

Online Appendix
Which Buck Stops Here?

Intercept	-1.16 (0.31)	Voters of same party as senator:	
Policy positions congruence	3.7 (0.2)	× Policy positions congruence	0.38 (0.21)
Policy positions × GOP senator	0.06 (0.21)	× Policy positions × GOP senator	-0.68 (0.31)
Policy positions × Same party	0.38 (0.21)	× Evaluation of economic outcomes	
Policy positions × Independent	0.11 (0.18)	Worse	-0.13 (0.28)
Evaluation of economic outcomes ^a		Stayed same	0.26 (0.28)
Worse	0.09 (0.25)	Better	0.54 (0.32)
Stayed same	-0.32 (0.24)	Much better	0.07 (0.41)
Better	-0.39 (0.24)	Don't know	-0.28 (0.62)
Much better	-0.2 (0.25)	× Evaluation of economy × GOP senator	
Don't know	-0.06 (0.47)	Worse	-0.12 (0.42)
Evaluation of economy × GOP senator		Stayed same	-0.52 (0.42)
Worse	0.12 (0.28)	Better	-0.67 (0.46)
Stayed same	0.54 (0.29)	Much better	-0.56 (0.67)
Better	0.79 (0.32)	Don't know	2.73 (1.18)
Much better	1.16 (0.51)	× Evaluation of Iraq outcomes	
Don't know	-1.24 (0.85)	Not a mistake	-0.17 (0.2)
Evaluation of Iraq outcomes ^b		Don't know	-0.01 (0.27)
Not a mistake	-0.29 (0.11)	× Evaluation of Iraq × GOP senator	
Don't know	-0.35 (0.14)	Not a mistake	0.1 (0.3)
Evaluation of Iraq × GOP senator		Don't know	-0.12 (0.37)
Not a mistake	0.83 (0.23)	Voters with no party affiliation:	
Don't know	0.8 (0.23)	× Policy positions congruence	0.11 (0.18)
Party: ^c	Same	× Policy positions × GOP senator	-0.15 (0.28)
	Independent	× Evaluation of economic outcomes	
Female		Worse	-0.2 (0.28)
Race: ^d	Black	Stayed same	0.09 (0.27)
	Hispanic	Better	0.07 (0.28)
	Other race	Much better	-0.38 (0.3)
Retired		Don't know	-0.6 (0.55)
Unemployed		× Evaluation of economy × GOP senator	
Education: ^e	High school	Worse	0.05 (0.34)
	Some college	Stayed same	-0.13 (0.35)
	College	Better	-0.04 (0.38)
	Post-college	Much better	0.27 (0.58)
Ideology: ^f	Liberal	Don't know	2.08 (0.97)
	Moderate	× Evaluation of Iraq outcomes	
	Conservative	Not a mistake	-0.23 (0.14)
	Very Conservative	Don't know	-0.45 (0.2)
GOP senator		× Evaluation of Iraq × GOP senator	
Ideology × GOP senator:		Not a mistake	0.25 (0.27)
	Liberal	Don't know	0.45 (0.32)
	Moderate	Policy congruence error term	-1.45 (0.18)
	Conservative		
	Very conservative	Log-likelihod	-3096 (57 dfs)
		N	17,257

^aReference category: Much worse

^bReference category: A mistake

^cReference category: Different party

^dReference category: White

^eReference category: No high school degree

^fReference category: Very liberal

Table A: Second-stage model predicting vote for all incumbents, with interactions for party congruence between senator and constituent. Coefficients shown are from the second stage of the 2SCML model that includes the roll call error terms from the first stage model.

Intercept	0.76 (0.19)	Ideology × GOP senator	
Policy positions congruence		Liberal	0.41 (0.25)
Partial-birth abortion	0.50 (0.06)	Moderate	0.83 (0.23)
Stem cell research	0.57 (0.06)	Conservative	1.36 (0.26)
Iraq withdrawal	0.68 (0.07)	Very conservative	1.99 (0.31)
Immigration reform	0.51 (0.07)	Policy congruence × GOP senator	
Minimum wage	0.08 (0.07)	Partial-birth abortion	-0.15 (0.05)
Capital gains tax	0.41 (0.07)	Stem cell research	0.00 (0.05)
CAFTA	0.06 (0.10)	Iraq withdrawal	0.04 (0.05)
Evaluation of economic outcomes ^a		Immigration reform	-0.10 (0.05)
Worse	0.00 (0.09)	Minimum wage	0.16 (0.05)
Stayed same	-0.19 (0.09)	Capital gains tax	-0.07 (0.05)
Better	-0.27 (0.10)	CAFTA	-0.10 (0.05)
Much better	-0.19 (0.12)	Evaluation of Iraq outcome × GOP senator	
Don't know	-0.20 (0.20)	Not a mistake	0.69 (0.15)
Evaluation of Iraq outcome ^b		Don't know	0.78 (0.15)
Not a mistake	-0.30 (0.08)	Evaluation of economy × GOP senator	
Don't know	-0.20 (0.20)	Worse	0.08 (0.13)
Party ^c	Same	Stayed same	0.38 (0.14)
	Independent	Better	0.65 (0.17)
Female		Much better	0.82 (0.22)
Race ^d	Black	Don't know	0.22 (0.31)
	Hispanic	Policy congruence error terms	
	Other	Partial-birth abortion	-0.23 (0.06)
Retired		Stem cell research	-0.30 (0.06)
Unemployed		Iraq withdrawal	-0.40 (0.07)
Education ^e	High school	Immigration reform	-0.18 (0.07)
	Some college	Minimum wage	0.15 (0.08)
	College	Capital gains tax	-0.11 (0.07)
	Post-college	CAFTA	0.12 (0.10)
Ideology ^f	Liberal		
	Moderate		
	Conservative		
	Very Conservative	Log-likelihod	-3096 (57 dfs)
GOP senator	-1.74 (0.30)	N	17,257

^aReference category: Much worse

^bReference category: A mistake

^cReference category: Different party

^dReference category: White

^eReference category: No high school degree

^fReference category: Very liberal

Table B: **Second-stage model predicting vote for all incumbents, including all roll calls individually.** Coefficients shown are from the second stage of the 2SCML model that includes the roll call error terms from the first stage model.