

Senate candidates, the equivalent increases are much smaller: from .53 to .61 and from .91 to .94, respectively. Again, campaign spending has a bigger payoff to challengers than to incumbents; if they spend enough, Senate challengers become as well known as incumbents.

## Models of Voting Behavior

How well voters know and like the candidates matters, finally, because familiarity and evaluations are directly related to the vote. The series of probit equations reported in Table 5-9, based on analysis of data from recent House and Senate

**TABLE 5-9** Probit Models of the Voting Decision in Recent House and Senate Elections

	HOUSE			SENATE
	1996	1998	2000	1988-1992
<b>Equation 1</b>				
Intercept	.31 (.18)	-.11 (.18)	-.16 (.16)	.00 (.05)
Party identification	1.05 (.06)	.86 (.07)	1.01 (.06)	.69 (.02)
Democrat is incumbent	.27 (.20)	.78 (.21)	.79 (.18)	.56 (.06)
Republican is incumbent	-1.17 (.19)	-.61 (.20)	-.48 (.18)	-.51 (.07)
<b>Equation 2</b>				
Intercept	.41 (.21)	-.55 (.24)	-.04 (.20)	-.10 (.08)
Party identification	1.04 (.06)	.86 (.07)	1.00 (.07)	.69 (.03)
Democrat is incumbent	.07 (.20)	.63 (.23)	.23 (.20)	.41 (.07)
Republican is incumbent	-1.02 (.20)	-.15 (.21)	-.30 (.19)	-.37 (.08)
Familiarity with Democrat	.83 (.18)	1.54 (.21)	1.50 (.21)	.95 (.08)
Familiarity with Republican	-.95 (.19)	-.93 (.25)	-1.46 (.21)	-.79 (.09)
<b>Equation 3</b>				
Intercept	.51 (.26)	-.60 (.26)	.01 (.23)	-.12 (.10)
Party identification	.95 (.08)	.73 (.08)	.85 (.07)	.59 (.03)
Democrat is incumbent	.03 (.26)	.64 (.27)	.05 (.23)	.31 (.08)
Republican is incumbent	-1.04 (.25)	-.07 (.24)	-.27 (.21)	-.39 (.08)
Familiarity with Democrat	.38 (.23)	1.30 (.24)	1.15 (.25)	.79 (.11)
Familiarity with Republican	-.64 (.24)	-.82 (.30)	-1.09 (.24)	-.57 (.11)
Likes something about Democrat	1.53 (.17)	1.14 (.19)	1.07 (.17)	1.09 (.06)
Dislikes something about Democrat	-1.25 (.19)	-1.00 (.23)	-.78 (.20)	-.82 (.07)
Likes something about Republican	-1.20 (.16)	-.59 (.18)	-1.07 (.17)	-1.15 (.06)
Dislikes something about Republican	1.09 (.19)	.51 (.19)	.72 (.20)	.86 (.07)

Note: The dependent variable is vote for Democrat. Standard errors are in parentheses. A coefficient that is at least twice its standard error is statistically significant at  $p < .05$ .

Sources: National Election Studies, 1994, 1996, and 1998, and Senate Election Studies, 1988, 1990, and 1992.

**MODELS OF VOTING BEHAVIOR**

How well voters know and like the candidates matters, finally, because familiarity and evaluations are directly related to the vote. The series of probit equations reported in Table 5-9, based on analysis of data from recent House and Senate elections, suggest how these relationships work. More importantly, they make a fundamental point about the electoral effects of incumbency.

The first equation treats the vote choice as a function of party identification and incumbency status. Not surprisingly, these variables have a strong impact on the vote. Estimates of the size of the impact appear in Table 5-10, which in-

**TABLE 5-9** PROBIT MODELS OF THE VOTING DECISION IN RECENT HOUSE AND SENATE ELECTIONS

	HOUSE		SENATE	
	1994	1996	1998	1988-1992
<i>Equation 1</i>				
Intercept	-.26 <sup>a</sup> (.12)	.31 (.18)	-.11 (.18)	.00 (.05)
Party identification	.97 (.06)	1.05 (.06)	.86 (.07)	.69 (.02)
Democrat is incumbent	.70 (.14)	.27 (.20)	.78 (.21)	.56 (.06)
Republican is incumbent	-.45 (.16)	-1.17 (.19)	-.61 (.20)	-.51 (.07)
<i>Equation 2</i>				
Intercept	.05 (.17)	.41 (.21)	-.55 (.24)	-.10 (.08)
Party identification	.93 (.06)	1.04 (.06)	.86 (.07)	.69 (.03)
Democrat is incumbent	.35 (.15)	.07 (.20)	.63 (.23)	.41 (.07)
Republican is incumbent	-.18 (.17)	-1.02 (.20)	-.15 (.21)	-.37 (.08)
Familiarity with Democrat	1.03 (.20)	.83 (.18)	1.54 (.21)	.95 (.08)
Familiarity with Republican	-1.39 (.19)	-.95 (.19)	-.93 (.25)	-.79 (.09)
<i>Equation 3</i>				
Intercept	.26 (.20)	.51 (.26)	-.60 (.26)	-.12 (.10)
Party identification	.87 (.08)	.95 (.08)	.73 (.08)	.59 (.03)
Democrat is incumbent	.17 (.19)	.03 (.26)	.64 (.27)	.31 (.08)
Republican is incumbent	-.32 (.21)	-1.04 (.25)	-.07 (.24)	-.39 (.08)
Familiarity with Democrat	.48 (.26)	.38 (.23)	1.30 (.24)	.79 (.11)
Familiarity with Republican	-1.08 (.25)	-.64 (.24)	-.82 (.30)	-.57 (.11)
Likes something about Democrat	1.72 (.20)	1.53 (.17)	1.14 (.19)	1.09 (.06)
Dislikes something about Democrat	-1.36 (.20)	-1.25 (.19)	-1.00 (.23)	-.82 (.07)
Likes something about Republican	-1.52 (.20)	-1.20 (.16)	-.59 (.18)	-1.15 (.06)
Dislikes something about Republican	.89 (.21)	1.09 (.19)	.51 (.19)	.86 (.07)

<sup>a</sup>Standard errors are in parentheses.

Note: Dependent variable is vote for Democrat; a coefficient that is at least twice its standard error is statistically significant at  $p < .05$ .

Source: American National Election Studies, 1994, 1996, 1998, and Senate Election Studies, 1988, 1990, 1992.