

Supplemental Appendix

As Seen on TV? How Gatekeeping Makes the U.S. House Seem More Extreme

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Section 1. Statistics from Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of equal distributions.

This section contains the results of Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of equal distributions comparing the overall ideological (and ideological extremity) distributions of Congress to distributions of those in the highest quintile of televised statements, corresponding to the distributions in Figures 1 and 2 of the manuscript, and assessments of the gatekeeping function according to Soroka’s formula (2012). The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test examines whether two distributions are statistically distinguishable—in this case, all networks and aggregations are different for ideology, and most for ideological extremity.

The gatekeeping functions were calculated according to Soroka (2012), in which media content (M) is a result of the real world (RW) and the gatekeeping function (G): $M = RW * G$. The graphs in Figures A1.1 and A1.2 were calculated using Soroka’s replication code.

Table A1.1. Statistics from Kolmogorov-Smirnov tests of equal distributions, comparing overall ideological (and ideological extremity) distributions of Congress to the fifth (highest) quintile of televised statements. Corresponds to Figure 1 and Figure 2 in the manuscript.

	Ideology, liberal to conservative (Figure 1)		Ideological extremity, least to most (Figure 2)	
	D	p-value	D	p-value
Total statements	0.1437	0.000	0.1117	0.002
Total cable statements	0.1437	0.000	0.1117	0.002
Total broadcast statements	0.1329	0.000	0.0816	0.054
CNN statements	0.1320	0.000	0.0886	0.023
Fox News statements	0.1363	0.000	0.1568	0.000
MSNBC statements	0.1707	0.000	0.0943	0.013
ABC statements	0.1187	0.002	0.1111	0.005
CBS statements	0.0886	0.035	0.0743	0.117
NBC statements	0.1201	0.001	0.0794	0.056

Figure A1.1. Gatekeeping function, distributions of ideology.

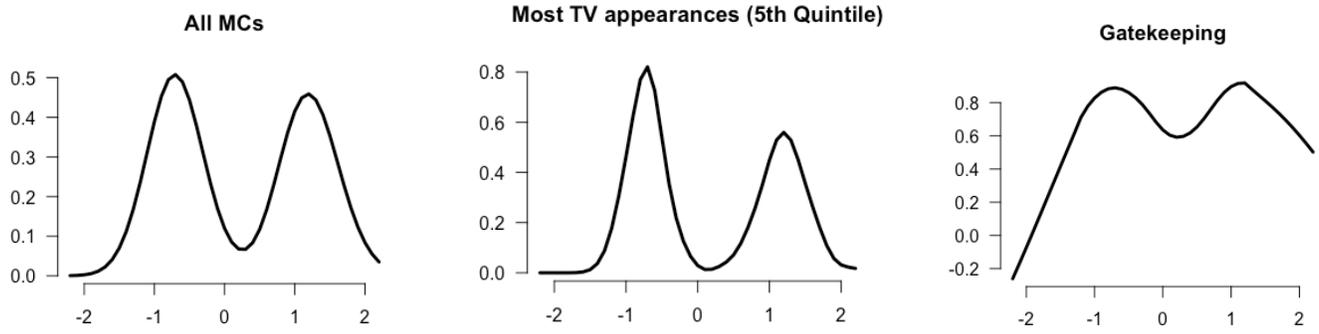
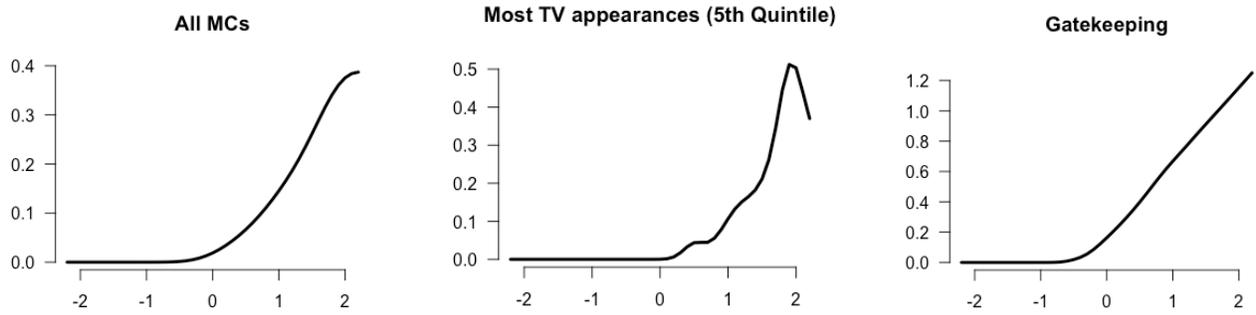


Figure A1.2. Gatekeeping function, distributions of ideological extremity.



Section 2: Methodological details for obtaining and processing news transcripts

Obtaining and classifying transcripts from LexisNexis Academic

Our analysis of the 91,083 identified transcripts, automated using a commissioned Python script that provided the html scraper with relevant parameters, proceeded in three stages.

First, we searched for the names of each House member in our database in ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC transcripts available in LexisNexis using a search string customized for each member (details follow in the sections below). The 1,777 searches yielded a total of 91,083 transcripts – 19,749 for the 109th House, 17,640 for the 110th House, 26,209 for the 111th House, and 27,485 for the 112th House – suitable for further analysis. The results for each member were saved in .html format, preparing them for computer aided content analysis using Beautiful Soup, a freely available open source html scraping program. Next, the transcripts (all transcripts in which it appeared a member was given the opportunity to speak) were examined for speakers with the same last name, and the first names associated with each speaker with that last name were identified. First names that unambiguously referenced the member were recorded and those that were ambiguous were checked by manually opening the transcript and searching for the first name to determine whether it referenced the member or someone else. All first names that were found to reference the member were recorded. For example, first stage of analysis for Rahm Emanuel’s 109th congressional transcripts returned four first names associated with a speaker with the last name Emanuel: “Rep.,” “Rahm,” “Michael,” and “Mike.” Both “Rep.” and “Rahm” referenced Rahm Emanuel while “Michael” and “Mike” referenced a Fox News correspondent. In this example, then, the first names “Rep.” and “Rahm” were recorded for second-stage analysis.

Second, we proceeded to identify the instances in which a member was granted the opportunity to speak on-air. Fortunately, broadcast and cable television news transcripts follow reliable formatting procedures with respect to how speakers are identified. These formatting procedures allow us to differentiate between instances in which a member is mentioned on a television news program and instances in which a member is given the opportunity to speak on a program. Transcripts for CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC identify each speaker on first reference by his or her first name, last name, title (if available and/or appropriate), and a colon; second and subsequent identifications of that speaker include only the speaker’s last name (accompanied by a first initial if more than one speaker with the same last name is present) and a colon. Further, first and subsequent identifications are presented in all capital letters (note: Although transcripts from ABC did not follow the particular formatting guidelines described here, the formatting used in ABC’s transcripts was equally formulaic.). Such formatting consistencies make it possible, through the use of computer-aided content analysis, to differentiate between mere mentions of a member and when a member is actually speaking.

In this stage, the relevant first names were included in the script parameters and the transcripts for each member were reexamined, analyzing only the statements made by the actual representative. By excluding all transcripts in which no member spoke, this first stage analysis winnowed the total number of transcripts in the analysis to 38,430, including 8,656 for the 109th Congress, 9,908 for the 110th Congress, 13,238 for the 111th Congress, and 14,416 for the 112th Congress.

In this stage, the Python script directed the html scraper to record, for each statement, the speaker’s name, the date of the statement, and the network on which the statement appeared. Data corresponding to a total of 243,205 statements (45,545 for the 109th Congress, 47,981 for the 110th Congress, 68,420 for the 111th Congress, and 81,259 for the 112th Congress) were automatically exported and saved to tab delineated files. Once these files were combined, the data were transformed from the unit of observation – the individual statement – to the unit of analysis – the individual member – in preparation for statistical analysis.

Search String Specification

The search string created for each member followed the following format: (“LN” AND “FN LN”) AND ((“LN” w/p (“rep.” OR “representative” OR “congress!”)) where LN represents the member’s last name and FN represents the member’s first name.

Though technically redundant, the operator "FN LN" - combined with the later operators - would be sufficient to identify transcripts in which that particular representative was mentioned or spoke. The other part of that search term, "LN," was used to highlight all instances of that representative's last name within the document. Having all instances of the representative's last name was useful because speakers were identified by the full name on their first speaking turn and by their last name only on subsequent speaking turns. Having all instances of the person's whole and last name served the purpose of allowing us to examine transcripts manually to verify that the speaker was actually the congressional representative and not someone else with an identical name.

An “!” immediately following a word indicates trailing letters were permitted; for example, searching for “congress!” would also yield results for “congressman,” “congresswoman,” “congressperson,” and “congressional” (as in “congressional representative”), etc. For members with commonly known nicknames or with first names that have commonly known variations (e.g., Steven and Steve or Michael and Mike, etc.), all variations were included in the search string.

Section 3. Alternative specifications, assessing effects by congressional session

Our main analyses do not control for individual Congress, though we cluster standard errors by Congress in each case. It is possible that polarization of televised statements changes across time, given increasing trends in polarization in American politics and the back-and-forth control of the House from the major parties (Republicans in 2005-07, Democrats from 2007-11, Republicans from 2011-13). Each of the tables below analyzes a single Congress (109th, 110th, 111th, 112th). As such, these models do not contain standard errors clustered by Congress. Figures A3.1-9 give the predicted probabilities for each quintile in each Congress across each network, showing a general increase in ideological gatekeeping from the 109th Congress (2005-07, Tables A3.1 and A3.2), and the 112th Congress (2011-13, Tables A3.7 and A3.8). Figures A3.1 through A3.9 show the changes across time by network, total, and type (cable or broadcast). These changes over time are substantial and clearly move in a consistent direction, and future research should examine time periods before and after ours to better determine whether these dynamics constitute a clear over-time trend.

Table A3.1. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology), 109th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (liberal to conservative) (1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	1.331** (0.023)	1.224** (0.023)	2.428** (0.126)	1.385** (0.037)	0.775** (0.027)	1.788** (0.071)	2.621** (0.314)	2.007** (0.214)	2.502** (0.176)
3 rd quintile	1.569** (0.026)	1.544** (0.027)	1.959** (0.106)	2.051** (0.052)	0.689** (0.024)	2.185** (0.085)	2.909** (0.356)	2.753** (0.262)	1.336** (0.106)
4 th quintile	1.490** (0.026)	1.514** (0.028)	1.488** (0.084)	1.777** (0.048)	1.033 (0.033)	1.896** (0.077)	2.239** (0.276)	3.305** (0.338)	0.675** (0.058)
5 th quintile	2.145** (0.041)	2.243** (0.045)	1.625** (0.102)	2.194** (0.066)	2.126** (0.070)	2.353** (0.108)	2.537** (0.340)	3.443** (0.395)	0.837 (0.079)
Seniority	1.058** (0.001)	1.058** (0.001)	1.061** (0.002)	1.063** (0.001)	1.050** (0.001)	1.058** (0.001)	1.051** (0.004)	1.100** (0.003)	1.036** (0.003)
Leadership	4.006** (0.063)	3.657** (0.063)	7.222** (0.297)	3.610** (0.093)	3.698** (0.109)	3.647** (0.139)	11.729** (0.881)	3.526** (0.317)	8.317** (0.517)
Legislative activity	1.022** (0.001)	1.025** (0.001)	0.994 (0.005)	1.003 (0.002)	1.059** (0.003)	1.027** (0.003)	1.009 (0.010)	1.001 (0.007)	0.960** (0.010)
Press releases sent	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.006** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.007** (0.000)	1.006** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.914** (0.045)	1.813** (0.046)	2.848** (0.175)	1.636** (0.064)	1.417** (0.068)	2.780** (0.127)	0.499+ (0.146)	1.245 (0.207)	5.210** (0.367)
Female	0.813** (0.014)	0.863** (0.016)	0.417** (0.030)	0.865** (0.023)	0.744** (0.026)	1.040 (0.039)	0.632** (0.078)	0.672** (0.079)	0.207** (0.029)
Minority	1.699** (0.026)	1.827** (0.029)	0.822** (0.048)	2.088** (0.047)	1.459** (0.045)	1.779** (0.061)	1.013 (0.121)	1.452** (0.141)	0.486** (0.045)
Ethics investigation	3.462** (0.076)	3.804** (0.087)	1.654** (0.132)	2.783** (0.103)	4.804** (0.189)	4.995** (0.223)	3.212** (0.354)	0.894 (0.176)	0.997 (0.176)
Constant	25.713** (0.486)	22.846** (0.455)	2.562** (0.155)	9.278** (0.273)	10.373** (0.357)	3.862** (0.171)	0.467** (0.063)	0.328** (0.040)	2.268** (0.187)
Observations	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.2. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideological extremity), 109th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (least to most extreme)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	0.804** (0.014)	0.786** (0.015)	0.876* (0.040)	0.801** (0.020)	0.910+ (0.038)	0.680** (0.026)	0.592** (0.060)	0.428** (0.039)	1.477** (0.099)
3 rd quintile	0.763** (0.013)	0.799** (0.014)	0.514** (0.025)	0.660** (0.016)	1.324** (0.049)	0.735** (0.026)	0.422** (0.045)	0.429** (0.036)	0.634** (0.048)
4 th quintile	1.066** (0.017)	1.128** (0.019)	0.679** (0.032)	0.981 (0.023)	1.982** (0.071)	0.844** (0.030)	0.656** (0.063)	0.816* (0.062)	0.586** (0.045)
5 th quintile	1.221** (0.021)	1.320** (0.024)	0.612** (0.033)	0.975 (0.026)	2.954** (0.108)	0.896* (0.035)	0.636** (0.068)	0.806+ (0.071)	0.493** (0.045)
Seniority	1.052** (0.001)	1.052** (0.001)	1.054** (0.002)	1.055** (0.001)	1.048** (0.001)	1.049** (0.001)	1.041** (0.003)	1.085** (0.003)	1.036** (0.003)
Leadership	3.682** (0.059)	3.351** (0.058)	7.067** (0.299)	3.204** (0.083)	3.492** (0.103)	3.426** (0.132)	10.969** (0.845)	3.021** (0.275)	8.641** (0.549)
Legislative activity	1.034** (0.001)	1.037** (0.001)	1.009 (0.005)	1.022** (0.002)	1.055** (0.002)	1.041** (0.003)	1.035** (0.010)	1.034** (0.007)	0.954** (0.011)
Press releases sent	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.006** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.007** (0.000)	1.006** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.842** (0.043)	1.743** (0.044)	2.726** (0.168)	1.519** (0.059)	1.511** (0.072)	2.555** (0.117)	0.447* (0.130)	1.057 (0.175)	5.447** (0.387)
Female	0.746** (0.013)	0.789** (0.014)	0.383** (0.028)	0.765** (0.020)	0.719** (0.025)	0.940 (0.035)	0.557** (0.068)	0.586** (0.068)	0.201** (0.028)
Minority	1.455** (0.020)	1.545** (0.022)	0.730** (0.040)	1.643** (0.033)	1.561** (0.042)	1.346** (0.042)	0.779+ (0.087)	0.910 (0.081)	0.559** (0.051)
Ethics investigation	3.342** (0.072)	3.657** (0.083)	1.608** (0.126)	2.786** (0.101)	3.987** (0.154)	5.400** (0.240)	3.364** (0.355)	1.060 (0.204)	0.812 (0.143)
Constant	43.378** (0.641)	37.134** (0.587)	6.543** (0.274)	19.921** (0.432)	7.141** (0.247)	9.795** (0.317)	1.863** (0.158)	1.492** (0.107)	3.332** (0.220)
Observations	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439	439

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.3. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology), 110th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (liberal to conservative)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	0.928** (0.016)	0.914** (0.016)	1.049 (0.051)	0.712** (0.018)	1.056 (0.039)	1.407** (0.053)	0.840 (0.079)	0.982 (0.078)	1.315** (0.108)
3 rd quintile	0.786** (0.015)	0.799** (0.017)	0.704** (0.043)	0.768** (0.021)	0.689** (0.033)	1.009 (0.044)	0.702* (0.081)	0.666** (0.065)	0.758* (0.081)
4 th quintile	1.666** (0.029)	1.833** (0.034)	0.480** (0.034)	2.068** (0.050)	1.102+ (0.047)	2.119** (0.086)	0.687* (0.084)	0.539** (0.059)	0.258** (0.039)
5 th quintile	2.352** (0.040)	2.496** (0.045)	1.326** (0.075)	2.527** (0.059)	3.496** (0.129)	1.468** (0.065)	1.670** (0.172)	1.010 (0.096)	1.459** (0.143)
Seniority	1.025** (0.001)	1.023** (0.001)	1.036** (0.002)	1.027** (0.001)	1.025** (0.001)	1.009** (0.001)	1.047** (0.004)	1.032** (0.003)	1.031** (0.003)
Leadership	4.096** (0.065)	3.915** (0.066)	5.921** (0.274)	3.416** (0.078)	6.371** (0.200)	2.865** (0.121)	6.493** (0.539)	4.007** (0.345)	7.775** (0.577)
Legislative activity	1.023** (0.000)	1.023** (0.000)	1.020** (0.001)	1.028** (0.000)	1.020** (0.001)	1.010** (0.001)	1.020** (0.002)	1.021** (0.002)	1.020** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	0.882+ (0.054)	0.793** (0.052)	3.382** (0.621)	0.648** (0.058)	1.541* (0.213)	0.745+ (0.101)	0.000 (0.000)	2.489* (0.782)	12.075** (3.036)
Female	0.717** (0.012)	0.727** (0.012)	0.627** (0.035)	0.596** (0.014)	0.784** (0.028)	1.069+ (0.034)	1.070 (0.096)	0.667** (0.059)	0.303** (0.037)
Minority	1.389** (0.021)	1.396** (0.022)	1.384** (0.064)	1.690** (0.035)	0.990 (0.037)	1.144** (0.040)	1.488** (0.127)	1.144 (0.088)	1.590** (0.125)
Ethics investigation	1.133** (0.037)	1.129** (0.039)	1.199 (0.113)	0.752** (0.034)	1.617** (0.121)	2.488** (0.191)	1.702** (0.266)	1.212 (0.192)	0.745 (0.140)
Constant	33.289** (0.634)	29.692** (0.597)	3.487** (0.209)	14.492** (0.387)	6.745** (0.291)	9.264** (0.412)	0.773+ (0.087)	1.530** (0.146)	1.192 (0.126)
Observations	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	448

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.4. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideological extremity), 110th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) CBS	(8) NBC
Ideology (least to most extreme)								
(1 st quintile omitted)								
2 nd quintile	1.316** (0.025)	1.276** (0.026)	1.562** (0.086)	1.362** (0.038)	1.569** (0.073)	1.029 (0.040)	1.763** (0.163)	1.537** (0.136)
3 rd quintile	1.873** (0.034)	1.996** (0.038)	0.955 (0.059)	2.303** (0.061)	1.570** (0.075)	1.857** (0.066)	0.984 (0.102)	0.756* (0.077)
4 th quintile	1.615** (0.030)	1.687** (0.033)	1.014 (0.062)	2.024** (0.055)	1.780** (0.083)	1.059 (0.041)	1.618** (0.155)	0.465** (0.054)
5 th quintile	3.402** (0.059)	3.577** (0.065)	1.987** (0.113)	4.018** (0.102)	6.430** (0.265)	1.402** (0.052)	1.788** (0.176)	1.657** (0.155)
Seniority	1.021** (0.001)	1.019** (0.001)	1.037** (0.002)	1.023** (0.001)	1.021** (0.001)	1.005** (0.001)	1.031** (0.003)	1.035** (0.003)
Leadership	4.416** (0.071)	4.276** (0.073)	5.765** (0.269)	3.709** (0.087)	6.655** (0.212)	3.335** (0.143)	3.554** (0.309)	8.162** (0.613)
Legislative activity	1.020** (0.000)	1.019** (0.000)	1.025** (0.001)	1.023** (0.000)	1.020** (0.001)	1.005** (0.001)	1.025** (0.002)	1.030** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.005** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.087 (0.067)	1.006 (0.066)	2.410** (0.432)	0.904 (0.081)	1.795** (0.248)	0.796 (0.108)	2.253* (0.699)	4.858** (1.099)
Female	0.710** (0.012)	0.720** (0.012)	0.616** (0.034)	0.573** (0.014)	0.807** (0.029)	1.080+ (0.035)	0.667** (0.059)	0.270** (0.033)
Minority	1.230** (0.017)	1.195** (0.018)	1.633** (0.070)	1.423** (0.027)	1.043 (0.037)	0.834** (0.027)	1.405** (0.101)	1.813** (0.132)
Ethics investigation	1.201** (0.039)	1.214** (0.042)	1.066 (0.101)	0.847** (0.038)	1.695** (0.126)	2.695** (0.208)	1.191 (0.185)	0.533* (0.104)
Constant	26.815** (0.429)	24.632** (0.416)	2.138** (0.106)	10.968** (0.259)	4.104** (0.165)	11.952** (0.374)	0.816+ (0.068)	0.815+ (0.067)
Observations	448	448	448	448	448	448	448	448

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.5. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology), 111th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (liberal to conservative)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	0.865** (0.011)	0.801** (0.011)	1.968** (0.087)	0.958+ (0.021)	0.824** (0.024)	0.646** (0.014)	1.328** (0.112)	1.918** (0.133)	2.851** (0.226)
3 rd quintile	0.613** (0.010)	0.570** (0.009)	1.418** (0.082)	0.735** (0.019)	0.791** (0.026)	0.334** (0.009)	0.986 (0.110)	0.868 (0.084)	3.361** (0.327)
4 th quintile	0.698** (0.012)	0.654** (0.012)	1.511** (0.088)	0.931* (0.025)	0.978 (0.034)	0.295** (0.010)	1.365* (0.145)	0.871 (0.084)	3.202** (0.322)
5 th quintile	2.086** (0.027)	1.977** (0.026)	3.958** (0.184)	2.758** (0.058)	2.971** (0.080)	0.882** (0.021)	3.334** (0.284)	2.786** (0.209)	7.200** (0.595)
Seniority	1.002** (0.000)	0.998** (0.000)	1.039** (0.001)	1.015** (0.001)	0.988** (0.001)	0.985** (0.001)	1.033** (0.003)	1.047** (0.002)	1.034** (0.003)
Leadership	6.464** (0.075)	5.731** (0.073)	15.781** (0.496)	5.654** (0.111)	7.291** (0.167)	4.621** (0.113)	15.047** (0.900)	9.914** (0.525)	27.040** (1.437)
Legislative activity	1.041** (0.000)	1.042** (0.000)	1.032** (0.001)	1.044** (0.000)	1.037** (0.001)	1.043** (0.000)	1.031** (0.002)	1.028** (0.002)	1.039** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	2.374** (0.035)	2.395** (0.037)	2.230** (0.123)	2.256** (0.056)	1.905** (0.061)	3.185** (0.081)	2.149** (0.234)	2.656** (0.217)	1.794** (0.184)
Female	0.572** (0.008)	0.560** (0.008)	0.786** (0.035)	0.584** (0.013)	0.441** (0.014)	0.640** (0.014)	1.046 (0.081)	0.466** (0.041)	0.967 (0.071)
Minority	0.877** (0.011)	0.877** (0.012)	0.903+ (0.043)	0.917** (0.020)	1.028 (0.029)	0.741** (0.017)	0.872 (0.078)	0.654** (0.053)	1.353** (0.108)
Ethics investigation	3.050** (0.050)	3.011** (0.052)	3.828** (0.215)	2.955** (0.080)	3.254** (0.104)	2.996** (0.093)	4.561** (0.446)	2.592** (0.269)	4.755** (0.438)
Constant	54.380** (0.812)	53.957** (0.832)	1.679** (0.100)	13.514** (0.340)	14.246** (0.460)	29.512** (0.726)	0.598** (0.065)	0.914 (0.085)	0.272** (0.030)
Observations	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.6. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideological extremity), 111th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (least to most extreme)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	1.594** (0.021)	1.579** (0.022)	1.879** (0.083)	1.510** (0.034)	1.335** (0.037)	1.881** (0.043)	1.420** (0.124)	2.366** (0.164)	1.724** (0.130)
3 rd quintile	1.037+ (0.016)	1.042+ (0.017)	1.079 (0.057)	1.176** (0.030)	1.052 (0.034)	0.880** (0.027)	0.964 (0.099)	0.916 (0.083)	1.310* (0.114)
4 th quintile	1.212** (0.017)	1.267** (0.019)	0.811** (0.042)	1.148** (0.028)	1.108** (0.033)	1.553** (0.038)	1.264+ (0.115)	0.756* (0.064)	0.541** (0.053)
5 th quintile	2.989** (0.037)	3.021** (0.039)	2.839** (0.119)	3.311** (0.068)	3.479** (0.084)	2.169** (0.052)	2.922** (0.233)	2.611** (0.180)	3.033** (0.215)
Seniority	1.003** (0.000)	1.000 (0.000)	1.035** (0.001)	1.015** (0.001)	0.988** (0.001)	0.991** (0.001)	1.028** (0.003)	1.047** (0.002)	1.025** (0.002)
Leadership	6.858** (0.078)	6.123** (0.077)	15.262** (0.452)	5.939** (0.115)	7.448** (0.169)	5.243** (0.126)	14.757** (0.843)	10.841** (0.557)	22.372** (1.085)
Legislative activity	1.042** (0.000)	1.043** (0.000)	1.028** (0.001)	1.044** (0.000)	1.036** (0.001)	1.048** (0.000)	1.028** (0.002)	1.027** (0.002)	1.031** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	2.271** (0.034)	2.241** (0.035)	2.542** (0.140)	2.274** (0.056)	1.919** (0.061)	2.494** (0.063)	2.211** (0.241)	2.959** (0.242)	2.315** (0.236)
Female	0.595** (0.008)	0.584** (0.008)	0.715** (0.033)	0.571** (0.013)	0.440** (0.013)	0.722** (0.016)	1.035 (0.080)	0.453** (0.041)	0.714** (0.054)
Minority	0.940** (0.012)	0.967+ (0.012)	0.684** (0.031)	0.918** (0.019)	1.020 (0.027)	0.990 (0.021)	0.794* (0.066)	0.547** (0.043)	0.784* (0.059)
Ethics investigation	2.793** (0.046)	2.789** (0.048)	2.833** (0.161)	2.604** (0.071)	3.052** (0.098)	2.779** (0.086)	3.755** (0.368)	1.760** (0.187)	3.494** (0.326)
Constant	34.985** (0.411)	32.294** (0.396)	2.498** (0.105)	10.610** (0.211)	11.767** (0.275)	10.533** (0.222)	0.716** (0.056)	0.907 (0.062)	0.839+ (0.061)
Observations	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.7. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology), 112th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	0.939** (0.012)	0.907** (0.012)	1.495** (0.072)	1.307** (0.032)	1.059+ (0.031)	0.648** (0.012)	0.630** (0.059)	1.371** (0.121)	2.794** (0.226)
3 rd quintile	0.532** (0.010)	0.494** (0.010)	1.186* (0.075)	0.937+ (0.030)	0.998 (0.036)	0.163** (0.006)	1.206 (0.117)	1.136 (0.134)	1.073 (0.129)
4 th quintile	0.641** (0.010)	0.606** (0.010)	1.167* (0.065)	1.216** (0.032)	1.465** (0.045)	0.126** (0.005)	0.437** (0.049)	1.193 (0.120)	2.274** (0.209)
5 th quintile	2.534** (0.029)	2.385** (0.028)	4.963** (0.218)	4.318** (0.093)	5.626** (0.139)	0.691** (0.013)	2.695** (0.204)	7.733** (0.584)	5.603** (0.446)
Seniority	1.026** (0.000)	1.025** (0.000)	1.034** (0.001)	1.037** (0.001)	1.022** (0.001)	1.014** (0.001)	1.033** (0.002)	1.041** (0.002)	1.028** (0.002)
Leadership	4.559** (0.049)	4.236** (0.049)	7.748** (0.233)	4.427** (0.083)	5.141** (0.106)	3.394** (0.075)	5.006** (0.322)	8.202** (0.387)	9.666** (0.477)
Legislative activity	1.019** (0.000)	1.021** (0.000)	0.996** (0.001)	1.028** (0.000)	1.020** (0.001)	1.012** (0.001)	0.967** (0.002)	0.997 (0.002)	1.009** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.170** (0.027)	1.051+ (0.026)	2.331** (0.128)	1.287** (0.050)	1.481** (0.062)	0.557** (0.030)	0.893 (0.137)	1.319+ (0.152)	4.935** (0.347)
Female	1.075** (0.011)	1.087** (0.012)	0.998 (0.038)	1.048+ (0.020)	0.695** (0.016)	1.480** (0.025)	0.870 (0.070)	1.307** (0.080)	0.883+ (0.056)
Minority	1.135** (0.014)	1.150** (0.014)	0.817** (0.040)	1.003 (0.023)	2.407** (0.052)	0.737** (0.015)	0.660** (0.061)	0.806+ (0.070)	1.011 (0.080)
Ethics investigation	0.974 (0.017)	1.034 (0.018)	0.442** (0.034)	0.900** (0.027)	1.133** (0.033)	1.073+ (0.034)	0.355** (0.065)	0.408** (0.053)	0.505** (0.058)
Constant	65.504** (0.885)	60.707** (0.850)	4.629** (0.242)	10.976** (0.276)	9.832** (0.285)	55.059** (1.202)	3.582** (0.326)	1.150 (0.103)	1.038 (0.096)
Observations	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.8. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideological extremity), 112th Congress.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (least to most extreme)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	2.439** (0.047)	2.701** (0.056)	1.234** (0.065)	1.811** (0.058)	4.224** (0.200)	2.959** (0.102)	1.132 (0.108)	1.520** (0.164)	1.158 (0.090)
3 rd quintile	1.507** (0.031)	1.649** (0.037)	0.821* (0.050)	1.639** (0.054)	1.922** (0.099)	1.483** (0.056)	0.531** (0.066)	1.219 (0.143)	0.832+ (0.075)
4 th quintile	2.054** (0.040)	2.290** (0.049)	0.883+ (0.049)	1.103* (0.038)	4.969** (0.235)	2.561** (0.090)	1.031 (0.100)	1.372* (0.149)	0.579** (0.052)
5 th quintile	5.468** (0.099)	5.861** (0.116)	3.670** (0.165)	5.023** (0.147)	12.168** (0.554)	3.682** (0.124)	3.076** (0.251)	7.240** (0.678)	2.511** (0.168)
Seniority	1.026** (0.000)	1.026** (0.000)	1.029** (0.001)	1.033** (0.001)	1.014** (0.001)	1.027** (0.001)	1.030** (0.002)	1.034** (0.002)	1.024** (0.002)
Leadership	4.855** (0.052)	4.526** (0.052)	7.976** (0.236)	4.434** (0.082)	5.003** (0.102)	4.280** (0.093)	5.244** (0.334)	8.545** (0.397)	9.608** (0.466)
Legislative activity	1.018** (0.000)	1.020** (0.000)	0.996** (0.001)	1.029** (0.000)	1.019** (0.001)	1.010** (0.001)	0.970** (0.002)	0.997 (0.002)	1.009** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.001** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.310** (0.030)	1.195** (0.030)	2.354** (0.129)	1.373** (0.054)	1.605** (0.067)	0.733** (0.040)	0.911 (0.140)	1.359* (0.157)	4.866** (0.343)
Female	1.097** (0.012)	1.114** (0.012)	0.962 (0.037)	0.976 (0.019)	0.619** (0.015)	1.862** (0.031)	0.858 (0.068)	1.201* (0.074)	0.845* (0.054)
Minority	1.230** (0.014)	1.272** (0.015)	0.744** (0.036)	0.860** (0.019)	2.005** (0.040)	1.225** (0.023)	0.749* (0.068)	0.706** (0.060)	0.779* (0.060)
Ethics investigation	1.076** (0.018)	1.147** (0.020)	0.465** (0.036)	0.938+ (0.029)	1.343** (0.040)	1.163** (0.036)	0.385** (0.070)	0.438** (0.057)	0.540** (0.062)
Constant	29.240** (0.535)	23.753** (0.475)	6.330** (0.299)	9.492** (0.283)	4.579** (0.211)	9.325** (0.313)	2.999** (0.257)	1.263+ (0.123)	2.395** (0.172)
Observations	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445	445

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.9. Predictors of statements by ideology interacted with Congress (109th – 112th).

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
2nd quintile	0.993 (0.016)	0.918** (0.016)	1.678** (0.071)	1.013 (0.025)	0.664** (0.022)	1.301** (0.048)	1.647** (0.153)	0.854 (0.074)	2.283** (0.136)
3rd quintile	1.181** (0.017)	1.152** (0.018)	1.471** (0.064)	1.422** (0.030)	0.686** (0.021)	1.503** (0.052)	1.767** (0.159)	1.451** (0.105)	1.332** (0.090)
4th quintile	1.023 (0.014)	1.026 (0.015)	1.003 (0.043)	1.099** (0.024)	0.929* (0.025)	1.235** (0.042)	1.651** (0.137)	1.151+ (0.082)	0.591** (0.044)
5th quintile	1.269** (0.020)	1.288** (0.021)	1.098 (0.055)	1.193** (0.030)	1.607** (0.043)	1.209** (0.047)	1.614** (0.160)	1.164 (0.099)	0.804* (0.065)
110th (2007-09)	0.538** (0.008)	0.507** (0.008)	0.862** (0.035)	0.568** (0.012)	0.334** (0.010)	0.533** (0.020)	1.472** (0.116)	0.808* (0.056)	0.620** (0.040)
111th (2009-11)	0.887** (0.011)	0.900** (0.012)	0.776** (0.030)	0.641** (0.013)	0.579** (0.015)	2.585** (0.078)	1.367** (0.103)	0.776** (0.051)	0.486** (0.031)
112th (2011-13)	1.034* (0.013)	1.073** (0.015)	0.599** (0.028)	0.516** (0.012)	0.657** (0.017)	3.844** (0.112)	1.170 (0.099)	0.514** (0.041)	0.398** (0.032)
2nd quintile * 110th	0.907** (0.019)	0.975 (0.023)	0.579** (0.033)	0.727** (0.024)	1.658** (0.076)	1.145* (0.057)	0.406** (0.049)	1.283+ (0.140)	0.503** (0.044)
2nd quintile * 111th	0.986 (0.019)	1.013 (0.021)	0.923 (0.050)	1.048 (0.032)	1.500** (0.062)	0.558** (0.023)	0.653** (0.074)	2.310** (0.238)	0.724** (0.063)
2nd quintile * 112th	0.943* (0.019)	0.981 (0.021)	0.971 (0.060)	1.318** (0.044)	1.342** (0.057)	0.532** (0.022)	0.513** (0.064)	2.025** (0.239)	1.130 (0.110)
3rd quintile * 110th	0.681** (0.015)	0.717** (0.017)	0.465** (0.031)	0.596** (0.019)	1.064 (0.055)	0.791** (0.041)	0.310** (0.040)	0.537** (0.059)	0.548** (0.060)
3rd quintile * 111th	0.633** (0.012)	0.631** (0.013)	0.651** (0.041)	0.604** (0.019)	1.532** (0.063)	0.288** (0.012)	0.398** (0.050)	0.598** (0.065)	1.033 (0.103)
3rd quintile * 112th	0.434** (0.010)	0.408** (0.010)	0.943 (0.069)	0.651** (0.024)	1.203** (0.055)	0.105** (0.005)	1.010 (0.127)	0.839 (0.111)	0.847 (0.112)
4th quintile * 110th	1.603** (0.031)	1.792** (0.037)	0.433** (0.031)	1.974** (0.055)	1.316** (0.057)	1.999** (0.094)	0.274** (0.035)	0.514** (0.059)	0.471** (0.066)
4th quintile * 111th	0.731** (0.015)	0.708** (0.015)	0.981 (0.062)	0.899** (0.028)	1.235** (0.048)	0.254** (0.012)	0.564** (0.066)	0.767+ (0.083)	2.056** (0.220)
4th quintile * 112th	0.584** (0.012)	0.547** (0.011)	1.288** (0.087)	1.099* (0.035)	1.171** (0.044)	0.100** (0.005)	0.376** (0.050)	1.073 (0.126)	3.805** (0.425)
5th quintile * 110th	1.870** (0.037)	1.982** (0.041)	1.106 (0.072)	2.286** (0.068)	2.405** (0.090)	1.418** (0.075)	0.731+ (0.090)	0.993 (0.112)	1.646** (0.177)
5th quintile * 111th	1.811** (0.033)	1.740** (0.033)	2.612** (0.152)	2.503** (0.072)	2.320** (0.076)	0.752** (0.033)	1.476** (0.164)	2.468** (0.245)	4.399** (0.424)
5th quintile * 112th	1.896** (0.034)	1.741** (0.032)	5.064** (0.313)	3.635** (0.110)	2.659** (0.087)	0.558** (0.023)	2.194** (0.253)	7.328** (0.773)	6.764** (0.712)
Seniority	1.024** (0.000)	1.023** (0.000)	1.042** (0.001)	1.033** (0.000)	1.018** (0.000)	1.011** (0.000)	1.041** (0.001)	1.052** (0.001)	1.031** (0.001)
Leadership	4.925** (0.031)	4.540** (0.031)	8.915** (0.151)	4.400** (0.045)	5.445** (0.066)	3.880** (0.053)	8.829** (0.285)	7.088** (0.207)	11.284** (0.310)
Legislative activity	1.026** (0.000)	1.027** (0.000)	1.015** (0.001)	1.030** (0.000)	1.024** (0.000)	1.024** (0.000)	1.012** (0.001)	1.015** (0.001)	1.019** (0.001)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.834** (0.019)	1.775** (0.020)	2.457** (0.079)	1.705** (0.030)	1.623** (0.035)	2.005** (0.039)	1.282* (0.107)	1.875** (0.112)	3.963** (0.172)
Female	0.805** (0.005)	0.809** (0.006)	0.763** (0.018)	0.773** (0.009)	0.630** (0.009)	1.019 (0.012)	0.912+ (0.039)	0.823** (0.033)	0.625** (0.026)
Minority	1.132** (0.008)	1.148** (0.008)	0.955 (0.023)	1.253** (0.014)	1.448** (0.020)	0.851** (0.011)	0.961 (0.043)	0.934 (0.038)	0.968 (0.038)
Ethics investigation	1.619** (0.016)	1.660** (0.017)	1.265** (0.044)	1.386** (0.023)	1.857** (0.033)	1.784** (0.033)	1.891** (0.106)	0.979 (0.063)	1.120 (0.068)
Constant	57.634** (0.649)	53.494** (0.638)	4.305** (0.149)	20.901** (0.363)	18.527** (0.393)	11.625** (0.328)	0.873 (0.063)	1.390** (0.081)	2.101** (0.113)
Observations	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777

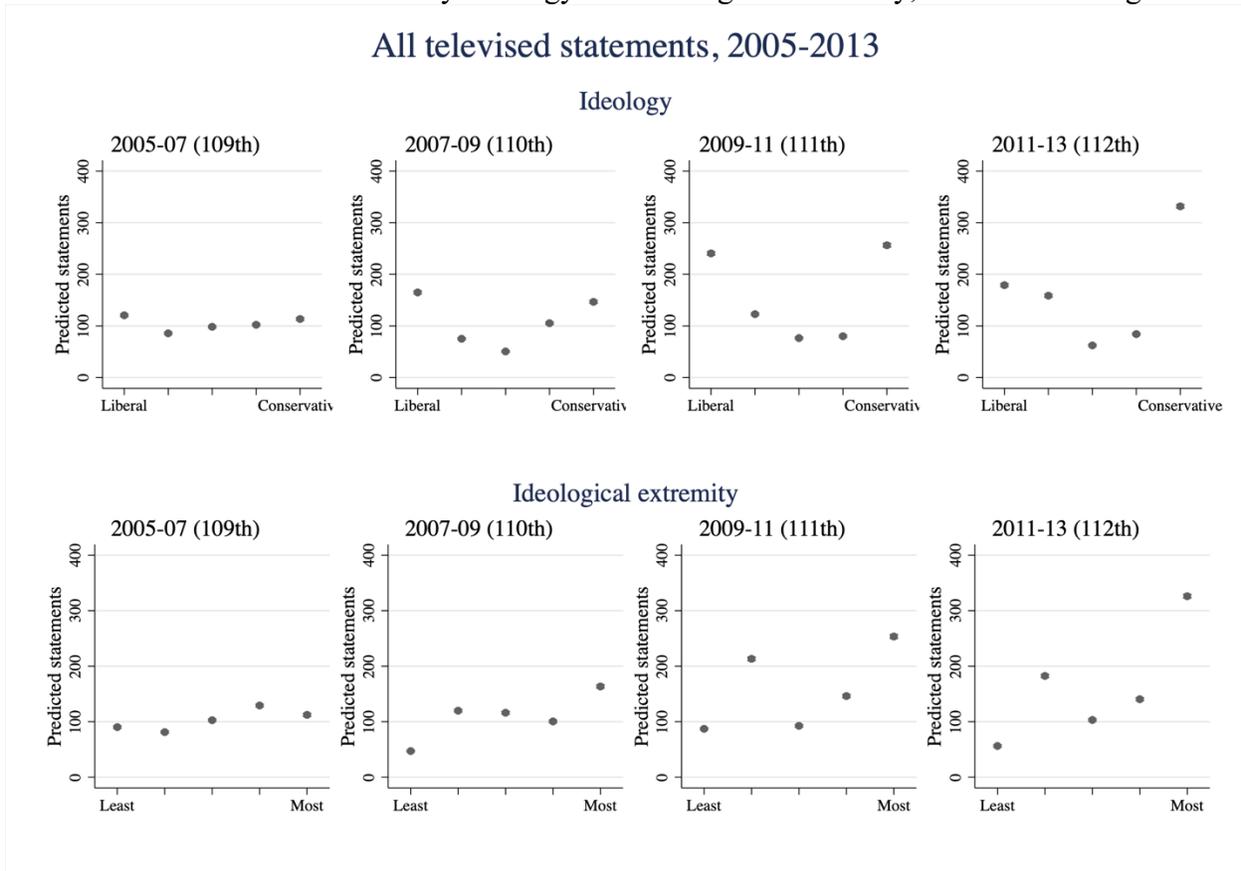
Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A3.10. Predictors of statements by ideological extremity interacted with Congress (109th – 112th).

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) ABC	(8) CBS	(9) NBC
Ideology (least to most extreme)									
(1 st quintile omitted)									
2 nd quintile	0.833** (0.014)	0.828** (0.015)	0.831** (0.038)	0.838** (0.021)	0.971 (0.040)	0.731** (0.027)	0.644** (0.064)	0.417** (0.038)	1.329** (0.087)
3 rd quintile	0.872** (0.013)	0.910** (0.015)	0.638** (0.028)	0.761** (0.017)	1.529** (0.054)	0.781** (0.027)	0.548** (0.050)	0.653** (0.047)	0.683** (0.046)
4 th quintile	1.063** (0.016)	1.136** (0.018)	0.623** (0.027)	0.958 (0.022)	2.025** (0.071)	0.912* (0.030)	0.860 (0.073)	0.630** (0.046)	0.478** (0.035)
5 th quintile	1.105** (0.019)	1.191** (0.021)	0.586** (0.031)	0.846** (0.022)	2.719** (0.097)	0.860** (0.033)	0.767* (0.078)	0.644** (0.055)	0.437** (0.038)
110th (2007-09)	0.364** (0.007)	0.369** (0.008)	0.339** (0.019)	0.320** (0.009)	0.355** (0.017)	0.492** (0.019)	0.368** (0.042)	0.334** (0.031)	0.327** (0.029)
111th (2009-11)	0.649** (0.010)	0.687** (0.012)	0.395** (0.019)	0.451** (0.011)	1.049 (0.038)	0.975 (0.031)	0.500** (0.048)	0.437** (0.035)	0.299** (0.024)
112th (2011-13)	0.409** (0.009)	0.391** (0.009)	0.509** (0.027)	0.322** (0.011)	0.385** (0.021)	0.563** (0.023)	0.708** (0.072)	0.318** (0.034)	0.551** (0.044)
2nd quintile * 110th	1.667** (0.041)	1.639** (0.043)	1.794** (0.123)	1.697** (0.061)	1.917** (0.115)	1.214** (0.063)	2.293** (0.325)	3.572** (0.448)	1.093 (0.114)
2nd quintile * 111th	1.702** (0.036)	1.689** (0.038)	2.042** (0.127)	1.569** (0.051)	1.230** (0.060)	2.339** (0.101)	2.104** (0.270)	4.461** (0.504)	1.346* (0.131)
2nd quintile * 112th	3.045** (0.077)	3.439** (0.095)	1.369** (0.092)	2.245** (0.090)	4.310** (0.270)	4.884** (0.246)	1.341+ (0.180)	4.033** (0.548)	0.791+ (0.078)
3rd quintile * 110th	1.917** (0.045)	1.909** (0.048)	1.776** (0.128)	2.650** (0.091)	0.939 (0.055)	1.847** (0.089)	2.834** (0.401)	1.669** (0.203)	1.317+ (0.154)
3rd quintile * 111th	1.013 (0.022)	0.954+ (0.022)	1.708** (0.115)	1.379** (0.046)	0.543** (0.026)	0.894+ (0.040)	1.780** (0.239)	1.290+ (0.147)	2.207** (0.236)
3rd quintile * 112th	1.757** (0.045)	1.878** (0.052)	1.074 (0.079)	2.195** (0.087)	1.254** (0.078)	2.123** (0.107)	0.688+ (0.105)	1.632** (0.221)	1.100 (0.121)
4th quintile * 110th	1.366** (0.032)	1.344** (0.034)	1.470** (0.106)	1.799** (0.062)	0.949 (0.054)	1.003 (0.051)	1.427+ (0.198)	1.991** (0.234)	0.968 (0.123)
4th quintile * 111th	1.112** (0.023)	1.063* (0.023)	1.567** (0.103)	1.237** (0.040)	0.484** (0.022)	1.566** (0.064)	1.690** (0.204)	1.455** (0.158)	1.435* (0.167)
4th quintile * 112th	1.967** (0.049)	2.086** (0.056)	1.231* (0.087)	1.237** (0.050)	2.416** (0.142)	3.046** (0.147)	0.960 (0.124)	1.907** (0.249)	1.092 (0.126)
5th quintile * 110th	3.109** (0.074)	3.070** (0.078)	3.012** (0.232)	4.665** (0.169)	2.511** (0.136)	1.753** (0.093)	3.253** (0.479)	2.431** (0.315)	3.421** (0.436)
5th quintile * 111th	2.464** (0.051)	2.272** (0.049)	5.134** (0.340)	3.625** (0.119)	1.230** (0.052)	2.053** (0.092)	3.844** (0.489)	4.159** (0.452)	7.925** (0.884)
5th quintile * 112th	4.903** (0.120)	4.903** (0.130)	5.935** (0.405)	6.242** (0.244)	4.216** (0.243)	4.288** (0.218)	3.490** (0.450)	11.089** (1.397)	5.384** (0.590)
Seniority	1.024** (0.000)	1.022** (0.000)	1.039** (0.001)	1.030** (0.000)	1.014** (0.000)	1.018** (0.000)	1.038** (0.001)	1.049** (0.001)	1.031** (0.001)
Leadership	5.055** (0.032)	4.658** (0.032)	9.222** (0.154)	4.386** (0.045)	5.353** (0.064)	4.394** (0.060)	8.883** (0.284)	7.383** (0.213)	11.840** (0.319)
Legislative activity	1.025** (0.000)	1.025** (0.000)	1.019** (0.001)	1.028** (0.000)	1.024** (0.000)	1.022** (0.000)	1.016** (0.001)	1.017** (0.001)	1.023** (0.001)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.883** (0.020)	1.825** (0.021)	2.511** (0.080)	1.749** (0.031)	1.711** (0.037)	2.058** (0.040)	1.227+ (0.102)	1.904** (0.113)	4.273** (0.186)
Female	0.823** (0.006)	0.830** (0.006)	0.751** (0.018)	0.738** (0.008)	0.605** (0.009)	1.213** (0.014)	0.915+ (0.039)	0.811** (0.032)	0.594** (0.024)
Minority	1.163** (0.007)	1.188** (0.008)	0.909** (0.021)	1.134** (0.011)	1.436** (0.018)	1.093** (0.013)	1.000 (0.043)	0.856** (0.033)	0.892* (0.034)
Ethics investigation	1.599** (0.016)	1.640** (0.017)	1.226** (0.042)	1.331** (0.022)	1.934** (0.035)	1.768** (0.033)	1.865** (0.104)	0.963 (0.062)	1.048 (0.063)
Constant	64.504** (0.808)	56.577** (0.762)	7.568** (0.260)	29.148** (0.531)	11.285** (0.351)	14.790** (0.392)	1.797** (0.128)	2.560** (0.145)	3.194** (0.175)
Observations	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777

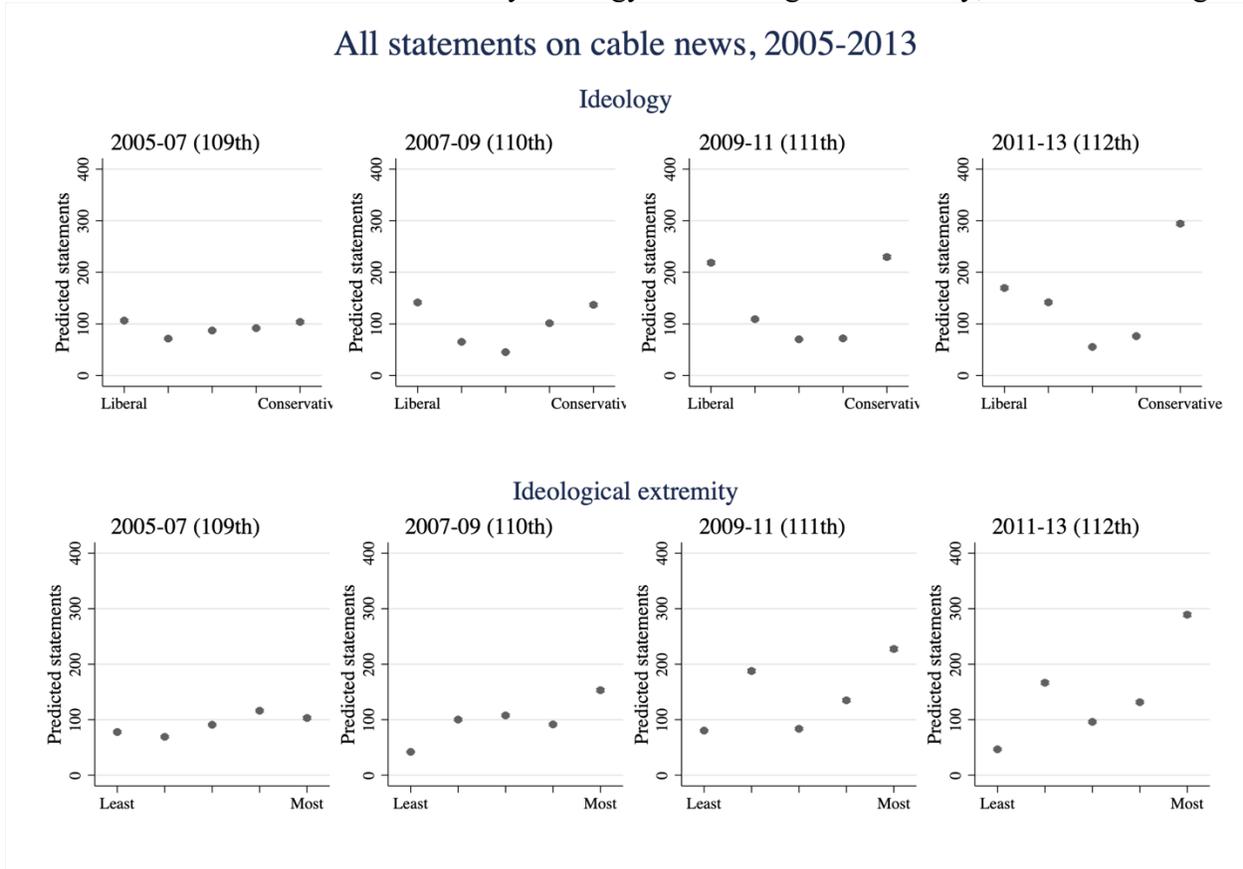
Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Figure A3.1. Total televised statements by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



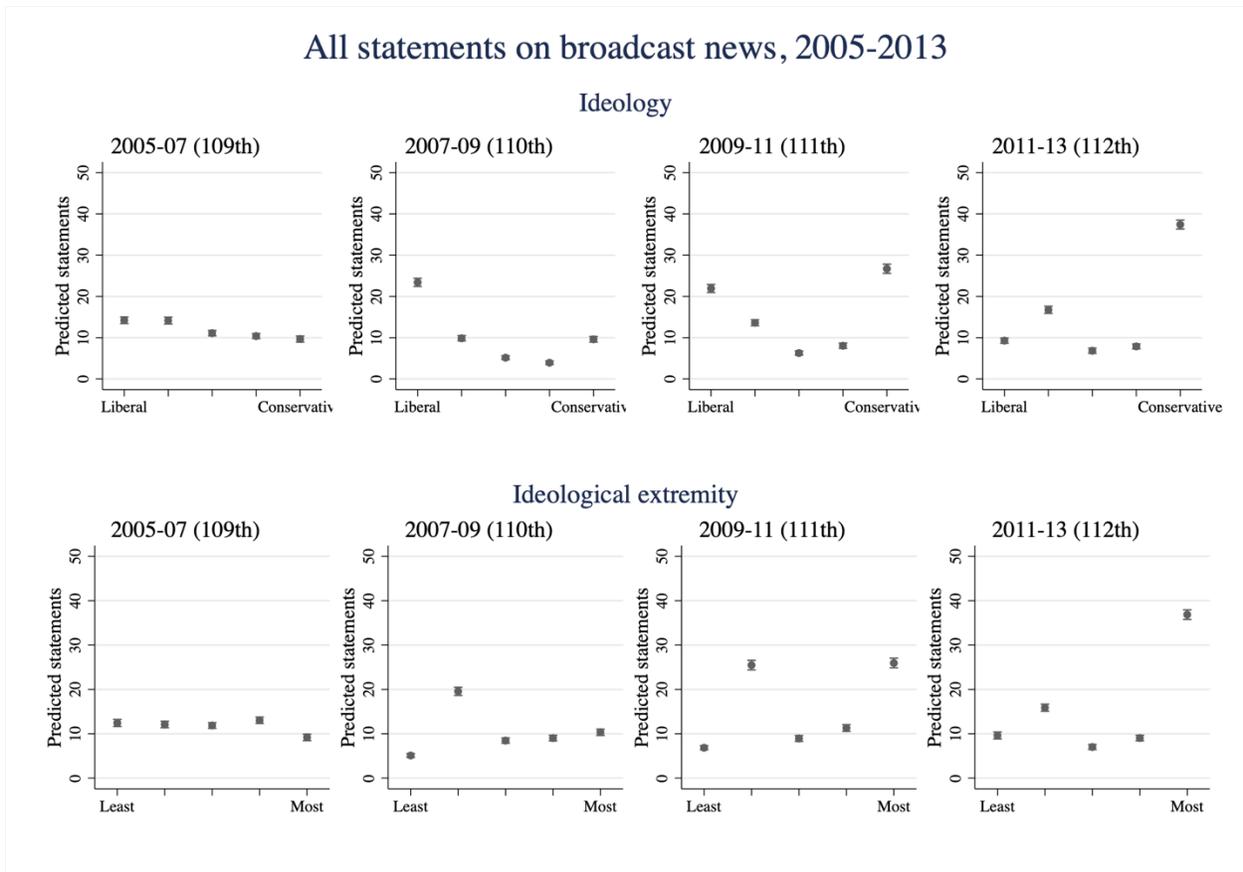
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.2. Total statements on cable news by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



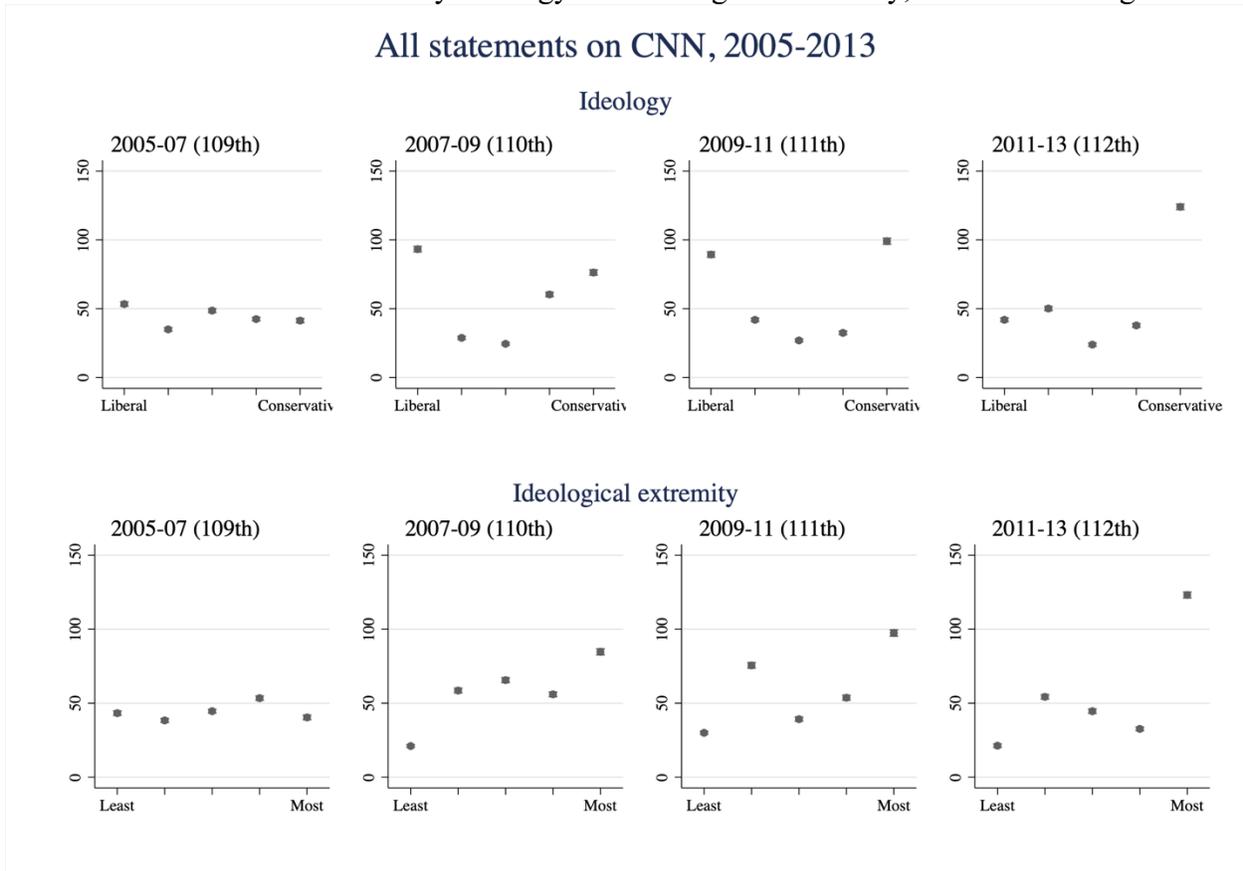
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.3. Total statements on broadcast news by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



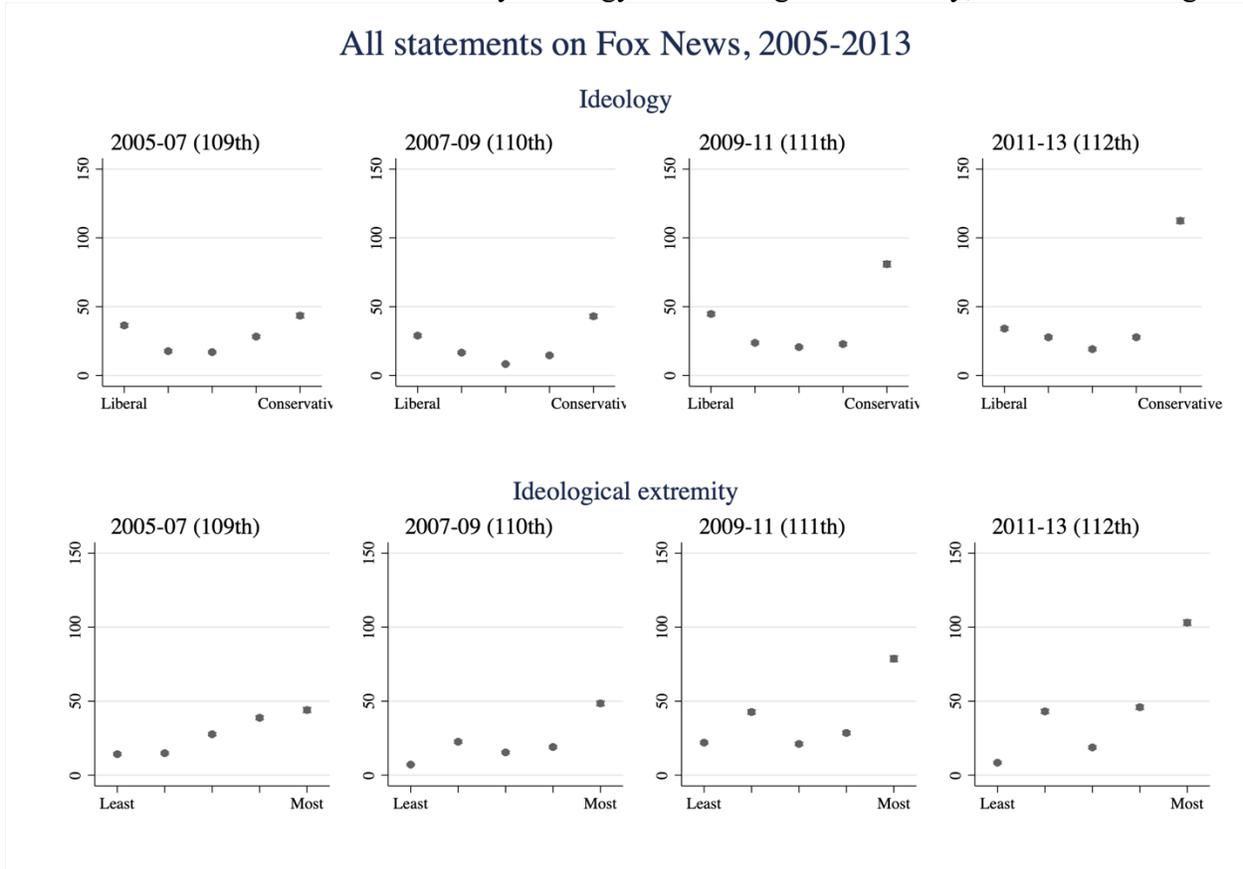
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.4. Total statements on CNN by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



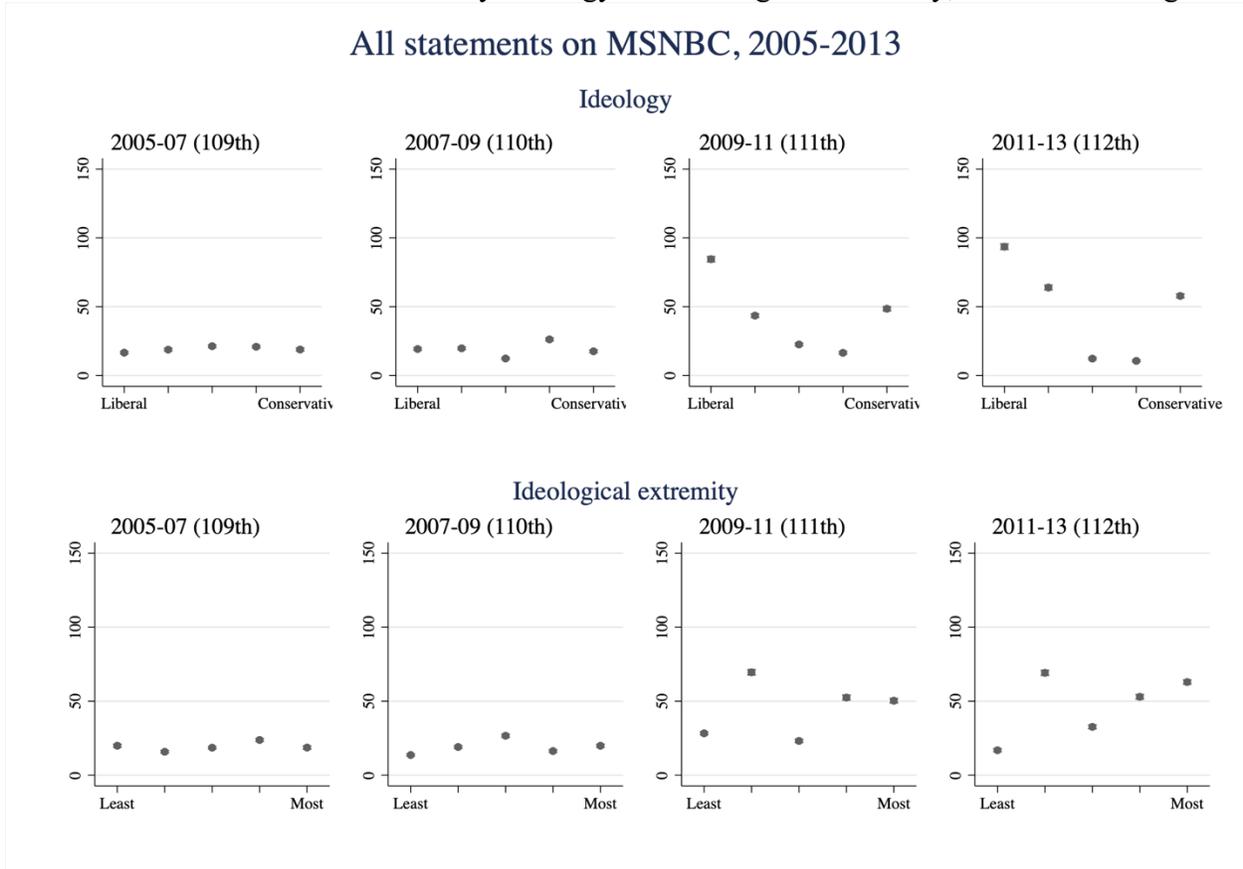
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.5. Total statements on Fox News by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



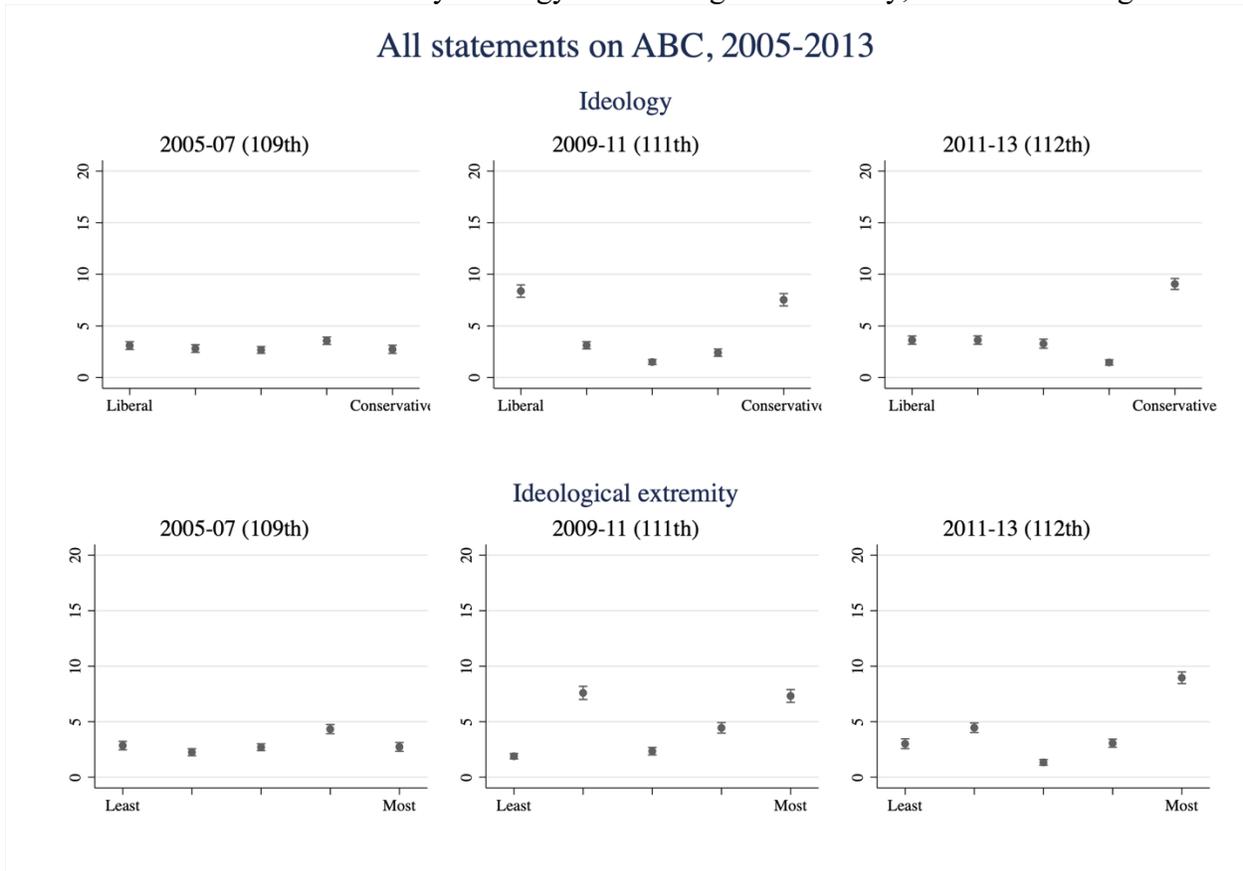
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.6. Total statements on MSNBC by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



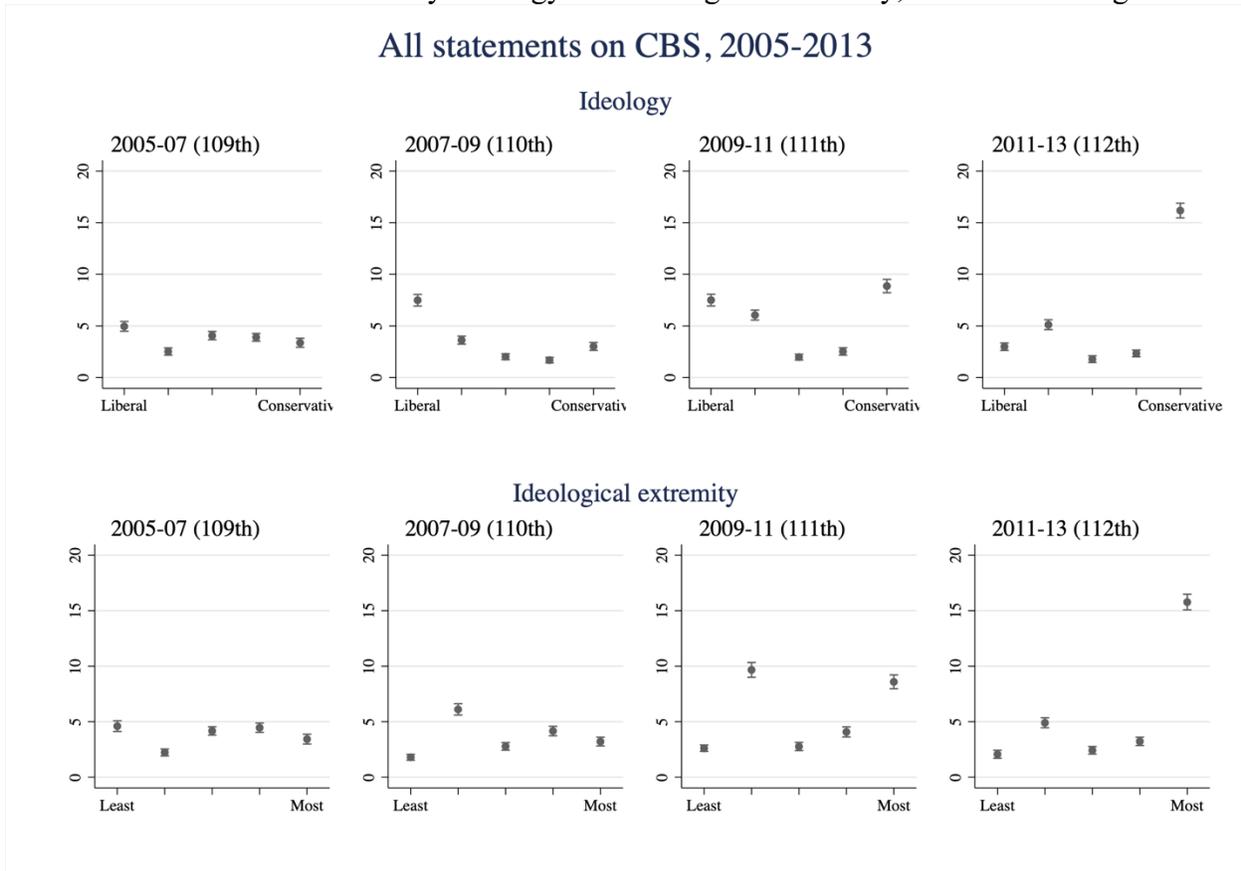
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.7. Total statements on ABC by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



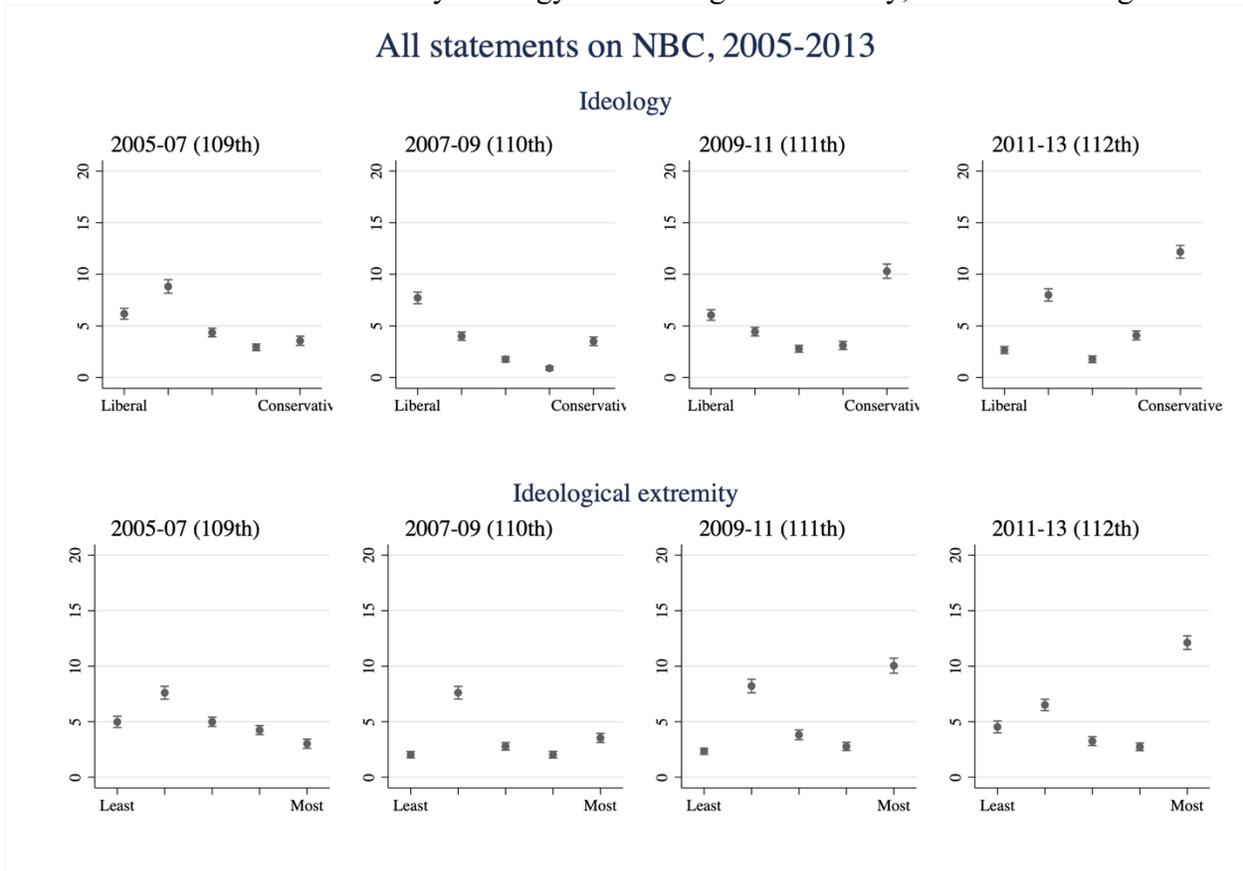
Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.8. Total statements on CBS by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Figure A3.9. Total statements on NBC by ideology and ideological extremity, 109th-112th Congresses.



Note. Points with 95 percent confidence intervals. Full regression results appear in Tables A3.1-8.

Section 4. Modeling speaking opportunities as a function of member statement slant

While our analyses capture the relative ideologies and ideological extremity of the members who speak on television, they do not capture the ideological leaning of their statements. Do the statements of MCs match their ideologies? To address this question, we use the classifications created by Gentzkow and Shapiro (2010), in which they used text analysis to identify which two-word and three-word phrases were used most commonly by Democrats and by Republicans in their floor speeches in Congress. (A full list of the phrases used can be found in Table 1 of Gentzkow & Shapiro (2010, p. 44)). We created a dictionary of these phrases and used the statistical computing language R to identify their use in our statement-level data from the 109th Congress (2005-07), the only year of our analysis which overlaps with theirs. Based on these analyses, we can determine which televised statements contained Democratic-aligned or Republican-aligned phrases. In the following analyses, we use a series of variables constructed from these partisan phrase counts: total partisan statements (total televised statements that are associated with Democrats or Republicans), total Democratic statements (total televised statements associated with Democrats), and total Republican statements. Tables A4.1 and A4.2 analyze the impact of ideology and ideological extremity on partisan statements; Table A4.3 analyzes whether partisan statements can predict ideology, and Table A4 analyzes whether the percentage of total statements containing partisan phrases predicts the total number of televised statements.

Table A4.1. Modeling televised partisan statements as a function of ideology, controlling for total statements made on television, 109th Congress. Partisan phrases identified by Gentzkow & Shapiro (2010).

	(1) Total partisan statements	(2) Total Democratic statements	(3) Total Republican statements
Ideology (liberal to conservative) (1 st quintile omitted)			
2 nd quintile	0.971 (0.062)	0.774** (0.055)	2.123** (0.314)
3 rd quintile	0.261** (0.021)	0.191** (0.019)	0.718+ (0.117)
4 th quintile	0.549** (0.040)	0.256** (0.024)	2.848** (0.415)
5 th quintile	1.144+ (0.073)	0.521** (0.041)	6.156** (0.875)
Total statements	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)
Seniority	1.010** (0.002)	0.999 (0.003)	1.031** (0.004)
Leadership	2.868** (0.173)	4.415** (0.313)	1.250 (0.153)
Legislative activity	0.970** (0.007)	0.990 (0.009)	0.945** (0.012)
Press releases sent	1.000 (0.000)	0.999 (0.000)	1.000 (0.000)
Seeking higher office	2.617** (0.184)	3.153** (0.263)	1.836** (0.243)
Female	0.387** (0.037)	0.342** (0.041)	0.545** (0.084)
Minority	0.881 (0.057)	0.879 (0.064)	0.866 (0.126)
Ethics investigation	0.132** (0.016)	0.114** (0.018)	0.217** (0.042)
Constant	4.405** (0.285)	4.133** (0.301)	0.452** (0.069)
Observations	439	439	439

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A4.2. Modeling televised partisan statements as a function of ideological extremity, controlling for total statements made on television, 109th Congress. Partisan phrases identified by Gentzkow & Shapiro (2010).

	(1)
	Total partisan statements
Ideology (least to most extreme)	
(1 st quintile omitted)	
2 nd quintile	1.848** (0.146)
3 rd quintile	1.640** (0.118)
4 th quintile	2.515** (0.177)
5 th quintile	3.670** (0.257)
Total statements	1.002** (0.000)
Seniority	1.017** (0.002)
Leadership	3.033** (0.187)
Legislative activity	0.945** (0.007)
Press releases sent	1.001** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	3.320** (0.238)
Female	0.409** (0.038)
Minority	1.601** (0.092)
Ethics investigation	0.116** (0.013)
Constant	1.450** (0.103)
Observations	439

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A4.3. Modeling ideology (liberal-conservative, quintiles of DW-NOMINATE scores) as a function of Democratic and Republican phrases in televised statements, 109th Congress. Partisan phrases identified by Gentzkow & Shapiro (2010).

	(1) Ideology (quintiles, liberal to conservative)	(2) Ideology (quintiles, liberal to conservative)
Democratic statements	0.993* (0.002)	
Republican statements		1.010* (0.004)
Total statements	1.000+ (0.000)	1.000 (0.000)
Seniority	0.984** (0.004)	0.984** (0.004)
Leadership	1.228 (0.210)	1.093 (0.185)
Legislative activity	1.024+ (0.011)	1.027* (0.011)
Press releases sent	1.002 (0.001)	1.000 (0.001)
Seeking higher office	1.113 (0.158)	1.065 (0.151)
Female	0.797* (0.070)	0.806+ (0.071)
Minority	0.512** (0.053)	0.514** (0.053)
Ethics investigation	0.770 (0.255)	0.844 (0.276)
Constant	3.638** (0.180)	3.640** (0.179)
Observations	439	439

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A4.4. Modeling total televised statements as a function of percent of televised statements containing partisan phrases and ideology/ideological extremity, 109th Congress. Partisan phrases identified by Gentzkow & Shapiro (2010).

	(1) Total televised statements	(2) Total televised statements
Percent of televised statements with partisan phrases	2.255** (0.208)	2.128** (0.197)
Ideology (liberal to conservative) (1 st quintile omitted)		
2 nd quintile	1.103** (0.020)	
3 rd quintile	1.728** (0.030)	
4 th quintile	1.411** (0.028)	
5 th quintile	1.294** (0.024)	
Ideology (least to most extreme) (1 st quintile omitted)		
2 nd quintile		0.560** (0.010)
3 rd quintile		0.712** (0.012)
4 th quintile		0.804** (0.013)
5 th quintile		0.713** (0.012)
Seniority	1.032** (0.001)	1.029** (0.001)
Leadership	1.615** (0.026)	1.425** (0.023)
Legislative activity	1.102** (0.002)	1.116** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	1.765** (0.045)	1.389** (0.036)
Female	0.938** (0.017)	0.977 (0.018)
Minority	1.202** (0.020)	1.004 (0.015)
Ethics investigation	3.414** (0.084)	4.017** (0.095)
Constant	100.601** (2.004)	183.835** (2.912)
Observations	136	136

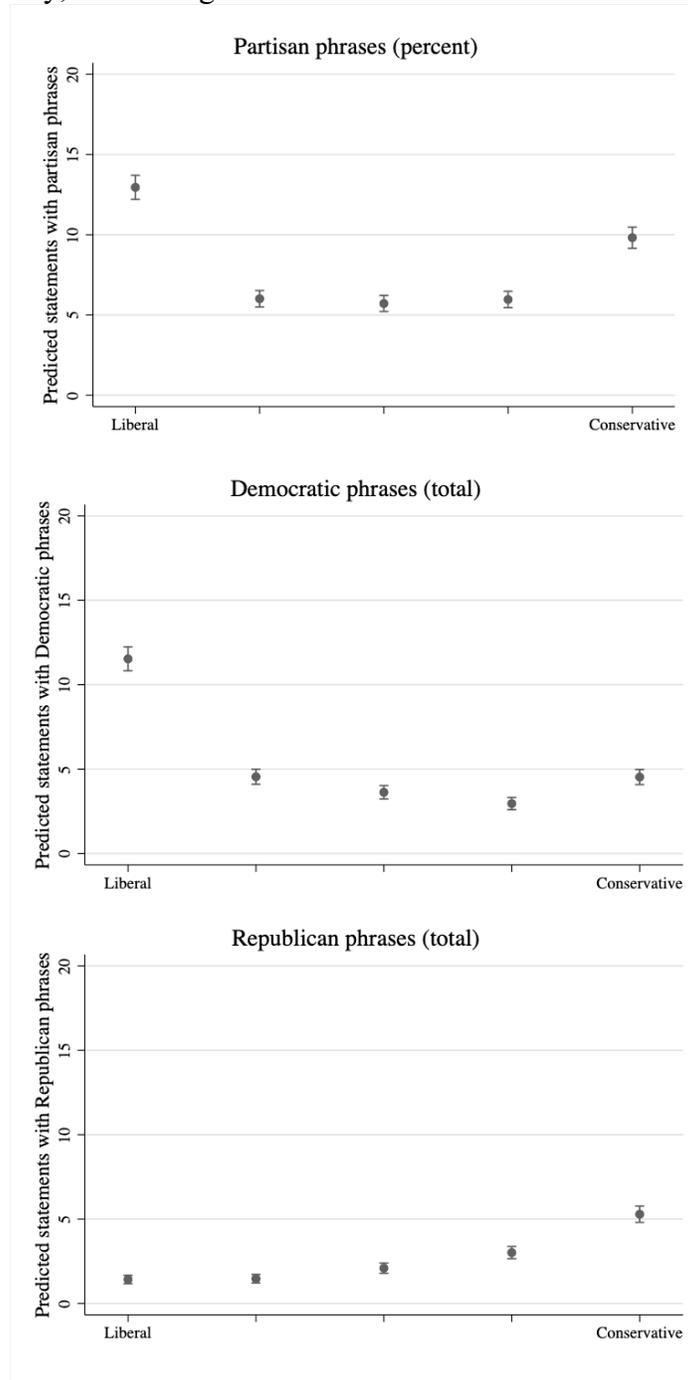
Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A4.5. Using percent of televised statements with partisan slant to predict total number of televised statements: 109th Congress (2005-07).

	(1) Total televised statements	(2) Total televised statements
% Democratic	5.729** (0.527)	
% Republican		4.306** (0.429)
Seniority	1.058** (0.001)	1.046** (0.001)
Leadership	2.043** (0.069)	4.903** (0.091)
Legislative activity	1.038** (0.003)	1.022** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.004** (0.000)	1.007** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	3.020** (0.089)	0.922 (0.039)
Female	0.934* (0.022)	0.641** (0.018)
Minority	1.369** (0.023)	2.423** (0.080)
Ethics investigation	1.830** (0.094)	3.293** (0.088)
Constant	30.419** (0.514)	45.926** (0.621)
Observations	204	235

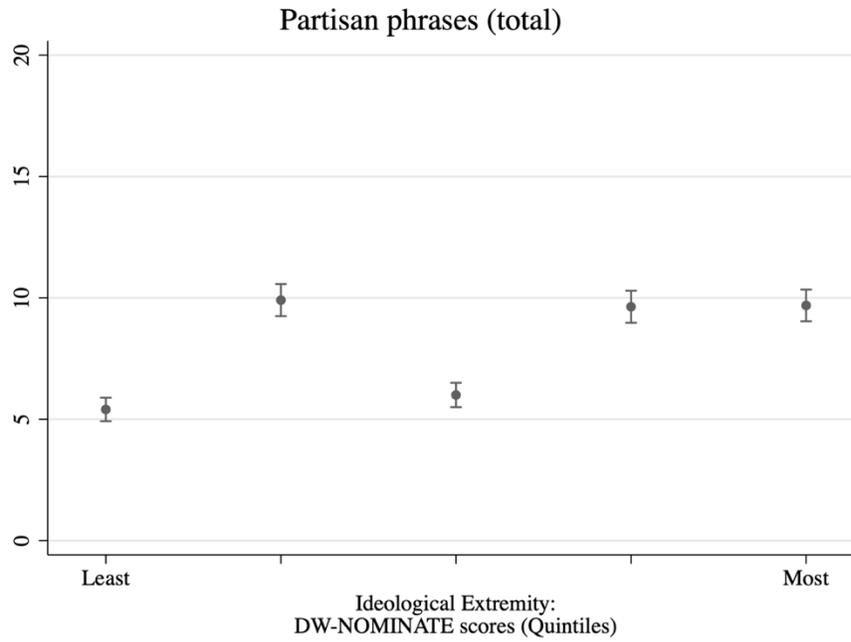
Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Figure A4.1. Modeling total televised partisan phrases, Democratic phrases, and Republican phrases, as a function of ideological extremity, controlling for total televised statements: 109th Congress (2005-07).



Note. Full specification appears in Table A4.1. Margins with 95% confidence intervals calculated using `-marginsplot-` in Stata.

Figure A4.2. Modeling total televised partisan phrases as a function of ideological extremity, controlling for total televised statements: 109th Congress (2005-07).



Note. Full specification appears in Table A4.2. Margins with 95% confidence intervals calculated using `-marginsplot-` in Stata.

Figure A4.3. Means of partisan phrases in televised statements in the 109th Congress (2005-07), by party and by category of ideology and ideological extremity.

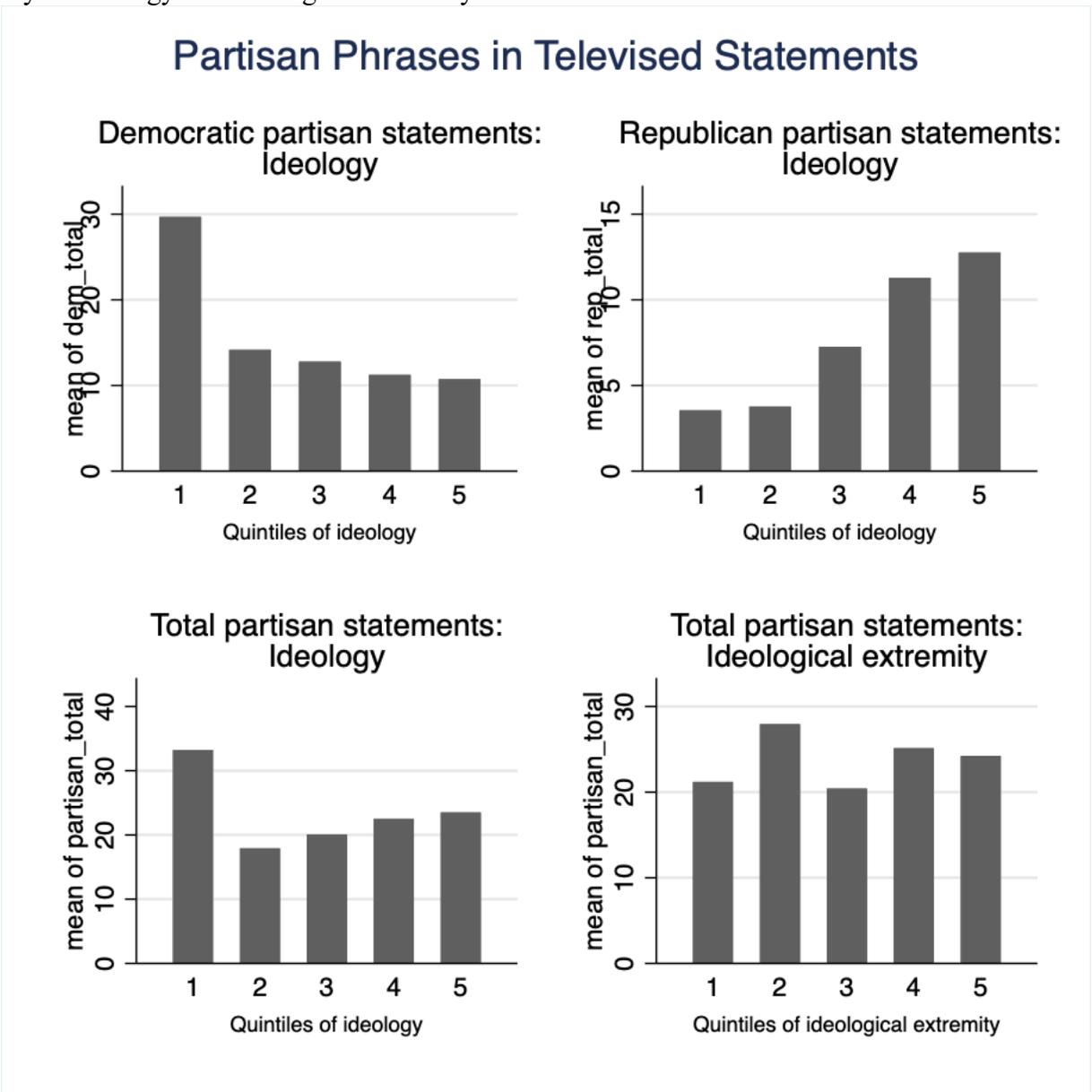
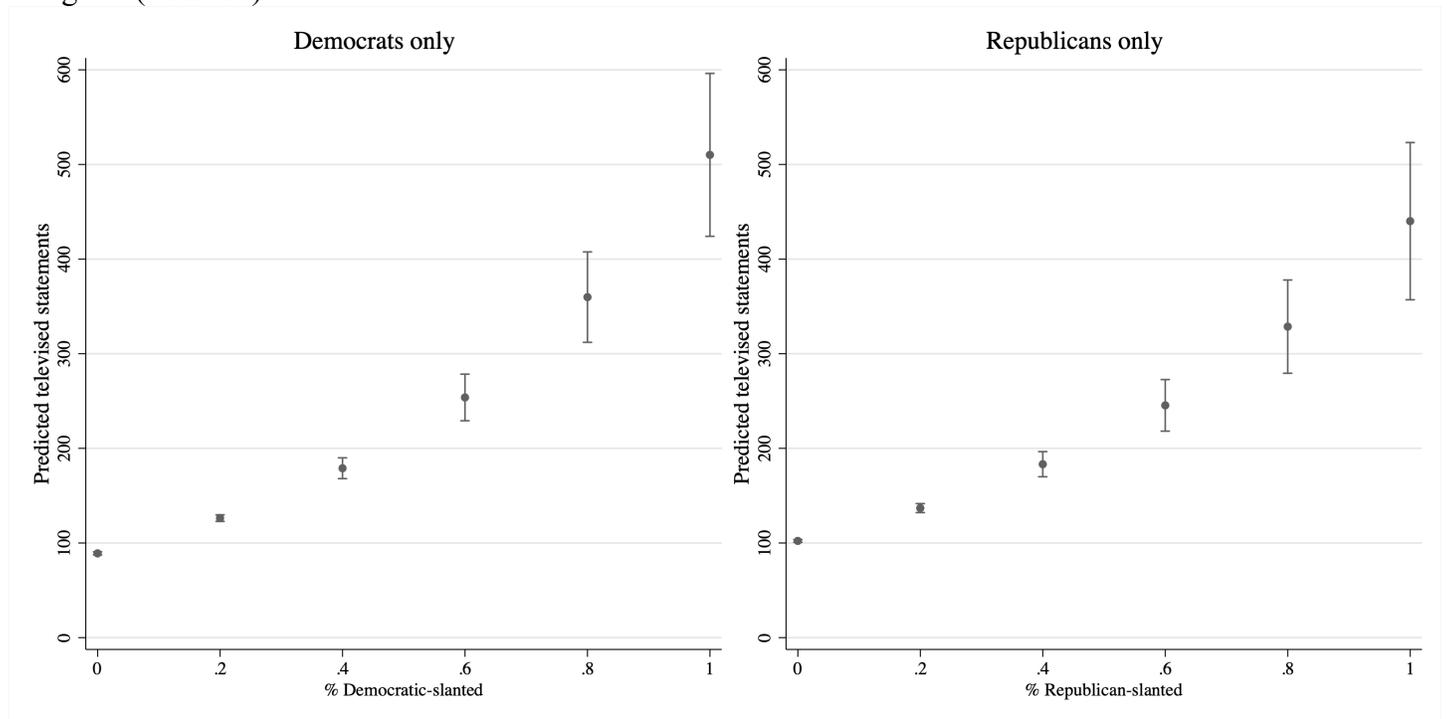


Figure A4.4. Predicted total statements by percent of partisan phrases in televised statements in the 109th Congress (2005-07).



Note. Full specification appears in Table A4.5. Margins with 95% confidence intervals calculated using `-marginsplot-` in Stata.

Section 5. Details and descriptive statistics for the dependent variable, televised statements

This section presents the kernel density plot distributions of our dependent variables, statements on the specified television networks. It is apparent that the data is not distributed normally, but is instead skewed towards zero with a long tail. Approximately half of the members of Congress make no statements on national television at all. As such, all analyses use a poisson regression, not ordinary least squares. Poisson methods are appropriate for data that is skewed towards the lower end of the distribution. To better illustrate the lower end of our data's distribution, we include Figure A5.2, which limits the plot to the members with 500 statements or fewer. The skew of our data is reflective of the dynamics we observe, and we account for it with our choice of regression analysis.

Figure A5.1. Full distributions of televised statements: kernel density plots.

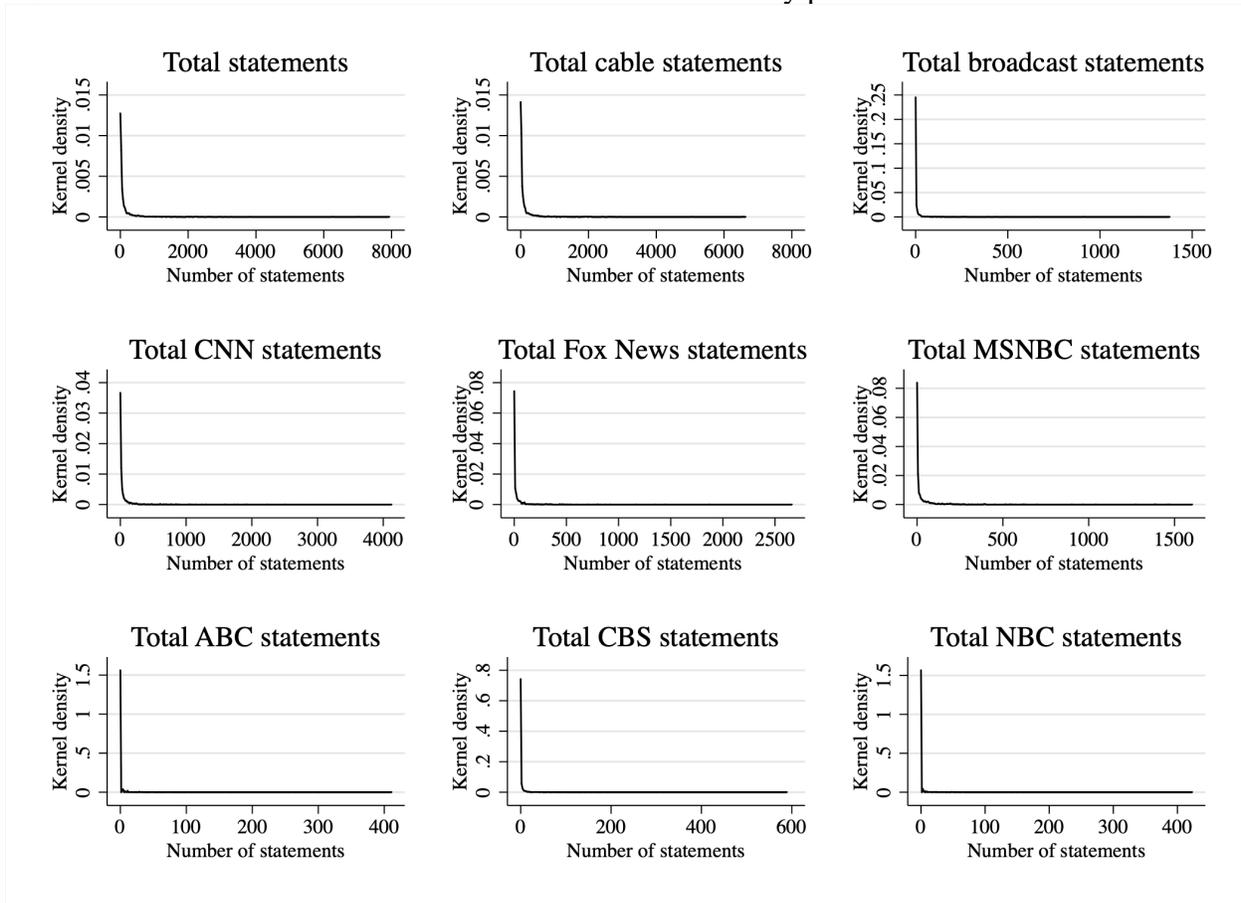
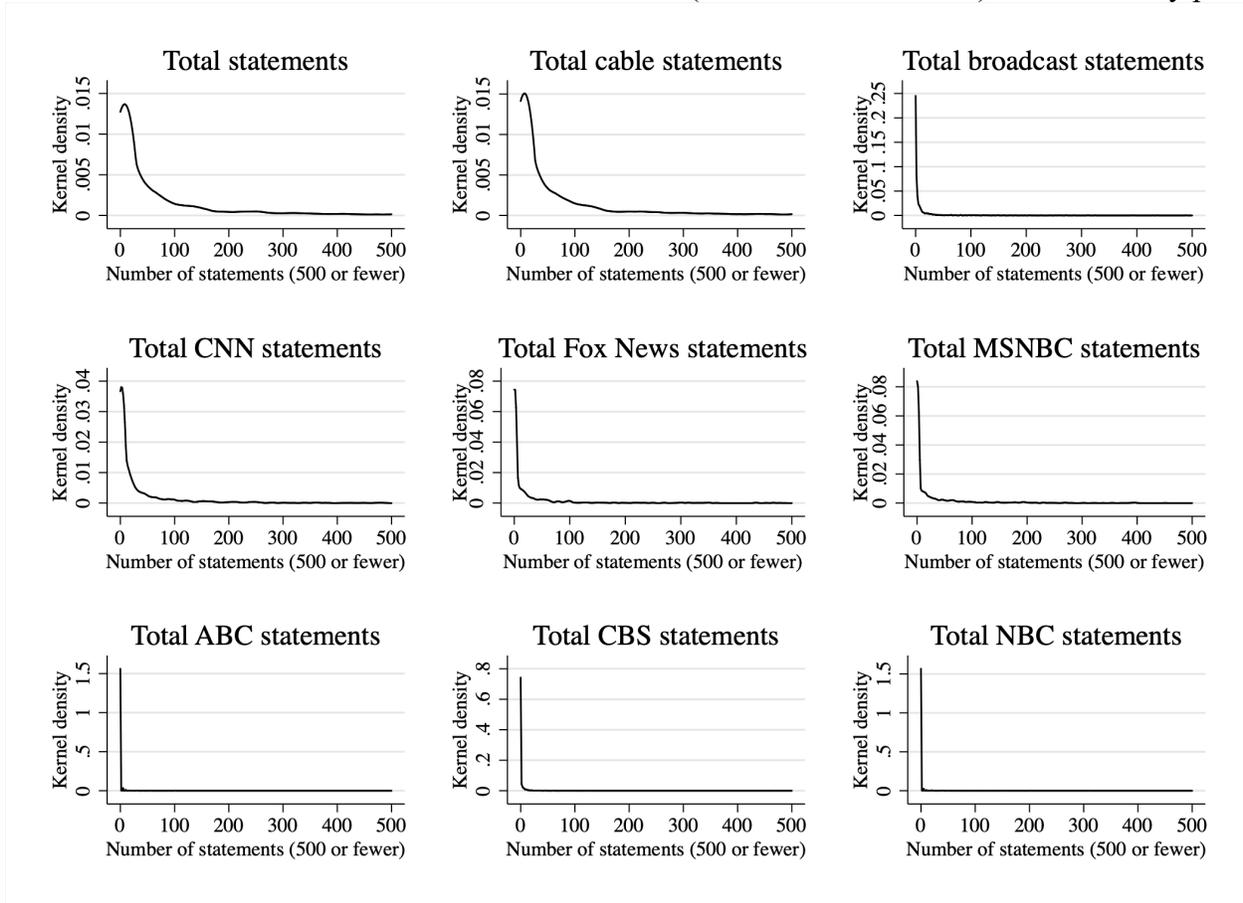


Figure A5.2. Truncated distributions of televised statements (max = 500 statements): kernel density plots.



Verifying and Prepping On-Air Statement Data

We are fortunate that broadcast and cable television news transcripts follow reliable formatting procedures with respect to how speakers are identified. For example, transcripts for CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox news, and MSNBC identify each speaker on first reference by his or her first name, last name, title (if available and/or appropriate), and a colon; second and subsequent identifications of that speaker include only the speaker's last name (accompanied by a first initial if more than one speaker with the same last name is present) and a colon. Further, first and subsequent identifications are presented in all capital letters (note: Although transcripts from ABC did not follow the particular formatting guidelines described here, the formatting used in ABC's transcripts was equally formulaic.). Such formatting consistencies make it possible, through the use of computer-aided content analysis, to differentiate between mere mentions of a member and when a member is actually speaking.

The analysis of the 91,083 identified transcripts, automated using a commissioned Python script that provided the html scraper with relevant parameters, proceeded in two stages. First, the transcripts (all transcripts in which each member was named) were examined for speakers with the same last name, and the first names associated with each speaker with that last name were identified. First names that unambiguously referenced the member were recorded and those that were ambiguous were checked by manually opening the transcript and searching for the first name to determine whether it referenced the member or someone else. All first names that were found to reference the member were recorded. For example, first stage of analysis for Rahm Emanuel's 109th congressional transcripts returned four first names associated with a speaker with the last name Emanuel: "Rep.," "Rahm," "Michael," and "Mike." Both "Rep." and "Rahm" referenced Rahm Emanuel while "Michael" and "Mike" referenced a Fox News correspondent. In this example, then, the first names "Rep." and "Rahm" were recorded for second-stage analysis. By excluding all transcripts in which no member spoke, this first stage analysis winnowed the total number of transcripts in the analysis to 38,430, including 8,656 for the 109th Congress, 9,908 for the 110th Congress, 13,238 for the 111th Congress, and 14,416 for the 112th Congress.

In the second stage, the relevant first names were included in the script parameters and the transcripts for each member were reexamined, analyzing only the statements made by the actual representative. In this stage, the Python script directed the html scraper to record, for each statement, the speaker's name, the date of the statement, and the network on which the statement appeared. Data corresponding to a total of 243,205 statements (45,545 for the 109th Congress, 47,981 for the 110th Congress, 68,420 for the 111th Congress, and 81,259 for the 112th Congress) were automatically exported and saved to tab delineated files. Once these files were combined, the data were transformed from the unit of observation – the individual statement – to the unit of analysis – the individual member – in preparation for statistical analysis.

Section 6. Details and descriptive statistics, independent variables

This section presents distributions of the covariates in the models by quintile of ideology and ideological extremity.

Figure A6.1. Distributions of covariates by quintiles of ideology.

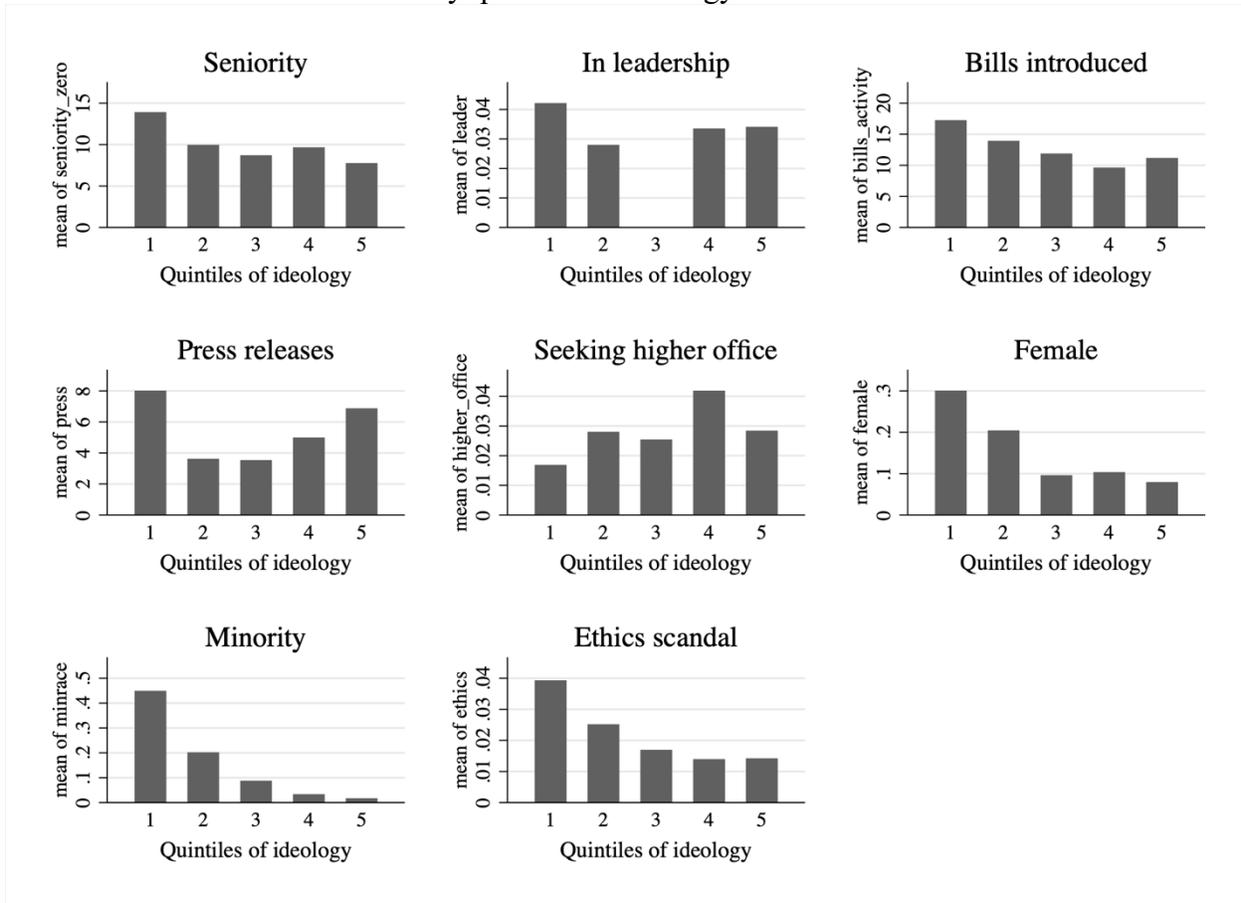
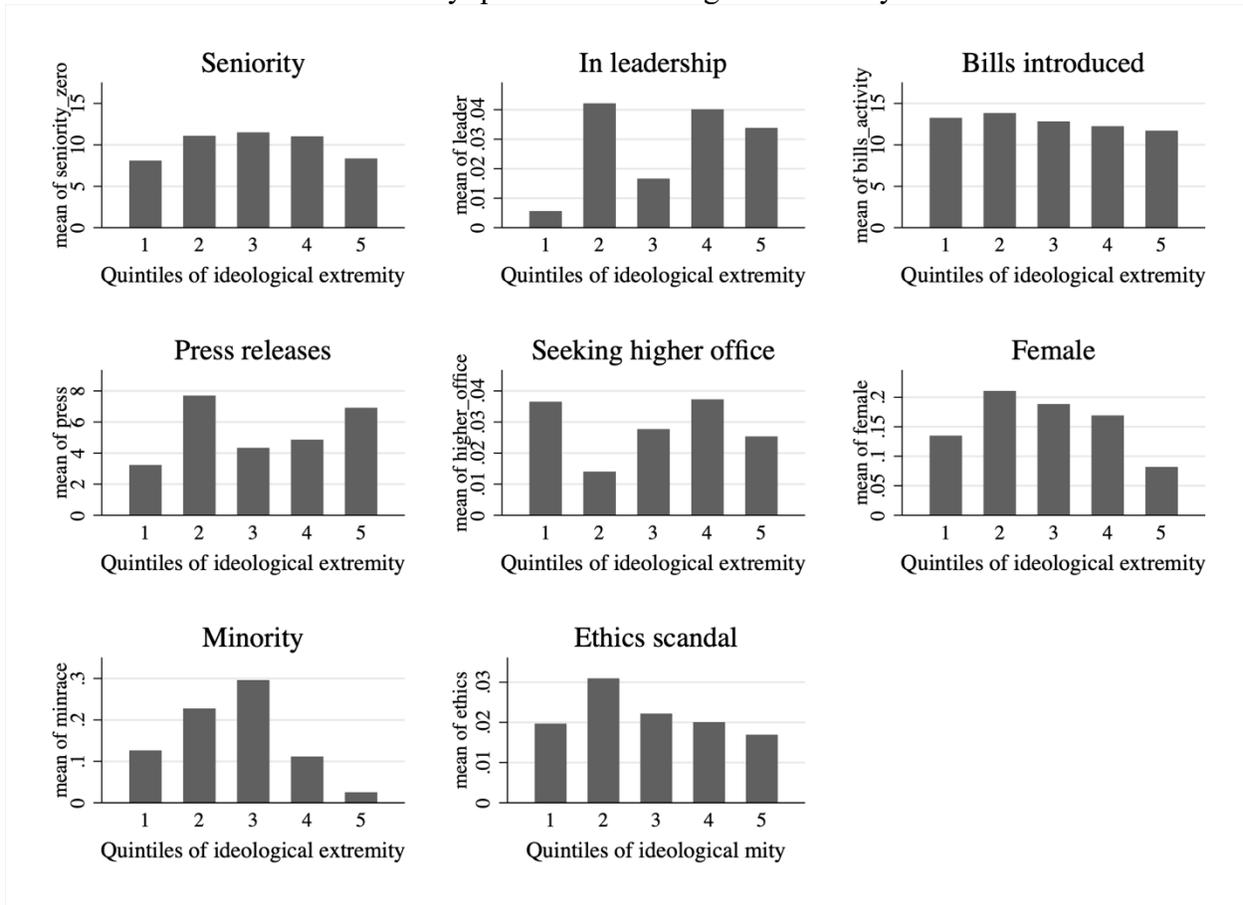


Figure A6.2. Distributions of covariates by quintiles of ideological extremity.



Details on Data Collection

The first dataset, the one containing data about each of the voting members of the 109th – 112th House of Representatives, was collected from numerous sources. Data on member vote history, as indicated by DW-NOMINATE scores were obtained from (Carroll et al., 2011), available for academic use at www.voteview.com. These scores are widely used in studies of legislative voting behavior, elite polarization, representation, and legislative institutions in studies spanning multiple disciplines including political science, sociology, history and communication. The references most commonly associated with the DW-NOMINATE data (Carroll et al., 2009/2011) have, together, been cited more than 200 times, 125, and 77, respectively. [Verify DW at voteview] Details on methodology used to calculate DW-NOMINATE scores are provided by Carroll et al. (2009).

The first dataset also includes data on the electoral, personal, and institutional traits associated with each member as well as their engagement in legislative and press-seeking activities. Data on House leadership positions, committee assignments, party, seniority, and age were all gathered from the Congressional Directory published by the GPO (see, e.g., <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CDIR-2005-07-11/pdf/CDIR-2005-07-11.pdf>). Data on the importance of the member's most important standing committee in the House, came from Stewart's (2012) ranking of the importance of House committees based on the committee assignments members willingly relinquish to acquire other appointments (coded 0 through 20 where 0 indicates the member did not serve on a standing committee, 1 indicates the member served on the least important standing committee, and 20 indicates the member served on the most important committee). Data on electoral security was gathered from Federal Elections reports published by the FEC (see, e.g., <https://transition.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2006/federalections2006.pdf>). Ethics scandal was operationalized with a 0/1 indicator denoting whether the member was under investigation by the House Committee on Ethics. Data on investigations from the House Committee on Ethics came from the committee's official reports summarizing their activities (e.g., Summary of Activities of One Hundred Ninth Congress: <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/CRPT-109hrpt744/pdf/CRPT-109hrpt744.pdf>).

Data on members' race, ethnicity, and gender came from History, Art, & Archives of the United States House of Representatives (<https://history.house.gov/People/Search/>), which is a collaborative project between the Office of the Historian and the Clerk of the House's Office of Art and Archives. Data on members' legislative activity come from Adler and Wilkerson's Congressional Bills Project from 2005-2013. Data on member press-seeking activity, news releases from members and their staffs, were obtained using the Congressional Quarterly Press Releases Database available through LexisNexis. House activity, captures the number of times each member was mentioned in the *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report (CQWR)*, a journal that reports Congressional happenings for an audience of reporters, lobbyists, and congressional specialists. Population data from each member's state was obtained from the U.S. Census (2000). Data on house members running for higher office was obtained through Congressional Quarterly's *CQ Almanac Online Edition*, <https://library.cqpress.com/cqalmanac/>.

Section 7. Assessing effects when controlling for member's state

These analyses include state-level fixed effects (represented by `i.statecode` included in the regression) to test for the possibility that our findings are capturing the fact that some members of Congress may come from more newsworthy or populated areas of the country. After including state-level fixed effects, we continue to see networks prioritizing quotes from ideologically extreme members of Congress (with the exception of MSNBC).

Table A7.1. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology), with state-level fixed effects.

	(1) All	(2) Cable	(3) Broadcast	(4) CNN	(5) Fox News	(6) MSNBC	(7) CBS	(8) NBC
Ideology (liberal to conservative)								
(1 st quintile omitted)								
2 nd quintile	1.069 (0.147)	1.019 (0.140)	1.611* (0.292)	1.096 (0.146)	0.967 (0.102)	0.915 (0.230)	1.571* (0.219)	2.179** (0.397)
3 rd quintile	1.052 (0.320)	1.014 (0.320)	1.481 (0.332)	1.410 (0.402)	1.147 (0.158)	0.545 (0.256)	1.389 (0.480)	1.610 (0.425)
4 th quintile	1.288 (0.336)	1.271 (0.369)	1.413 (0.280)	1.773* (0.343)	1.627** (0.232)	0.588 (0.352)	1.377 (0.443)	1.550 (0.638)
5 th quintile	2.927** (0.295)	2.854** (0.318)	3.486** (0.651)	3.410** (0.393)	4.720** (0.989)	1.260 (0.315)	3.724** (0.994)	4.021** (1.481)
Seniority	1.025+ (0.012)	1.023 (0.013)	1.038+ (0.016)	1.037** (0.011)	1.010 (0.014)	1.017 (0.014)	1.044+ (0.019)	1.037+ (0.015)
Leadership	4.747** (0.640)	4.430** (0.549)	8.141** (1.684)	3.904** (0.577)	5.814** (0.824)	4.215** (0.284)	8.225** (1.553)	7.507** (2.258)
Legislative activity	1.022** (0.006)	1.023** (0.006)	1.017* (0.006)	1.026** (0.006)	1.020* (0.008)	1.020 (0.011)	1.018** (0.004)	1.015 (0.010)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.004** (0.000)	1.005** (0.001)
Seeking higher office	2.292** (0.349)	2.230** (0.382)	3.038** (0.344)	2.043** (0.191)	2.108** (0.436)	2.622+ (1.014)	2.376** (0.577)	4.829** (1.050)
Female	0.862 (0.090)	0.875 (0.100)	0.713+ (0.115)	0.796+ (0.076)	0.664** (0.049)	1.222 (0.281)	0.808 (0.179)	0.538 (0.199)
Minority	1.293 (0.172)	1.296 (0.181)	1.211 (0.154)	1.353 (0.223)	1.715 (0.483)	0.963 (0.149)	1.104 (0.228)	1.347+ (0.192)
Ethics investigation	1.733* (0.365)	1.741* (0.359)	1.706 (0.496)	1.325 (0.267)	2.186* (0.614)	2.084+ (0.602)	1.346 (0.238)	1.472 (0.453)
(State-level coefficients omitted)								
Constant	19.224** (11.327)	18.726** (11.686)	0.884 (0.358)	4.657+ (2.921)	4.446+ (3.239)	13.911** (9.670)	0.274 (0.216)	0.187** (0.087)
Observations	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777

Note. Poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** $p < 0.001$, * $p < 0.01$, + $p < 0.05$. ABC omitted because function was not concave and regression could not be completed.

Table A7.2. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideological extremity), with state-level fixed effects.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	All	Cable	Broadcast	CNN	Fox News	MSNBC	CBS	NBC
Ideological extremity (least to most)								
(1 st quintile omitted)								
2 nd quintile	1.228 (0.282)	1.260 (0.297)	0.991 (0.285)	1.136 (0.250)	1.362 (0.418)	1.389 (0.282)	1.044 (0.518)	1.047 (0.139)
3 rd quintile	1.053 (0.182)	1.091 (0.203)	0.772 (0.127)	1.262 (0.356)	1.139 (0.173)	0.849 (0.165)	0.783 (0.146)	0.865 (0.083)
4 th quintile	1.287+ (0.132)	1.351* (0.154)	0.823** (0.047)	1.158 (0.229)	1.892+ (0.522)	1.286* (0.124)	0.859 (0.094)	0.661** (0.037)
5 th quintile	2.963** (0.601)	3.052** (0.610)	2.172* (0.595)	2.771** (0.607)	4.847** (1.235)	2.221** (0.368)	2.423* (0.814)	2.092* (0.523)
Seniority	1.022+ (0.010)	1.021+ (0.011)	1.035+ (0.014)	1.033** (0.009)	1.005 (0.013)	1.020 (0.012)	1.040+ (0.017)	1.032+ (0.015)
Leadership	4.650** (0.735)	4.322** (0.635)	8.268** (1.925)	3.774** (0.728)	5.448** (0.936)	4.184** (0.297)	8.406** (2.048)	7.756** (2.394)
Legislative activity	1.022* (0.007)	1.022* (0.007)	1.016+ (0.007)	1.025** (0.006)	1.019* (0.007)	1.021 (0.011)	1.017** (0.005)	1.013 (0.010)
Press releases sent	1.003** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.004** (0.001)	1.004** (0.000)	1.003** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)	1.003** (0.001)	1.004** (0.001)
Seeking higher office	2.332** (0.385)	2.270** (0.407)	3.071** (0.380)	2.123** (0.264)	2.106** (0.455)	2.643* (0.943)	2.403* (0.730)	5.205** (1.064)
Female	0.839 (0.097)	0.849 (0.103)	0.724 (0.133)	0.740* (0.078)	0.602** (0.061)	1.302 (0.346)	0.812 (0.169)	0.536 (0.215)
Minority	1.217+ (0.116)	1.233+ (0.123)	1.039 (0.214)	1.062 (0.136)	1.551+ (0.332)	1.266 (0.191)	0.959 (0.228)	1.029 (0.199)
Ethics investigation	1.761** (0.277)	1.774** (0.272)	1.671+ (0.378)	1.342 (0.235)	2.260** (0.504)	2.091** (0.456)	1.316* (0.134)	1.388 (0.353)
(State-level coefficients omitted)								
Constant	20.489** (7.636)	18.785** (7.894)	1.611 (0.393)	6.786** (3.097)	4.831+ (3.680)	7.070** (2.730)	0.466 (0.220)	0.394+ (0.182)
Observations	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777	1,777

Note. Incident rate ratios from poisson regression. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05. ABC omitted because function was not concave and regression could not be completed.

Section 8. Pooled model

These tables present the results of a pooled random effects poisson regression (xtpoisson in Stata) with robust standard errors, using statements on particular networks to predict total televised statements.

Table A8.1. Random effects poisson regression, pooled model using statements on individual networks and ideological quintile to predict overall statements.

	(1) Total televised statements
Total statements on CNN	1.000 (0.000)
Total statements on Fox News	1.002+ (0.001)
Total statements on MSNBC	1.002** (0.000)
Total statements on ABC	1.000 (0.004)
Total statements on CBS	0.990** (0.002)
Total statements on NBC	1.007+ (0.003)
Ideology (liberal to conservative) (1 st quintile omitted)	
2 nd quintile	0.872 (0.115)
3 rd quintile	0.722 (0.121)
4 th quintile	0.847+ (0.063)
5 th quintile	1.100 (0.131)
Seniority	1.017+ (0.008)
Leadership	1.943** (0.272)
Legislative activity	1.009** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.002 (0.001)
Seeking higher office	1.625** (0.116)
Female	0.948 (0.057)
Minority	1.183+ (0.094)
Ethics investigation	1.539+ (0.298)
Constant (total statements)	60.887** (6.593)
Observations	1,777
Number of Congresses	4

Note. Robust standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Table A8.2. Random effects poisson regression, pooled model using statements on individual networks and ideological quintile to predict overall statements.

	(2) Total televised statements
Total statements on CNN	1.000 (0.000)
Total statements on Fox News	1.002+ (0.001)
Total statements on MSNBC	1.002** (0.000)
Total statements on ABC	1.000 (0.004)
Total statements on CBS	0.990** (0.002)
Total statements on NBC	1.007+ (0.003)
Ideological extremity (least to most) (1 st quintile omitted)	
2 nd quintile	1.320 (0.240)
3 rd quintile	1.312+ (0.173)
4 th quintile	1.391** (0.128)
5 th quintile	1.637* (0.271)
Seniority	1.017+ (0.008)
Leadership	1.924** (0.302)
Legislative activity	1.010** (0.002)
Press releases sent	1.002 (0.001)
Seeking higher office	1.663** (0.108)
Female	0.957 (0.050)
Minority	1.273* (0.096)
Ethics investigation	1.495+ (0.303)
Constant (total statements)	40.279** (2.911)
Observations	1,777
Number of Congresses	4

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Section 9. PBS NewsHour models (112th Congress).

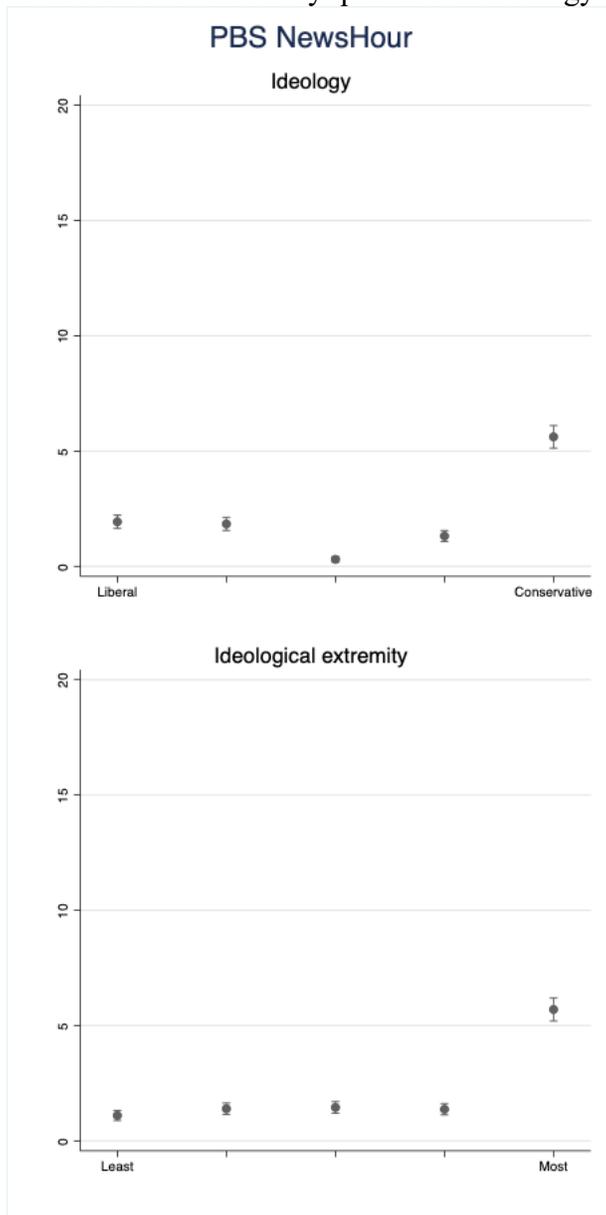
As an additional test, we examined a not-for-profit news network: PBS' nightly "NewsHour." This hourlong show was anchored by Jim Lehrer until 2009, and had a rotating cast of co-hosts after that during our years sampled. We collected data from one Congress (the 112th, 2011-2013) for this analysis, and used the same model as prior analyses. We selected the 112th because of data availability and time constraints: each transcript was consistently titled ("PBS NewsHour for <date>") in the NexisUni database, unlike many other PBS NewsHour transcripts in our sampled period. Examining the behavior of public media is an important area for future research.

Table A9.1. Predictors of statements (quintiles of ideology and ideological extremity), PBS NewsHour. 112th Congress (2011-2013).

	(1) PBS NewsHour	(2) PBS NewsHour
Ideology (liberal to conservative) (1 st quintile omitted)		
2 nd quintile	1.074 (0.132)	
3 rd quintile	0.331** (0.071)	
4 th quintile	1.472* (0.203)	
5 th quintile	4.745** (0.537)	
Ideological extremity (least to most) (1 st quintile omitted)		
2 nd quintile		0.803 (0.120)
3 rd quintile		1.404+ (0.192)
4 th quintile		1.253 (0.172)
5 th quintile		5.454** (0.621)
Seniority	1.048** (0.004)	1.048** (0.003)
Leadership	6.993** (0.602)	7.352** (0.635)
Legislative activity	1.002 (0.003)	1.000 (0.003)
Press releases sent	1.002** (0.000)	1.002** (0.000)
Seeking higher office	4.159** (0.520)	4.004** (0.501)
Female	1.094 (0.111)	1.181 (0.121)
Minority	1.649** (0.195)	1.667** (0.186)
Ethics investigation	0.447** (0.098)	0.409** (0.089)
Constant (total statements)	0.497** (0.070)	0.435** (0.053)
Observations	445	445

Note. Standard errors in parentheses. ** p<0.001, * p<0.01, + p<0.05.

Figure A9.1. Predicted statements on PBS NewsHour by quintiles of ideology and ideological extremity.



Note. Full specification appears in Table A4.2. Margins with 95% confidence intervals calculated using `-marginsplot-` in Stata.