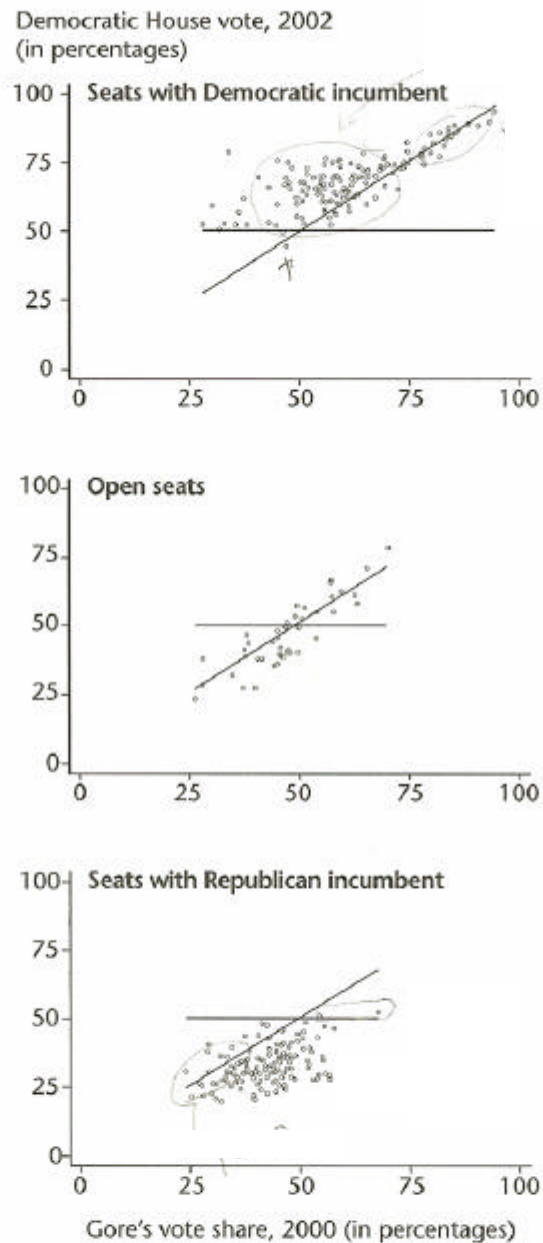


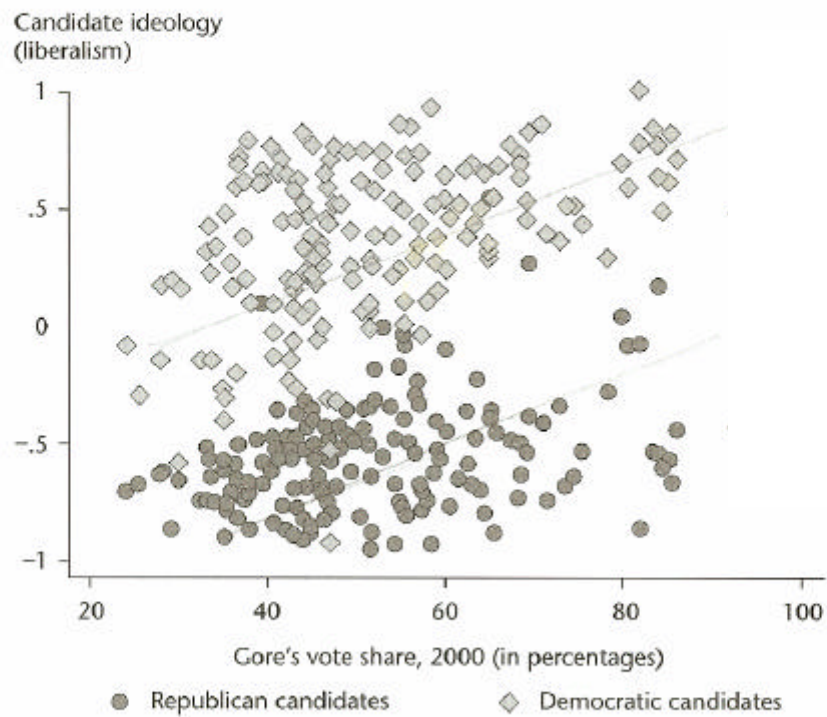
Figure 4-6 The Incumbency Advantage in the House, 2002



Source: Compiled by the authors.

Note: Dots above the diagonal line indicate that the district House vote for the Democratic candidate in 2002 exceeded the vote for Gore in that district in 2000. Dots below the diagonal line indicate that the Democratic House candidate in 2002 ran behind Gore's percentage in 2000. Dots above the horizontal line at 50 percent indicate a Democratic victory; dots below this line a Republican victory. (The 2000 district presidential vote is calculated using the district lines in 2002 rather than 2000.)

Figure 4-7 Republican and Democratic Candidate Ideology, 2002
(by District Presidential Vote in 2000)



Source: Candidate ideology is measured using the 2002 Project Vote Smart Congressional National Political Awareness Test survey.

Note: High scores are liberal, and low scores are conservative.

Table 4-2 Regression of 2002 Democratic Vote on 2002 Candidate Ideology, 2000 District Presidential Vote, and 2002 Candidate Spending, for Incumbent Races

Independent Variable	Regression Coefficient	t-ratio	Beta
<i>Republican incumbents</i>			
Incumbent ideology (liberalism)	-7.02	-3.09*	-0.29
Challenger ideology (liberalism)	-2.67	-2.17*	-0.18
% Gore, 2000 presidential vote	0.31	4.11*	0.40
Log Democratic spending minus log Republican spending	1.99	7.23*	0.58
Constant	21.87	5.18*	
Adjusted $R^2 = .495$; $N = 81$			
<i>Democratic incumbents</i>			
Incumbent ideology (liberalism)	-4.95	-2.03*	-0.18
Challenger ideology (liberalism)	-1.15	-0.56	-0.04
% Gore, 2000 presidential vote	0.50	7.84*	0.79
Log Democratic spending minus log Republican spending	1.52	3.81*	0.28
Constant	35.24	10.05	
Adjusted $R^2 = .671$; $N = 78$			

Source: Compiled by authors.

Note: Candidate ideology scores are based on Project Vote Smart data (Dimension 1) or (if the Project Vote Smart data are missing) equivalently scaled incumbent DW-NOMINATE scores. The presidential vote is the 2000 Democratic percentage of the two-party vote in the 2002 district. Candidate spending is measured in units of thousands of dollars.

*Significant at .05 or higher.

We can visualize the estimated effects of incumbent ideology the following way. The coefficients are -4.95 for Democrats and -7.02 for Republicans, for an average of about -6 . One unit of ideology on our PVS scale equals about half the total range of our scale from the most conservative Republican to the most liberal Democrat. Thus, shifting from a party's extreme to about the midpoint should yield about a six percentage point gain in the vote. If a member did an extreme swing and moved 1.5 units, which is roughly the maximum range of ideological distance within each party, the vote gain could be even larger. This shift would yield about a nine percentage point difference in the vote (1.5 units times 6 percentage points/unit = 9). This means, for instance, that the most conservative Republican member could gain about nine points by adopting the position of the least conservative Republican member. Similarly, the most liberal Democratic member could gain about nine points by adopting the same position as the least liberal Democratic member.²⁷