterministic as others claim it to be. When analyzed in conjunction with the representative's party/ ideology and district-level demographic characteristics as well as by issue content of the respective bill, the role of sectionalism is more nuanced than Bensel's theory suggests. While sectionalism is an important lens in which to view the shaping of congressional preferences, issue content of the bill and the representative's party and ideology play as much or even more of a role in foreshadowing congressional vote choice.

Why Sectionalism?

Sectionalism has long been a force shaping the development of the American polity. Early American historians like Frederick Jackson Turner (an inspiration to Bensel) emphasized the importance of the frontier in American history. Turner wrote:

> The frontier and the section are two of the most fundamental factors in American history. The frontier is a moving section, or rather a form of society, determined by the reactions between the wilderness and the edge of expanding settlement; the section is the outcome of the deeper-seated geographical conditions interacting the stock that settled the region.

(Turner 1932, 183). Turner believed sectional strife to be inevitable and saw sectionalism as rooted in economic expression. In particular, he saw Congress as the hotbed of sectional strife, with the resulting legislation arising from "sectional adjustments to meet national needs" (Turner 1922, 7). Turner emphasized the instrumental role that political parties had in fostering sectional demands. "National party….has been in America a flexible bond, yielding in extreme cases to sectional insurgency, yielding often, in the construction of bills, to sectional demands and to sectional interests, but always tending to draw sections together toward national adjustments by compromise and bargain." (Turner 1932, 205). In another article, Turner describes sectionalism as a matter of degree. He noted that he recognizes sectionalism by the methods in which a region resists national uniformity and in the manifestation of social and economic separatedness. As the vast frontier faded, opportunities to move to sparsely populated areas with abundant job opportunities faded. These "physiographical conditions, economic interests and constituent stocks of settled societies" persisted in the form of sectionalism.

Turner's writings inspired other scholars in his era to return to sectionalism as an animating theme to explain policy outcome. Like Turner, these scholars emphasized the economic roots of sectionalism. Turner's contemporary Hannah Grace Roach found sectionalism in the 1870s to 1890s to be a product of the interaction of 1) the rapid expansion of Western settlement; and 2) the greater industrialization of the older parts of the country (Roach 1925, 500). Early scholars even applied a sectionalist lens to exploring roll call votes. Julius Turner and subsequently Edward Schneirer conducted elementary analyses of congressional roll call votes (doing analyses separated out by party) and found sectionalism to be one of among many factors, among them party, urbanism, ethnicity and racial composition, that influence roll call votes (Turner et al. 1970). In his work, *Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups*, V.O. Key also explained how sectionally-rooted economic

interests spur regions to adhere to divergent policy interests through, as Turner argued, the mechanism of the political party in the legislature (Key 1964, 238).

Sectionalism as a "Causal" Factor

Within this historical context, Richard Bensel wrote *Sectionalism in American Political Development* (1984) ("*Sectionalism*"), reviving new light into a topic pushed to the backburner. In this book, he sets forth the main tenets of his theories regarding the deterministic role of sectionalism. As he puts it, "[t]he immutable alignment of sectional conflict… decisively shaped the institutional structures, political parties, and ideological belief-systems of American political life" (Bensel 1984, 411). Bensel focuses his argument by delimiting a continual struggle between the industrial "core" northern industrialized economy and the agrarian "periphery." He analyzes close votes on "key" policy areas in ten separate House of Representatives congresses between 1885-1980, grouping congressman into groups based on "urban trade areas" and their hinterlands. He then calculates an index for "sectional stress" that measures the cohesion of the designated congressional delegation for each "trade area." Using descriptive analysis, Bensel claims that this divide between the "core" and "periphery" has remained steadfast based on sectional tensions. He refers to sectionalism as the "dominant" influence" and contends that "party competition and ideological belief-systems are subordinate factors in the evolution of American politics" (17). He sees party and ideology as cross-cutting and argues that ideology only coincides with the sectional cleavage when party does not occupy that role (29).

Bensel then chronologically goes from the 1880s to 1980s to illustrate how the core/periphery distinction shapes the American polity. He points out three economic policies that he says decisively support his argument: tariffs, elections and imperialism. These policies, he says "reflect[ed] the dominance of the northeastern-midwestern core in a struggle with the Southern periphery and the mountain West for control of the state apparatus" (60). The first issue, the tariff, sparked sectionalist tensions between the industrializing core and the agrarian periphery. In particular,

because Union pensions were paid out of the proceeds of the tariff, debates between the core and the periphery often were reflected in heated debates in the halls of the 49th Congress concerning private pension bills. The second issue, federal election laws, came to a head in the 54th Congress, when northern Republicans saw their chance to reverse consolidation of southern political power (75). Finally, the third issue, imperialism, was reflected in debates particularly in the 59th Congress concerning territorial expansion.

Although *Sectionalism* is his seminal work on the topic, Bensel also wrote on sectionalist themes in two other books. In *Yankee Leviathan* (1990), Bensel sets forth his theory of state formation and hypothesizes about the role that sectionalism had in influencing statist policies concerning finance and the tariff. He finds a sectional pattern to such support, with Republicans from Northern finance and industrialized centers as instrumental in fostering legislation to underpin central state growth. He also divides the political economy into four sectors in order to ascertain the influence of "finance capital" in hastening the Northern abandonment of Southern Reconstruction. He then analyzes ten congressional roll vote votes on "key" financial concerns and concludes that Northern finance capitalists opposed many of these measures, causing their demise and/or affecting their implementation.

In his most recent work, *Political Economy of Industrialization, 1877-1900* (2000), Bensel uses sectionalism as a means in which to understand the process of industrialization. Whereas in his other books he primarily analyzed sectionalism in legislative terms, in *Political Economy*, he expands the reach of sectionalism's importance by placing it front and center in facilitating industrialization and accumulation of wealth. He explains how the gold standard, the unregulated national market and the tariff facilitated uneven economic development across regions. He also shows how the South and West suffered at the expense of Northern hegemony in such things as per capita manufacturing value added, per capita wealth, literacy, interest rates and patent activity. His analysis

further underscores the interregional movement of wealth and capital from the "core" to the "periphery," thereby underscoring the theme of core/periphery cleavage he noted in *Sectonalism.*

Bensel's three works on the subject are an important – and needed – contribution to the literature. Whereas other scholars before him "brought the state back in" to the study of American political development, Bensel "brought sectionalism back in." However, although one can admire Bensel's accomplishments, his underlying thesis — that sectonalism is *the* defining causal factor in American political development — should be closely examined. This is especially true in light of the availability of more sophisticated statistical techniques that were in its infancy in the early 1980s when Bensel first wrote *Sectionalism*. It is this task that I turn to in this paper.

Critique of *Sectionalism and American Political Development*

Bensel's analysis should be reevaluated in light of 1) his assumptions, 2) the data upon which he relies and 3) today's statistical techniques that allow us to test his accomplishments. Bensel did not do (nor of course did he set out to do, especially in light of software available in the 1980s) a statistically rigorous random analysis of roll call votes in his *Sectionalism* analysis. To the contrary, he reviewed only a small subset of votes (approximately ten per congress) in select congresses. Further, he deliberately chose votes that had sectional underpinnings. As he notes, "[t]he sampling procedure unavoidably bias the analysis . . . toward policies which provoked high levels of sectional stress in their respective periods" (Bensel 1984, 31). Analyzing sectionalism by studying votes on issues characterized as animating sectionalist concerns is circular and can bias the results. While such a cursory and selective example could be instructive in showing *examples* of sectionalist influence, it is optimistic to believe that such an analysis can really be the basis in which to launch a statistically rigorous theory on the *causal* importance of sectionalism in actually influencing American political development.

The distribution and content of policies that Bensel examines in *Sectionalism* also

seems biased in the direction of finding sectionalist impulses. Eight of the ten votes Bensel analyzed in the 49th Congress concern private union pensions — an admittedly sectionally-charged issue that pitted Northern Union veterans against Southern former Confederates. The remaining roll calls he analyzes in that Congress analyzed passage of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and adoption of a Senate amendment to grant the public printer and his employees fifteen annual days of leave. In the 54th Congress, Bensel analyzed one bill on a private military pension and another two dealing with appropriations for Howard University and miscellaneous charitable institutions. Other bills referenced the establishment of a national bankruptcy code as well as legislation to provide for federal enforcement of laws governing imitation dairy products (73). The remaining five dealt with contested elections. Similarly, the bills Bensel analyzed for the 59th Congress dealt with predictably sectional issues. He analyzed four votes connected with the statehood of Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona and the Indian Territory. Four others concerned the registration of foreign-built naval vessels in the United States, government manufacture of supplies purchased for the Navy and a construction cost differential that would have allowed West Coast shipbuilders to better compete with the East (88). Other roll calls concerned whether to exempt aliens from hour laws on work on the Panama Canal as well as a roll call concerning whether the District of Columbia should allow free evening lectures.

Bensel also does not consider the impact of other variables and actors that may contribute to, influence or even play an independent causal role more important than sectionalism in shaping political development. Indeed, he examines sectional concerns independent of party and ideology, even though he concedes there is some relationship (24-25). Moreover, while he emphasizes the economic underpinnings of sectionalism based on a rural/urban dichotomy, he makes no analysis of whether the extent of manufacturing or farm production in a congressional district could impact the congressman's vote. Further, his analysis of political concerns being determined by "core"/"periphery" struggle masks the impact that race had in informing outcomes. Without a full and complete analysis of any additional independent variables as well as interaction effects of such

variables together with each other and with section, Bensel's analysis can serve as no more than an illustrative *example* of sectionalism's operation in practice, which admittedly, is all he set out to do. He does not purport to use his analysis to *prove* sectionalism voting tendencies.

Bensel also has a unique way of defining regions. In *Sectionalism*, rather than using state lines, Bensel uses "trade areas" devised by the Commerce Department and Rand McNally as his unit of analysis for his primary independent variable. He defines a "trade area" as "composed of two interdependent parts: an urban center and a surrounding hinterland made up of rural areas and subordinate cities" (417). He does so without a robust explanation of why such a division is appropriate. Within each "trade area," there could be a multiplicity of interests; why are "trade areas" more appropriate that state lines or other sectoral lines in predicting House votes? Indeed, in *Political Economy,* he employs both "trade areas" and districts as the unit of analysis. Similarly, in *Yankee Leviathan*, he classifies Congressional representatives according to the economic pattern of their district, without explaining why such a measure is appropriate.

As another example of an assumption made in *Sectionalism*, Bensel collects data from the roll call votes on Congresses in the middle years of each decade. However, nearly all of his time periods covered a presidential election year, or a year immediately preceding or after an election. With the sectional nature of the Electoral College, one could hypothesize that sectional concerns could be particularly heightened during a presidential campaign or during presidential "honeymoons" as payback for electoral support. Indeed, the 49th Congress sitting in 1885-1887 was an active congress, while the 54th Congress, sitting 1895-1897 right before the so-called realignment produced little substantial legislation. Further, Bensel "grades" each session of Congress on a measure of sectional stress. In the period 1880-1910, the three Congresses he focuses on — the 49th, 54th and 59th — had the highest sectional stress scores of the period. Indeed the 53nd Congress had a score of just 19 while the 59th had one of the highest scores at 69.1.

Data and Methods

I turn now to addressing some of these concerns in a revised statistical analysis. To test Bensel's claims, I study three Congresses during the post-Reconstruction era: the 49th, 54th and 59th. I choose the 49th, 54th and 59th Congresses because they are the ones Bensel explicitly studies in *Sectionalism* in Chapter 3 entitled "Tariffs, Elections and Imperialism, 1880-1910" as supporting his main thesis concerning the causal effect of sectionalism. I analyze all recoded roll calls for those select congresses.[1]

The dependent variable is the specific individual roll call vote, recoded as a binary variable 1 for yes, 0 for no, with missing, abstaining or not present votes dropped from the analysis. During this period in history, votes were occasionally recorded as "paired yes" or "paired no." Paired votes are an agreement by members to be recorded on the opposite side of the issue. I counted paired votes in my analysis because it still reflects the individual's congressmen's intention and thus it would be fruitful for the analysis. I collected data concerning individual roll call votes from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research ("ICPSR") Study 9822. On the surface, whether a Congressman registers a "yes" or "no" vote may not signify vote preference. It may be the case that on certain bills, a liberal Democratic Congressman could vote yes on some bills and no on others. In order for the results to be meaningful, I am assuming that as a general matter, the party holding majority control of the congressional session controls the agenda, and few bills, and virtually no "important" bills, will likely make it onto the agenda that are opposed to the desires of the majority party. For instance, the Democrats held a fairly narrow majority over the Republicans in the 49th Congress. By contrast, the Republicans enjoyed almost a 70 percent advantage over the Democrats in the 54th and 59th Congresses. Obviously, this assumption may be stronger on a regression of each

[1] In future versions, I may conduct separate analysis by broad issue area instead of analyzing all roll calls in a given Congress as a group.

individual policy area or on individual roll calls than on a regression on the aggregate roll calls from every policy dimension.

Region is the primary independent variable of interest. I gathered region-level data from ICPSR 9822. I measure region in 2 ways. In order to test Bensel's theories concerning how representatives from the "core" may differ from those of the "periphery," I created a dummy variable "core." I coded as "1" members from "core" regions and as a "0" members from "periphery" regions. In the 49th Congress, where Democrats held majority control, one would expect the "core" dummy to be negative. We would expect the opposite to be true in the 54th and 59th Congresses, where Republicans held control. To identify "core" and "periphery" regions, I first had to sort out the specific congressional districts within each "trade area" as identified by Bensel in maps in his book. To do this, I tried to match up as much as possible historical maps of each congressional district in the United States as gathered by Kenneth Martis in *The Historical Atlas of United States Congressional Districts, 1789-1983.* I did this by comparing Martis's maps with Bensel's maps of "core" and "periphery" areas that he lists in his book. As a general matter, "core" areas consisted of Northern states and the Midwest while "periphery" regions consisted of the West and South. However, because the distinction between "core" and "periphery" is based on Bensel's self-described "trade area," normal geographic boundaries are of no importance. Further, between the three congresses under study, regions shifted between "core" and "periphery." Most of New York state is listed as "periphery" in the 49th Congress, while for the 54th and 59th Congresses, it is listed as "core." By contrast, most of California is listed as part of the "core" for the 49th Congress but as part of the "periphery" for the other two congresses under study.

I also devised a measure of region to reflect more traditional understandings of regional influence. Perhaps Bensel is correct about sectionalism's importance but he is misidentifying the method in which sectionalism operates in this period in history. In his later book, *Yankee Leviathan*, Bensel conducts a roll call analysis of the postbellum House of Representatives based on whether the

representative was from the "financial" North, the iron-rich West, the Midwest or the South. Accordingly, I separated the representatives so as to indicate their home state: North, South, Midwest and West. "North" is defined as states in the Mid-Atlantic and New England region, excluding Delaware and Maryland. "Midwest" consists of states in the upper Midwest excluding Missouri. At this time in history, the "West" largely consists of the West Coast and Colorado. Consistent with Farhang and Katznelson (2005), I defined "South" to include the eleven ex-Confederate states, Kentucky, Maryland, Delaware, Missouri and West Virginia. Indeed, although Maryland, Delaware and Missouri may seem that they fit "better" with other categories, I felt including them as part of the "South" was justified as the period under study follows closely after Reconstruction. Missouri, Delaware and Maryland had slave codes legalizing slavery prior to the Civil War. Further, during at least the 49th Congress, most of the representatives from these states belonged to the Democratic party, which particularly had its stronghold in the South.

I added additional variables to control for other influences. Party identification of course probably is the most important factor to control. A congressman's ideological disposition is also important and indeed, it is often the interaction between party and ideology that can be crucial in deciphering vote choice. Although I tried numerous specifications, I settled on a model that uses Poole and Rosenthal's Poole and Rosenthal (1997) DW-Nominate scores. DW-NOMINATE scores are calculations based on the relative ideological position of each congressman based on all the roll call votes in each Congress so that the scores are comparable over time and cross-sectionally. The first dimension of DW-NOMINATE is a left-right dimension determined by support for government intervention in the economy. The second dimension of DW-NOMINATE is determined by roll call votes on a limited number of issues related to slavery, civil rights, and other race related issues. The larger the DW-Nominate score, the more liberal the Congressman is. In several models, I included either party identification (whether Democrat or Republican), either alone, with DW-Nominate scores, or as part of an interaction term with DW-Nominate scores. There is an extremely high level of

multicollinearity between partisan identification and DW-Nominate scores (i.e. .95). This is to be expected as DW-Nominate scores are more than just simple measures of ideology. As such, I believe that including both of them in the regression could result in the coefficient estimates being less efficient. Further, since DW-Nominate scores are in a sense broader I felt that including them would be most appropriate for the model and for my desire to have a measure to "control" for party/ideology. This essay is not an attempt to enter the debate concerning whether Congressman vote on preferences or party (Krehbiel 1991; Cox et al. 1993).

I used data from the United States Census for certain district-level demographic variables. Specifically, I gathered data concerning the total value of manufacturing in the district and the total value of farm products. Whether a region consisted as part of the manufacturing-belt core or whether it was part of the agrarian periphery figures prominently in Bensel's analysis and thus I felt it was relevant to include these variables in the regressions to account for whether demographic differences may be masquerading as sectionalism. As noted before, the economic underpinnings of sectionalism would indicate that these values would be especially important to consider. I then collected district-level population values and devised a per capita measure of value of manufacturing and value of farming. Data is sparsely available for the period under study here, and most demographic data in the U.S. Census is based on county-level data. This data does not neatly correspond to congressional-district level data because most congressional districts contain multiple counties. Further, particularly in urban areas, county lines may crossover into many different congressional districts. As such figuring out district-level characteristics in this period under study can be quite challenging. Fortunately Parsons et al. (1986) have reformatted the Census Data in ICPRS 2896 on a district-level basis for certain characteristics, including the ones I am employing in

this study. Also, data from a small number of urban areas is either missing or based on a random sample because of the difficulty of disaggregating county data into district subsets.[2]

I grouped each roll call vote according to its policy content. Policy issue content is "theoretically and empirically a very important consideration" (Clinton and Lapinski 2006, 235). Data for the policy issue content of each roll call vote in the period under study was collected from the American Institutions Project. Each roll call is coded according to a three tier nested system, Tier 1, Tier 2 and Tier 3. Only Tier 1 is of interest in the present analysis. Tier 1 codes votes according to one of seven dimensions: sovereignty, organization and scope, international relations, domestic affairs, District of Columbia matters, "housekeeping" matters, quasi-private bills (which addresses particularized economic benefits to individuals) and public quasi-private bills. Tier 2 then subdivides the four "major" categories of sovereignty, organizational matters, international relations and domestic policy into fourteen subcategories.[3] Tier 3 further divides these subcategories into even more categories. For instance, a roll call vote concerning Immigration would be coded as "1" in Tier 1 for Sovereignty, "2" in Tier 2 for Membership and Nation and "3" in Tier 3 for Immigration and Naturalization. A detailed description of the coding system is in Clinton and Lapinski (2006). Because of the large number of "private" bills relation to pension benefits, particularly in the 49th Congress, I found it advantageous to use the eight code system, instead of just the four "major" categories of sovereignty, organization, international relations and domestic affairs. I also conduct other analyses where I employ the second and third tiers.

Methods

Because the individual roll call vote is a dichotomous variable, I used logistic

[2] As a preliminary solution to this problem, I used data from the city in general (i.e,., Philadelphia, Boston, etc. statistics as a proxy for districts within the city). I believed this is appropriate because city-level data gives a general picture of what the social and economic landscape of the district is like. In future reversions of this paper, I will look more closely at the actual census data and historical congressional-level maps to see if the data can be better analyzed at the district level.

[3] "Tier 2" codings include: Liberty (Sovereignty); Membership and Nation (Sovereignty); Civil Rights (Sovereignty)' Boundary (Sovereignty); Government Organization (Organizational); Representation (Organizational); Defense (IR); Geopolitics (IR); International Political Economy (IR); Agriculture (Domestic); Planning and Resources (Domestic); Political Economy (Domestic) and Social Policy (Domestic).

regression. Specifically, employing the methods similar to the ones used by Schlicter and Pearson (2006) in their analysis of discharge petitions, I used a "pooled logit" analysis with the various votes by each congressman as the independent variable. I first set up a pooled logit analysis with the individual member as the basis for the panel. A pooled logit analysis assumes independence over *i* (the panel variable, which in this case was the individual congressman), and *t* (the time variable, which here was each bill), leading to potential efficiency loss (Cameron et al 609). To somewhat reduce the seriousness of this problem, I used robust standard errors clustered by congressman. I standardized all categorical independent variables by subtracting the mean and dividing by two standard deviations (Gelman and Hill 2008). I conducted eight separate regressions for each period by specific issue area (i.e., domestic policy, foreign policy, etc.) using the same independent variables. Although not reported here for space/time constraints, to test for robustness, I reestimated the model using a fixed effects model where I grouped the analysis by petition with fixed effects for each individual congressman. I also reestimated models using party as an independent variable, either on its own, or in conjunction with DW-Nominate scores and came to generally consistent results. In the future, I hope to devise a multilevel model that can best decipher the impact that regionalism can have in effecting choice.

Roll Call Analysis – Challenging Bensel's Claims

I first conducted an aggregate analysis on roll call votes in each of the respective congresses.[4] Although, as mentioned above, such an analysis has its share of problems, it will at least give us a preliminary indication of how regionalism can impact vote choice.

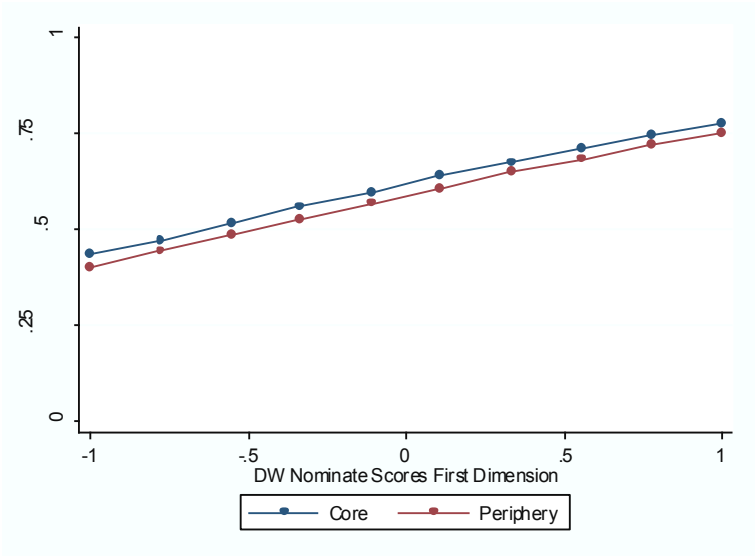
The 49th Congress.

Analysis Using Core/Periphery Distinction

I proceeded to conduct logit regressions by policy area.[5] Table 1 lists the results for the

[4] Although not reported here, I estimated logit regressions using all roll call votes and generally found the region variables to be significant. However, simulation of probabilities indicated that DW-Nominate scores were often more important.

logit regression using the dataset of roll call votes grouped by policy area of the "Tier 1" codings. The results in Table 1 indicate that the core dummy variable is only significant for roll call votes on international relations matters. This is not entirely unexpected given Bensel's analysis but it does serve to point out the limited applicability of Bensel's theories to a wider subset of cases. Further, as noted in the graph below, substantively there appears to be little difference between core and periphery voters.



Graph 1: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "IR" Roll Call Votes Varying Core/Periphery

Surprisingly, contrary to Bensel's predictions, the core dummy variable does *not* reach conventional levels of significance for "private" bills. Interestingly, DW-Nominate scores, second dimension achieved significance on regressions of many policies, such as international relations, housekeeping matters and private bills. This may explain why the region dummy does not appear significant as the second dimension of these scores reflects regional divides between agrarian and industrial areas. However, even taking into account that the DW-Nominate score, second dimension may cause the core variable to lose significance, the effect of the DW-Nominate score, second dimension pales in substantive significance to the DW-Nominate score, first dimension. In

[5] I also did a regression on all roll call votes using policy dummy variables as controls. I found that region dummy variables were statistically significant but that D-Nominate or party scores had a greater effect than region.

every single policy area, the DW-Nominate, first dimension reaches statistically significance, and in almost all cases, it has the greatest effect substantively. For instance, compare the substantive effect of DW-Nominate scores, 1st dimension to DW-Nominate scores, 2nd dimension on private bills. Holding everything else equal, going from the 25th to the 50th percentile on the DW-Nominate score, 1st dimension (thus going from being fairly liberal to moderate) results in an average of a 25% greater chance of voting "yes" on private bills. This is consistent with the fact that Republicans were more likely than Democrats to support the measure. By contrast, going from 25th to the 50th percentile on the DW-Nominate score, second dimension results in an average of a 4 percent decrease in the probability of voting "yes" on a private bill. Likewise, holding everything else equal, someone from the periphery is about 4.5 percent less likely to vote for private bills than someone from the core, though this result is not statistically significant.

I then proceeded to re-estimate the results using the more refined definition of policy under the "Tier 2" codings (Tables 2 and 3). Here again, I only found the core dummy variable to barely reach statistical significance for only one of the twelve applicable policy areas. On geopolitical roll call votes, that is votes concerning "diplomacy/intelligence," the core dummy variable barely reached significance at the .10 level. Moreover, many of the six votes comprising this topic in the 49th Congress concerned seemingly "minor" and/or procedural issues such as whether to table a motion to loan to an exhibition in New Orleans articles for exhibit or whether to postpone consideration of a convention with the King of the Hawaiian Islands. The only "significant" piece of legislature falling under this category that was not procedural in nature concerned appropriations for the diplomatic and consular service. The differences in voting patterns between members of the core and periphery are small and the substantive effect of DW-Nominate scores, first dimension is greater than that of region. Holding everything else equal, a representative from the core is about 11 percent more likely to vote "yes" on matters relating to geopolitics than a representative from the periphery.

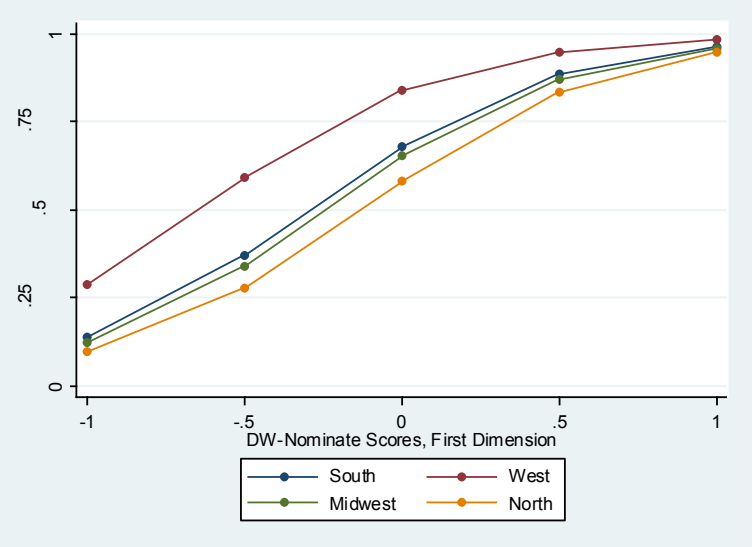
Finally, I estimated regressions using the Tier 3 codings. As noted in Table 4, I found only two policy areas reached conventional areas of significance: policies relating to state admissions, and policies related to natural resources. The state admissions category concerned a roll call voting setting a date for the admittance of Montana, the Dakotas and Washington. The effect of region is small, and in any event, the effect of DW-Nominate scores, first dimension is even larger than that of region. The natural resources legislation related generally to bills over whether railroads should return land to the United States. The regression results indicate that members from the core are an average of 6 percent less likely than members from the periphery to prefer such measures. The effect of region, however, pales in comparison to that of DW-Nominate scores, first dimension.

In all, I do not find support for Bensel's predictions that sectionalism was a defining force in the roll call votes in the 49th Congress. Indeed, I did not find that the region variable was statistically significant for the private pension bills that Bensel places at the forefront of his analysis on sectionalism. Any statistically significant effect of the core/periphery distinction occurred on only a few select policy matters (mostly relating to international relations matters, admission of new states into the Union as well as compensation due from the railroads). Further, these effects were small substantively, especially compared to the much larger substantive effect that DW-Nominate scores, first dimension had on the results in this time period.

Analysis Using Regional Categories

I then proceeded to reestimate the results using a broader definition of region, consisting of the "traditional" definition of North, South, Midwest and West (Table 5). In the expanded analysis, region achieved significance on roll call votes related to 1) organizational policy, 2) domestic policy; 3) private bills (as predicted by Bensel) and 4) quasi-public private bills. Region appeared the most significant with respect to bills relating to private and quasi-public private bills, though in a different way than predicted by Bensel. With respect to private bills, only the West dummy variable indicating that Westerners were more likely to enact private bills than others reached significance at the .01 level.

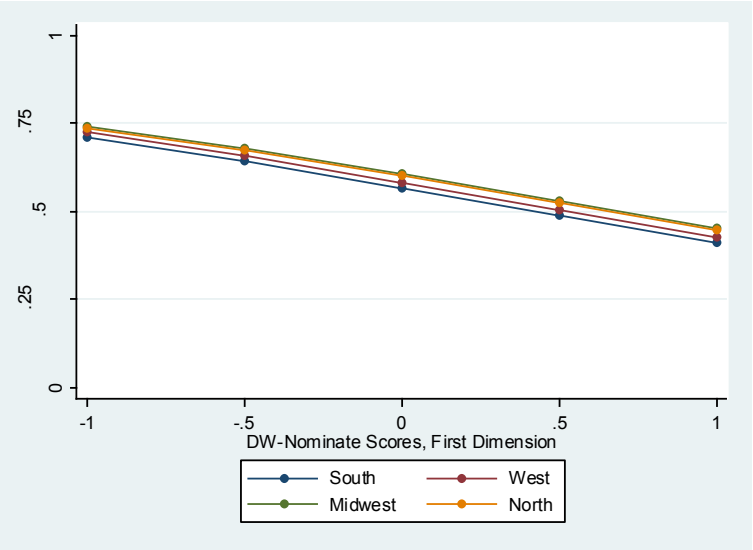
Further, while both the Southern and Western dummy variable reached significance with respect to quasi-public private bills, the West dummy variable had a larger substantive effect as the graphs below indicate. This contrasts from Bensel's predictions that sectionalist tensions exist between an agrarian periphery from the West and South and a manufacturing North and Midwest.



Graph 2: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Private" Roll Call Votes Varying Region

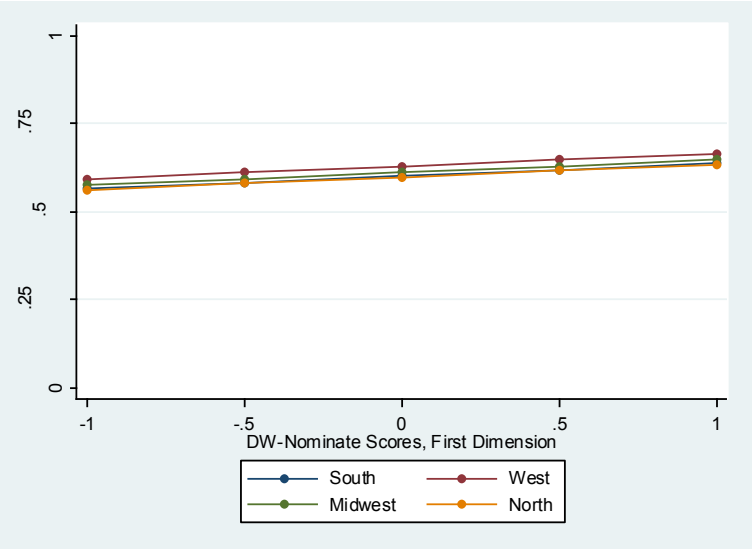
Indeed, Westerners were 12 percent more likely than members from other regions to vote positively on private roll call votes whereas Southerners were an average of 5 percent less likely to vote "yes." Nonetheless, even though region reached significance on these votes, DW-Nominate scores, first dimension had a larger substantive effect and reached significance at the .01 level.

Roll call votes on organizational, domestic and District of Columbia issues also indicate that sectionalism plays some role in influencing outcomes. Southern sectionalist tensions appear with respect to organizational issues, with Southerners less likely to support such measures than Northerners. However, as the graph below indicates, the effect is substantively small and DW-Nominate scores, first dimension have a larger substantive effect on voting results.



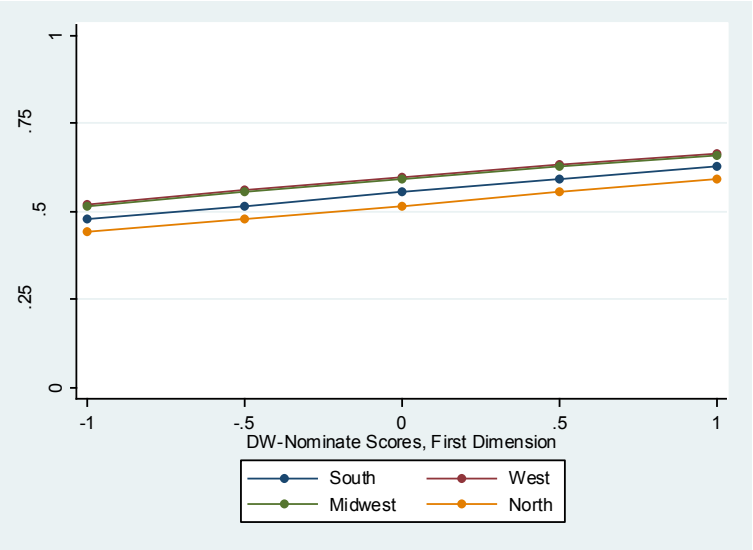
Graph 3: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Organizational" Roll Call Votes Varying Region

Roll call votes on domestic policies evidence western sectionalist tensions as the graph below indicates. Similarly to organizational issues, however, the difference is substantively fairly small and DW-Nominate scores, first dimension appear to have as important an effect.



Graph 4: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Domestic" Roll Call Votes Varying Region

Finally, there is a substantively large statistically significant effect with respect to the voting behavior of Midwesterners on District of Columbia matters.



Graph 5: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "District of Columbia" Roll Call Votes Varying Region

I then proceeded to analyze the roll call votes using the twelve "Tier 2" codings that applied. Several region variables reached significance (Tables 6 and 7). The regression on the roll call votes on membership/nation indicated that Southerners were less likely to support these measures, which predominantly dealt with commemoration of the War of 1812. The Southern dummy variable in the boundary category was highly statistically significant. "Boundary" issues concerned the admission of the Dakotas, Washington and Montana, relations with the Indian tribes as well as bills restricting sale of land to American citizens. Surprisingly, the statistical results indicate that Southerners were 17 percent more likely than others to vote positively on such matters. Similarly, southern sectionalist tensions appeared with respect to votes on organization of the federal government, with Southerners less likely than Northerners to support such measures. Nonetheless, although there were clearly some sectionalist tensions with respect to some of these issues, in all of the sovereignty and organizational regressions, DW-Nominate scores, 1st dimension had a larger statistic and substantive effect than region.

Sectionalism also appears to have affected roll call votes on international relations and domestic policy issues (Table 7). However, as with the other results, regionalism appears to have less of an effect than ideology. Southerners were less likely to vote against measures on geopolitical issues and more likely to vote for measures aimed at international political economy issues. IPE issues concern maritime issues as well as the tariff. This result is especially surprising since we would expect that Southerners would be *less* likely to vote for matters relating to the tariff. However, this anomalous result could be due to the fact that the "IPE" category also includes within it some other bills that deal with issues favorable to the South. Finally, on domestic policy, the West dummy variable reached significance for roll call votes related to "planning and resources." The results indicate that members from the West are more likely than members from the North to vote positively on these matters. Planning and resources refers to roll call votes on such matters on the environment, infrastructure, the Post Office and transportation, among others. Many of the bills in this category related to matters concerning interstate commerce or land grants to railroads. Bills also concerned appropriations for public works construction and the Post Office. Further, this category includes the "Interstate Commerce" bill, which is considered a piece of "landmark" legislation by some scholars (Stathis 1993); this bill was also included as one of the ten "sectionalist" bills considered by Bensel in his analysis. The regression results partly confirm and party contradict Bensel's findings. The sectionalism apparent for these type of bills is not a sectionalism between the northern and Midwestern core and a western and southern periphery; rather the regression results indicate that there is more statistically significant evidence of sectionalist tensions between the West and every other region. Indeed, the results indicate that the West dummy variable has even more of a substantive effect than DW-Nominate scores, first dimension. Holding all else constant, Westerners are 9 percent more likely to favor the measures concerning planning and resources.

Finally, I estimate the regressions using the "Tier 3" codings. As detailed in Tables 8-10, there are nineteen groupings that have statistically significant effects. Not unexpectedly,

Southerners were less likely to favor roll call votes on commemoration/national matters, as well as issues concerning Congress' organization. As before with the core dummy variable, the vote on the state admission of some of the Western states showed a substantively large statistically significant effect with representatives from the West, South and Midwest more likely to vote positively on the matter than representatives from the North. Regional differences also existed with respect to bills concerning impeachment of government officials, with members from the West voting positively more often. Midwesterners were more likely than Northerners to favor legislation on the judicial organization. Three international relations issue evidenced regional differences. There was a very large substantive effect on the roll call votes relating to appropriations for the militia/conscription. The West variable perfectly predicted voting on militia. Not unexpectedly, Southerners were less likely than Northerners to favor bills on diplomatic issues. Further, the South and Midwest dummy variable reached significance with respect to votes concerning maritime issues. In all of these matters, however, the effect of DW-Nominate scores, first dimension dwarfed that of region

Tier 3 codings on domestic issues also evidenced regional differences. A majority of these votes concern planning and resources matters, such as votes relating to the environment, infrastructure and transportation. Westerners were more likely to vote positively than Northerners and indeed on environmental issues, the West variable perfectly predicts voting. Southerners were also more likely to vote favorably on environmental issues. Indeed, the West regional variable has an even greater substantive impact than DW-Nominate scores, first dimension for votes concerning the environment and infrastructure. For instance, Westerners were 23 percent more likely to vote positively on roll call votes relating to infrastructure than members from other regions, holding everything else (even ideology) constant. Similarly, Westerners were 26 percent more likely to favor roll call votes on transportation issues than others, holding all else constant.

On "political economy" matters, the results indicate regional differences. Southerners were more likely to vote positively on business/capital markets issues but were less likely to vote

positively on fiscal/tax and labor matters than their Northern brothers. In turn, Westerners were more likely to vote favorably on monetary matters than Northerners. Significantly, the regression on only those votes concerning the tariff yielded no statistically significant results for any of the region variables, contrary to Bensel's predictions concerning the divisive role that tariff policy played in this era.

Finally, certain social policy issues evidence regional differences, particularly with respect to the West. Roll call votes on disaster issues in this time period related to appropriations for outdoor expenditures. The West variable perfectly predicts voting on disaster issues, civilian health issues (which in this case related to votes concerning the safety of alcohol) and regulatory issues – which in the 49th Congress concerned bigamy legislation. Midwesterners also supported disaster legislation more so than Northerners. Southerners were less likely than Northerners to support the health legislation relating to alcohol as well as legislation relating to military pensions, benefits and civilian compensation.[6] Military pensions in this analysis refer to bills dealing with pensions and other compensation, such as whether to increase the rate and to whom they may be applicable in a general sense. For instance, there were at least 20 bills in the 49th Congress relating to the award of pensions for the Mexican American War as well as many bills relating to whether the rate should be increased to all pensioners. Although the Southern dummy variable reached significance and its sign is thus consistent with Bensel's findings, DW-Nominate scores had a larger substantive effect. Indeed, Southerners were only about 6 percent less likely than Northerners to vote against matters relating to military pensions — hardly the kind of earthshattering difference that Bensel predicts.

In all, looking at region in a more refined fashion lends greater support to Bensel's thesis that sectionalism does matter. Indeed, sectionalism appears to be a key factor influencing votes on distributional issues and on issues that one would expect a given Congressman's constituency to clamor for. For instance, many of the infrastructure and transportation votes concerned matters

6

benefiting the Western states exclusively; as such, as one might expect, Western representatives were more likely to vote for them. Constituency preference rather than region then may be the defining factor. The results on the 49th Congress also indicate that sectionalism may be more nuanced than Bensel suggests. Rather than a core/periphery divide, tensions may exist more between the frontier West and the rest of the country or among and between the North, South and West. Finally, even when region was significant, ideology appeared to be even more substantively meaningful in almost all circumstances. This means that even holding region constant, it matters more where the Congressman places on the DW-Nominate scales than it does where he may come from.

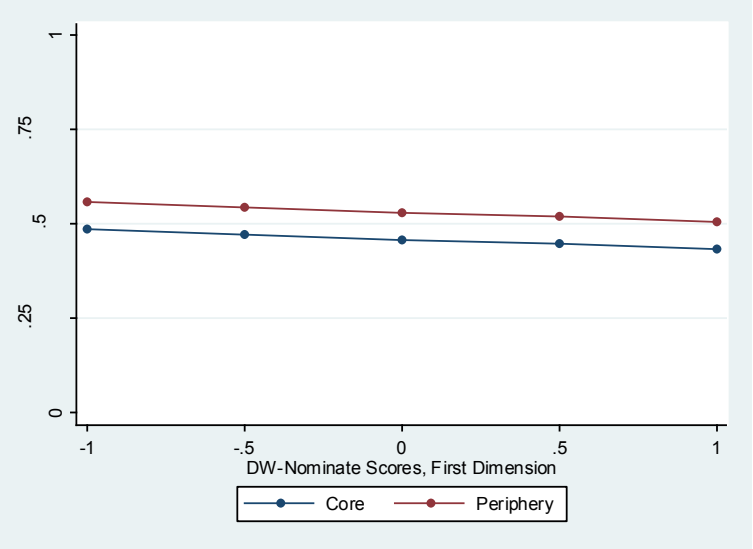
To bolster my findings, I also conducted likeness scores comparing representatives of the same party from different sections according to votes on the Tier 1 level. Likeness scores indicate the degree of similarity between two blocs and are calculated as 100 minus the absolute value of the difference between the percentages of "yes" votes and the percentages of "no" votes. I wanted to see how different, for instance, Northern Democrats were from all other Democrats, etc. Surprisingly, when comparing each regional group against a group of the same party from all other regions (i.e., northern Democrats against all other Democrats from the South, West and Midwest, or northern Democrats against southern Democrats), likeness scores were universally high; in almost every case over 85. Results differ, however, when comparing representatives from the same region but from different parties. Take for instance votes concerning private bills. When I compare Northern Democrats against Southern Democrats, I get a likeness score of 89; but when I compare Northern Democrats and Northern Republicans, I get a likeness score of 73.

54th Congress

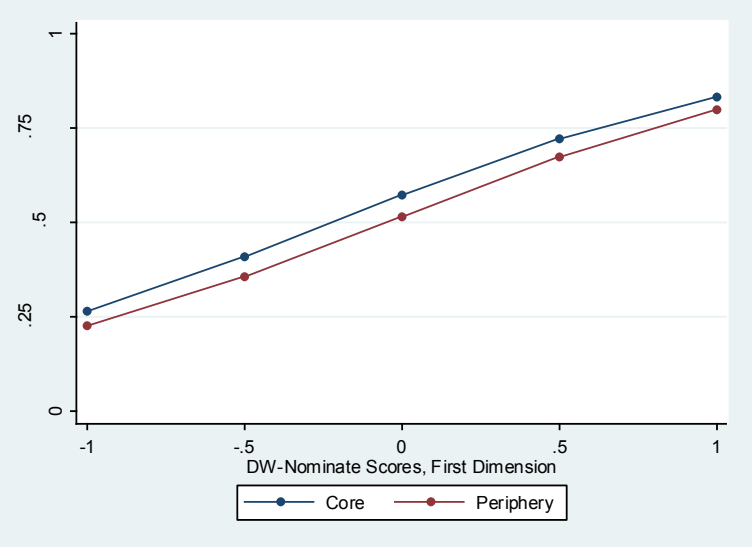
Analysis Using Core/Periphery Distinction

The statistical results for the votes in the 54th Congress also indicate mixed results for sectionalism's importance. As noted in Table 11, the core dummy variable is highly statistically significant for matters related to housekeeping matters and private bills. As Bensel notes, members

from the core are more likely to support private bills and as such the positive coefficient on private bills is consistent with Bensel's analysis. The results are displayed in the graphs below:



Graph 6: Predicted Probabilities "Housekeeping" Roll Call Votes Varying Core/Periphery



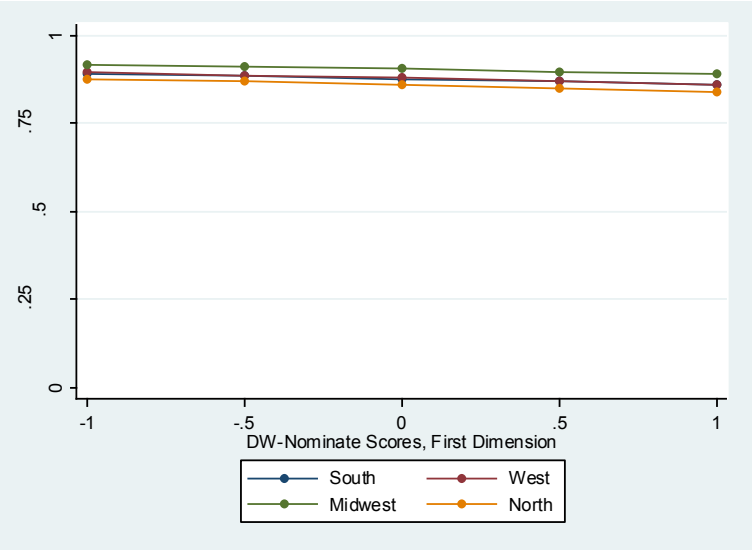
Graph 7: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Private" Roll Call Votes Varying Core/Periphery

Nonetheless the effect of sectionalism is dwarfed in comparison to DW-Nominate scores. Representatives from the core were an average of 11 percent more likely to vote "yes" on private bills than representatives from the periphery, holding all else equal. By contrast, just going from the 25th to the 50th percentile results on DW-Nominate scores, first dimension results in an average of 66 percent greater chance of voting for the core policies, holding all else equal.

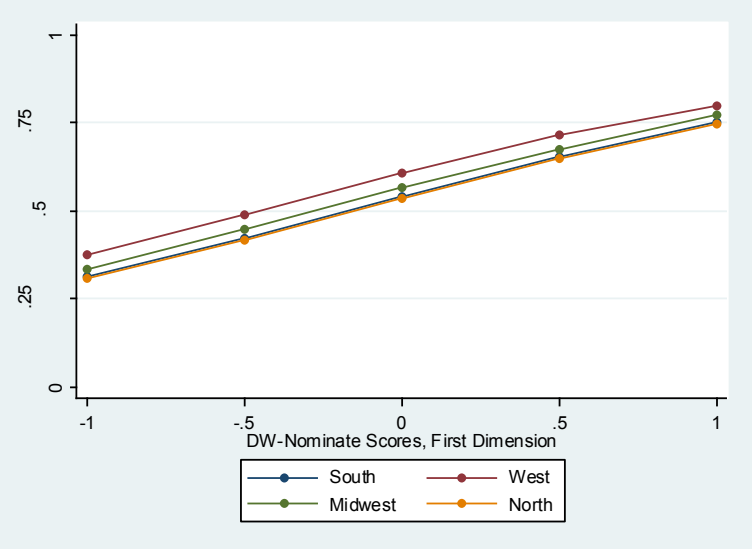
I then re-estimated the regressions using first the Tier 2 ratings and then the Tier 3 ratings (Tables 13-15). At the very least, according to Bensel we would expect that there would be a statistically significant difference between core and periphery representatives with respect to either the Tier 2 coding "Representation" or the Tier 3 coding "Elections." Yet, I failed to find any statistically significant result for the core dummy variable for any policy area in the Tier 2 or Tier 3 codings. DW-Nominate scores, first dimension and (to a lesser extent) second dimension had the largest substantive effect.

Analysis Using Regional Categories

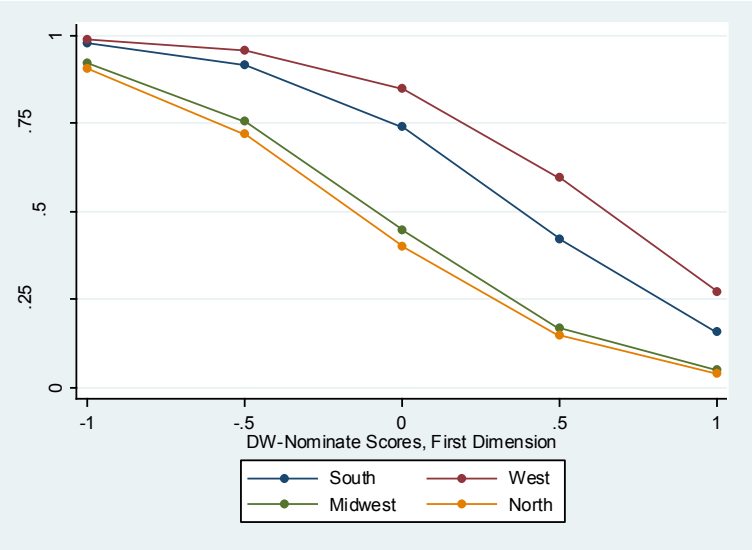
I then estimated regressions using the more refined definition of region to include South, West, Midwest and North (Table 15). Using this refined analysis, I first estimate a regression using the Tier 1 codings of general policy areas. Contrary to Bensel's predictions, the Southern dummy variable failed to reach conventional levels of significance for any category. The Western dummy variable indicated that Westerners were both more likely to support domestic bills and quasi-public private bills than Northerners (as the graph indicates, Southerners too are more likely to support quasi-public private bills, but the result is not statistically significant). Finally, Midwesterners were more likely than Northerners to vote positively on international relations matters and domestic bills. Below are graphs of the policy areas that reached statistical significance.



Graph 8: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "IR" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



Graph 9: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Domestic" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



Graph 10: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Quasi Public Private" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions

I then estimated regressions using the Tier 2 codings to see whether any of the region variables would achieve significance. As noted in Tables 16 and 17, region variables achieved significance with respect to the following categories: membership, boundaries, governmental organization, geopolitics, agriculture, political economy, and social policy. Indeed, both the Southern and Midwest variables achieved a substantially large statistically significant negative result at the .01 level with respect to roll call votes relating to membership and nation issues. A look at the roll call votes reveals that this category concerned immigration issues. Thus, the statistical results confirm our expectation that Southerners and Midwesterners would be less likely than Northerners to support immigration bills. Indeed, Southerners were an average of 32 percent less likely to support these roll call votes than congressman from other regions, even holding ideology and demographic characteristics constant. Similar to the 49th Congress, roll call votes on boundary issues sparked sectionalist cleavages, with representatives from the West, South and Midwest more likely to support such measures than congressman from the North. However, compared to immigration, DW-Nominate scores had more of an effect on boundary issues than region.

Western cleavages animate sectionalism on a variety of organizational,

international relations and domestic matters. By itself, the West variable and the Midwest variable perfectly predict voting on roll call votes relating to geopolitics. Westerners are also more likely than Northerners to support roll call votes on governmental organization, political economy and social policy. The Midwest dummy variable also had a statistically significant result with respect to political economy. Finally, surprisingly, Southerners were less likely to vote for agricultural measures compared to Northerners. Nonetheless, except for Geopolitics, where the West variable was so important, DW-Nominate scores are the most substantively and statistically significant for almost every policy area in the Tier 2 codings.

Finally, I estimated regressions using the Tier 3 codings to see if I can get more refined results (Tables 18 and 19). I get statistically significant results for a region variable on thirteen different policy areas, which I will briefly discuss. As expected, there is a substantially large effect of region on immigration and territory matters, as discussed above. Surprisingly, few international relations topic achieve statistically significant results for the region variables. Only one international relations topic —diplomacy — achieves highly significant results. There, the West variable perfectly predicts voting and the Midwest variable is also highly statistically significant. Most of the roll call votes in this category concerned calls for neutrality with respect to Cuba, so it is thus no surprise that Westerners and Midwesterners would be more likely to favor such measures than Northerners would.

Southern and Western regionalism dominated voting on many domestic issues. Both Southerners and Westerners showed favoritism toward voting for matters relating to infrastructure. Southerners, however, were less likely to vote on matters concerning fishing and livestock. With respect to political economy matters, all three regions, South, West and Midwest were more likely to vote positively on fiscal/tax matters than Northerners. This result seems surprising, but looking at the roll call votes reveals that many of the votes on these matters concern procedural issues. On other political economy matters, Westerners were more likely to vote for bills relating generally to "business" matters, which in this Congress primarily meant bills dealing with changes in the

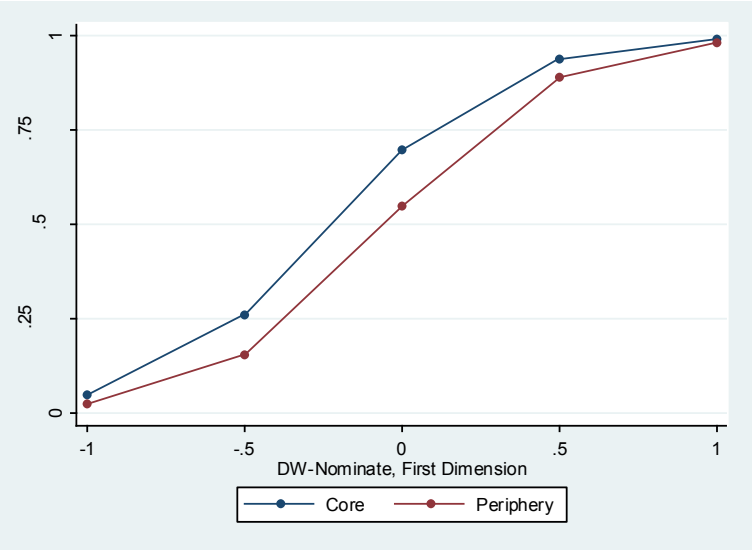
bankruptcy laws — which according to Bensel is one of the sectionally-charged issues. Southerners in turn were less likely to vote for measures concerning the budget as well as economic regulation. The key piece of economic regulation decided in this Congress for instance was a measure standardizing the system of weights and measures. Southerners favored bills on crime compared to Northerners. The chief crime issue coming up in this Congress concerned the death penalty. Westerners were more likely to vote for military pensions (or other compensation) than congressman from the North.

In all, regionalism appears to have some impact on congressional voting in the 54th congress but not to the degree and in the matter that Bensel describes. Bensel places disputes over federal elections as the key factor animating sectionalism in this era. The statistical results, however, do not bear this out. No region variables are statistically significant with respect to the "organizational" tier 1, the "representation" tier 2 or the "elections" tier 3. The failure to find statistical significance for this one policy area, however, does not mean that sectionalism was entirely absent in this era. As noted above, sectionalism again appeared primarily with respect to distributional and constituency-based issues. Further, the results revealed that some issues — such as immigration — were highly divisive sectionally.

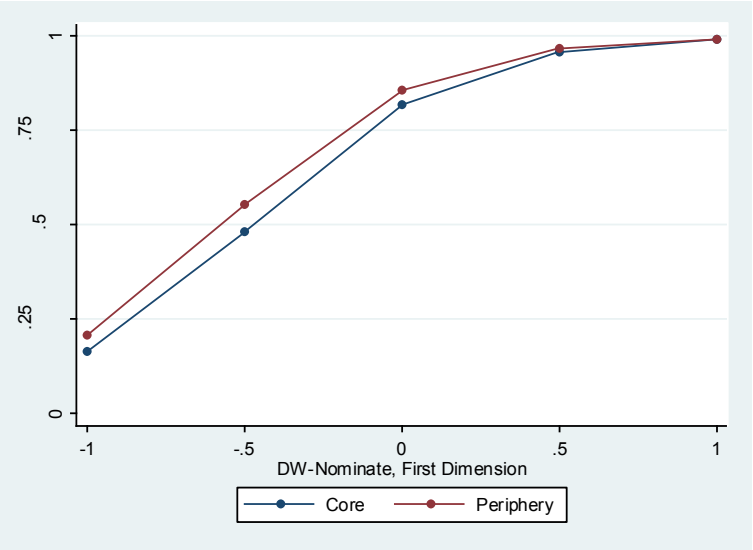
For robustness, I also calculated likeness scores comparing regions for all of the Tier 1 categories. As before, I find that in almost all circumstances, the likeness score between regional parties is over 85. There were a few anomalies. In particular, some of the likeness scores with respect to Midwestern parties differed from parties of other regions. For instance, on quasi-public private bills, comparing Midwestern Republicans with Northern Republicans yielded a likeness score of 66. Likewise, comparing Midwestern Democrats and Northern Democrats on District of Columbia matters resulted in a likeness score of 75. The difference between parties rather than between regions was most telling. As an example, on private bills, a likeness score of 62 results when comparing Northern Democrats and Northern Republicans.

59th Congress

Bensel contends that expansionist concerns caused sectional tensions to rise in the beginning of the twentieth century. Contrary to Bensel's predictions, however, the core dummy variable was only statistically significant with respect to regressions concerning roll call votes on sovereignty and organizational issues (Table 20). Unlike the regressions for the 49th and 54th Congresses, the region variable for the roll calls on foreign policy issues or private bills were not even significant. Nonetheless, even though the core dummy variable achieved significance, its effect is substantively small, as the graphs below indicate:



Graph 11: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Sovereignty" Roll Call Votes Varying Core/Periphery



Graph 12: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Organizational" Roll Call Votes Varying Core/Periphery

In the Tier 2 analysis, I found the core dummy variable to reach statistical significance with respect to two of the ten applicable areas (Tables 21 and 22). For both boundary issues as well as governmental organization issues, the core dummy variable achieved significance. This is consistent with Bensel's expectations, as he noted that the admission of several western states during the period sparked sectionalist tensions. However, the effect of region, at least as measured by the core/periphery distinction, is muted in comparison to the much greater substantive impact that ideology has.

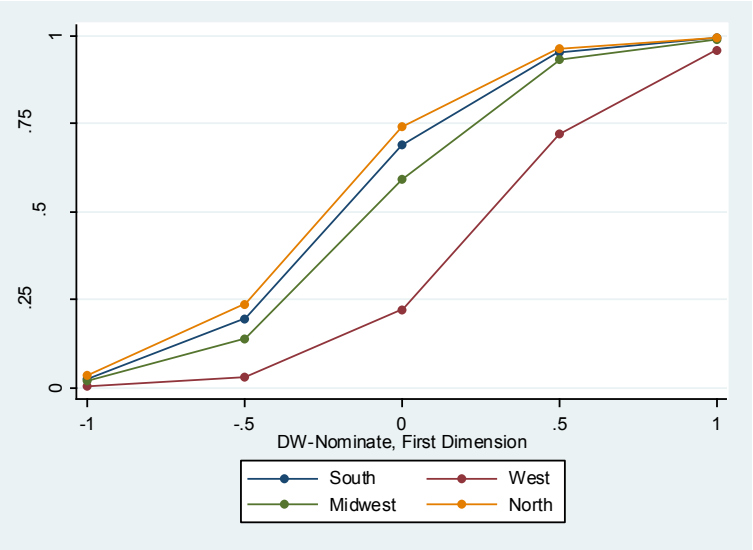
Finally, I looked specifically for Tier 3 issues that reached significance (Table 23). During the 59th Congress, members from the core were more likely than members from the periphery to vote "yes" on matters relating to 1) state admissions; 2) diplomatic and intelligence issues; 3) trade/tariffs; 4) business/capital markets and 5) military pensions and other compensation. On one issue — Naval organization — core members were statistically less likely to vote favorably. Indeed, on some matters, the substantive difference between the core and periphery representatives is great. For instance, on military pensions, core representatives are an average of 160 percent more likely than periphery representatives to vote for the bill. Again, however, the significance of the "core" variable pales by comparison to the significance of the ideology variables for many of the topics. For almost

every topic, the DW-Nominate variable, 1st dimension is highly statistically significant at the .01 level; it also has a larger substantive effect.

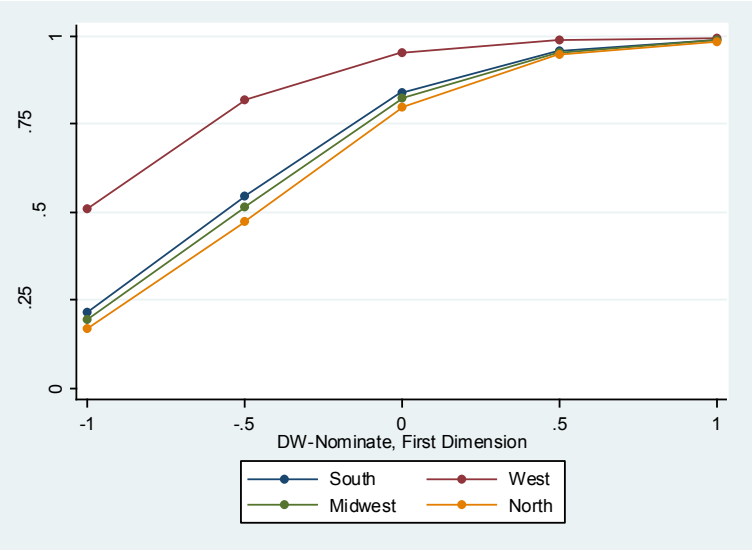
In all, Bensel's story with respect to the 59th Congress is correct but incomplete. While sectionalist tendencies are apparent with respect to voting on so-called "imperialist" matters, sectionalism according to the core/periphery distinction also explains voting – even independent of ideology – on a number of other issues that Bensel referred to as being prevalent in earlier time periods (the tariffs, military pensions, etc.).

Analysis of Region Categories

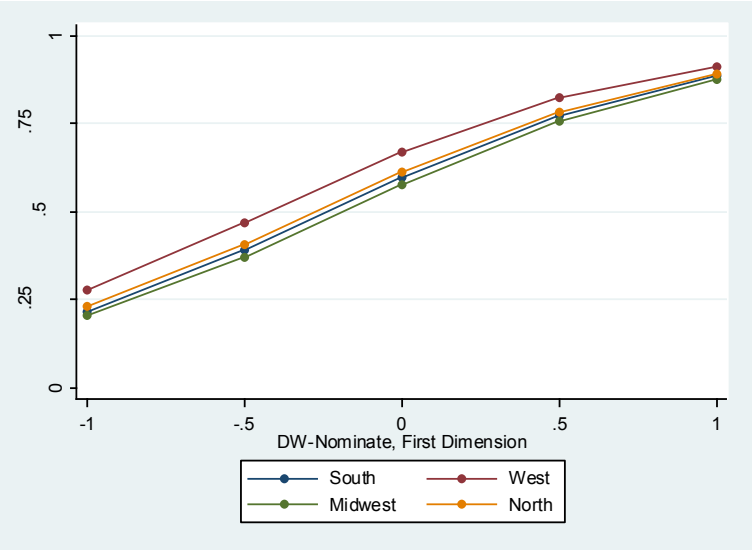
In the regressions using the region specific dummy variables (South, West and Midwest, with North as the reference category), sectionalist variables are statistically significant with respect to almost every category (except District of Columbia policies) (Table 24). Indeed, the story of sectionalism in the 59th Congress is largely a story of Western sectionalism, with the West less likely than the North to vote positively on matters relating to Sovereignty and more likely to vote "yes" on matters relating to organizational issues, international relations issues, domestic policy, housekeeping and private bills. The Midwest variable also achieves significance in several policy areas. Midwesterners are more likely than Northerners to vote for matters concerning domestic policy; they are, however, less likely than Northerners to vote on sovereignty issues as well as international relations issues. Finally, surprisingly, Southerners voted differently than Northerners only with respect to domestic issues. As the core/periphery distinction largely divides up the nation along a North/South axis, it is thus not surprising that the core dummy variable was not significant for many of the policy types. Nevertheless, even though sectionalist tensions may play some role, DW-Nominate scores, particularly DW-Nominate first dimension scores, appear to explain more than section alone. Graphs of the results are displayed below:



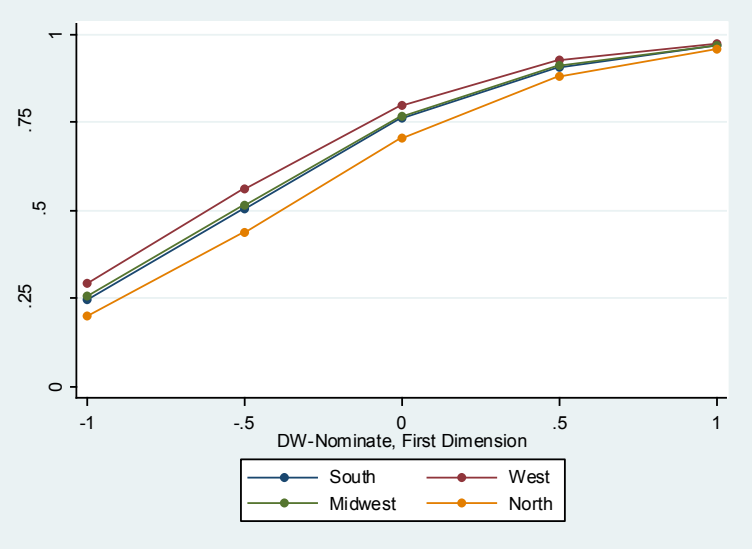
Graph 13: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Sovereignty" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



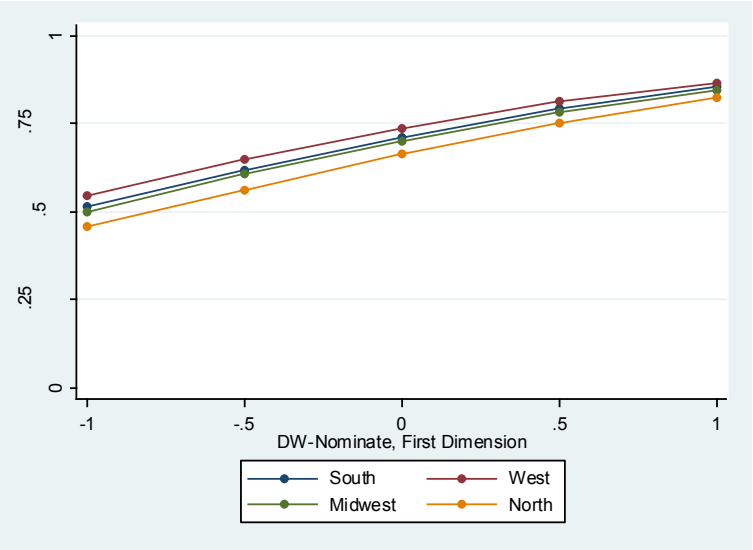
Graph 14: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Organizational" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



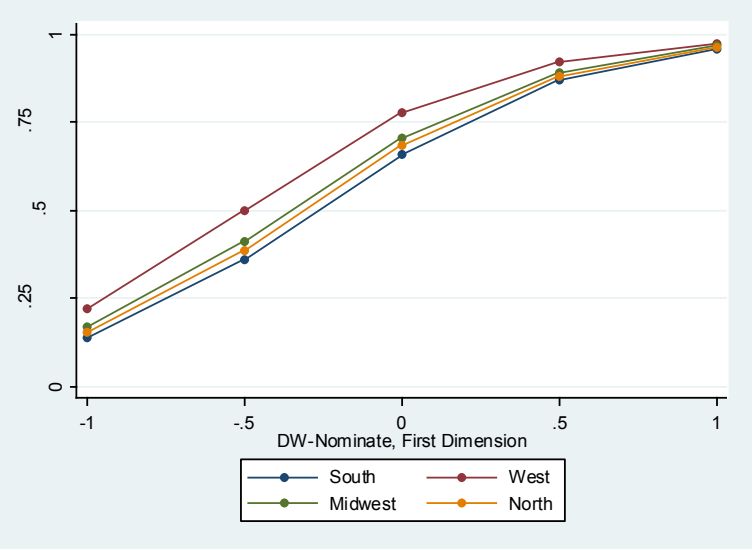
Graph 15: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "IR" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



Graph 16: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Domestic" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



Graph 17: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Housekeeping" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions



Graph 18: Predicted Probabilities Voting on "Private" Roll Call Votes Varying Regions

I next turn to the Tier 2 distinctions and find region to be statistically significant with respect to ten policy areas (Tables 25 and 26). In a departure from the 54th Congress, Southern and Western members are actually more likely than Northerners to vote for bills on membership/nation issues. They are both less likely to vote positively on bills concerning the boundary. Western sectionalism influence is also apparent in voting on issues relating to defense, representation (where the West variable predicts results perfectly), geopolitics (where the West variable again predicts the results perfectly), planning and resources and government organizational categories. In addition to the

categories mentioned above, Southern sectionalist tendencies is most apparent in their positive voting records for agriculture and planning and resources bills. Midwest sectionalism is evidenced by the positive results for membership/national issues and the negative results for boundary and international political economy issues.

Finally, looking at the third tier, we can see the widespread influence of western sectionalist tensions (Tables 27 and 28). Indeed, on 7 policy issues — immigration, territory, executive organization, judicial organization, business/capital markets, monetary policies and health policies — the Western variable perfectly predicts voting. On other variables, such as votes on the Post Office, transportation, Congressional organization and elections, Westerners differed themselves statistically from Northerners. The other regions achieved significance in only a few policy areas. For instance, Southerners were less likely to favor state admissions and to vote favorably on issues relating to business/capital markets. In turn, they were more likely than Northerners to vote positively on roll call votes relating to Naval organization, farming and livestock issues, natural resources and health issues. Further, Midwest representatives were less likely to vote for state admission matters than Northerners were, but they were more likely than Northerners to vote positively on matters related to transportation and health.

In all, Bensel described the 59th Congress as the most sectionally divisive Congress of the three Congresses studied in this paper and one of the most sectionally charged of the period. The statistics partly support Bensel's arguments as they show that compared to the 49th and 54th Congress, the 59th Congress does appear to be driven by more sectionalist voting. In all, Bensel's story of the 59th Congress is partly correct but incomplete. In addition to sectionalist voting on "imperialist" issues, sectionalism animated the debates on a whole host of issues in the 59th Congress — ranging from the "normal" sectionalist issues like immigration and state admission to other issues like health and the Post Office. Further, Bensel also may not be entirely correct in his portrait of sectionalism. He paints sectionalism as a dichotomous concept pitting the agrarian South and West against the

manufacturing and industrial North and Midwest. Rather than a dichotomous category, sectionalism may instead be best explained by an emerging Western sectionalism.

Finally, the likeness analysis on the Tier 1 votes has similar results as the analysis done for the 49th and 54th Congress. On only a few distinct issues, such as comparing Northern and Western Republicans on sovereignty matters, does the likeness score fall below 85 or 80. Differences exist more between parties rather than between regions.

Conclusions

What importance do the preliminary results reached in this paper have for the usefulness of sectionalism as an analytical lens in American political development? While the results noted in this paper cast suspicion on a deterministic a role for sectionalism, sectionalism is by no means dead as an important element to analyze in considering political change. Roll call votes are but one indication of congressional action; as Roach notes, sectional tendencies may be more apparent in earlier committee meetings than in the final roll call bill where "party discipline may whip the recalcitrants into line or when differences may have been reconciled by a compromise.. [that] conceals the real conflicts of interests" (Roach 1925, 502). Congressional self-interest can also mask true intention (502). Sectional tendencies may not necessarily arise from the legislature. In recent years, the blue state red state presidential elections map belies any notion that sectionalism is dead. Scholars have also found sectional divides on matters of foreign policy, with the "manufacturing belt" pitted against the "sunbelt" (Trubowitz 1992).

Indeed, it may the case that economic sectionalism does not exist (in the past, present or future) in the way Bensel envisioned it as a fight between the manufacturing "core" and the agrarian "periphery. The results call into question whether it is actually economic sectionalism that influences congressional vote. Sectionalist voting could take many forms. For instance, rather than being rooted in economic concerns, sectionalism could have a cultural or social dimension. Thus, even if Bensel has it right about sectionalism being an important influence, is he correct in his specification of the

method by which sectionalism comes to influence congressional vote choice? If economic concerns were at the root of sectionalism, one would expect value of manufacturing per capita and farm value per capita to be much more significant than they were in the individual roll call analysis. To the contrary, the results of the individual logistic regressions show these factors to be less important than party and ideology and in fact these factors achieved statistical significance in only a few of the regressions. More work needs to be done to understand the inner workings of how sectionalism operates to impact choice: is it cultural? Is it social? Are congressman just guided by the economic concerns of their districts? What then explains why one congressional session can be characterized as highly sectional and the next session can have a low sectional stress score?

Additional statistical analysis would need to be conducted in order to fully test Bensel's claims. One problem with the current analysis is that it is quite difficult to separate out the effect of section independent of party. Parties during this time period (or even during the present time for that matter) are largely sectionally based. What is the causal direction? Does sectionalism influence party formation and cohesion or is party largely independent of section? In further work I would like to look at cohesion scores between and among regionally based divisions of parties down to specific roll call votes. For instance, how alike are non-Southern Democrats and Southern Democrats on each of the roll call votes? Further, not only may the policy content of the bill matter but the procedural context of the bill too may play a key role. How does section impact voting on close call votes?

Finally, as hinted before, looking at the macroanalysis is not enough. In future work on this project, I will do a microanalysis and look at specific roll call votes and see how section impacted votes. So far I have reviewed votes on many roll calls deemed to concern "landmark" matters and thus far I have found few in which section appeared to be the driving mechanism behind vote choice. Further, additional statistical analysis may discount the findings in this paper. Because each congressional vote is not independent of each other as congressman vote multiple times in any given congress, observations in the dependent variable used in this pooled analysis are not necessarily

independent. Finally, to effectively challenge Bensel as well as to avoid the charge of selecting on the dependent variable, one should analyze all roll call votes over an extended period of time.

It is also important to assess when sectionalism is important. As evidenced by Bensel's selective roll call votes, Congress has behaved in a sectional matter in certain circumstances. Roach proposes that representatives are more likely to behave in a sectionalist manner during an economic recession (Roach 192o5, 504). She also argues sectional voting is more prevalent during divided government (522). Any full critique of Bensel should assess what he did get right about sectionalism and what implications those findings have in helping us understand decisionmaking in the Congress.

Further work would also require situating the sectionalist theme within the broader context of American polity development. Bensel advocated a theory of sectionalism, but as this paper argues, statistical analyses may only partly support the claims about sectionalism's importance. In future work, I would like to develop a more coherent view of sectionalism. This paper begins the argument noting how sectionalism is most apparent on constituency-driven issues. However, more work would need to be done to study a wider array of congresses in different time periods in order to devise a coherent viewpoint of how sectionalism impacts lawmaking. Future work would also need to account for at least three other factors. First, Congress lawmaking does not occur in a vacuum; Congress is joined with the presidency and courts and sectionalist tendencies could work through other institutions and still impact congressional action. Second, Congress is not a monolithic entity. Any theory of sectionalism must account for the fact that Congress is composed of 435 individual actors. Finally, this study did not touch of some of the other factors that could impact sectionalist divide. For instance, any theory of sectionalism would have to consider the role race plays. Unfortunately, none of the roll call votes in the dataset used in the congresses under study here included roll call votes on civil rights bills. The absence of such bills from the analysis speaks to the limited applicability of a study of just a few discrete congresses; in order to fully understand sectionalism, Congress needs to be studied across time, across issues, among actors and between and among other institutions.

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49th Congress - Tables

Table 1: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 49th Congress

	(1) Sov	(2) Org	(3) IR	(4) Domestic	(5) DC	(6) House	(7) Private	(8) Public
Core	0.0807	-0.0296	0.125*	0.0368	-0.0223	0.0362	0.0854	0.128
	(0.0905)	(0.0456)	(0.0519)	(0.0302)	(0.106)	(0.0790)	(0.0582)	(0.145)
DW-Nom (1st)	-0.434***	-0.547***	0.756***	0.127***	0.266*	-0.647***	1.552***	2.373***
	(0.0860)	(0.0417)	(0.0478)	(0.0311)	(0.105)	(0.0799)	(0.0606)	(0.167)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.168*	-0.0880*	-0.227***	-0.00971	-0.0294	-0.294***	-0.201***	-0.130
	(0.0778)	(0.0368)	(0.0448)	(0.0271)	(0.0902)	(0.0734)	(0.0478)	(0.147)
Manu	0.109	0.0582	0.0266	-0.0258	0.118	0.0339	0.0234	-0.166
	(0.0837)	(0.0435)	(0.0489)	(0.0263)	(0.106)	(0.0756)	(0.0524)	(0.150)
Farm	-0.0825	0.0807*	0.0205	0.0493	-0.0248	-0.0548	0.0759	-0.152
	(0.0814)	(0.0364)	(0.0460)	(0.0274)	(0.0865)	(0.0820)	(0.0493)	(0.159)
_cons	0.742***	0.378***	0.371***	0.400***	0.244***	-0.251***	0.122***	0.526***
	(0.0535)	(0.0284)	(0.0326)	(0.0174)	(0.0660)	(0.0487)	(0.0372)	(0.0893)
N	2022	9581	6755	30838	2420	2402	12827	1874

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 49th Congress

	(Sov) Member	(Sov) Boundary	(Org) Govt	(Org) Repres.
Core	0.143	-0.0902	-0.00715	-0.161
	(0.209)	(0.155)	(0.0508)	(0.0821)
DW-Nom (1st)	-3.397***	1.267***	-0.526***	-0.713***
	(0.229)	(0.168)	(0.0466)	(0.0831)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-1.028***	0.0967	-0.0967*	-0.0843
	(0.199)	(0.126)	(0.0429)	(0.0774)
Manu	0.609**	-0.164	0.0703	0.00270
	(0.197)	(0.141)	(0.0502)	(0.0746)
Farm	0.0919	-0.120	0.108**	-0.0529
	(0.219)	(0.140)	(0.0414)	(0.0726)
_cons	0.157	1.239***	0.418***	0.129**
	(0.132)	(0.0975)	(0.0308)	(0.0466)
N	734	1288	8239	1342

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 3: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 49th Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopoliti	(IR) IPE	(Dom.) Agric.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Ec.	(Dom.) Social
Core	0.0518	0.333*	0.125	0.0109	0.0342	0.0637	0.0273
	(0.0683)	(0.165)	(0.0830)	(0.0841)	(0.0520)	(0.0507)	(0.0534)
DW-Nom (1st)	0.566***	1.091***	0.938***	0.345***	-0.224***	0.0240	0.661***
	(0.0629)	(0.158)	(0.0735)	(0.0860)	(0.0546)	(0.0503)	(0.0530)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.330***	-0.0302	-0.165*	0.325***	-0.0647	-0.0911	0.0354
	(0.0574)	(0.151)	(0.0768)	(0.0794)	(0.0489)	(0.0465)	(0.0521)
Manu	0.0708	0.348	-0.212*	0.00836	-0.0728	-0.0866	0.167**
	(0.0611)	(0.197)	(0.0900)	(0.0816)	(0.0561)	(0.0445)	(0.0585)
Farm	0.0221	0.205	-0.0804	-0.0440	0.0339	0.0876	0.0906
	(0.0653)	(0.191)	(0.0736)	(0.0654)	(0.0526)	(0.0448)	(0.0573)
_cons	0.318***	0.669***	0.314***	0.387***	0.384***	0.325***	0.578***
	(0.0407)	(0.103)	(0.0508)	(0.0556)	(0.0306)	(0.0287)	(0.0311)
N	3403	1252	2100	3881	9648	10473	6584

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Core/Periphery Distinction

	(Sov)[7] State Admiss.	(Dom)[8] Nat. Resource
Core	-5.061*	-0.184*
	(1.980)	(0.0872)
DW-Nom. (1st)	26.40**	-0.624***
	(8.812)	(0.0865)
DW-Nom (2nd)	2.100	0.192*
	(1.602)	(0.0745)
Manu	-1.542	0.0867
	(1.383)	(0.0910)
Farm	-0.712	0.151
	(1.169)	(0.0890)
_cons	3.042*	0.663***
	(1.328)	(0.0561)
N	233	2778

Standard errors in parentheses $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[7] Sovereignty (Tier 1), Boundaries (Tier 2)
[8] Domestic (Tier 1), Planning and Resources (Tier 2)

Table 5: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Regional Distinctions – 49th Congress

	Sov.	Org.	IR	Dom.	DC	House	Private	Public
South	-0.0141	-0.137**	-0.00202	0.0181	0.153	-0.141	-0.124	0.433*
	(0.119)	(0.0522)	(0.0759)	(0.0381)	(0.137)	(0.0966)	(0.0814)	(0.180)
West	-0.291	-0.0710	0.0527	0.133**	0.324	0.107	0.321***	1.338**
	(0.224)	(0.108)	(0.141)	(0.0505)	(0.174)	(0.204)	(0.0877)	(0.423)
Midwest	-0.0572	0.0186	-0.0563	0.0580	0.302**	0.0295	0.0272	0.309
	(0.104)	(0.0497)	(0.0565)	(0.0327)	(0.107)	(0.0944)	(0.0796)	(0.171)
DW-Nom. (1st)	-0.384***	-0.626***	0.830***	0.150***	0.302**	-0.692***	1.540***	2.577***
	(0.0822)	(0.0408)	(0.0530)	(0.0316)	(0.103)	(0.0794)	(0.0642)	(0.159)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.154	-0.124**	-0.199***	-0.0207	-0.106	-0.326***	-0.221***	-0.0993
	(0.0847)	(0.0383)	(0.0482)	(0.0298)	(0.101)	(0.0805)	(0.0523)	(0.150)
Manu	0.143	-0.0118	0.0612	-0.0285	0.101	-0.0486	-0.0483	-0.00698
	(0.102)	(0.0470)	(0.0616)	(0.0298)	(0.114)	(0.0866)	(0.0622)	(0.184)
Farm	-0.0311	0.0459	0.0509	0.0278	-0.117	-0.105	0.0181	-0.199
	(0.0918)	(0.0452)	(0.0497)	(0.0290)	(0.0965)	(0.0846)	(0.0608)	(0.188)
_cons	0.807***	0.413***	0.444***	0.394***	0.0929	-0.191**	0.194***	0.325**
	(0.0704)	(0.0318)	(0.0395)	(0.0214)	(0.0770)	(0.0591)	(0.0466)	(0.104)
N	2022	9581	6755	30838	2420	2402	12827	1874

Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Regional– 49th Congress

	(Sov.) Member	(Sov.) Boundary	(Org.) Govt.	(Org.) Repres.
South	-0.930**	0.683***	-0.139*	-0.151
	(0.291)	(0.190)	(0.0575)	(0.0972)
West	-1.054	0.0857	-0.0618	-0.148
	(0.540)	(0.383)	(0.126)	(0.147)
Midwest	-0.277	0.292	0.0159	0.0165
	(0.245)	(0.165)	(0.0549)	(0.0930)
DW-Nom. (1st)	-3.694***	1.503***	-0.593***	-0.872***
	(0.238)	(0.148)	(0.0457)	(0.0736)
DW-Nom. (2nd)	-1.168***	0.119	-0.131**	-0.131
	(0.225)	(0.129)	(0.0444)	(0.0823)
Manu	0.323	0.159	0.00436	-0.0986
	(0.232)	(0.195)	(0.0526)	(0.0931)
Farm	0.0498	-0.0310	0.0758	-0.106
	(0.234)	(0.158)	(0.0510)	(0.0834)
_cons	0.657***	0.880***	0.465***	0.109
	(0.162)	(0.109)	(0.0349)	(0.0555)
N	734	1288	8239	1342

Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Regional– 49th Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopoliti	(IR) IPE	(Dom.) Agri.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Econ.	(Dom.) Social Policy
South	0.00870	-0.681**	0.358**	0.0368	0.116	-0.0220	-0.131
	(0.0932)	(0.240)	(0.117)	(0.113)	(0.0688)	(0.0664)	(0.0689)
West	0.0810	-0.119	0.0724	0.132	0.243*	0.135	-0.0869
	(0.191)	(0.500)	(0.129)	(0.170)	(0.111)	(0.110)	(0.119)
Midwest	-0.0485	-0.403	0.0866	-0.0525	0.0633	0.106	0.0785
	(0.0698)	(0.216)	(0.0947)	(0.0847)	(0.0652)	(0.0541)	(0.0665)
DW-Nom. (1st)	0.603***	1.020***	1.160***	0.371***	-0.162**	0.0409	0.613***
	(0.0696)	(0.173)	(0.0820)	(0.0868)	(0.0551)	(0.0530)	(0.0545)
DW-Nom. (2nd)	-0.305***	-0.0233	-0.119	0.357***	-0.0544	-0.125*	-0.0184
	(0.0603)	(0.174)	(0.0789)	(0.0868)	(0.0552)	(0.0511)	(0.0550)
Manu	0.0902	0.114	-0.0299	0.0280	-0.0347	-0.112*	0.0950
	(0.0694)	(0.234)	(0.0894)	(0.103)	(0.0602)	(0.0494)	(0.0586)
Farm	0.0385	0.216	-0.00880	-0.0353	0.0227	0.0454	0.0435
	(0.0663)	(0.204)	(0.0708)	(0.0786)	(0.0539)	(0.0492)	(0.0604)
_cons	0.349***	1.188***	0.216***	0.387***	0.335***	0.335***	0.624***
	(0.0522)	(0.136)	(0.0650)	(0.0557)	(0.0425)	(0.0364)	(0.0411)
N	3403	1252	2100	3881	9648	10473	6584

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Regional Distinctions, Sovereignty, Organizational and IR Issues

	(Sov.)[9] Commer/ Culture	(Sov.)[10] State Admiss.	(Org.)[11] CongrssOrg.	(Org.)[12] Impeach	(Org.)[13] Judicial Org.	(IR)[14] Militias	(IR)[15] Diploma/Intell.	(IR)[16] Maritim
South	-0.930**	4.610*	-0.213*	-0.188	0.0119	0.373	-0.723**	0.567***
	(0.291)	(1.833)	(0.0942)	(0.512)	(0.133)	(0.689)	(0.267)	(0.144)
West	-1.054	9.585*	-0.425	2.554**	0.0155		-0.771	0.217
	(0.540)	(4.706)	(0.272)	(0.903)	(0.254)		(0.654)	(0.205)
Midwest	-0.277	8.670**	-0.116	0.612	0.328**	-0.550	-0.437	0.294*
	(0.245)	(2.888)	(0.0893)	(0.509)	(0.120)	(0.598)	(0.263)	(0.129)
DW-Nom.	-3.694***	31.91**	-0.633***	-0.989*	-0.438***	1.875**	1.606***	1.736***
(1^{st})	(0.238)	(10.74)	(0.0792)	(0.405)	(0.109)	(0.641)	(0.220)	(0.106)
DW-Nom.	-1.168***	-2.507	-0.0218	-0.708	-0.644***	-0.738	0.362	-0.280*
(2^{nd})	(0.225)	(2.188)	(0.0792)	(0.441)	(0.102)	(0.540)	(0.215)	(0.119)
Manu	0.323	-6.441	0.0000508	-1.178*	-0.0748	-0.220	0.0711	-0.0718
	(0.232)	(3.709)	(0.0922)	(0.515)	(0.124)	(0.916)	(0.270)	(0.118)
Farm	0.0498	-3.713	-0.0476	-0.939	0.359**	-0.549	0.265	-0.0688
	(0.234)	(2.028)	(0.0875)	(0.496)	(0.116)	(0.687)	(0.250)	(0.100)
_cons	0.657***	-2.466*	0.348***	0.500	-0.0735	1.914***	1.486***	0.324***
	(0.162)	(1.061)	(0.0572)	(0.324)	(0.0809)	(0.447)	(0.159)	(0.0794)
N	734	233	3082	207	1426	233	1030	1313

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[9] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Membership and Nation (Tier 2)
[10] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Bounardy (Tier 2)
[11] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Organizational (Tier 2)
[12] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Organizational (Tier 2)
[13] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Organizational (Tier 2)
[14] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2)
[15] IR (Tier 1); Geopolitics (Tier 2)
[16] IR (Tier 1); IPE (Tier 2)

Table 9: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Regional Distinctions, Domestic Issues (Agriculture, Planning and Resources, Political Economy)

	(Dom.)[17] Environ.	(Dom.)[18] Infrast.	(Dom.)[19] Trans.	(Dom.)[20] Business/ Cap.	(Dom.)[21] Fiscal/ Tax	(Dom.)[22] Labor	(Dom.)[23] Monetar
South	2.198*	0.104	-0.108	0.499***	-0.329*	-0.500**	0.151
	(0.858)	(0.123)	(0.180)	(0.123)	(0.161)	(0.159)	(0.0893)
Mid	0.0383	0.208	0.241	0.169	-0.0490	0.0655	0.0281
	(0.704)	(0.109)	(0.145)	(0.101)	(0.125)	(0.158)	(0.0798)
DW (1st)	5.079***	0.232*	-0.790***	0.273**	0.286*	-0.439***	0.388***
	(0.692)	(0.0951)	(0.130)	(0.0889)	(0.114)	(0.128)	(0.0732)
DW (2nd)	0.931	-0.316***	0.0895	-0.0475	0.204	0.231	-0.290***
	(0.611)	(0.0905)	(0.123)	(0.0869)	(0.123)	(0.150)	(0.0790)
Manu	0.919	-0.200	-0.0866	-0.0514	0.0246	-0.141	-0.167*
	(0.876)	(0.103)	(0.150)	(0.108)	(0.116)	(0.150)	(0.0739)
Farm	0.426	-0.140	0.0140	0.0353	0.168	-0.0880	-0.00667
	(0.679)	(0.0857)	(0.138)	(0.0929)	(0.112)	(0.144)	(0.0748)
West	[24]	0.596**	0.800*	0.0168	-0.143	0.0333	0.244*
		(0.192)	(0.312)	(0.248)	(0.183)	(0.394)	(0.116)
_cons	-0.211	0.166*	0.617***	0.212**	0.481***	1.021***	0.171***
	(0.483)	(0.0722)	(0.102)	(0.0710)	(0.0806)	(0.102)	(0.0500)
N	203	3941	1199	2127	2150	937	3446

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[17] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[18] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[19] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[20] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[21] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[22] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[23] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[24] West perfectly predicts the results.

Table 10: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Regional Distinctions, Domestic Issues (Social Policy)

	(Dom.)[25] Diaster	(Dom.) [26] Health	(Dom.) [27] Military Pension	(Dom.) [28] Regulat.
South	0.634	-14.28***	-0.179*	1.260
	(0.463)	(1.278)	(0.0870)	(1.096)
Mid	0.923*	-17.64	0.00419	-0.440
	(0.429)	(.)	(0.0861)	(0.701)
DW (1st)	6.563***	7.432*	0.310***	2.968***
	(0.732)	(3.662)	(0.0695)	(0.743)
DW (2nd)	-1.149**	0.259	-0.0464	1.713**
	(0.385)	(1.622)	(0.0739)	(0.576)
Manu	0.137	0.0740	0.0495	1.272
	(0.459)	(2.305)	(0.0807)	(1.094)
Farm	0.636	0.387	0.0578	-0.111
	(0.452)	(1.108)	(0.0809)	(0.627)
West	[29]	[30]	-0.160	[31]
			(0.200)	
_cons	0.549	21.57***	0.612***	1.788***
	(0.304)	(1.673)	(0.0520)	(0.473)
N	481	214	4440	234

Standard errors in parentheses

- $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[25] Domestic(Tier1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[26] Domestic(Tier1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[27] Domestic(Tier1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[28] Domestic(Tier1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[29] West perfectly predicts the results
[30] West perfectly predicts the results
[31] West perfectly predicts the results

54th Congress Tables

Table 11: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 54th Congress

	(1) Sov	(2) Org	(3) IR	(4) Domestic	(5) DC	(6) House	(7) Private	(8) Public
Core	0.00843	-0.0601	0.0319	-0.0877	-0.0779	-0.288*	0.224*	-0.559
	(0.200)	(0.0402)	(0.202)	(0.0553)	(0.0866)	(0.127)	(0.0981)	(0.554)
DW-Nom (1st)	0.780***	0.0320	-0.136	1.032***	0.793***	-0.103	1.307***	-3.061***
	(0.186)	(0.0368)	(0.197)	(0.0519)	(0.0751)	(0.121)	(0.0905)	(0.515)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.158	-0.0196	1.105***	-0.0459	0.0396	-0.379***	0.322***	-2.474***
	(0.146)	(0.0296)	(0.167)	(0.0383)	(0.0609)	(0.0882)	(0.0795)	(0.461)
Manu	0.203	0.00557	-0.130	-0.0270	0.0294	0.0794	0.0215	0.511
	(0.172)	(0.0312)	(0.149)	(0.0381)	(0.0780)	(0.0883)	(0.0809)	(0.397)
Farm	-0.0965	0.0148	0.0831	0.0961	-0.0494	0.125*	0.0205	0.289
	(0.0954)	(0.0223)	(0.113)	(0.0644)	(0.0690)	(0.0604)	(0.0806)	(0.338)
_cons	1.088***	0.267***	1.807***	0.264***	0.184**	0.189*	0.0431	0.853*
	(0.153)	(0.0288)	(0.155)	(0.0430)	(0.0645)	(0.0843)	(0.0694)	(0.401)
N	1328	10665	1275	12323	2259	3056	3539	183

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 12: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 54h Congress

	(Sov) Liberty	(Sov) Member	(Sov) Boundary	(Org) Govt	(Org) Repre.
Core	-0.827	0.332	0.171	-0.117	-0.0346
	(0.466)	(0.319)	(0.302)	(0.0682)	(0.0482)
DW-Nom (1st)	-1.838**	0.555	2.198***	-0.311***	0.208***
	(0.671)	(0.306)	(0.290)	(0.0645)	(0.0415)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-1.263***	0.408	-0.384	0.146**	-0.110**
	(0.372)	(0.242)	(0.279)	(0.0507)	(0.0355)
Manu	0.573	0.177	0.0512	0.0856	-0.0389
	(0.439)	(0.247)	(0.349)	(0.0540)	(0.0403)
Farm	0.457	-0.0656	-0.432	0.0457	-0.00622
	(0.408)	(0.217)	(0.266)	(0.0312)	(0.0347)
_cons	1.906***	0.571*	1.571***	0.366***	0.223***
	(0.349)	(0.232)	(0.228)	(0.0501)	(0.0348)
N	269	507	552	3670	6995

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 13: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 54th Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopoli	(Dom) Agr.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Econ.	(Dom.) Social
Core	-0.305	0.771	0.0312	-0.0765	-0.0814	-0.313
	(0.261)	(0.455)	(0.242)	(0.0837)	(0.0789)	(0.166)
DW-Nom (1st)	-0.335	0.0793	2.985***	0.496***	0.924***	2.394***
	(0.217)	(0.495)	(0.244)	(0.0815)	(0.0723)	(0.155)
DW-Nom (2nd)	1.135***	1.594***	-0.354	-0.0407	-0.0810	0.135
	(0.196)	(0.432)	(0.193)	(0.0537)	(0.0567)	(0.112)
Manu	-0.156	0.219	-0.182	-0.00286	-0.0251	0.132
	(0.161)	(0.398)	(0.209)	(0.0456)	(0.0581)	(0.124)
Farm	-0.139	0.974	0.967**	0.00422	0.124	0.295*
	(0.183)	(0.667)	(0.312)	(0.0434)	(0.0799)	(0.136)
_cons	1.177***	2.256***	0.249	0.128*	0.336***	0.416***
	(0.195)	(0.337)	(0.173)	(0.0614)	(0.0588)	(0.122)
N	510	563	865	4234	5713	1511

Standard errors in parentheses $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 14: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Core/Periphery Distinction, 54th Congress

No statistically significant results on any Tier 3 issue

Table 15: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Regional Distinctions – 54th Congress

	(1) Sov	(2) Org	(3) IR	(4) Domestic	(5) DC	(6) House	(7) Private	(8) Public
South	-0.0307	0.0448	0.154	0.0289	-0.0343	0.237	-0.271	1.447
	(0.296)	(0.0622)	(0.264)	(0.0634)	(0.139)	(0.169)	(0.145)	(0.857)
West	0.298	0.0133	0.135	0.304**	0.0815	0.124	-0.0754	2.144*
	(0.383)	(0.0845)	(0.319)	(0.110)	(0.119)	(0.202)	(0.195)	(0.970)
Midwest	-0.176	-0.0846	0.623**	0.128*	-0.0308	-0.137	-0.203	0.183
	(0.228)	(0.0453)	(0.212)	(0.0527)	(0.0915)	(0.143)	(0.110)	(0.619)
DW-Nom (1st)	0.828***	0.0527	-0.157	0.953***	0.737***	-0.0749	1.346***	-2.713***
	(0.200)	(0.0463)	(0.211)	(0.0561)	(0.0969)	(0.127)	(0.107)	(0.594)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.117	0.0268	0.811***	-0.116*	0.0541	-0.271*	0.374***	-2.717***
	(0.175)	(0.0384)	(0.210)	(0.0493)	(0.0719)	(0.111)	(0.0990)	(0.683)
Manu	0.215	0.0188	-0.178	-0.0569	0.00982	0.102	0.0247	0.739
	(0.176)	(0.0306)	(0.154)	(0.0346)	(0.0796)	(0.0894)	(0.0850)	(0.417)
Farm	-0.0921	0.0308	0.0341	0.0578	-0.0622	0.155*	0.0252	0.350
	(0.0915)	(0.0257)	(0.0770)	(0.0451)	(0.0684)	(0.0613)	(0.0901)	(0.344)
_cons	1.155***	0.245***	1.563***	0.135***	0.150*	-0.0225	0.344***	-0.131
	(0.197)	(0.0346)	(0.165)	(0.0395)	(0.0721)	(0.106)	(0.0862)	(0.484)
N	1328	10665	1275	12323	2259	3056	3539	183

Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 16: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Regional– 54th Congress

	(Sov) Liberty	(Sov) Member	(Sov) Boundar	(Org) Govt	(Org) Rep.
South	0.674	-1.565***	1.576**	-0.0103	0.0626
	(0.615)	(0.449)	(0.577)	(0.105)	(0.0716)
West	0.846	-0.900	1.525*	0.360**	-0.193
	(0.710)	(0.631)	(0.603)	(0.113)	(0.0993)
Midwest	0.543	-1.542***	1.337**	-0.130	-0.0660
	(0.494)	(0.353)	(0.435)	(0.0732)	(0.0586)
DW-Nom (1st)	-2.158***	0.380	2.737***	-0.346***	0.249***
	(0.653)	(0.326)	(0.387)	(0.0799)	(0.0509)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-1.510**	1.010***	-0.825**	0.191**	-0.0602
	(0.502)	(0.295)	(0.305)	(0.0662)	(0.0446)
Manu	0.520	0.0679	0.398	0.0792	-0.0155
	(0.437)	(0.249)	(0.381)	(0.0542)	(0.0390)
Farm	0.327	-0.0602	-0.426	0.0373	0.0253
	(0.357)	(0.193)	(0.234)	(0.0300)	(0.0369)
_cons	0.933*	1.919***	0.667*	0.321***	0.216***
	(0.377)	(0.303)	(0.318)	(0.0594)	(0.0420)
N	269	507	552	3670	6995

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 17- Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Regional– 54th Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopoliti	(Dom.) Agr.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Econ.	(Dom.) Social
South	0.240	0.201	-0.620*	-0.0160	0.109	0.134
	(0.331)	(0.642)	(0.315)	(0.113)	(0.0994)	(0.203)
West	-0.367	[32]	0.551	-0.0391	0.510**	0.553*
	(0.339)		(0.445)	(0.122)	(0.175)	(0.265)
Midwest	0.167	[33]	-0.103	0.0339	0.216**	0.00567
	(0.239)		(0.258)	(0.0767)	(0.0780)	(0.161)
DW-Nom. (1st)	-0.397	0.169	2.690***	0.430***	0.867***	2.287***
	(0.241)	(0.558)	(0.258)	(0.0951)	(0.0834)	(0.155)
DW-Nom (2nd)	1.122***	0.648	-0.405	-0.0444	-0.203**	0.132
	(0.233)	(0.552)	(0.219)	(0.0740)	(0.0730)	(0.138)
Manu	-0.182	0.0297	-0.322	-0.0220	-0.0505	0.104
	(0.166)	(0.413)	(0.226)	(0.0464)	(0.0533)	(0.129)
Farm	-0.123	0.327	0.815*	-0.00231	0.0688	0.265
	(0.187)	(0.375)	(0.331)	(0.0397)	(0.0523)	(0.143)
_cons	0.874***	1.889***	0.456*	0.0741	0.145*	0.140
	(0.182)	(0.438)	(0.202)	(0.0590)	(0.0603)	(0.119)
N	510	312	865	4234	5713	1511

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[32] West predicts results perfectly.
[33] Midwest predicts results perfectly.

Table 18 : Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis (Regional Analysis) on Sovereignty, Organizational and IR Issues, 54th Congress

	(Sov[34]) Immigrat	(Sov.)[35] Territory	(Org)[36] Congress. Org.	(IR)[37] Diplomac
South	-1.565***	2.153**	-0.112	0.230
	(0.449)	(0.746)	(0.182)	(0.570)
West	-0.900	2.710***	0.305	[38]
	(0.631)	(0.746)	(0.197)	
Midwest	-1.542***	2.086**	-0.262*	3.280**
	(0.353)	(0.637)	(0.127)	(1.093)
DW-Nom (1st)	0.380	3.670***	-1.701***	0.143
	(0.326)	(0.505)	(0.142)	(0.484)
DW-Nom (2nd)	1.010***	-2.602***	0.114	0.683
	(0.295)	(0.478)	(0.120)	(0.504)
Manu	0.0679	0.463	0.0472	-0.0483
	(0.249)	(0.499)	(0.0808)	(0.341)
Farm	-0.0602	-0.642*	0.00787	0.269
	(0.193)	(0.259)	(0.0610)	(0.353)
_cons	1.919***	0.257	0.238*	2.292***
	(0.303)	(0.445)	(0.108)	(0.396)
N	507	372	1790	798

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[34] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Membership and Nation (Tier 2)
[35] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Boundaries (Tier 2)
[36] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt. Org. (Tier 2)
[37] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2).
[38] West perfectly predicts

Table 19: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Regional Distinctions, Domestic Issues, 54th Congress

	(Dom.)[39] Fish	(Dom.)[40] Infrastr.	(Dom.)[41] P.O.	(Dom.)[42] Multi-Agency	(Dom.)[43] Business	(Dom.)[44] Fiscal/ Tax	(Dom.)[45] Regulat.	(Dom.)[46] Crime	(Dom.)[47] Military Pensions
South	-0.620*	2.722**	-0.0965	-0.517*	0.334	1.376***	-0.541**	1.621*	-0.211
	(0.315)	(0.956)	(0.193)	(0.213)	(0.215)	(0.335)	(0.187)	(0.699)	(0.261)
W	0.551	2.125**	0.0821	0.165	0.764*	1.751**	0.0689	1.399	0.635*
	(0.445)	(0.775)	(0.236)	(0.222)	(0.309)	(0.542)	(0.312)	(0.945)	(0.311)
MW	-0.103	1.439**	0.278*	-0.232	0.523**	1.393***	-0.0282	0.369	-0.0271
	(0.258)	(0.545)	(0.138)	(0.150)	(0.160)	(0.242)	(0.157)	(0.481)	(0.197)
DW (1st)	2.690***	3.051***	0.234	0.466**	-0.203	2.070***	-0.120	-0.659	3.537***
	(0.258)	(0.774)	(0.145)	(0.149)	(0.171)	(0.253)	(0.144)	(0.569)	(0.239)
DW (2nd)	-0.405	-1.673***	0.0581	-0.439***	-0.408*	-0.174	-0.142	-0.887*	0.366
	(0.219)	(0.472)	(0.119)	(0.123)	(0.162)	(0.187)	(0.132)	(0.429)	(0.192)
Man	-0.322	0.683	-0.131	0.0308	-0.0692	-0.280	-0.259*	0.165	0.138
	(0.226)	(0.452)	(0.0970)	(0.124)	(0.106)	(0.173)	(0.106)	(0.477)	(0.149)
Farm	0.815*	-0.541	0.0619	0.0783	0.135	0.184	-0.547**	1.034	0.124
	(0.331)	(0.595)	(0.112)	(0.0799)	(0.140)	(0.200)	(0.177)	(0.621)	(0.153)
_cons	0.456*	0.145	-0.162	0.227	-0.0812	-0.00406	0.227*	0.612	-0.157
	(0.202)	(0.405)	(0.111)	(0.119)	(0.0986)	(0.180)	(0.113)	(0.399)	(0.150)
N	865	284	1918	1492	479	1218	718	228	1283

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[39] Domestic (Tier 1); Agriculture and Food (Tier 2)
[40] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[41] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[42] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[43] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[44] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[45] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[46] Domestic (Tier 1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[47] Domestic (Tier 1); Social Policy (Tier 2)

59th Congress

Table 20: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 59th Congress

	(1) Sov	(2) Org	(3) IR	(4) Domestic	(5) DC	(6) House	(7) Private
Core	0.632*	-0.293*	-0.0297	-0.101	0.162	-0.0204	0.0905
	(0.269)	(0.143)	(0.0695)	(0.0836)	(0.121)	(0.127)	(0.122)
DW-Nominate (1st)	3.753***	3.129***	1.700***	2.319***	-0.423***	0.794***	2.588***
	(0.212)	(0.144)	(0.0615)	(0.0723)	(0.116)	(0.117)	(0.123)
DW-Nominate (2nd)	0.565**	-0.416***	-0.201**	-0.0641	0.0257	-0.0468	0.162
	(0.191)	(0.0959)	(0.0618)	(0.0591)	(0.0749)	(0.0900)	(0.0874)
Manu	-0.330	0.119	-0.00881	-0.0965	0.191*	0.106	0.0793
	(0.253)	(0.0760)	(0.0462)	(0.101)	(0.0815)	(0.0825)	(0.0562)
Farm	-0.702**	0.0544	0.0968	0.149*	0.0282	0.236*	-0.00479
	(0.271)	(0.0735)	(0.0575)	(0.0702)	(0.0813)	(0.0990)	(0.0730)
_cons	0.0928	1.814***	0.419***	1.164***	0.444***	0.894***	0.768***
	(0.191)	(0.107)	(0.0474)	(0.0584)	(0.0777)	(0.0870)	(0.0693)
N	2956	2623	9099	10848	2132	1714	2700

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 21: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 59h Congress

	(Sov) Member.	(Sov.) Boundary	(Org) Govt. Org.[48]
Core	-0.0955	1.034**	-0.286*
	(0.299)	(0.362)	(0.142)
DW-Nom. (1st)	3.189***	4.301***	2.847***
	(0.293)	(0.271)	(0.142)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.207	1.013***	-0.447***
	(0.181)	(0.296)	(0.0935)
Manu	-0.265	-0.366	0.0939
	(0.205)	(0.374)	(0.0809)
Farm	-0.0272	-1.084**	0.0213
	(0.182)	(0.357)	(0.0747)
_cons	0.793***	-0.321	1.803***
	(0.201)	(0.256)	(0.108)
N	796	2160	2357

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[48] DW-Nominate, 1st dimension predicts perfectly votes on "Representation."

Table 22: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Core/Periphery Distinction – 54th Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopol.	(IR) IPE	(Dom.) Agricul.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Econ.	(Dom.) Social Policy
Core	-0.163	0.903	0.0869	-0.549	-0.155	0.0342	0.0744
	(0.0960)	(0.772)	(0.0984)	(0.329)	(0.119)	(0.156)	(0.360)
DW-Nom (1st)	1.665***	10.27*	1.823***	0.762**	1.179***	3.980***	3.839***
	(0.0836)	(4.521)	(0.0847)	(0.272)	(0.108)	(0.154)	(0.394)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.290***	-0.624	-0.0811	-0.187	-0.0251	-0.181	0.0563
	(0.0724)	(0.652)	(0.0798)	(0.172)	(0.0819)	(0.113)	(0.197)
Manu	-0.0695	-2.378*	0.115	-1.188**	0.120	-0.276*	0.00261
	(0.0571)	(0.982)	(0.0888)	(0.426)	(0.0809)	(0.138)	(0.258)
Farm	0.0849	-1.357	0.157*	-0.176	0.232**	0.0243	0.0919
	(0.0651)	(1.610)	(0.0768)	(0.209)	(0.0758)	(0.0864)	(0.166)
_cons	0.491***	7.709*	0.165*	1.013***	0.623***	1.771***	2.549***
	(0.0659)	(3.361)	(0.0709)	(0.216)	(0.0815)	(0.118)	(0.308)
N	4864	468	3767	736	3323	5264	1525

Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 23: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis, Core/Periphery Distinction, 59th Congress

	(Spv)[49] State Admissio	(IR)[50] Naval Org.	(IR)[51] Diplomac/Intell.	(IR)[52] Trade/ Tariffs	(Dom.)[53] Business/Cap. Mrk	(Dom.)[54] Military Pens.
Core	1.263*	-0.251*	1.502*	0.328*	1.489*	2.400**
	(0.542)	(0.127)	(0.763)	(0.144)	(0.583)	(0.872)
DW-Nom. (1st)	21.63***	2.122***	12.94**	-0.625***	3.260***	6.331***
	(3.116)	(0.110)	(4.132)	(0.129)	(0.620)	(1.009)
DW-Nom. (2nd)	2.542***	-0.420***	0.172	0.271*	-2.515***	-0.506
	(0.510)	(0.0924)	(0.582)	(0.116)	(0.636)	(0.920)
Manu	-0.00785	-0.0888	-1.948*	0.310**	-0.984	-1.446
	(0.552)	(0.0932)	(0.846)	(0.0943)	(0.652)	(0.879)
Farm	-1.341**	0.0656	-1.416	0.125	-0.0580	0.538
	(0.499)	(0.0885)	(1.287)	(0.0924)	(0.692)	(0.311)
_cons	-6.102***	0.525***	9.272**	-0.112	-0.0270	-0.584
	(1.056)	(0.0874)	(3.017)	(0.101)	(0.444)	(0.491)
N	1656	3341	691	1142	175	223

Standard errors in parentheses * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[49] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Boundaries (Tier 2).
[50] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2).
[51] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2).
[52] IR (Tier 1); Geopolitics (Tier 2).
[53] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[54] Domestic (Tier 1); Social Policy (Tier 2)

Table 24: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Regional Distinctions – 59th Congress

	(1) Sov	(2) Org.	(3) IR	(4) Domestic	(5) DC	(6) House	(7) Private
South	-0.253	0.285	-0.0761	0.278**	-0.138	0.232	-0.113
	(0.359)	(0.170)	(0.0776)	(0.101)	(0.153)	(0.150)	(0.171)
West	-2.307***	1.626**	0.244*	0.509***	-0.00459	0.356*	0.465***
	(0.265)	(0.541)	(0.0968)	(0.145)	(0.157)	(0.155)	(0.108)
Midwest	-0.669**	0.174	-0.151*	0.329***	0.113	0.174	0.104
	(0.259)	(0.175)	(0.0683)	(0.0842)	(0.114)	(0.126)	(0.0913)
DW-Nom (1st)	4.428***	2.973***	1.671***	2.280***	-0.448***	0.850***	2.496***
	(0.297)	(0.145)	(0.0581)	(0.0774)	(0.121)	(0.119)	(0.149)
DW-Nom (2nd)	0.482*	-0.417***	-0.131*	-0.143*	-0.0137	-0.0783	0.189*
	(0.191)	(0.112)	(0.0644)	(0.0619)	(0.0828)	(0.101)	(0.0892)
Manu	-0.119	0.123	-0.0147	-0.0719	0.183*	0.142	0.0633
	(0.206)	(0.0755)	(0.0482)	(0.0859)	(0.0806)	(0.0914)	(0.0541)
Farm	-0.0575	-0.0194	0.0892	0.0902	-0.000421	0.196	-0.109
	(0.188)	(0.0796)	(0.0569)	(0.0537)	(0.0799)	(0.109)	(0.0794)
_cons	1.027***	1.410***	0.464***	0.870***	0.557***	0.723***	0.794***
	(0.176)	(0.126)	(0.0483)	(0.0626)	(0.0943)	(0.0851)	(0.0940)
N	2956	2623	9099	10848	2132	1714	2700

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 25: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Sovereignty/Organizational Issues Using Regional– 59th Congress[55]

	(Sov.) Member	(Sov.) Boundary	(Org.)[56] Govt. Org.
South	1.283***	-1.371**	0.261
	(0.347)	(0.526)	(0.170)
West	1.674**	-4.059***	1.629**
	(0.563)	(0.488)	(0.547)
Midwest	1.086***	-1.934***	0.177
	(0.263)	(0.467)	(0.173)
DW-Nom (1st)	3.566***	5.205***	2.677***
	(0.312)	(0.407)	(0.144)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.397	1.093**	-0.449***
	(0.222)	(0.335)	(0.107)
Manu	-0.0595	-0.158	0.0946
	(0.217)	(0.334)	(0.0819)
Farm	-0.196	0.00957	-0.0545
	(0.306)	(0.337)	(0.0790)
_cons	-0.150	1.924***	1.410***
	(0.188)	(0.342)	(0.125)
N	796	2160	2357

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[55] West is also a perfect predictor for "Representation" votes, so much so that the model could not even be estimated.
[56] West and ideology predict perfectly for "Representation" issues.

Table 26: Pooled Logistic Regression Using Tier 2 Distinctions on Domestic/IR Issues Using Regional– 59h Congress

	(IR) Defense	(IR) Geopolit	(IR) IPE	(Dom.) Agric.	(Dom.) Planning	(Dom.) Pol. Econ.	(Dom.) Social Policy
South	0.0776	-0.921	-0.220	0.991**	0.324*	0.0315	0.138
	(0.114)	(1.300)	(0.119)	(0.376)	(0.143)	(0.175)	(0.368)
West	0.492***	[57]	-0.0811	-0.183	0.466*	0.499	0.00359
	(0.128)		(0.146)	(0.333)	(0.190)	(0.416)	(0.618)
Midwest	-0.0515	0.337	-0.312***	0.202	0.212	0.0706	0.537
	(0.0981)	(1.544)	(0.0908)	(0.226)	(0.109)	(0.198)	(0.438)
DW-Nom (1st)	1.599***	10.56*	1.856***	1.015***	1.191***	3.950***	3.773***
	(0.0877)	(4.584)	(0.0882)	(0.269)	(0.116)	(0.173)	(0.430)
DW-Nom (2nd)	-0.242**	-0.537	0.0231	-0.281	-0.0730	-0.181	-0.0368
	(0.0782)	(0.771)	(0.0848)	(0.192)	(0.0905)	(0.115)	(0.218)
Manu	-0.0746	-2.447**	0.115	-1.138**	0.148*	-0.251*	0.0290
	(0.0567)	(0.938)	(0.0933)	(0.419)	(0.0742)	(0.128)	(0.245)
Farm	0.0520	-1.436	0.197*	-0.137	0.186*	-0.00104	0.0580
	(0.0599)	(1.627)	(0.0883)	(0.215)	(0.0767)	(0.0791)	(0.150)
_cons	0.354***	8.801*	0.406***	0.281	0.322***	1.728***	2.378***
	(0.0688)	(4.095)	(0.0702)	(0.192)	(0.0808)	(0.137)	(0.272)
N	4864	436	3767	736	3323	5264	1525

Standard errors in parentheses
$p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[57] West perfectly predicts results on "Geopolitical" issues.

Table 27: Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis (Regional Analysis) on Sovereignty, Organizational and IR Issues, 59th Congress

	(Sov.)[58] Immigrat	(Sov.)[59] State Admiss.	(Sov.)[60] Territory/ Colony	(Org.)[61] Congress. Org.	(Org.)[62] Exec. Org.	(Org.)[63] Judicial Org.	(Org.)[64] Elections	(IR)[65] Navy Org.	(IR)[66] Military Install.
Sout	3.154	-2.575*	-0.454	0.188	-0.555	1.220	0.153	2.012*	-0.602**
	(2.329)	(1.136)	(0.478)	(0.184)	(0.866)	(0.729)	(0.142)	(0.895)	(0.189)
Midwest	-0.383	-3.207**	-0.474	0.0769	-0.849	2.023	-0.108	0.945	-0.490***
	(0.977)	(1.155)	(0.518)	(0.177)	(1.229)	(1.450)	(0.128)	(0.700)	(0.134)
DW-Nom (1st)	11.66***	20.25***	4.897***	2.388***	5.738***	4.377***	2.060***	-5.969***	-0.597***
	(2.095)	(3.408)	(0.513)	(0.147)	(0.816)	(0.813)	(0.112)	(0.907)	(0.145)
DW-Nom (2nd)	2.330***	2.533***	1.081***	-0.509***	-0.501	-0.163	-0.338***	0.313	0.377**
	(0.694)	(0.581)	(0.327)	(0.110)	(0.463)	(0.420)	(0.0983)	(0.589)	(0.126)
Man	-0.383	0.311	-0.232	0.0976	0.120	0.184	-0.0936	0.571	0.292**
	(0.613)	(0.626)	(0.287)	(0.0996)	(0.201)	(0.380)	(0.0974)	(0.599)	(0.0971)
Farm	-1.819*	0.00107	-0.389	-0.0441	-0.453	0.618	0.0272	0.127	0.259*
	(0.794)	(0.669)	(0.395)	(0.0852)	(0.575)	(0.928)	(0.0879)	(0.549)	(0.120)
West	[67]	-5.900***	[68]	1.399*	[69]	[70]	0.664***	0.176	-0.891***
		(1.436)		(0.573)			(0.146)	(1.225)	(0.252)
_con	0.839	-1.847	2.856***	1.059***	4.432***	2.378***	0.318***	-0.927	0.515***
	(1.194)	(1.355)	(0.462)	(0.129)	(1.077)	(0.546)	(0.0826)	(0.575)	(0.106)
N	560	1656	478	1461	443	393	3341	281	1142

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[58] Sovereignty (Tier 1); Membership and Nation (Tier 2)
[59] Sovereignty (Tier 1: Boundaries (Tier 2)
[60] Sovereignty (Tier 1: Boundaries (Tier 2)
[61] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Org. (Tier 2)
[62] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Org. (Tier 2)
[63] Organizational (Tier 1); Govt Org. (Tier 2)
[64] Organizational (Tier 1); Representation (Tier 2)
[65] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2)
[66] IR (Tier 1); Defense (Tier 2)
[67] West perfectly predicts the results.
[68] West perfectly predicts the results.
[69] West perfectly predicts the results.
[70] West perfectly predicts the results.

Table 28 : Pooled Logistic Regression Reporting Only Statistically Significant Results from Tier 3 Analysis (Regional Analysis) on Domestic Issues, 59th Congress

	(Dom.)[71] Farmers	(Dom.)[72] Nat. Resource	(Dom.)[73] P.O.	(Dom.)[74] Transport	(Dom.)[75] Business/Cap. Mrk	(Dom.)[76] Monetary	(Dom.)[77] Health
South	1.023**	0.677*	0.150	0.446	-1.958*	-0.975	1.320**
	(0.365)	(0.339)	(0.231)	(0.289)	(0.985)	(1.258)	(0.496)
West	0.288	-0.143	1.041**	0.524*	[78]	[79]	[80]
	(0.402)	(0.297)	(0.338)	(0.252)			
Midwest	0.417	-0.201	0.296	0.780***	-1.258	-0.633	1.792**
	(0.265)	(0.211)	(0.163)	(0.235)	(1.038)	(2.027)	(0.629)
DW-Nom (1st)	1.570***	-0.975**	0.819***	2.987***	3.232***	9.287***	4.632***
	(0.270)	(0.317)	(0.187)	(0.228)	(0.645)	(1.254)	(0.719)
DW-Nom. (2nd)	-0.439*	-0.976***	0.623***	-0.0857	-1.926**	-2.233*	-0.146
	(0.219)	(0.203)	(0.145)	(0.193)	(0.716)	(1.097)	(0.316)
Manu	-0.938**	0.0418	0.0463	0.386*	-0.787	0.846	0.360
	(0.345)	(0.184)	(0.126)	(0.161)	(0.800)	(1.205)	(0.324)
Farm	0.0178	0.318	0.231	0.121	0.00927	0.771*	-0.239
	(0.185)	(0.212)	(0.175)	(0.105)	(0.818)	(0.365)	(0.554)
_cons	0.315	0.328	0.105	0.562***	2.003*	2.505	2.363***
	(0.199)	(0.170)	(0.130)	(0.152)	(0.819)	(1.364)	(0.474)
N	525	866	926	1531	164	655	834

Standard errors in parentheses
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

[71] Domestic (Tier 1); Agriculture (Tier 2)
[72] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[73] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[74] Domestic (Tier 1); Planning and Resources (Tier 2)
[75] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[76] Domestic (Tier 1); Political Economy (Tier 2)
[77] Domestic (Tier 1); Social Policy (Tier 2)
[78] West perfectly predicts the results.
[79] West perfectly predicts the results.
[80] West perfectly predicts the results.