

Congressmen in Exile: The Politics and Consequences of Involuntary Committee Removal: Supplemental File

Justin Grimmer * Eleanor Neff Powell †

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*Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Stanford University; Encina Hall West 616 Serra St., Stanford, CA, 94305

†Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Yale University; 77 Prospect St., New Haven, CT, 06511

1 The Committee Assignment Process and Related Literature

Our paper contributes to an immense literature that describes the committee assignment and identifies how this assignment process, and Congressional committees in general, contribute to legislative activity.

Essential to our use of exile to measure the effects of committee assignment is that exile is a deviation from the usual way that committee assignments are determined. To demonstrate this difference, Figure 1 summarizes the committee assignment process.

Figure 1: The Committee Assignment Process

1. The committee configuration in the previous congress.
2. A congressional election.
3. New and returning members submit committee assignment (and transfer) requests.
4. The majority and minority party leaders meet and set the party ratios for each committee using the party ratio bonuses from the previous congress as a starting point for negotiations. At the same time, they set the size (number of members who will serve) of the committee.
5. Each party's Steering Committee makes its respective committee assignments.
 - (a) First, they assign returning members to their former committees, and automatically assigning members to the committees on which they served during the last Congress.
 - (b) If with the new party ratio there are not enough seats for all members to return to their previous committee, the least senior committee members lose their seats.
 - (c) The Steering Committees then make all other assignments (both of new members and transfer requests).
6. Each party caucus (conference) then votes internally to ratify the party's entire slate.
7. The House then votes on a simple resolution to officially make the assignments.

Sources: Rohde and Shepsle (1973); Shepsle (1978); Stewart (2001); Schneider (2008*a,b*); Tong (2010).

The committee assignment process itself has been the subject of study. While for the purposes

of the main text we can only give it the briefest treatment, we encourage readers interested in the assignment process to see: Masters (1961); Clapp (1963); Bullock (1970, 1971, 1972); Ripley (1974); Shepsle (1978); Bullock (1985); Munger (1988); Weingast and Marshall (1988); Krehbiel (1992); Young and Heitschusen (2003); Yoshinaka (2005); Frisch and Kelly (2006).

A few additional rules are worthy of note for their implications for our analysis. No Member can serve on more than two standing committees (House Rule X). Each party has designated exclusive committees, which prohibit members from serving on other desirable committees (exceptions are made for additional service on Budget or House Administration Committee). The Democratic Exclusive Committees are: Appropriations, Rules, Ways & Means, Energy & Commerce, and Financial Services. The Republican Exclusive Committees are: Appropriations, Rules, Ways & Means and Energy & Commerce. Additional Limitations are placed on the Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, Budget, and Intelligence, all other exceptions must be approved by the House upon recommendation of the respective party caucus or conference.)

The size of Congressional committees has itself been studied. We refer readers to: Cummings and Peabody (1963); Peabody (1963); Westfield (1974); Shepsle (1978); Whiteman (1983); Eulau (1984); Ray and Smith (1984); Munger (1988).

2 Examples of Exile

To provide examples of how committee exile works, we consider as an example the committee assignment politics facing Democratic and Republican leaders at the start of the 104th Congress following the “Republican Revolution” of 1994 in which the Republican party retook the majority and the Democratic party suffered sizable losses. Those Democratic losses (and corresponding Republican gains) were unevenly distributed across congressional committees. There were some committees, such as Armed Services and Agriculture, in which the proportion of Democratic losses roughly corresponded to the overall loss rate in the chamber, so on these committees, the usual returning committee assignment norms were adhered to. There were other committees, however, in which the losses were minimized, and too many Democrats survived reelection relative to the chamber as a whole, which created a sizable exile cohort as all the committee ratios had to be

adjusted to reflect the new majority.

In addition to the uneven distribution of electoral losses in the 104th Congress, Democratic exile cohorts were increased because Republicans shrank the overall size of committees. For example, consider the House Appropriations Committee—one of the traditional “power” committees. Six incumbent Democrats were exiled from this committee: Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), James Moran (D-VA), Pete Peterson (D-FL), John Olver (D-MA), Ed Pastor (D-AZ) and Carrie Meek (D-FL). There is, further, no evidence that these members were targeted by Republicans seeking future electoral gains. Rather, these members all easily won re-election in 1994, the most difficult election climate Democrats had faced in decades.¹ This large cohort of exiled legislators had two origins—the decrease in the overall size of Appropriations and the high reelection rate among Appropriations Democrat incumbents.

Exile targets more than powerful legislators who reside on power committees. In 1994, Democrats were exiled not just from Appropriations, but also from Banking, Budget, Joint Economic, Education & Labor, Foreign Affairs, House Administration, Intelligence, Rules and Ways & Means. If we take a closer look, for example, at the Education & Labor Committee from that year we see that Scott Baesler (D-KY) was exiled.

Exile, therefore, affects many types of legislators across a wide range of committees. To better characterize the aggregate patterns of exile, in the next section we examine more systematically when and how exile occurs in Congressional committees.

3 Legislator Compensation for Exile

In this section we provide additional evidence that exiled legislators receive little compensation after being removed from committees. To demonstrate this, we use updated measures of the values of committees provided in Stewart (2012), computed using the method advanced in (Groseclose and Stewart, 1998*a*; Stewart and Groseclose, 1999*a*). Specifically, we compare the measured value of the committee seat that the legislator is exiled from to the value of any new committee assignment.

¹The exiled Democrats of the House Appropriations Committee all cruised to re-election in 1994 winning by 63%, 59%, 61%, 99%, 62%, and 100% respectively, suggesting little incentive for Republican leaders to target them.

Stewart (2012) shows that the value of committee assignments have changed over time, as the power once concentrated in committees shifted to the party leaders. To capture this shift in committee value, we use the disaggregated measures that Stewart (2012) provides for different Congresses.²

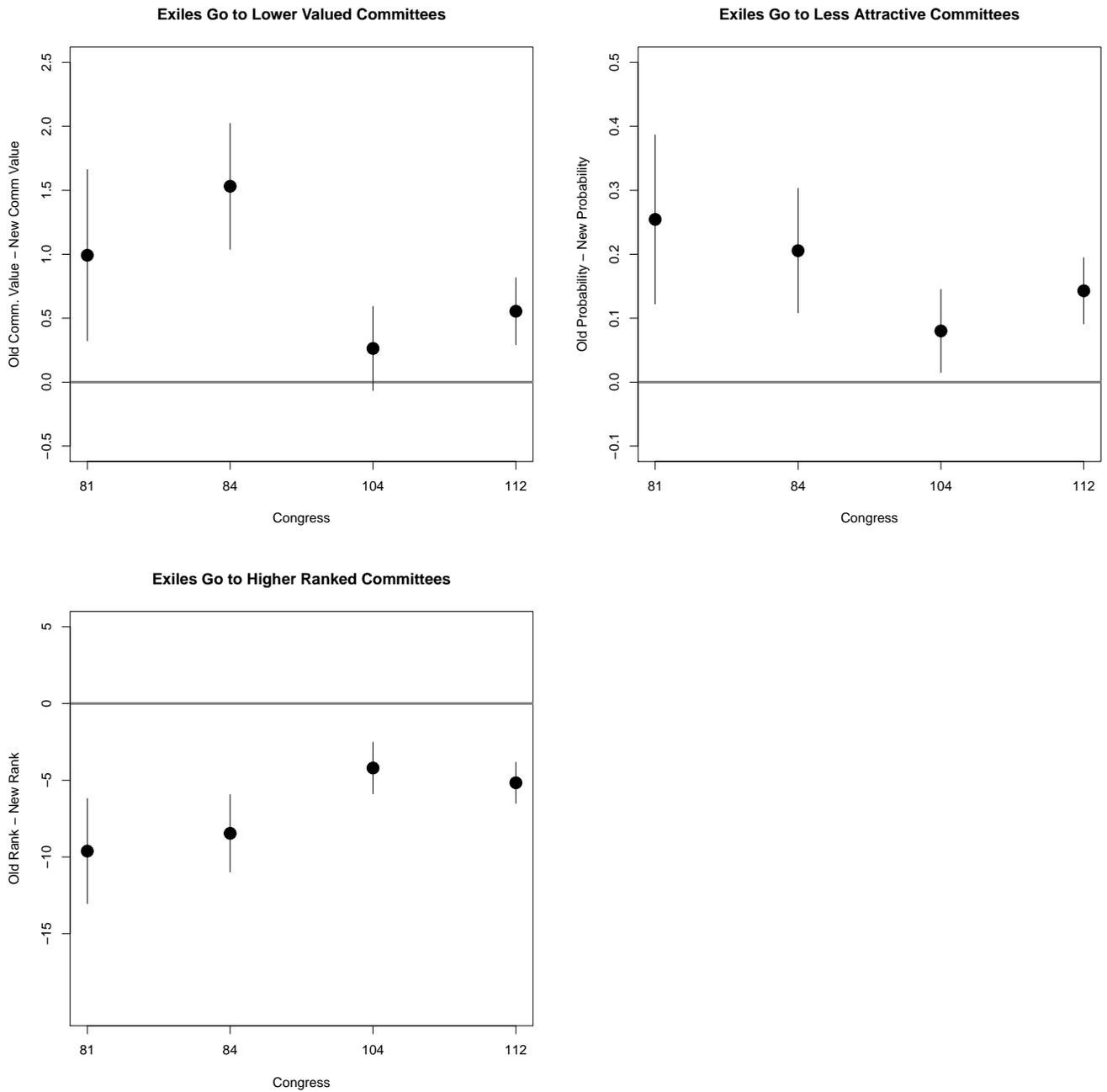
Exiled legislators experience a reduction in the value of their committee assignments. This reduction in value is particularly pronounced after wave elections, when most of the exiles occur. Figure 2 shows the reduction for the Congresses after four wave elections—81st, 84th, 104th, and 112th—when over 80% of all cases of exile occur. Consider the top, left-hand plot. This plot presents the difference in means between the value of the committees legislators are exiled from and the value of the compensatory committee assignments for each of the four Congresses. The dots are the point estimates, and the bars are 95 percent confidence intervals, and the horizontal line is at zero.

The top, left-hand plot shows that after exile, legislators experience a reduction in the value of their committee assignments (and therefore, the difference in means is positive). Across all four Congresses, we see that the difference in value is large, indicative of a substantial loss of committee value. The top, right-hand plot and the bottom plot demonstrate that the reduction in value is not an artifact of using a particular kind of measure of committee value from Stewart (2012). We see the same reduction in value if we measure committee value using the probability a legislator would select the seat (top, right-hand plot). The bottom plot demonstrates that exiled legislators are sent to less desirable committees. Because the most desirable committee is ranked as 1, the difference in committee ranks for exiles is negative, indicative of a decrease in the value of exiled legislators' committee portfolio.

Together, the plots show that exiled legislators are sent to less valued committees. This same finding is found overall. Table 1 presents the difference in means in committee value for the committees legislators are exiled from and legislators' new committee assignments. Across all three measures, it is clear that legislators have less valuable committee assignments after they are exiled from committees.

²For committees present throughout Stewart's (2012) study, we have three distinct values—from the 81st-95th, 96th-103rd, and 104th-112th. Groseclose and Stewart (1998*a*); Stewart and Groseclose (1999*a*) implicitly assign zero value to no committee assignment and we follow this convention.

Figure 2: Exiled Legislators Have Reduced Value in Their Committee Assignments



This section shows that when removed from committees, any compensation legislators receive is less valuable than their original assignment. This demonstrates one of the consequences of being removed from a preferred committee assignment: the loss of a valuable position that, on average,

Table 1: Exiled Legislators Experience A Reduction in The Value of Their Committee Assignments

Measure	Avg. Exile Comm. - Avg. New Comm	Standard Error
Comm. Value	0.11	0.11
Prob. Selecting	0.05	0.03
Rank	-2.79	0.55

legislators would prefer to have over the replaced committee.

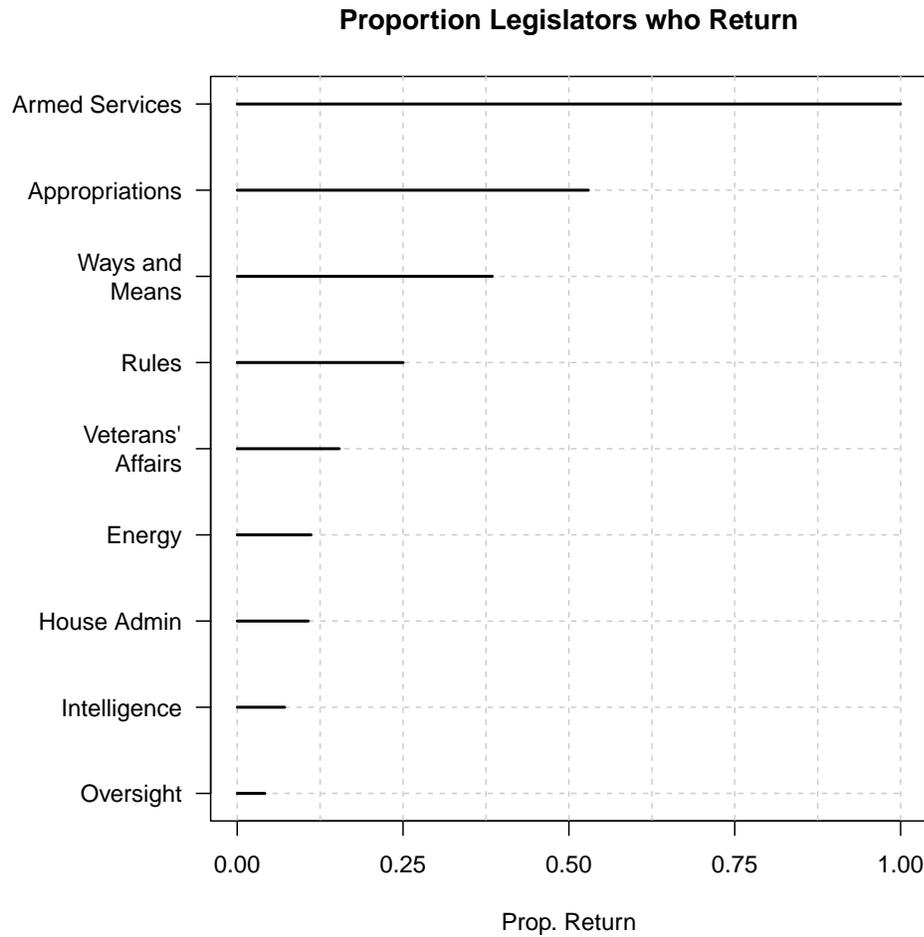
4 Exiled Legislators Rarely Return to Committees and Are Uncertain About Their Return

A related concern is that exiled legislators will return to their committees after exile and that the return to exile could be easily anticipated. If this were true, then exile would not be analogous to losing a committee assignment. We address the possibility of return here and in the next section, using both quantitative and qualitative evidence to show that few legislators return and that any return is uncertain.

In this section we examine the return rates of legislators to show that few legislators return to their committees and that even among the most prestigious committee assignments, the return rate is relatively low. Therefore, when legislators lose their committee assignments it is unlikely that they will obtain their seats. In the next section we show that the return to a committee is uncertain—even for those legislators who are relatively well positioned to return to prestigious committee assignments. To demonstrate this we perform two case studies of exiled legislators from high profile committee assignments who were relatively well positioned to return. We conducted a semi-structured interview with an exile (Rosa DeLauro) from the Appropriations committee, who was exiled during the 104th Congress and examine the case of a second exile (Allyson Schwartz) from the Ways and Means committee, during the 112th Congress. Both cases provide substantial evidence that exiled legislators are uncertain about their return.

We start by demonstrating that only a small share of legislators exiled from a committee return. Figure 3 documents the proportion of exiles who return to their original committee, given at least one exiled legislator returns to the committee. To provide more detailed numbers on the return of

Figure 3: Proportion of Exiled Legislators Who Return (Remaining Committees have no Returns)



legislators, Table 2 provides the number exiled, the number who return, and the average duration of the exile. Figure 3 shows there is a generally low level of return. Armed services has the highest rate of return, but the 100% return rate is misleading: the lone exile from Armed Services returned to the committee. Among the committees with multiple exiled legislators, we see a substantially lower return rate. The second highest return rate is found on the Appropriations committee, where 53% of exiles return (driven primarily by the 5 return exiles in the 105th Congress). While this is a high rate of return, in the next section we show that even these legislators were uncertain if they'd reacquire their seat on the committee. Other desirable committees have an even lower return rate: only 39% of exiles from the Ways and Means committee return, and only 1 of the 9 exiles from

Table 2: Number Who Return and Duration of Exile (Given at Least One Exile Returns)

Name	Num. Exiled	Num. Return	Avg. Congress Duration, Given Return
Armed Services	1	1	2
Appropriations	17	9	1
Ways and Means	13	5	1.4
Rules	16	4	1.25
Veterans' Affairs	13	2	2
Energy	9	1	1
House Administration	28	3	1.33
Intelligence	14	1	3
Oversight	24	1	2

Energy and Commerce were able to return to the committee. Among four prominent committees, the rate of return is still low: for Ways and Means, Appropriations, Rules, and Energy, the return rate is only 35%—nearly two-thirds of exiled legislators fail to return to their seat.

Legislators rarely are able to obtain their seat once exiled from a committee. This implies that most legislators recognize that after losing their seat, they will need to redirect their efforts elsewhere. But what about legislators who appear to be relatively well positioned to return to their committee assignment? In the next section, we show that even these legislators are uncertain about their return to the committees. Our interview with DeLauro also reveals more about how legislators react to their experience as exile.

5 Case Studies: Unanticipated Loss of Power and Uncertain Return

To better understand how the process of exile works and how this affects legislators, we undertake two case studies of legislators exiled from committees—Rosa DeLauro (D-CT) who was exiled from the Appropriations committee after the 1994 election (in the 104th Congress) and Allyson Schwartz (D-PA) who was exiled from the Ways and Means committee after the 2010 election (in the 112th Congress). We use both cases because they illuminate how committee exile disrupts the policy focused careers of young and talented legislators in a party, reveal the policy and electoral consequences of committee exile, and demonstrates legislators' uncertainty about *if* they will return

to their original committee assignment and *when* that return will occur.

DeLauro is a doubly useful case study, because she co-chairs the Policy and Steering committee that determines Democrats' committee assignments (a position she has held since 2002). Given her importance, we conducted a semi-structured interview with DeLauro, probing both her experience as an exile and her work managing the Democrat exiles after the 2010 election. We pair this interview evidence with primary and secondary sources that document the process of exile and DeLauro's subsequent reaction. For Schwartz, we used a combination of primary and secondary sources and media reports to document her experience as an exile and to document her uncertain return to the committee and competition with other exiles for the small number of available seats on Ways and Means.

We begin with our case study of DeLauro.

5.1 Rosa DeLauro (D-CT), Exiled from Appropriations, After 1994 Election

DeLauro was first elected to Congress in 1990 and in her second term (in the 103rd Congress) she was appointed to the Appropriations committee. Obtaining a seat on the Appropriations committee this early in a Congressional career was evidence of DeLauro's substantial political skills and legislative ability. As a young member of the Appropriations committee she invested substantially in the committee's work, beginning to cultivate her long standing interest in women's health issues.

But after the 1994 elections and the substantial Democratic losses, DeLauro lost her seat on the Appropriations for the 104th Congress. When asked if she was surprised by the loss of her seat DeLauro said that the sweeping defeat and change of majority control had many consequences including, "that the ratios change" and this change "is in the purview of the majority...None of that did I think about." And later in the interview she said that "I did not contemplate the overall Democratic loss, what that would mean for the Appropriations committee." This exemplifies the disruptive nature of committee exile. Legislators who have worked to obtain their preferred committee assignment subsequently lose that seat. And this comes as a surprise, leaving the legislators without the previously valuable committee assignment.

DeLauro did receive a new committee assignment for her lost seat on Appropriations, obtaining a position on Armed services. We asked her what her experience as an exile meant for her and what she did in Washington. DeLauro first noted that she lost substantial policy influence. Speaking in broad terms, she characterized her position on Appropriations as giving her the power to “Affect the lives of people” and that once she had lost her position on the committee she was “unable to address those issues as I was intending to do. Substantively it is a loss of areas and efforts that I had been working on.”

But DeLauro went on to characterize the losses as more broad—affecting both what she could deliver to the district and the resources she had available in Washington. In particular, DeLauro said that the loss of a committee assignment hindered her ability to address the “interests and needs of your constituency” stating “that gets curtailed”. She also noted that the loss of a committee assignment also means the loss of resources. In particular, DeLauro stated that after losing her committee assignment she also lost her additional staff that came with a seat on the Appropriations committee. She stated that she lost “Associate staff that could help staff the subcommittee” because “you were no longer the subcommittee you could no longer afford to keep them on”. She summarized the effects of exile by saying “Substantively and practically you lost resources”.

DeLauro also expressed that legislators are uncertain about their return to committee—even when party leaders assure exiles that their seat will be return as soon as possible. DeLauro was able to assess this uncertainty both as an exile who returned to her seat on Appropriations in the 105th Congress and as the co-chair of Policy and Steering. When DeLauro was asked about her experience as an exile she said that the party leaders assured her that “you went off according to seniority, you come back according to seniority”. We pressed on this issue, asking DeLauro “So you were certain that you’d be able to return”? DeLauro quickly replied “No...you don’t know” and stated that because of the wait, she was not sure if she’d be able to return. DeLauro also stated that there are similar levels of uncertainty among the newly exiled members in the 112th Congress. She said that what “Leader Pelosi could hold out is that we have precedent. She could say ‘look this is what we did in the past, people came off in order of seniority, but came on in order of seniority’”. But DeLauro said that even this promise was insufficient to assure the exiles who

were relatively high ranking on the committee. DeLauro summarized by stating that “People were skeptical of” the promise Pelosi offered.

Rosa DeLauro’s case reveals the substantial uncertainty that exiles experience after being removed from a committee—enough uncertainty that even those who are of relatively high seniority maintained skepticism about their return to the committee. DeLauro’s case also reveals how the loss of committee assignments affects both the ability to do substantive policy work in Congress and the ability to address particular interests of the district.

We turn next to the case of Allyson Schwartz, whose exile experience exemplifies just how uncertain a legislator’s return is after exile.

5.2 Allyson Schwartz (D-PA), Exiled From Ways and Means, After 2010 Election

Allyson Schwartz, much like Rosa DeLauro in her early Congressional career, is a rising star in the Democratic party. Schwartz was elected to Congress in 2004, after winning a tough primary and general election contest. In 2007, she secured a seat on the Ways and Means committee. The seat on Ways and Means was valuable to Schwartz because it allowed her to influence policy—in particular health care tax policy (she served as an executive at a health care firm before joining Congress) (Staff, 2012). But it also offered Schwartz the opportunity to tout her power to constituents. For example, in one interview she explained that she serves on “on the Ways & Means Committee, which is known as ‘The Powerful Ways & Means Committee,’ ” (Tuttle, 2007). She also used her position on the committee to defend the interests of her more urban district. During negotiations for key provisions on medicare payments included in the Affordable Care Act Schwartz brokered a deal to limit the difference between payments to rural and urban hospitals (Allen, 2010). She then touted this work as evidence of her ability to deliver benefits to the districts using her position on the Ways and Means committee (Schwartz, 2009).

After Democrats’ resounding defeat in the 2010 midterm elections, the number of seats available to Democrats on Ways and Means was reduced to 15. But there were 21 Democrats who were returning to Congress and previously held a seat on the committee. Schwartz was in a pre-

carious position—ranking 17th, she almost certainly was going to lose her seat. She attempted to avoid the exile (Needham, 2010). Schwartz lobbied party leaders, who attempted to persuade other Democrats on the committee to give up their seat, but to no avail. She also attempted to broker deals with other exiles so that she could maintain her seat on the committee, but this was unsuccessful (Needham, 2010). In the end, the strict seniority rule was maintained, with the six most junior Democrats on Ways and Means exiled from the committee.

Some of Schwartz’s fellow exiles gave up on trying to return to the Ways and Means committee. John Yarmouth and Linda Sanchez have both embraced their new committee assignments, recognizing that it will require substantial Democratic gains in the House (or a number of retirements or defeats from well entrenched incumbents). For Schwartz to return to Ways and Means, however, she would need a spot to open. After Shelley Berkley announced her bid for Senate, Schwartz began lobbying for a return to Ways and Means (Sloan and Snell, 2012). Critically, though, Schwartz had no assurances that she would obtain Berkley’s seat (Sloan and Snell, 2012). Chris Van Hollen also indicated that he wanted the committee assignment and reports well into late November 2012 indicated that both legislators would be competing to return to the committee (Sloan and Snell, 2012; Goldmacher, 2012).

Schwartz’s case reveals that even when legislators are able to wield substantial influence to attempt to rejoin a committee there is still uncertainty about whether legislators are going to return to the committee and when they would return. This is because exiled legislators must fight off other exiled legislators in order to obtain the seat. This scarcity of resources deters some from trying at all. For example, Yarmuth has explained to constituents his position on the budget committee as a means for him to influence “spending priorities” and to evaluate “the effectiveness of government programs” (Yarmuth, 2011).

But Even when highly skilled and rising star legislators, like Schwartz, want to return to the committee there is substantial uncertainty about whether they will obtain their seat. As the previous Section suggests, this is because the number of new seats that are available on the committee is substantially less than the number of legislators who want to return to the committee. Together, this demonstrates that there are few assurances that legislators who are removed from a committee

will return.

6 A Brief Summary of the Committee Effects Literature

Our results contribute to a broad literature on committee effects. In spite of the strong expectations that committee assignments will exert direct and substantial influence on legislators' political careers, there is surprisingly mixed evidence. Scholars have used a variety of methods and designs to attempt to estimate this relationship ranging from the direct approach of Bullock (1976)'s survey of members asking why they want to be on a committee (re-election) to Katz and Sala (1996)'s innovative approach of exploiting exogenous changes in the adoption of the Australian ballot across states. The evidence is decidedly mixed on the issue with Bullock (1972); Fowler, Douglass and Clark (1980); Cook (1983); Krehbiel and Rivers (1988); Broockman and Butler (2011) on the negative side of re-election effects, and Bullock (1976); Shepsle (1978); Smith and Deering (1983); Crain and Sullivan (1997); Milyo (1997); Leighton and Lopez (2002); Heberlig (2003); Katz and Sala (1996) on the more positive end. A large and related body of literature examines committee transfer requests (Bullock and Sprague, 1969; Bullock, 1973; Rohde and Shepsle, 1973; Jewell and Chi-Hung, 1974; Hinckley, 1975; Shepsle, 1978; Smith and Deering, 1983; Bullock, 1985; Copeland, 1987; Stewart, 1992; Groseclose and Stewart, 1998*b*; Stewart and Groseclose, 1999*b*; Krehbiel and Wiseman, 2001; Frisch and Kelly, 2004; Krehbiel and Wiseman, 2005; Frisch and Kelly, 2006; Canon and Stewart, 2009; Stewart, 2012).

7 Model Fit Tables

This section contains the numerical details of the estimates that we include throughout our main paper.

8 Matching Robustness Checks

Our research design leverages committee exile to estimate how committee assignments affect legislative behavior. This design uses all legislators who remain on the committee as the "control"

Table 3: The Electoral Consequences of Committee Exile

	Vote Share			Retire			Duration	
	OLS			Probit			Cox	
Intercept	1.51 (2.22)	5.28 (3.70)	9.33 (4.69)	-0.03 (0.59)	1.21 (0.98)	0.68 (1.29)	- -	- -
Exile	-0.08 (0.73)	0.72 (0.75)	0.53 (1.01)	0.02 (0.20)	-0.05 (0.22)	-0.22 (0.26)	-0.02 (0.13)	0.12 (0.20)
Prev. Vote Share	0.82 (0.04)	0.73 (0.04)	0.77 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.01)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	0.002 (0.01)
Prev. Camp. Exp.	- -	- -	-0.0001 (0.0007)	- -	- -	0.0003 (0.0001)	- -	0.0001 (0.0001)
District Partisanship	0.21 0.03	0.31 (0.04)	0.27 (0.05)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.01 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.01)
Tenure	-0.10 (0.05)	-0.06 (0.05)	-0.11 (0.07)	0.01 (0.01)	-0.003 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)	-0.08 (0.01)	-0.09 (0.02)
Rel. Rank	-1.01 (1.33)	-0.50 (1.36)	-1.75 (1.83)	-0.09 (0.34)	-0.40 (0.40)	-0.44 (0.45)	0.07 (0.23)	0.25 (0.35)
Committee Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Subset	All	All	1980-2010	All	All	1980-2010	All	1980-2010
N	438	438	306	438	438	306	438	306

This table contains the coefficient estimates for two versions of our model that we use to estimate the effect of exile on vote share, incidence of retirement, and duration in Washington.

group—the legislators who are not removed. As we show in our paper, this creates treatment and control groups that are remarkably similar. This bolsters our confidence in the design. Of course, we might be able to mitigate potential bias further by limiting the size of our control group. Of course, this isn’t obviously the statistically dominant choice—for reduction of mean square error reasons, we might prefer including a larger control group. But for bias reduction, it is likely better to limit the legislators who we include in our control condition.

In this section, we present results after matching legislators, a procedure which allows us to focus on the legislators who remain on the committee who are most similar to the legislators who are exiled. Specifically, we use matching to pair each of our exiled legislators with the most similar remaining legislator on the same committee using tenure and relative rank to determine the match (our greatest source of imbalance in our original design). Because our treated group is much larger

Table 4: The Fundraising Consequences of Exile

	Campaign Exp. (OLS)	Total Cont. (OLS)	Ind. Cont. (OLS)	PAC Cont. (OLS)
Intercept	1008.45 (250.61)	397.52 (222.00)	215.33 (167.96)	210.90 (79.92)
Exile	106.55 (57.29)	157.00 (66.78)	91.15 (50.62)	53.64 (24.09)
Prev. Camp Exp.	0.54 (0.04)	0.01 (0.13)	0.07 (0.06)	0.00 (0.03)
Prev. Total Cont.	- -	0.72 (0.14)	- -	- -
Prev. Ind Cont.	- -	- -	0.57 (0.12)	- -
Prev. PAC Cont.	- -	- -	- -	0.75 (0.07)
Prev. Vote Share	-0.57 (2.95)	2.53 (3.76)	1.60 (2.86)	-0.03 (1.36)
District Partisanship	-5.30 (2.63)	-8.17 (3.11)	-4.11 (2.37)	-2.89 (1.13)
Tenure	2.20 (3.88)	2.18 (4.49)	0.71 (3.34)	0.53 (1.62)
Rel. Rank	-122.22 (94.88)	-81.16 (115.01)	-64.92 (87.16)	-14.70 (41.50)
Retire	18.02 (66.01)	-592.77 (93.83)	-303.30 (71.52)	-294.50 (34.00)
Exile × Retire	128.87 (144.54)	-406.69 (182.13)	-237.12 (138.56)	-168.70 (66.19)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	306	266	266	266

This table contains the coefficient estimates for the fundraising consequences of exile.

Table 5: The Fundraising Consequences of Exile, Second Congress

	Total Cont. (OLS)	Ind. Cont. (OLS)	PAC Cont. (OLS)
Intercept	187.59 (230.74)	50.15 (135.60)	210.90 (79.92)
Exile	110.79 (70.70)	47.08 (41.67)	53.64 (24.09)
Prev. Camp. Exp.	0.15 (0.14)	0.16 (0.06)	-.0002 (0.03)
Prev. Total Cont	0.78 (0.16)	- -	- -
Prev. Ind. Cont.	- -	0.712 (0.12)	- -
Prev. PAC Cont.	- -	- -	0.75 (0.07)
Prev. Vote Share	-0.70 (3.81)	0.14 (2.25)	-0.03 (1.36)
District Partisanship	1.51 (3.18)	0.99 (1.88)	-2.89 (1.13)
Tenure	1.25 (4.68)	-0.42 (2.75)	0.53 (1.62)
Rel. Rank	-4.58 (123.82)	-27.79 (72.94)	-14.70 (41.50)
Retire	-550.89 (125.67)	-220.86 (75.19)	-294.50 (34.04)
Exile \times Retire	-112.18 (288.00)	-10.44 (169.31)	-168.70 (66.19)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	196	196	196

than our control group (and therefore we are in a near ideal matching situation), we match 2 non-exiled legislators to every 1 exiled legislators (Rosenbaum and Rubin, 1985). We make this choice because it causes a limited increase in imbalance, but provides much more power.

Performing this matching induces greater balance across the exiles and non-exiles on relative rank and tenure on the committee. By definition, this will be unable to yield perfect balance—but it could make the comparisons more credible. The matching reduces the imbalance on relative rank from a difference of 15 percentage points to a difference of 10 percentage points. And the absolute

Table 6: The Institutional Consequences of Committee Exile

	Bills Sponsor (Poisson Reg.)	Days Absent (Poisson Reg.)	Party Unity (OLS)	
Intercept	1.31 (0.33)	2.83 (0.30)	8.30 (5.41)	9.24 (5.45)
Exile	-0.29 (0.09)	0.20 (0.05)	-1.82 (0.96)	-11.20 (5.00)
Prev. No. Sponsor	0.05 (0.002)	- -	- -	- -
Prev. No Days Absent	- -	0.04 (0.002)	- -	- -
Prev. Party Unity	- -	- -	0.86 (0.04)	0.87 (0.04)
Prev. Vote Share	0.02 (0.004)	-0.02 (0.0003)	-0.11 (0.05)	-0.10 (0.05)
District Partisanship	-0.01 (0.004)	0.02 (0.003)	0.28 (0.05)	0.26 (0.05)
Prev. Camp. Exp.	0.0003 (0.0001)	0.00003 (0.00004)	0.0002 (0.0007)	0.0003 (0.0007)
Tenure	0.03 (0.01)	-0.004 (0.004)	0.03 (0.07)	0.03 (0.07)
Rel. Rank	0.12 (0.13)	0.01 (0.10)	-1.57 (1.73)	-1.80 (1.67)
Exile × District. Partisanship	- -	- -	- -	0.16 (0.08)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	266	306	306	306

This table contains the coefficients for the institutional consequences of exile.

difference on tenure in the institution is reduced from 1.9 years to 1.4 years.

In the tables and Figures below we present the results on our matched samples. In all instances but one, our results are robust (and sometimes strengthen). The lone exception are days missing from Washington, which is no longer statistically or substantively significant.

Table 7: The Institutional Consequences of Committee Exile, Second Congress

	Bills Sponsor (Poisson Reg.)	Days Absent (Poisson Reg.)	Party Unity (OLS)
Intercept	1.17 (0.23)	2.54 (0.31)	9.76 (6.07)
Exile	-0.10 (0.10)	0.15 (0.06)	-7.28 (5.41)
Prev. No. Sponsor	0.03 (0.002)	- -	- -
Prev. No. Days Absent	- -	0.02 (0.003)	- -
Prev. Party Unity	- -	- -	0.83 (0.04)
Prev. Vote Share	0.001 (0.003)	-0.0009 (0.003)	0.0002 (0.06)
District Partisanship	0.01 (0.004)	0.002 (0.003)	0.19 (0.06)
Prev. Camp. Exp.	-0.000 (0.00)	-0.0003 (0.00008)	0.0002 (0.001)
Tenure	0.01 (0.01)	0.02 (0.004)	-0.03 (0.08)
Rel. Rank	0.23 (0.15)	-0.19 (0.11)	-2.03 (1.92)
Exile \times District Partisanship	- -	- -	0.11 (0.09)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes
N	180	247	247

9 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

Exiles come from a variety of committees. Given the substantial differences in prestige, we may expect heterogeneity in how losing committee assignment affects legislators' electoral outcomes. And we certainly expect that, given a large sample of exiles from many committees, that we would be able to detect differences. There are two factors that limit our ability to detect this heterogeneity. First, the only way someone is included in our data set is if there is an excess of returning members for a committee and therefore all those removed lost the seat involuntarily. Therefore, legislators may be losing seats that they personally value, even if, on average, legislators attach a low value

Table 8: Matching Results, Electoral Effects of Exile

	Electoral (OLS)	Retire (Probit)
Intercept	0.94 (5.11)	2.74 (1.37)
Exile	0.33 (0.79)	-0.23 (0.26)
Previous Vote	0.75 (0.06)	-0.02 (0.02)
District Partisanship	0.37 (0.05)	-0.02 (0.02)
Tenure	-0.01 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.02)
Rel. Rank	-0.40 (1.74)	-0.58 (0.56)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes

Figure 4: Effect of Exile on Fundraising and Spending, Matched Sample

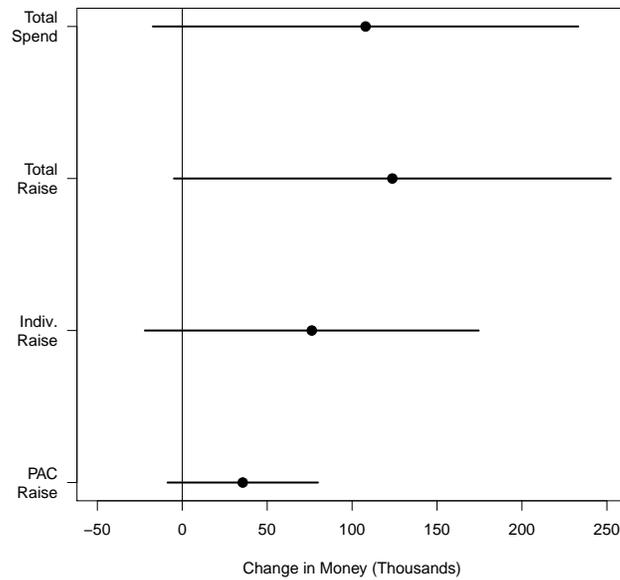


Table 9: Matching Results, Fundraising Effects of Exile

	Campaign Exp. (OLS)	Total Cont. (OLS)	Ind. Cont. (OLS)	PAC Cont. (OLS)
Intercept	1249.22 (418.83)	352.80 (357.90)	137.35 (275.36)	244.60 (121.89)
Exile	113.03 (66.04)	139.80 (67.91)	85.93 (50.15)	42.04 (23.39)
Prev. Camp. Exp.	0.55 (0.05)	0.01 (0.15)	0.09 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.03)
Prev. Total Cont.	- -	0.80 (0.16)	- -	- -
Prev. Ind. Cont.	- -	- -	0.65 (0.14)	- -
Prev. PAC Cont.	- -	- -	- -	0.79 (0.09)
Prev. Vote Share	-0.67 (4.23)	0.61 (5.20)	0.25 (3.88)	-1.41 (1.77)
District Partisanship	-7.20 (3.85)	-8.14 (4.28)	-2.93 (3.19)	-2.98 (1.45)
Tenure	8.88 (6.63)	11.69 (6.86)	7.10 (5.18)	3.98 (2.37)
Rel. Rank	-217.92 (135.19)	-51.77 (151.70)	-28.24 (113.74)	-15.07 (50.84)
Retire	12.52 (92.48)	-630.90 (114.60)	-332.79 (86.68)	-309.12 (38.85)
Exile × Retire	215.86 (190.06)	-148.6 (221.2)	-68.91 (167.60)	-40.64 (75.50)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 10: Matching Results, Institutional Effects of Exile

	Sponsorship	Days Missed	Party Unity	Party Unity
Intercept	1.69 (0.52)	4.24 (0.43)	-5.27 (7.00)	-4.07 (7.05)
Exile	-0.51 (0.10)	0.04 (0.05)	-3.39 (1.05)	-10.05 (5.42)
Prev. No. Sponsor	0.07 (0.01)	- -	- -	- -
Prev. No. Days Absent	- -	0.05 (0.004)	- -	- -
Prev. Party Unity	- -	- -	1.06 (0.05)	1.07 (0.06)
Prev. Vote Share	0.01 (0.00)	-0.01 (0.004)	0.08 (0.08)	0.08 (0.08)
District Partisanship	-0.02 (0.00)	0.01 (0.00)	0.14 (0.08)	0.11 (0.08)
Prev. Camp. Exp	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)	0.00 (0.00)
Tenure	-0.03 (0.02)	-0.05 (0.01)	-0.03 (0.11)	-0.03 (0.11)
Rel. Rank	-0.03 (0.18)	-0.01 (0.11)	-0.75 (2.27)	-0.82 (2.26)
Exile × District Partisanship	- -	- -	- -	0.11 (0.09)
Committee Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Fixed Effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 11: Effect of Exile on Sponsorship, Number of Days Missing, and Party Unity

No. Bills Sponsored	-1.68 [-2.82, -0.97]
No. Days Absent	0.13 [-5.45, 1.33]
Party Unity Score	-3.39 [-5.45, -1.33]

to the seat.

There is also a statistical reason that we fail to detect heterogeneity: our design is underpowered to detect a per committee effect. Each committee has only a few exiled members and few instances of exile. The small number of removed legislators implies that we have sufficient statistical power to detect only the largest effects. And as we have argued above, we do not expect there to be massive differences across the legislators.

That said, we present a measure of heterogeneity in the effect of exile on all of our outcomes here. To do this, we use a multilevel model that allows the effect of committee assignment to depend on the committee a legislator is exiled from. In each instance, we are unable to detect heterogeneity in how legislators respond to the loss of their committee assignment. If the pattern of wave elections in Congress continues in the future, we anticipate that we'll be better able to detect across committee heterogeneity in the effects of exile.

Figure 5: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Campaign Spending

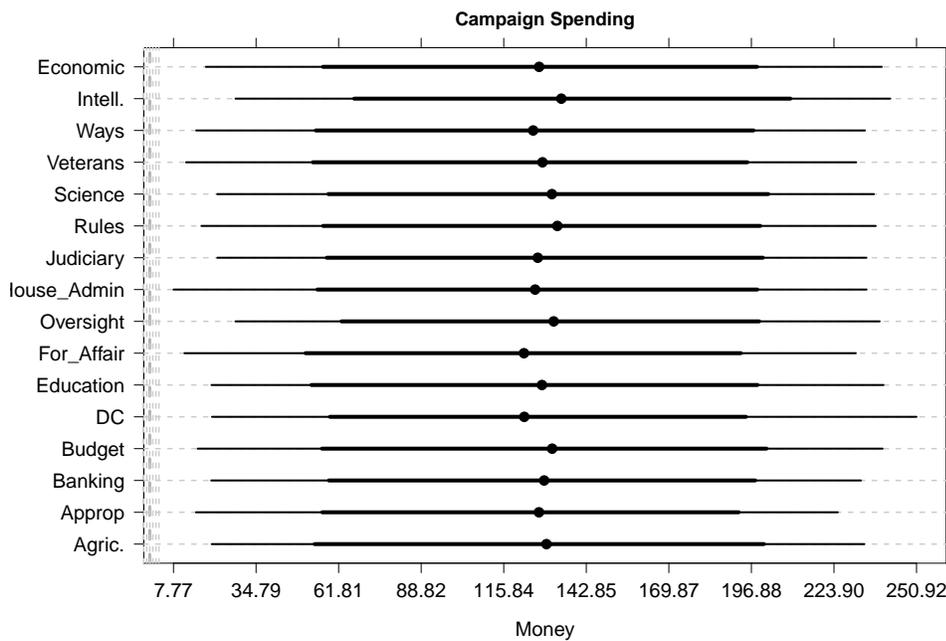


Figure 6: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Total Donations

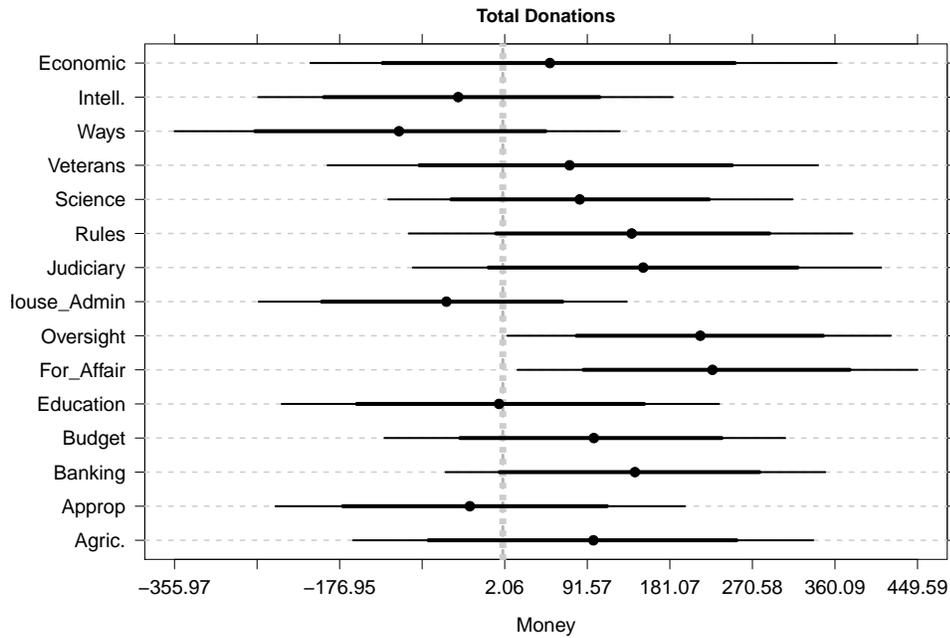


Figure 7: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Individual Donations

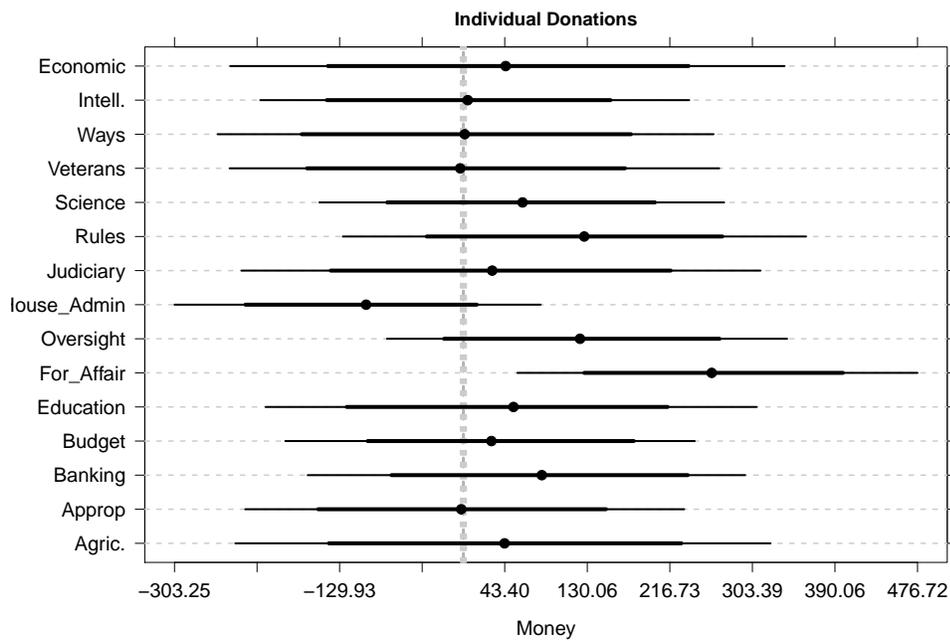


Figure 8: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on PAC Donations

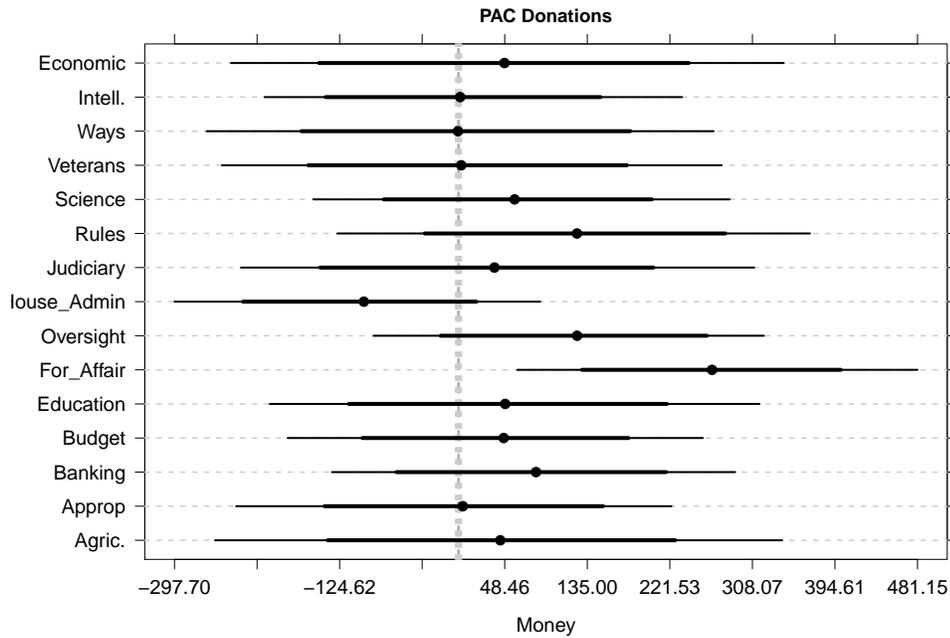


Figure 9: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Number of Bills Sponsored

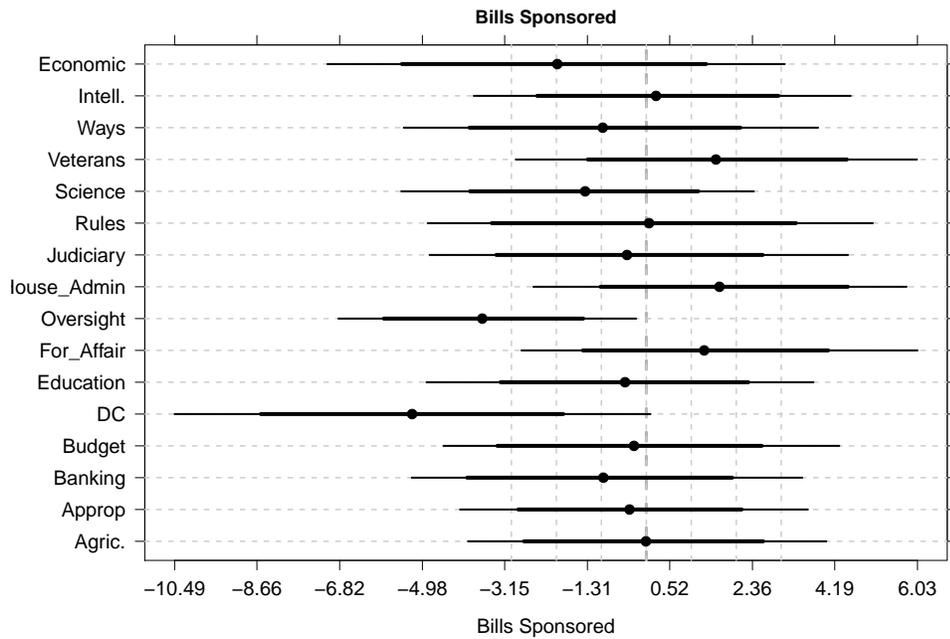


Figure 10: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Number of Days Missed

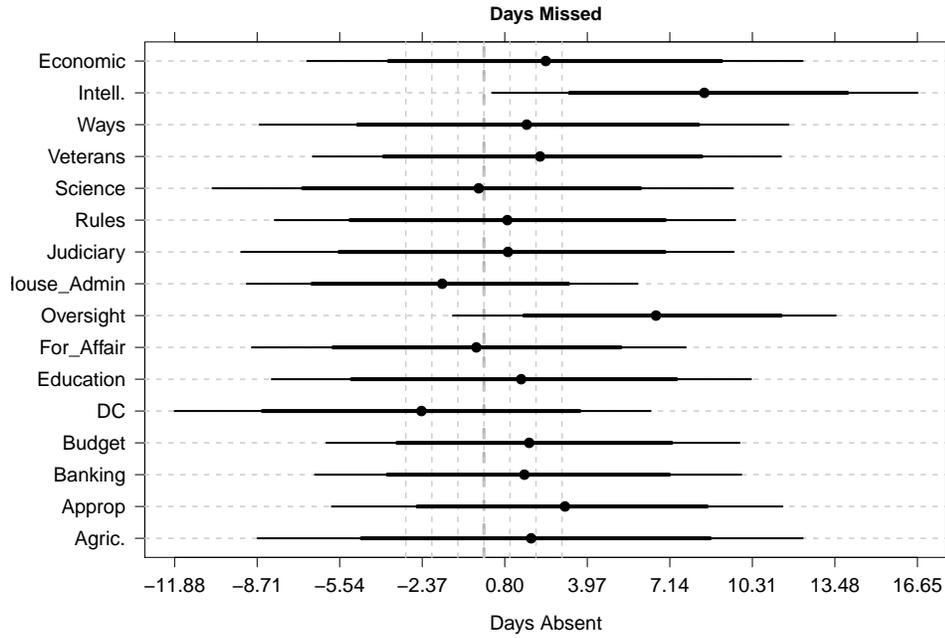
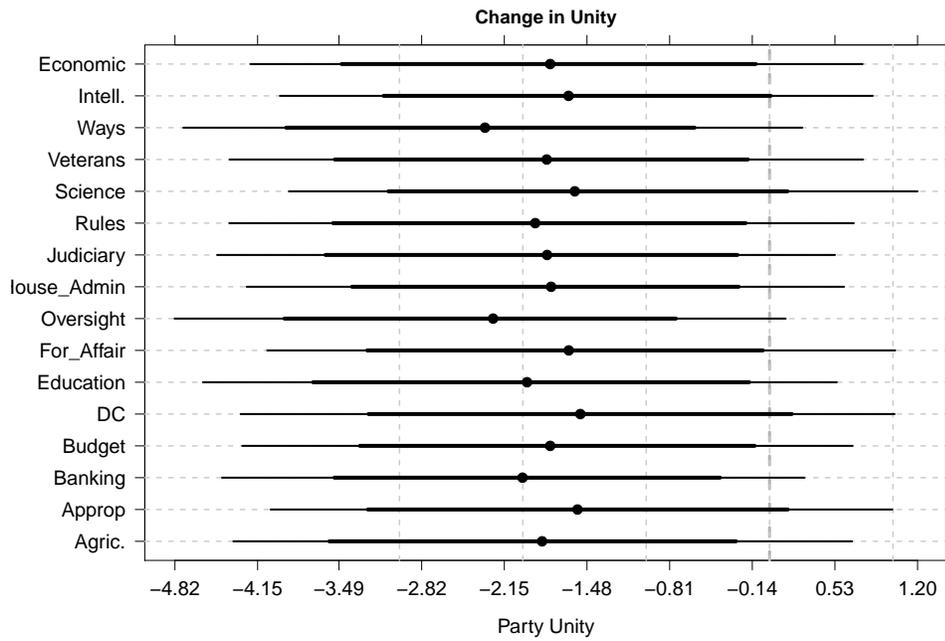


Figure 11: Heterogeneous Effects of Exile on Changes in Party Unity



10 Exile and Progressive Ambition

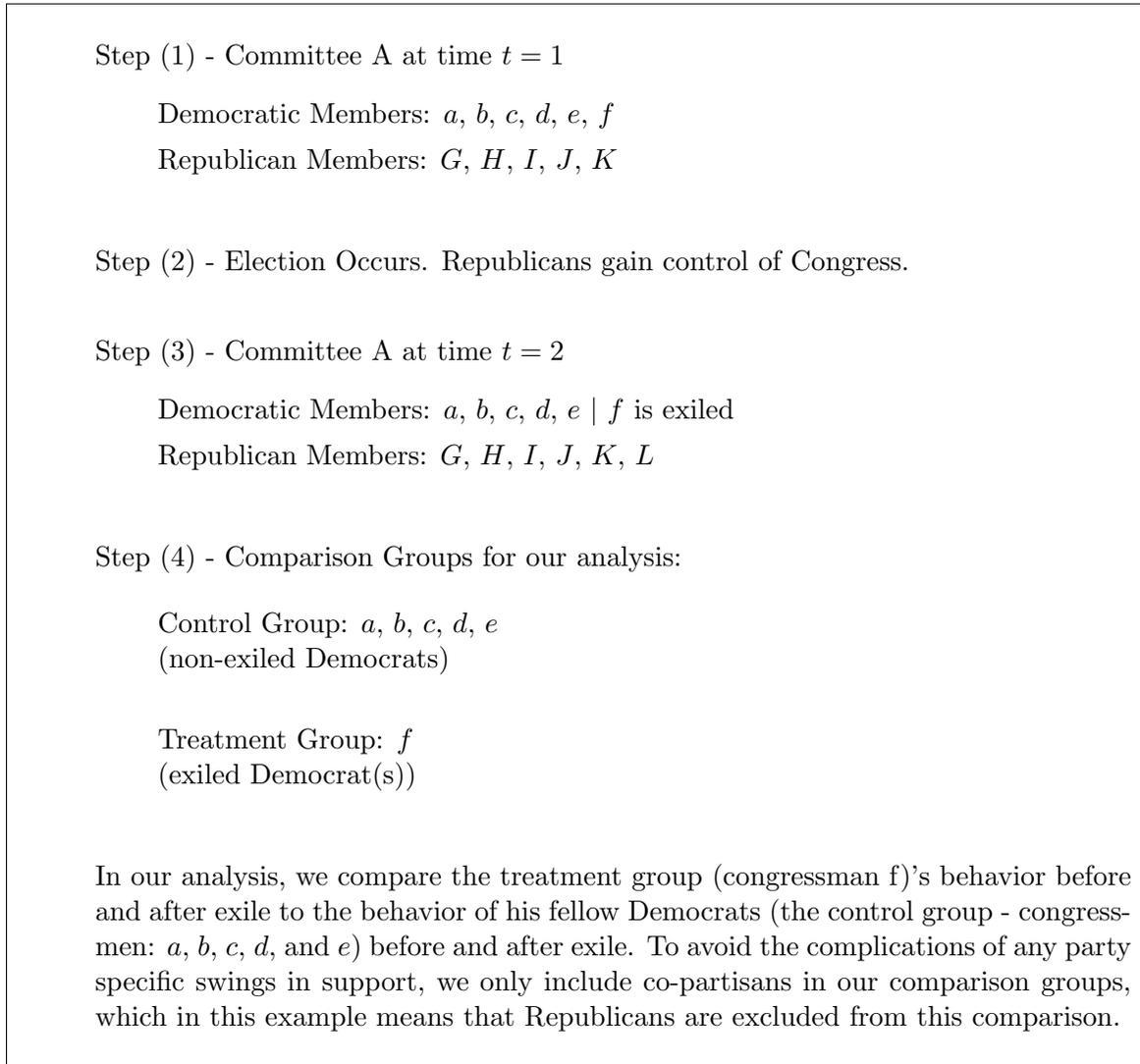
A compelling alternative explanation for our results is that exiled legislators are preparing for a bid for higher office. Specifically, the literature on progressive ambition shows that when the value of staying in a current position decreases, politicians are more likely to attempt a move to higher office. Losing a preferred committee assignment decreases the value of staying in Congress. As DeLauro noted in our interview, there is a loss in both the opportunity for policy influence and actual resources. Given this literature, then, we might expect that our results are explained by strategic members of Congress deciding to run for higher office.

That said, we find little evidence that legislators are altering their behavior in preparation for a run for future office. First, there are very few legislators who decide to run for higher office. In fact, no exiled legislators decide to run for governor or president in the two Congresses after their exile. And there is only a small difference in the proportion of exiled legislators who run for Senate (4/139, 2.9%) and the proportion of non-exiled co-partisan legislators who served on the same committee who ran for the Senate (9/476, 1.9%) (a difference of 0.01, 95 percent confidence interval [-0.02 , 0.04]).

The small number of legislators who run for higher office is consistent with other results. For example, we find that exiled legislators do not retire from Congress at a much higher rate than non-exiled legislators. Further, we think that legislators turning towards the district to cultivate support better explain the entirety of our results. For example, we find it hard to use the progressive ambition theory to explain why legislators would align their voting behavior with their district's preferences. That said, our explanation of compensatory behavior explains this finding more easily.

11 Hypothetical Exile Comparison Group Chart

Figure 12: Hypothetical Exile Comparison Group Chart



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