

Are Bipartisan Lawmakers More Effective?

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Abstract

The researchers confront the puzzle of why bipartisanship is alive and well in Congress, despite party polarization and rising primary election threats. The answer is remarkably simple – bipartisanship works for individual lawmakers. The authors show that members of the House and Senate from the 93rd – 114th Congresses (1973-2016) who attract a larger portion of their bill cosponsors from the opposing party are much more successful at lawmaking. Bipartisanship is linked to increases in members' overall legislative effectiveness, and especially to moving legislation through committee and on the floor. The authors show these patterns to be robust to both majority-party and minority-party lawmakers and across congressional eras. Moreover, a clear path to attracting bipartisan cosponsors is through reciprocity, through cosponsoring others' bills across party lines.

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Bipartisanship in the U.S. Congress is something of a puzzle. On the one hand, the parties in Congress have become increasingly polarized, leaving little middle ground in the ideological center. Members who try to stake out moderate positions or engage in compromise face primary threats from the more extreme winds of their parties, often with the support of well-funded campaign contributors (Barber 2016) and energized ideologues among the primary electorate (Anderson, Butler, and Harbridge-Yong 2020).¹ On the other hand, recent evidence suggests that bipartisanship has endured in Congress albeit somewhat diminished. Bipartisan coalitions still frequently form around initial legislative proposals (Harbridge 2015), and major legislation often passes with bipartisan supermajorities (Mayhew 1991, Light 2012, Curry and Lee 2020).²

How do these two patterns coexist? How do the individual electoral incentives against bipartisanship give way to the aggregate patterns of continued bipartisan lawmaking? We explore this question and offer a fairly straightforward answer. Beyond members' electoral goals are their policy goals (Fenno 1973). And for the purposes of lawmaking, bipartisanship works.

We draw on a dataset of Representatives' and Senators' sponsorship and cosponsorship decisions on all public bills that were introduced into the U.S. House and Senate between 1973-2016. Doing so allows us to assess whether there are, indeed, direct (individual-level) legislative benefits from engaging in bipartisan activities. More specifically, we examine the relationship between members' records of working across the aisle and their lawmaking effectiveness,

¹ See Carson et al. (2010) and Harbridge and Malhotra (2011) for the electoral considerations behind partisan and bipartisan activities in Congress.

² But see Binder (2014) for the issues that are left unaddressed.

showing a strong positive relationship between building bipartisan support for the bills one sponsors and the advancement of one's legislative agenda. Our findings indicate that those Representatives and Senators who attract a more balanced proportion of Democratic and Republican cosponsors to their bills are, indeed, more effective lawmakers than are more partisan legislators. They see a larger percentage of their introduced bills advance through the committee deliberation stage, and onto the floors of their respective chambers. They also see a larger number of their bills become law than those legislators who do not secure a large proportion of cosponsors from members of the opposite party.

These results are robust to whether the legislator is in the majority or minority party, as well as to whether she served in Congress during earlier or more recent (and ostensibly more partisan and contentious) eras. Although such relationships do not establish an irrefutable causal link between lawmakers adopting bipartisan stances and their subsequent (increased) lawmaking effectiveness, the evidence is highly suggestive and robust across many different modeling assumptions and specifications.

We also examine the correlates of legislators' abilities to build bipartisan coalitions on their own bills, helping us to understand which legislators are more likely to have this resource at their disposal. We demonstrate that bipartisan investments in others appear to have an indirect effect on one's own lawmaking effectiveness. Specifically, we uncover a significant positive relationship between how often a legislator cosponsors the bills of members of the opposite party and the proportion of opposition-party cosponsors that she can attract to her own bills. Hence, by engaging in bipartisan cosponsorships, a legislator can contribute to a virtuous cycle whereby a larger proportion of cosponsors on her bills will be drawn from members of the opposite party, enhancing her own lawmaking effectiveness.

How Might Bipartisanship Influence Lawmaking Effectiveness?

Research rooted in spatial models of lawmaking predicts that successful legislation will often be bipartisan, because only legislation that meets the policy goals of pivotal veto players can move forward (Krehbiel 1998). Given the frequency of divided government in the U.S., some buy-in from both parties is often required to achieve policy success. Moreover, even under unified government, it is rare for one party to be large enough (or unified enough) to overcome supermajoritarian hurdles in the lawmaking process by itself (Jones 2001). Therefore, most successful legislation will be bipartisan, by construction, in line with Curry and Lee's (2020) recent empirical finding. Absent bipartisan agreement by lawmakers (and party leaders), gridlock will ensue.

Consistent with this argument, former Senator Richard Lugar (R-IN) and Georgetown University Dean Edward Montgomery (Lugar and Montgomery 2015) recently decried the state of partisanship in Congress, arguing that it “had frequently paralyzed congressional-decision-making, and led both Republicans and Democrats to fail the most basic tests of governance.”³ If it is the case that bipartisan legislation is much more likely to pass, then, at an individual level,

³ In this same essay, Lugar and Montgomery announced the creation of the *Lugar Bipartisan Index*, which is a metric of bipartisanship among members of Congress, to help provide voters and other observers of Congress with a tool with which to assess which legislators were willing to reach across the aisle to forge compromises. Further information about the Index can be found at: <https://www.thelugarcenter.org/ourwork-Effective-Bipartisan-Governance.html>. The overall findings we offer below are robust to use of the Lugar Index as a measure of legislators' bipartisanship.

one would expect that those legislators who develop and shepherd bipartisan bills will be more successful than those legislators who advocate for a more partisan policy agenda.

Indeed, profiles of long-serving and successful legislators often highlight their abilities to work across the aisle and build coalitions for their legislation. Senator Ted Kennedy (D-MA), for example, was well known for proactively identifying Republican allies who could help him to advance his legislative priorities, including the 1982 Jobs Training Partnership Act, where he partnered with Dan Quayle (R-IN) and the 2001 No Child Left Behind Act, where he worked in partnership with President George W. Bush. Similarly, Representative Henry Waxman (D-CA) attributes his success in passing reforms of pesticide regulations in the 1990s to building a bipartisan coalition that began with Representative Thomas Bliley (R-VA) (Waxman 2009, 137). Working across the aisle generates more refined proposals, attractive to a broader coalition, and less vulnerable to intra-party defections.

More broadly, research on many dimensions of legislators' network connections suggests that building broad coalitions, including developing ties with dissimilar legislators (e.g., Kirkland 2011), can help members achieve their policy goals. Fowler (2006) shows that members who are more connected with their colleagues are more successful at passing their amendments, while Craig (2020) demonstrates how more-connected legislators are more successful at securing federal grants. Research on legislative entrepreneurship (e.g., Wawro 2001) likewise suggests the importance of coalition building, including with those across the aisle, for achieving policy goals. Such arguments at the collective and individual level motivate our first testable hypothesis:

Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypotheses: Those legislators who exhibit higher levels of bipartisan activity in Congress will be more effective lawmakers.

An alternative perspective highlights the collective benefits that come from partisan differentiation (*e.g.*, Koger and Lebo 2017). Bipartisan legislation that fails to differentiate between the two parties may be seen by strong partisans as betraying fundamental principles of the party (Baker 2015). Legislators who build bipartisan compromises into their bills may lose crucial coalition members in their own party, who are needed to achieve success; and they may also lose leadership support for advancing bills in committee or bringing them to the floor.

This dynamic may play out on a variety of legislative proposals. For example, messaging bills that highlight partisan differences on the chamber floor (but have little chance of being enacted into law) help voters understand what each party stands for (Lee 2016), help individual legislators engage in position taking without the risks of bill passage (Koger and Lebo 2017), and help the party garner support from aligned interest groups (Gelman 2020). Such messaging bills may therefore outperform bipartisan bills through the early stages of the lawmaking process – reaching the House or Senate floor – even if they do not become law. And partisan incentives carry over to legislation that the leadership *actively* seeks to advance into law. Such partisan efforts may be seen as particularly attractive when major policy change becomes attainable – such as during Democratic efforts to pass the Affordable Care Act or Republican efforts to repeal it.

Even when such majorities and unified government are not available to push through a highly partisan legislative agenda, party leaders often prefer starting with a strong base of partisan supporters and then picking off opponents from the other side, rather than starting from a position of bipartisan compromise. For example, consistent with classic partisan gatekeeping approaches (*e.g.*, Cox and McCubbins 2005), Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-IL) implemented what became known as the “Hastert Rule” whereby he would not allow legislation to move forward

without support of a majority of the majority party (at a minimum). Similarly, in the late-1990s, majority whip Tom DeLay adopted a strategy of starting “every initiative from as far to the political right as we could” (DeLay and Mansfield 2007, 103-104). Partisan bills, especially among majority-party members, may therefore achieve greater success in committee and perhaps on the floor.

At the individual legislator level, recent research on legislative *style* (i.e., Bernhard and Sulkin 2018) suggests that “policy specialists” – representatives with focused agendas, especially within the jurisdictions of their committees – achieve greater legislative success. Such specialists likewise exhibit partisan tendencies, more often voting with members of their own parties and engaging less in bipartisan cosponsorship. Taken together, these arguments suggest that the most effective lawmakers might actually be those who advocate for more partisan positions. This logic leads to the following hypothesis:

Partisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis: Those legislators who exhibit lower levels of bipartisan activity in Congress will be more effective lawmakers.

Clearly these two hypotheses are in direct competition with one another. Support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* would thus be evidence against the *Partisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*. Alternatively, we could find support for the null hypothesis that there is no relationship whatsoever between the scope of a legislator’s bipartisan activities and her lawmaking effectiveness in Congress. Finally, we may find conditional evidence, such as if bipartisanship is helpful for minority-party legislators, with the opposite true for majority-party legislators. Each possibility is open to empirical examination.

Data

Testing these hypotheses requires metrics of legislators' lawmaking effectiveness and of the scope of their bipartisan activities. To measure lawmaking effectiveness, we employ Volden and Wiseman's (2014, 2018) Legislative Effectiveness Score (LES), which is a parsimonious summary metric that captures how successful a Representative (or Senator) is at advancing her legislative agenda items (i.e., Public Bills) through the lawmaking process from introduction until (possibly) becoming law. More specifically, a Representative's (Senator's) LES captures how many public bills she introduces into her chamber, how many of those bills receive any sort of action in committee and/or action beyond committee, how many of those bills pass her home chamber, and how many ultimately become law, in comparison to all other Representatives (Senators) within a two-year Congress. Moreover, each bill is coded as being either commemorative, substantive, or substantive and significant, such that the LES is higher for members with large portfolios, those who tackle more substantial issues (not just commemorative measures), and those whose bills advance further in the lawmaking process. The LES is normalized to an average value of one in each Congress, to facilitate easy comparisons across legislators. For the current study, we analyze the Legislative Effectiveness Scores of every member of the U.S. House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate who served between the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016). While the LES is a reasonably straightforward (and widely accepted) overall metric of lawmaking effectiveness, it is worth noting that it does not include a number of activities that members of Congress engage in, such as oversight,

constituent service, or obstruction.⁴ It is focused on the advancement of legislative proposals, in line with our hypotheses.

The concept of *bipartisanship*, in contrast, could mean different things to different people. Consistently voting for bills that are offered by members of the opposing party, issuing public statements in support of members of the opposing party, and (in rare cases) helping to advance the election (or reelection) efforts of out-partisans might all be deemed to be meaningful indicators of legislators' bipartisan activities inside and outside of Congress. For our analysis, however, we focus on one specific metric, which we equate with legislators' propensity to engage in bipartisan activities on substantive policy issues: how often legislators attract opposite-party cosponsors to their introduced bills, relative to attracting copartisans.

Cosponsorship data have been used to engage with questions related to policy support across different groups of legislators (e.g., Swers 2002; Sulkin 2005, 2011), the determinants of network formation in Congress (e.g., Tam Cho and Fowler 2010), the role of confirmatory signaling and cue-taking in lawmaking (e.g., Kessler and Krehbiel 1996, Zelizer 2018), and the efficacy of sanctions for renegeing on promises (e.g., Bernhard and Sulkin 2013). While it is

⁴ Related to this point, the LES also does not fully account for alternative pathways for legislators to leave an imprint on the lawmaking process, such as successfully adding amendments to bills that ultimately become law, or having portions of their bills being attached to successful omnibus bills. Future work, perhaps leveraging text reuse methods (e.g., Casas et al. 2020, Wilkerson et al. 2015) could be very useful in helping to the explore the relationships between bipartisanship and legislative success, while still accounting for these less direct pathways in lawmaking.

debatable whether a legislator's decision to cosponsor a bill indicates whether she will exert any effort to secure its passage, it is certainly the case that cosponsoring another legislator's bill represents a clear public endorsement of that legislative initiative (Koger 2003). Moreover, this endorsement is likely sincere (Desposato, Kearney, and Crisp 2011); and once a legislator has signed on as a cosponsor, she rarely votes against that bill (Bernhard and Sulkin 2013). Hence, cosponsorship data allow an analyst to assess whether a legislator supports particular colleagues and their initiatives, regardless of whether agenda-setting or gatekeeping obstacles keep such bills from receiving a vote on the floor (Harbridge 2015). As a result, cosponsorship data serve as highly transparent indicators of legislators' bipartisanship.

Research using cosponsorship patterns has produced some evidence that larger and more diverse coalitions may contribute to lawmaking success. Kessler and Krehbiel (1996), for example, posit that diverse cosponsors can provide signals of bill quality, while Koger (2003) argues that leaders recognize that bills with bipartisan coalitions may be easier to pass; either argument suggests that bipartisan cosponsorship coalitions may help advance proposals. Wilson and Young (1997) find mixed support for the importance of cosponsorship (though not specifically bipartisan cosponsorship) on legislative success. They show that cosponsorship coalitions can provide signals of expertise, contributing to success at the committee stage, even if not predicting a bill's final passage.

Much of the existing cosponsorship research focuses on bill attributes or party leaders' priorities, whereas there is significantly less work on how individual legislators' cosponsorship relates to their successes. One prominent exception, however, is Fowler's (2006) network-based approach, in which he analyzes how a member's "connectedness" is predictive of her passing more of her amendments on the floor. Our findings below suggest that future work

characterizing the *directional* nature of such network ties may be valuable, as *offering* cosponsorship support to others and *attracting* cosponsors to one's own bills have quite different effects on lawmaking success. Taken as a whole, however, the extant scholarship does not examine the relationships between individual legislators' efforts at bipartisanship and the scope of their legislative successes.

Drawing on cosponsorship data for all public bills that were introduced between 1973-2016, we capture how often legislators' bills attract bipartisan cosponsors.⁵ More specifically, a legislator's *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* is the average proportion of all cosponsors on her sponsored bills in a given two-year Congress who are from the other party.⁶ By construction, we restrict the calculation to those bills a member sponsored that drew in at least one cosponsor. This variable accounts for substantial changes over time in the frequency of cosponsorship.⁷ Hence, holding the number of sponsored bills constant, as a legislator attracts

⁵ Bill sponsorship and cosponsorship data for the 93rd to 110th Congresses were collected and shared by James Fowler (2006). We updated these data for the 111th to 114th Congresses.

Independents are excluded from these calculations and from all analyses reported here.

⁶ We first calculate the proportion of cosponsors from the opposing party on each bill and then calculate the mean across bills sponsored by each member, restricting our analysis to bills with at least one cosponsor.

⁷ In the 93rd Congress, for example, only 30 percent of House bills were cosponsored compared to 73 percent of bills by the 108th Congress (Harbridge 2015). A second change over time is a limit on the number of cosponsors who could sign onto any bill, which were capped at 25 in the House, prior to 1978. Harbridge (2015, 23) notes that only a tiny fraction of bills (less than one

more cosponsors from the opposite party to her bills, her *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* value increases. As an example, Rep. Aderholt (R-AL) sponsored five H.R. bills in the 113th Congress, two of which were cosponsored. Democrats were two of five cosponsors on the first bill, and two of three cosponsors on the second bill. His *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* is thus $(0.4 + 0.667)/2 = 0.534$.

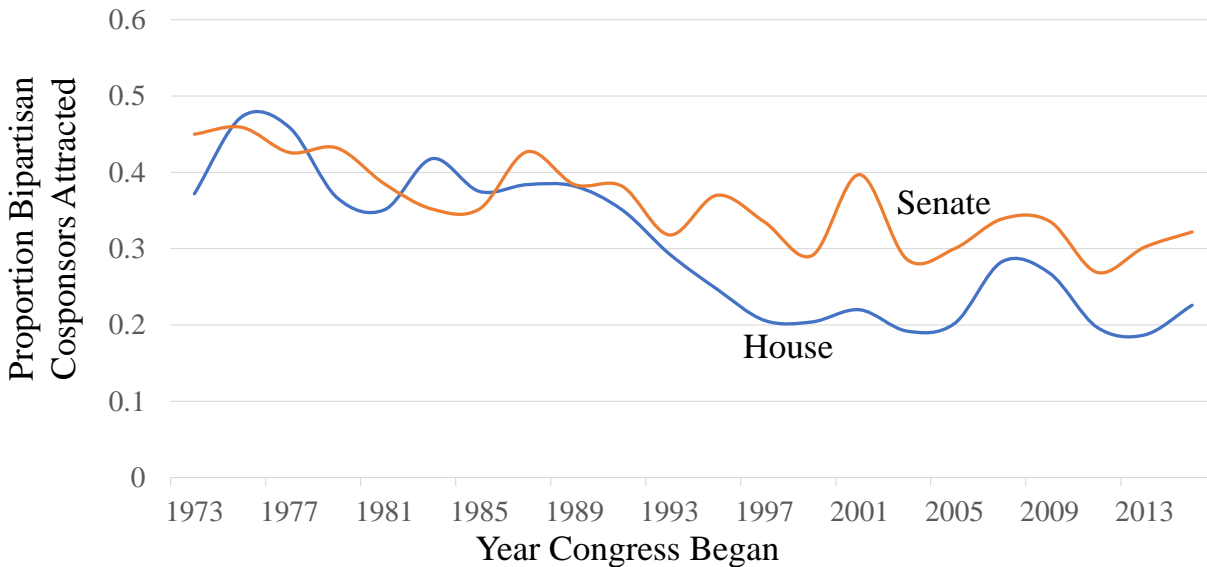
It is important to characterize bipartisanship through cosponsorship as a proportion rather than as a count of such cosponsors from the other party; if we employed the latter measure, members with larger portfolios would receive more cosponsors and higher effectiveness scores, all else equal, simply by construction of these variables. Moreover, given that bills that move further through the lawmaking process attract more cosponsors as they progress, a simple count of cosponsors from the other party would therefore trivially be associated with higher lawmaking effectiveness. However, our fundamental question is not about accumulating more cosponsors (from either party), but rather about whether there is a greater return from growing the support of members of the opposing party or of one's own party, at the margins. If the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* is correct, we should expect a positive correlation between LES and the *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted*. A negative correlation would offer support for the *Partisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*.

Given the rising partisanship and polarization in Congress over recent decades, we might expect the *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* to be in decline. As Figure 1 shows, this

percent) had exactly 25 cosponsors, which suggests that it is unlikely that our measures of cosponsorship are significantly affected by bills “filling up” on cosponsors and other members who wished to cosponsor being unable to do so.

is exactly the case. About 40% of cosponsors were attracted from the other party in the 1970s and 1980s – nearly as if cosponsors were attracted to legislators’ bills regardless of party affiliation. These rates fell to about 20% in the House and 30% in the Senate in the most recent decade. This higher rate in the Senate may be due to less acrimonious partisanship in the Senate, or perhaps due to the need to reach across the aisle to gain 60 votes for cloture on most policy measures. Despite these declines, some members of the House and Senate continue to score highly on this bipartisanship variable, such as Representative Jon Mica (R-FL) in the 114th Congress, Representative James Clyburn (D-SC) in the 112th Congress, and Senator Lisa Murkowski (R-AK) in the 113th Congress, each of whom, on average, drew more than half of their cosponsors from the opposing party.

Figure 1: Level of Bipartisan Cosponsorship over Time



Note: The figure shows that about 20% of the cosponsors attracted to Representatives’ bills come from the opposing party in recent Congresses, down from about 40% in earlier Congresses. For the Senate, this decline is to about 30% bipartisan cosponsors attracted recently.

Analyses and Findings

Particular care is needed in analyzing the relationship between bipartisanship and legislative effectiveness, for a variety of reasons. For example, this relationship may simply be linked to legislators' ideologies, with centrists having an easier time attracting bipartisan cosponsors and also being more likely to have their bills advance through the lawmaking process. Or, for instance, majority-party legislators may have less need to attract bipartisan cosponsors, while at the same time being advantaged in lawmaking. To address these concerns, we take two additional steps beyond our careful coding of bipartisanship described above.

First, we rely on cross-sectional time-series regressions with legislator fixed effects. Fixed effects account for the types of legislators who are naturally more active in moving bills forward, and in attracting cosponsors from the opposing party. This allows us to interpret the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* as the marginal impact of changes in the proportion of opposite-party cosponsors on a member's LES, holding underlying member-specific patterns fixed. Second, we control for the standard set of covariates that help to explain legislative effectiveness, as analyzed in the literature (e.g., Volden and Wiseman 2018). These variables account for ideology, party status, seniority, committee chair positions, and a host of other considerations that otherwise might influence both bipartisanship and effectiveness.

Descriptive statistics and sources for all of these variables can be found in Appendix Table A1.

Based on the logic developed above, if attracting a substantial proportion of cosponsors from members of the opposite party contributes positively to a legislator's lawmaking efforts, then consistent with the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, we would expect the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* to be positive and statistically significant. If, however, reaching out to (and gaining the support of) cosponsors

from the other party makes a legislator's agenda less appealing to her own party's members or leaders, then consistent with the *Partisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, we would expect the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* to be negative and statistically significant.

Table 1 presents the results from a series of models exploring this relationship. Models 1.1 and 1.4 show the basic results in the House and Senate, respectively, for regressions without the numerous control variables. We find a strong positive relationship between the proportion of cosponsors on a Representative's (or Senator's) bills who are drawn from the opposite party and her lawmaking effectiveness. Moreover, Models 1.2 (for the House) and Models 1.5 (for the Senate), show that this relationship holds even when we control for the usual (time-varying) correlates of a member's lawmaking effectiveness. The decline in the size of the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* shows the importance of adding these controls. That said, these coefficients remain positive, significant, and sizable. Specifically, each one-standard-deviation increase in *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* is associated with a 0.08-point rise in LES in the House and a 0.06-point rise in the Senate. Given the average value of 1.0 for the LES metric, this is equivalent to six to eight percent greater effectiveness, about equivalent to two additional terms of seniority.⁸

⁸ Specifically, from Model 1.2 for the House, the *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* (with standard deviation of 0.194) has a coefficient of 0.433. The effect of a one-standard-deviation increase is thus $0.433 \times 0.194 = 0.084$, a bit less than double the size of the coefficient on *Seniority* (0.058). For the Senate (Model 1.5), similar calculations yield $0.309 \times 0.190 = 0.059$, almost triple the *Seniority* effect (0.021).

Table 1: Lawmakers Attracting Bipartisan Cosponsors Are More Effective

DV: Legislative Effectiveness Score	Model 1.1: House	Model 1.2: House	Model 1.3: House	Model 1.4: Senate	Model 1.5: Senate	Model 1.6: Senate
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	0.986*** (0.128)	0.433*** (0.097)	0.446*** (0.097)	0.538*** (0.189)	0.309* (0.146)	0.368** (0.147)
Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered			-0.238 (0.215)			-0.372 (0.273)
Seniority		0.058*** (0.009)	0.057*** (0.009)		0.021* (0.011)	0.021* (0.011)
Majority Party		0.784*** (0.117)	0.715*** (0.125)		0.326*** (0.086)	0.228* (0.112)
Majority Party Leadership		0.362** (0.133)	0.361** (0.133)		0.146 (0.130)	0.148 (0.129)
Minority Party Leadership		-0.198* (0.095)	-0.208* (0.097)		0.087 (0.074)	0.075 (0.074)
Speaker		0.028 (0.277)	0.038 (0.277)			
Committee Chair		2.774*** (0.217)	2.774*** (0.217)		1.032*** (0.116)	1.026*** (0.115)
Subcommittee Chair		0.675*** (0.077)	0.678*** (0.077)		0.328*** (0.078)	0.326*** (0.078)
Power Committee		-0.191*** (0.051)	-0.189*** (0.050)		-0.085 (0.070)	-0.081 (0.071)
Distance from Median		0.457* (0.225)	0.448* (0.224)		0.247 (0.191)	0.222 (0.190)
Size of Congressional Delegation		-0.020 (0.023)	-0.020 (0.022)		-0.015 (0.034)	-0.014 (0.034)
Vote Share		0.027** (0.010)	0.026** (0.010)		0.001 (0.019)	0.001 (0.019)
Vote Share ²		-0.0002** (0.0001)	-0.0002** (0.0001)		0.00002 (0.0001)	0.00003 (0.0001)
Constant	0.744*** (0.037)	-0.915 (0.567)	-0.783 (0.550)	0.820*** (0.067)	0.215 (0.755)	0.390 (0.736)
N	9,202	8,997	8,997	2,192	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.01	0.40	0.40	0.02	0.41	0.41

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and robust standard errors in parentheses. Observations are members of the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016). * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Consistent with the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, the models suggest that legislators who attract a greater proportion of their cosponsors from the other party are significantly more effective as lawmakers themselves.

In Models 1.3 and 1.6, we add *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered*, which is simply the proportion of bills that a legislator cosponsors that are introduced by a member of the other party out of all of the bills the member cosponsors in that Congress. This variable captures an alternative way that bipartisanship may be perceived in Congress. Its inclusion allows us to

assess whether it is the attracting or the offering of bipartisan support that influences legislative effectiveness. The coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered* is not statistically significant (when including all the control variables from the earlier models), indicating that it is the attraction of bipartisan cosponsors, rather than the offer of bipartisan cosponsorships, that matters.⁹ However, the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* remains positive and significant.¹⁰ This support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* is robust to a variety of alternative specifications. For example, the findings from the models in Table 1 are largely unchanged upon adding a control for the average number of cosponsors a legislator receives on her bills.¹¹ The findings are also robust to models excluding member fixed effects. Such models, as shown in Appendix Table A2, feature even larger coefficients on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted*. This suggests that, in

⁹ Without these control variables, there is a significant (negative) relationship between offering bipartisan cosponsorships and a member's LES.

¹⁰ As noted above, support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* is robust to using the Lugar Bipartisanship Index as an alternative measure. That said, the Lugar Index captures both bipartisan cosponsorships offered and attracted, similar to Fowler's (2006) measure of connectedness. The disaggregate analyses presented here show more clearly which form of bipartisanship is associated with greater lawmaking effectiveness – specifically, attracting bipartisan cosponsors is most important.

¹¹ This variable is positive and significant when no control variables are included in the regressions (such as in Models 1.1 and 1.4), but becomes insignificant upon including the controls in the main models.

addition to the benefits of a legislator attracting more bipartisan cosponsors than she typically does, those legislators who tend to attract such cosponsors at an overall higher level across their careers are also more effective. Put another way, there appear to be lawmaking benefits from attracting bipartisan cosponsors, whether that is a deviation from a member's typical behavior, or whether it is a way of life.

In What Lawmaking Stage Does Bipartisanship Help?

Although the models of Table 1 offer initial support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, the aggregate LES measure may mask important underlying variance. Specifically, bipartisanship may be more important in some stages of the lawmaking process than in others. Thankfully, the component parts of the Legislative Effectiveness Score allow us to explore this issue. In particular, as described above, the LES focuses on five stages of lawmaking, from the number of bills a member sponsors (BILLS) to how many of those receive action in committee (AIC) to how many receive action beyond committee on the floor of the House or Senate (ABC) to how many pass their home chamber (PASS) to how many become law (LAW).

To explore the effect of bipartisanship across these stages, we conduct further analyses of each stage separately. In Table 2 we report the results of a series of regressions for the House (Models 2.1-2.3) and the Senate (Models 2.4-2.6) where the dependent variables capture different stages in the lawmaking process, and the independent variables are identical to those in Models 1.2 and 1.5 in Table 1. More specifically, in Model 2.1 the dependent variable is the number of bills that a Representative introduces into a two-year Congress; in Model 2.2 the dependent variable is the number of those bills that receive any sort of action beyond committee;

and in Model 2.3, the dependent variable is the total number of bills the member introduced that ultimately become law. Models 2.4-2.6 employ analogous dependent variables for the Senate. Comparable models for the “action in committee” and “passing home chamber” stages are offered in Appendix Table A3. We again rely on fixed-effects linear models, but the results are substantively similar upon employing the additional assumptions of negative binomial count models.

Several robust findings emerge across the models of Table 2. First, in Models 2.1 and 2.4, we see no significant effect of bipartisanship on the number of bills a member puts forward. In other words, the findings that we presented in Table 1 regarding the (positive) relationship between a legislator’s lawmaking effectiveness and the proportion of opposing-party cosponsors who sign onto her bills is not simply an artifact of her introducing significantly more legislation (which would be positively correlated with her LES), in comparison to legislators who do not attract many bipartisan cosponsors.

In Models 2.2 and 2.5, however, we see that the coefficients on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* are positive and statistically significant. These findings imply that, as the proportion of other-party cosponsors on a legislator’s bills increases, more of her introduced bills advance through the committee stage to the floor of the House or Senate. A similar result is obtained in Models 2.3 and 2.6, in which we see a positive association between a legislator’s bipartisan cosponsors and more of her bills becoming law.

Table 2: Members Who Attract Bipartisan Cosponsors Achieve Greater Success in Committee and in Producing Laws

	Model 2.1: House # Bills	Model 2.2: House # ABC	Model 2.3: House # Laws	Model 2.4: Senate # Bills	Model 2.5: Senate # ABC	Model 2.6: Senate # Laws
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	0.456 (0.877)	0.853*** (0.166)	0.485*** (0.088)	4.297 (3.156)	2.340** (0.822)	0.569* (0.319)
Seniority	-0.439*** (0.113)	0.096*** (0.016)	0.016* (0.007)	0.054 (0.327)	0.104* (0.056)	-0.030* (0.018)
Majority Party	5.876*** (1.074)	1.159*** (0.211)	0.468*** (0.089)	-0.966 (1.980)	2.504*** (0.460)	0.647*** (0.182)
Majority Party Leadership	1.392 (0.975)	0.560* (0.245)	0.256* (0.124)	3.087 (2.941)	0.320 (0.679)	0.193 (0.251)
Minority Party Leadership	-0.784 (1.439)	-0.298 (0.173)	-0.138* (0.080)	3.726 (3.008)	0.149 (0.411)	0.050 (0.150)
Speaker	-2.025 (2.705)	-0.328 (0.543)	0.430* (0.208)			
Committee Chair	2.678* (1.463)	5.113*** (0.394)	1.750*** (0.172)	8.860*** (1.729)	5.807*** (0.587)	1.331*** (0.208)
Subcommittee Chair	2.312*** (0.679)	1.107*** (0.131)	0.329*** (0.056)	8.141*** (1.673)	1.162** (0.457)	0.490*** (0.159)
Power Committee	2.399*** (0.730)	-0.504*** (0.098)	-0.139*** (0.041)	1.922 (1.563)	-0.890* (0.402)	-0.158 (0.142)
Distance from Median	9.811*** (2.063)	0.075 (0.401)	0.339* (0.192)	-1.189 (4.830)	1.686 (1.096)	1.154** (0.394)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.010 (0.211)	-0.045 (0.036)	-0.021 (0.016)	-1.449* (0.848)	-0.093 (0.154)	-0.045 (0.066)
Vote Share	0.608*** (0.119)	0.080*** (0.018)	0.030*** (0.010)	-0.282 (0.435)	0.029 (0.100)	0.030 (0.036)
Vote Share ²	-0.004*** (0.001)	-0.0005*** (0.0001)	-0.0002** (0.0001)	0.003 (0.003)	0.0001 (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.0003)
Constant	-11.858* (6.155)	-2.217* (0.997)	-0.783* (0.472)	44.178** (17.309)	-0.322 (3.863)	-0.665 (1.503)
N	8,997	8,997	8,997	2,167	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.03	0.34	0.22	0.13	0.44	0.19

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses. Observations are members of the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Dependent variables for Models 2.1 and 2.4 are the number of bills introduced by the lawmaker; for Models 2.2 and 2.5 are number of member's bills that successfully navigate out of the committee process to the floor; and for Models 2.3 and 2.6 are the total number of laws produced from the lawmaker's sponsored bills. On the whole, the results show lawmakers who attract a greater proportion of bipartisan cosponsors do not tend to sponsor significantly more bills, but do have greater success throughout the rest of the lawmaking process.

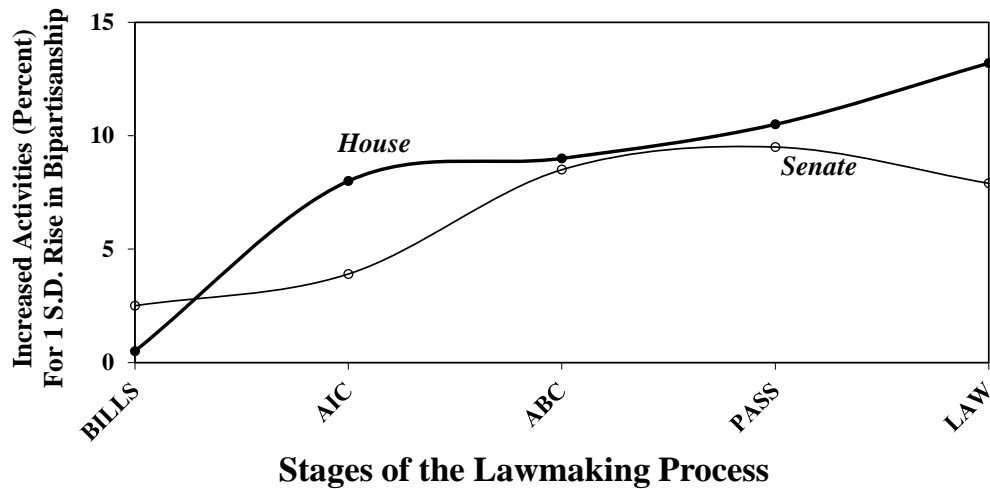
In Figure 2, we illustrate these effect sizes across all five lawmaking stages. The figure shows the percent increase in legislative activity at each stage associated with a one standard-

deviation increase in *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted*.¹² Consistent with Models 2.1 and 2.4 in Table 2, we see that increases in the proportion of bipartisan cosponsors attracted do not map into notably more bills introduced by Representatives and Senators. That said, for every status step thereafter, a higher proportion of bipartisan cosponsorship of one's bills clearly maps into greater levels of lawmaking success. More specifically, Representatives who attract a one-standard deviation larger proportion of bipartisan cosponsors to their bills experience about 8-14% increases in their bills receiving committee attention, passing the House, and becoming law.

Senators who attract a one-standard-deviation larger proportion of bipartisan cosponsors to their bills likewise experience up to about a 10% increase in their bills advancing through these steps in the lawmaking process. Perhaps these somewhat smaller effects are due to most Senators already embracing a higher level of bipartisanship than their House counterparts, with fewer benefits emerging from going beyond these higher average levels. Indeed, a tradition of bipartisan lawmaking has historically thrived in the Senate (i.e., MacNeil and Baker 2013, Sinclair 2017).

¹² For example, the 13.3% increase in the number of laws produced in the House comes from multiplying the regression coefficient in Model 2.3 (0.485) by the standard deviation (0.194) and dividing by the number of laws produced on average by House members (0.710). Specifically, $(0.485)(0.194)/(0.710) = 0.133$ or 13.3%.

Figure 2: Legislative Advancement for Lawmakers Attracting Bipartisan Cosponsors



Notes: The figure shows the percent increase in a legislator’s activities at five stages of the lawmaking process associated with a one-standard-deviation increase in attracting bipartisan cosponsors. The five stages are number of bills introduced (BILLS), number receiving action in committee such as hearings (AIC), number receiving action beyond committee (ABC), number passing their home chamber (PASS), and number becoming law (LAW). Calculations are based on the models of Tables 2 and A3. The results show that bipartisanship is not associated with bill introductions, but is positively related with every further stage in the lawmaking process.

Robustness to Nonlinear Effects, Party Control, and Different Congressional Eras

The above analyses provide support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* overall, and particularly at key stages of the lawmaking process. That said, one might wonder about the extent to which these findings hold across our entire sample, or perhaps whether they are being driven by dynamics that are confined to only the minority party, or to an earlier era. Moreover, there may be some limit to the benefits of bipartisanship. Would attracting cosponsors solely from the other party be a good strategy, for example, if one wants to advance her bills as far as possible?

To address this latter question, in Table 3 we explore whether a nonlinear relationship between bipartisanship and legislative effectiveness exists by adding *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted Squared* to the main models from Table 1. In Models 3.1 and 3.4 we see that such nonlinear effects are present and strong across the entire sample. These findings suggest that, in both the House and the Senate, the effect of bipartisanship rises until about half of all of a member's cosponsors are from each party, and then falls again when too few of one's own party members serve as cosponsors.¹³ The positive linear effects discussed above occur due to most legislators attaining bipartisan support below these peak levels and thus benefiting from greater efforts on this front. Additionally, the smaller effects uncovered above in the Senate likely emerge due to the average level of bipartisanship being already closer to the peak level of bipartisanship in that chamber.

From this perspective, the most beneficial cosponsorship from the other party is the first one, with diminishing effects for each proportional increase thereafter. Put another way, relative to the average level of bipartisanship, movement in a partisan direction is more costly in advancing legislation than movement toward greater bipartisanship is beneficial. Specifically, a one-standard-deviation decline in the proportion bipartisan (coupled with changing its squared value also) is associated with an LES drop of 22% in the House and 16% in the Senate. Yet a one-standard-deviation rise in bipartisanship from the mean values is associated with a rise in LES of only 8% in the House and 3% in the Senate.

¹³ Calculus tells us that these peaks occur at $-(1.831)/(2 \times -1.848) = 0.495$ in the House and at $-(1.680)/(2 \times -1.668) = 0.504$ in the Senate.

Table 3: Support for Bipartisanship Hypothesis Robust to Nonlinear Models and Party Control

Dependent Variable: Legislative Effectiveness Score	Model 3.1: House All	Model 3.2: House Majority	Model 3.3: House Minority	Model 3.4: Senate All	Model 3.5: Senate Majority	Model 3.6: Senate Minority
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	1.831*** (0.240)	2.295*** (0.381)	0.537*** (0.112)	1.680*** (0.442)	2.364*** (0.756)	0.554* (0.258)
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted Squared</i>	-1.848*** (0.058)	-2.367*** (0.483)	-0.515*** (0.125)	-1.668*** (0.464)	-2.545** (0.942)	-0.505* (0.304)
Seniority	0.058*** (0.009)	0.090*** (0.019)	0.029*** (0.005)	0.022* (0.011)	0.040* (0.021)	0.018** (0.007)
Majority Party	0.787*** (0.117)			0.334*** (0.086)		
Majority Party Leadership	0.343** (0.132)	0.445** (0.164)		0.153 (0.131)	0.196 (0.160)	
Minority Party Leadership	-0.184* (0.095)		-0.036 (0.051)	0.107 (0.074)		0.036 (0.056)
Speaker	0.030 (0.286)	0.231 (0.399)				
Committee Chair	2.759*** (0.216)	2.445*** (0.229)		1.024*** (0.114)	0.785*** (0.140)	
Subcommittee Chair	0.661*** (0.076)	0.511*** (0.093)		0.312*** (0.077)	0.274** (0.090)	
Power Committee	-0.206*** (0.051)	-0.296*** (0.089)	-0.065* (0.034)	-0.084 (0.068)	-0.127 (0.102)	-0.051 (0.045)
Distance from Median	0.485* (0.225)	0.490 (0.439)	-0.140 (0.115)	0.287 (0.190)	0.417 (0.448)	-0.005 (0.196)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.019 (0.022)	-0.045 (0.034)	0.010 (0.009)	-0.015 (0.033)	-0.047 (0.039)	-0.004 (0.048)
Vote Share	0.025** (0.010)	0.035* (0.017)	0.016* (0.007)	0.002 (0.019)	-0.019 (0.032)	0.012 (0.016)
Vote Share ²	-0.0002** (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0001* (0.00004)	0.00002 (0.0001)	0.0001 (0.0002)	-0.0001 (0.0001)
Constant	-1.035* (0.561)	-0.329 (0.881)	-0.545* (0.328)	-0.018 (0.763)	1.123 (1.150)	-0.101 (0.694)
N	8,997	5,167	3,830	2,167	1,193	974
Adj. R ²	0.41	0.28	0.04	0.42	0.21	0.04

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses. Observations are members of the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Models 3.1 and 3.4 contain all members of the House and Senate, respectively; Models 3.2 and 3.5 are limited to majority-party members; Models 3.3 and 3.6 are limited to minority-party members. All models show nonlinear effects from the proportion of bipartisan cosponsors. Specifically, lawmakers' Legislative Effectiveness Scores are rising for higher values of *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted*, until that proportion reaches about 0.5, after which their effectiveness declines. This pattern supports the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* for the vast majority of members (whose cosponsors are mostly from their own party).

Beyond these overall nonlinear effects, Table 3 also shows the breakdown for members of the majority party and the minority party, respectively. Theoretically, it seems entirely

plausible that members of the minority party would have to actively cultivate support among members of the opposite (i.e., majority) party if they want their legislative initiatives to succeed. Hence, it would not be surprising to see a positive relationship between the proportion of bipartisan cosponsors attracted to one's bills and the lawmaking effectiveness of members of the minority party. For the majority party, however, it is less clear whether such a relationship might hold. After all, members of the majority party (by definition) are part of a majority coalition even without bipartisan support, and their leadership sets the agenda (perhaps preferring partisan legislation to promote their brand).

Models 3.2 and 3.5, however, show similar nonlinear effects for majority-party lawmakers to those found overall, and Models 3.2 and 3.6 show that similar results emerge for the minority party. In each case, the relationship between the coefficients on the linear and the squared versions of the *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* variable points to a peak level of bipartisanship, involving attracting about the same number of cosponsors from the opposing party as from one's own party, all else equal. The coefficient sizes on the bipartisan measures in the majority party are relatively larger, and those for the minority party are relatively smaller. These findings appear to be related to the differences in the dependent variable's size for these two groups, as those in the majority party score about three times higher in their LES than minority-party members on average. Put another way, the *proportional* benefit of increased bipartisanship on legislative effectiveness is about equal across parties.¹⁴

¹⁴ One might also be interested in whether Democrats and Republicans treat bipartisanship equally, regardless of their majority-party status. In analyzing Models 1.2 and 1.5 on these partisan subsets, we find that Democrats receive somewhat larger benefits from attracting

Once again, the support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, here through these nonlinear models, is not limited to evidence from the aggregate LES measure. As we show in Appendix Table A4, increasing the proportion of bipartisan cosponsors up to about 50% is associated with a legislator producing more laws overall, among both Representatives and Senators. This finding extends to the case where we set aside commemorative laws to only focus on substantive laws. And it also extends to focusing solely on what Volden and Wiseman (2014) characterize as “substantive and significant” laws, those high-profile or important pieces of legislation that attract media attention.¹⁵

Furthermore, given the scholarly and journalistic focus on the rise of partisan polarization in Congress over the past quarter century, one might wonder whether support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* may have diminished in recent years as parties have increasingly used the legislative agenda for partisan messaging rather than lawmaking (e.g., Koger and Lebo 2017). To engage with this possibility, we analyzed subsets of our overall dataset, separated at the 104th Congress (1995-1996), which corresponded with the Republican takeover of the House, and the election of Newt Gingrich (R-GA) as Speaker of the House. Numerous scholars and more casual observers of Congress have pointed to how then-Speaker Gingrich actively discouraged bipartisanship within the House; and some scholars (e.g., Theriault 2013, Theriault and Rohde 2011) have argued that Gingrich’s efforts in the House led

bipartisan cosponsors than do Republicans. However, the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* receives support in both parties.

¹⁵ These auxiliary findings would suggest that much “important” legislation (i.e., Clinton and Lapinski 2006) is likely the product of meaningful bipartisanship.

to the subsequent election of Republican Senators who, likewise, discouraged bipartisanship. The models of Table A5 (House) and A6 (Senate) in the Supplemental Appendix show the results of both linear and nonlinear models for these earlier and later eras. The coefficients suggest a slight decline in the benefits of bipartisanship more recently. However, on the whole, they offer further support for the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis* regardless of whether a Representative or Senator was serving prior to or after the “Republican Revolution.”

How Do Legislators Attract Bipartisan Cosponsors?

Throughout the analysis above, we have addressed the puzzle of why, despite party polarization and primary threats, bipartisanship endures in Congress. The evidence continually comes back to the same simple answer. Attracting bipartisan cosponsors helps legislators achieve their lawmaking goals. Yet, this answer does leave one lingering question. It makes sense to try to attract bipartisan cosponsors, but what is the value in *being* a bipartisan cosponsor on other legislators’ bills? Here we argue that the value of doing so may be found in reciprocity, addressing the following question. Does offering cosponsorships across the aisle help cultivate such cosponsorships on one’s own legislation, which in turn is linked to greater effectiveness, as suggested by the results above?

To answer this question, we briefly turn to analyses in which we consider *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* as a dependent variable. In Table 4, we report the results of linear regressions containing the other independent variables found across the models above, as well as *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered*, to explore whether a reciprocal relationship obtains. Once again, we explore these patterns for both the House and the Senate. We also show models both excluding and including member fixed effects, to capture the

bipartisanship both across legislators, and by the same legislators over time. Hence, we are able to assess how a legislator's personal characteristics and institutional positions, as well as her propensity to cosponsor the bills that are introduced by those of the other party, relate to the scope of bipartisan cosponsors that she attracts to her own bills.

Looking across the House and the Senate, we see that certain institutional factors are clearly correlated with the ability to attract cosponsors from the other party. Members of the Majority Party, Committee Chairs, and (at least in the House) Subcommittee Chairs all attract greater proportions of bipartisan cosponsors to their bills. Interestingly, we also see that there is clearly a relationship between a member's ideological position and the propensity to attract bipartisan cosponsors (as indicated by the negative and statistically significant coefficients on *Distance from Median*). As one might expect, moderates attract more bipartisan cosponsors, all else equal. However, this effect declines (and disappears in the House) upon including member fixed effects. In other words, while moderates attract greater bipartisan cosponsors simply by being moderate, there is no evidence that House members who become more moderate over time gain cross-party support from such movement, all else equal. Model 4.1 also suggests that women and African American legislators tend to attract a lower proportion of cosponsors from the other party.

Table 4: Those Who Offer Bipartisan Cosponsorships Attract More Bipartisan Cosponsors

DV: Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted	Model 4.1: House	Model 4.2: House	Model 4.3: Senate	Model 4.4: Senate
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered</i>	0.626*** (0.039)	0.317*** (0.036)	0.733*** (0.045)	0.538*** (0.047)
Seniority	0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.001)	0.0001 (0.002)	0.0003 (0.002)
Majority Party	0.091*** (0.018)	0.087*** (0.015)	0.135*** (0.022)	0.095*** (0.020)
Majority Party Leadership	0.028* (0.014)	0.013 (0.015)	-0.034* (0.019)	-0.033* (0.016)
Minority Party Leadership	0.004 (0.020)	0.004 (0.018)	-0.015 (0.021)	-0.017 (0.022)
Speaker	-0.029 (0.035)	-0.019 (0.027)		
Committee Chair	0.084*** (0.012)	0.062*** (0.012)	0.047*** (0.013)	0.038*** (0.013)
Subcommittee Chair	0.030*** (0.006)	0.034*** (0.006)	0.0002 (0.013)	0.017 (0.013)
Power Committee	0.005 (0.007)	0.035*** (0.010)	0.005 (0.011)	0.015 (0.012)
Distance from Median	-0.154*** (0.021)	0.005 (0.024)	-0.113*** (0.031)	-0.087** (0.034)
Female	-0.020** (0.009)		-0.014 (0.018)	
African American	-0.034** (0.011)		-0.035 (0.050)	
Latino	-0.023 (0.016)		0.019 (0.039)	
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.0003 (0.0002)	-0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.001)	-0.004 (0.006)
Vote Share	0.003* (0.001)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.004)	-0.0002 (0.004)
Vote Share ²	-0.00002* (0.00001)	-0.00001 (0.00001)	0.00002 (0.00003)	0.00001 (0.00003)
Constant	0.014 (0.059)	0.079 (0.067)	0.176 (0.136)	0.141 (0.151)
Lawmaker Fixed Effects?	No	Yes	No	Yes
N	8,997	8,997	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.24	0.18	0.28	0.33

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors clustered by lawmaker in Models 4.1 and 4.3; lawmaker fixed effects in Models 4.2 and 4.4. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Observations are members of Congress from the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

Dependent Variable *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* captures the average proportion of cosponsors of a lawmaker's sponsored bills who are from the other party (among bills with at least one cosponsor). *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered* captures the proportion of a lawmaker's cosponsorships that are supporting bills sponsored by members from the other party. On the whole, the results show a high level of reciprocity, such that lawmakers who cosponsor across party lines at a greater rate in turn attract a greater proportion of bipartisan cosponsors. This effect holds both on the whole across lawmakers as well as over time for lawmakers who change their behavior from Congress to Congress (in the fixed effects Models 4.2 and 4.4).

In addition to these findings about the personal and institutional drivers of attracting bipartisan cosponsors to one's bills, we also see that across both chambers, the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered* is positive and statistically significant in all specifications. This finding emerges from a simple linear regression analysis (Models 4.1 and 4.3), and it is robust to the inclusion of legislator fixed effects (in Models 4.2 and 4.4). In other words, even controlling for whatever idiosyncratic legislator-specific features might be correlated with the ability to attract cosponsors from the other party, as a Representative or Senator increases the proportion of cosponsorships that she offers to bills that are introduced by members of the opposite party, she appears to attract a higher level of cosponsorship from members of the opposite party on her own bills.

These findings imply that one way to increase the scope of bipartisan cosponsors who are drawn to one's bills is for legislators to engage in more bipartisan cosponsorship themselves. While the findings in Table 1 suggest that there is no direct relationship between the act of cosponsoring across party lines and one's lawmaking effectiveness, the findings in Table 4 point to how being a bipartisan cosponsor can clearly contribute to, and facilitate, a virtuous cycle, with respect to lawmaking effectiveness. That is, legislators who cosponsor more bills across party lines in turn attract more cosponsors on their own bills from members of the opposite party. And such reciprocity is associated with greater levels of success as they seek to navigate their bills through the lawmaking process in Congress. As shown in Appendix Tables A7 and A8, this reciprocity is evident both in the majority and minority parties, as well as across congressional eras, in both the House and the Senate.

Conclusion

With increasing polarization across the parties, tight control of Congress making lawmaking a zero-sum contest for party leaders, and many legislators facing tougher challenges in their primaries than in general elections, the case against bipartisanship has been on the rise. And yet, bipartisanship continues in Congress, albeit somewhat diminished and often behind the scenes. But why do members of Congress even bother being bipartisan anymore? Here we offer one important answer. Bipartisanship works. Members who can attract support from across the aisle have a greater chance of moving their agenda items through committee and into law.

In his final State of the Union address in 2016, President Barack Obama noted the importance of bipartisanship in bringing about legislative accomplishments and addressing policy problems:

“The future we want – all of us want – opportunity and security for our families, a rising standard of living, a sustainable, peaceful planet for our kids – all that is within our reach. But it will only happen if we work together. It will only happen if we can have rational, constructive debates. It will only happen if we fix our politics.”¹⁶

He then noted that “a better politics doesn’t mean we have to agree on everything,” but by reaching out to the other side of the aisle in good faith, legislators can help create policies to engage with the biggest problems facing America, that will advance the collective interests of the country. In the absence of such bipartisan efforts, the contentious and partisan political

¹⁶ <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/the-press-office/2016/01/12/remarks-president-barack-obama-%E2%80%93-prepared-delivery-state-union-address>

atmosphere in Congress would map into more gridlock, and America's greatest problems would remain unaddressed by government.

We have sought to engage directly with President Obama's claims about the efficacy of bipartisan lawmaking, at the level of the individual legislator. In so doing, we explore whether increasing the scope of bipartisanship in Congress can map into greater lawmaking success among its members. Our results present a stark counterpoint to those who argue that Congress is dominated by partisan interests, such that bills will only move forward if they benefit one party over the other. In contrast to this perspective, we find that Representatives and Senators who are able to attract a significant portion of cosponsors to their bills from members of their opposite party are more successful at advancing their bills through the legislative process. While cosponsoring more bills of members of the other party does not lead a legislator to experience greater levels of success in advancing her own bills, *per se*, by choosing to engage in greater levels of bipartisan cosponsorship, that same legislator can receive more bipartisan support on her own bills, which is clearly linked to greater levels of legislative success. Hence, being a bipartisan cosponsor puts a Representative or Senator in the position of experiencing more bipartisan support for her own agenda, helping to overcome the wide range of hurdles that emerge between the time that a bill is introduced and when it (hopefully) advances to the President's desk for signature.

Regardless of era or institutional position, for Representatives and Senators who seek to become effective lawmakers in Congress, our results suggest that one ingredient in the recipe for legislative success is for them to become more bipartisan in their legislative activities. The extent to which members of Congress might choose to embrace this advice, of course, depends on whether they instead want to advance a unified party brand, especially given likely

(primary) election responses to overt displays of bipartisanship. These tensions seem ever-present in the contemporary Congress, and are worthy of further study.

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Supplemental Appendix
Are Bipartisan Lawmakers More Effective?
(to be made available online)

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Table A1: Descriptive Statistics, Variable Definitions, and Sources

Variable	Description	House Mean (S.D.)	Senate Mean (S.D.)
LES ^a	Legislative Effectiveness Score, described in text	1.030 (1.578)	1.011 (1.017)
Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted ^b	Average proportion of cosponsors on member's bills (with at least one cosponsor) from opposing party	0.290 (0.194)	0.354 (0.190)
Proportion Bipartisan Cospons. Offered ^b	Proportion of member's cosponsorships occurring on bills sponsored by member of opposing party	0.277 (0.174)	0.332 (0.168)
Seniority ^a	Count of number of two-year Congresses that member served in	5.275 (4.051)	6.142 (4.630)
Majority Party ^a	1 = Majority Party Member; 0 = otherwise	0.575 (0.494)	0.552 (0.497)
Majority-Party Leadership ^a	1 = In majority party leadership position; 0 = otherwise	0.018 (0.133)	0.053 (0.224)
Minority-Party Leadership ^a	1 = In minority party leadership position; 0 = otherwise	0.021 (0.142)	0.047 (0.213)
Speaker ^a	1 = Speaker of the House; 0 = otherwise	0.001 (0.031)	N/A
Committee Chair ^a	1 = Committee chair; 0 = otherwise	0.052 (0.222)	0.163 (0.370)
Subcommittee Chair ^a	1 = Subcommittee chair; 0 = otherwise	0.248 (0.432)	0.458 (0.498)
Power Committee ^a	1 = member sits on one of the top committees; 0 = otherwise	0.249 (0.432)	0.726 (0.446)
Distance from Median ^c	Absolute distance from member's first-dimension DW-NOMINATE Score to that of floor median	0.377 (0.250)	0.333 (0.221)
Size of Congressional Delegation ^a	Number of House seats from member's home state	18.73 (14.33)	8.72 (9.29)
Vote Share ^a	Percent vote share in most recent election	68.00 (13.51)	59.75 (9.45)

Sources:^aConstructed by authors from data available at www.thelawmakers.org.^bConstructed by authors as described in the text.^cConstructed by authors from data available at www.voteview.com.

Table A2: Results Robust to Excluding Member Fixed Effects

DV: Legislative Effectiveness Score	Model A2.1: House	Model A2.2: House	Model A2.3: House	Model A2.4: Senate	Model A2.5: Senate	Model A2.6: Senate
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	0.980*** (0.128)	0.556*** (0.092)	0.638*** (0.095)	0.616*** (0.134)	0.428*** (0.125)	0.519** (0.128)
Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered			-0.570*** (0.171)			-0.460* (0.244)
Seniority		0.062*** (0.008)	0.063*** (0.008)		0.028*** (0.009)	0.029*** (0.009)
Majority Party		0.557*** (0.051)	0.349*** (0.080)		0.287*** (0.082)	0.136 (0.119)
Majority Party Leadership		0.492*** (0.161)	0.473** (0.161)		0.028 (0.160)	0.026 (0.160)
Minority Party Leadership		-0.135** (0.049)	-0.164** (0.052)		-0.004 (0.064)	-0.020 (0.066)
Speaker		-0.404 (0.236)	-0.410* (0.236)			
Committee Chair		2.989*** (0.228)	2.972*** (0.227)		1.097*** (0.119)	1.093*** (0.118)
Subcommittee Chair		0.719*** (0.072)	0.719*** (0.072)		0.305*** (0.077)	0.309*** (0.078)
Power Committee		-0.207*** (0.050)	-0.213*** (0.050)		-0.089 (0.064)	-0.087 (0.064)
Distance from Median		0.235* (0.102)	0.083 (0.113)		0.104 (0.129)	-0.028 (0.149)
Female		0.081 (0.050)	0.071 (0.050)		0.042 (0.091)	0.034 (0.092)
African American		-0.274*** (0.081)	-0.286*** (0.081)		-0.212* (0.091)	-0.207* (0.092)
Latino		0.045 (0.103)	0.037 (0.103)		0.012 (0.219)	-0.006 (0.207)
Size of Congressional Delegation		-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.002)		0.010** (0.003)	0.011** (0.004)
Vote Share		0.014 (0.010)	0.012 (0.010)		0.047* (0.022)	0.046* (0.022)
Vote Share ²		-0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0001)		-0.0003* (0.0002)	-0.0003* (0.0002)
Constant	0.746*** (0.034)	-0.583 (0.369)	-0.204 (0.378)	0.793*** (0.054)	-1.407* (0.736)	-1.122 (0.754)
N	9,202	8,997	8,997	2,192	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.01	0.42	0.42	0.01	0.39	0.39

Notes: Results from ordinary least squares regressions, with robust standard errors in parentheses. Observations are members of the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Consistent with the *Bipartisanship and Legislative Effectiveness Hypothesis*, the models show the results from Table 1 to be robust to exclusion of member fixed effects, based on the positive and statistically significant coefficients on the *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* variable.

Table A3: Additional Lawmaking Stages Regressions for Figure 2 Calculations

	Model A3.1: House # AIC	Model A3.2: House # PASS	Model A3.3: Senate # AIC	Model A3.4: Senate # PASS
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	0.893*** (0.204)	0.799*** (0.143)	1.509 (1.314)	1.539** (0.563)
Seniority	0.060** (0.022)	0.066*** (0.013)	-0.004 (0.107)	-0.087* (0.040)
Majority Party	1.274*** (0.227)	1.010*** (0.173)	0.539 (0.914)	1.330*** (0.296)
Majority Party Leadership	0.582* (0.273)	0.553** (0.204)	1.603 (1.280)	0.074 (0.482)
Minority Party Leadership	-0.340* (0.196)	-0.263* (0.159)	1.757 (1.671)	0.203 (0.322)
Speaker	-0.852 (0.554)	-0.200 (0.333)		
Committee Chair	4.632*** (0.357)	3.730*** (0.306)	7.606*** (1.198)	2.824*** (0.406)
Subcommittee Chair	1.677*** (0.178)	0.811*** (0.109)	2.650*** (0.677)	0.862*** (0.271)
Power Committee	-0.399*** (0.116)	-0.339*** (0.074)	0.114 (0.854)	-0.523* (0.275)
Distance from Median	0.638 (0.412)	0.303 (0.344)	-0.168 (2.522)	2.124*** (0.660)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.109* (0.053)	-0.038 (0.030)	1.202** (0.408)	-0.065 (0.100)
Vote Share	0.082** (0.022)	0.056*** (0.015)	-0.256 (0.248)	-0.007 (0.080)
Vote Share ²	-0.0005*** (0.0001)	-0.0004*** (0.0001)	0.002 (0.002)	0.0003 (0.0006)
Constant	-0.963 (1.296)	-1.508* (0.841)	3.015 (8.567)	0.853 (2.829)
N	8,997	8,997	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.26	0.29	0.20	0.25

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses. Observations are members of the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Dependent variables for Models A3.1 and A3.3 are the number of bills introduced by the lawmaker receiving action in committees; for Models A3.2 and A3.4 are number of member's bills that are successfully passed out of their home chamber. On the whole, the results show lawmakers who attract a greater proportion of bipartisan cosponsors have greater success in committee (in the House) and in passing their home chambers (in both chambers). These findings complement those for other lawmaking stages in Table 2, and offer further support for the *Bipartisanship and Lawmaking Effectiveness Hypothesis*.

Table A4: Support for Bipartisanship Hypothesis in Law Production (Nonlinear Models)

	Model A4.1: House # Laws	Model A4.2: House # Non-Comm Laws	Model A4.3: House # S&S Laws	Model A4.4: Senate # Laws	Model A4.5: Senate # Non-Comm Laws	Model A4.6: Senate # S&S Laws
<i>Proportion Bipartisan</i>	1.689***	1.317***	0.415***	2.313**	2.290**	1.179*
<i>Cosponsors Attracted</i>	(0.196)	(0.173)	(0.118)	(0.909)	(0.893)	(0.562)
<i>Proportion Bipartisan</i>	-1.592***	-1.254***	-0.329*	-2.122*	-2.147*	-1.321*
<i>Cosponsors Attracted</i>	(0.241)	(0.214)	(0.159)	(1.012)	(1.002)	(0.607)
<i>Squared</i>						
Seniority	0.017* (0.007)	0.020*** (0.007)	0.004 (0.004)	-0.030* (0.018)	-0.030* (0.018)	-0.053*** (0.012)
Majority Party	0.471*** (0.089)	0.454** (0.084)	0.212** (0.049)	0.657*** (0.182)	0.700*** (0.180)	0.355*** (0.102)
Majority Party Leadership	0.241* (0.124)	0.233* (0.109)	0.167* (0.085)	0.201 (0.254)	0.172 (0.236)	0.268* (0.158)
Minority Party Leadership	-0.126 (0.081)	-0.101 (0.064)	-0.052 (0.034)	0.075 (0.153)	0.099 (0.140)	0.103 (0.097)
Speaker	0.431* (0.217)	0.395* (0.197)	0.305 (0.219)			
Committee Chair	1.737*** (0.172)	1.749*** (0.166)	0.861*** (0.094)	1.321*** (0.205)	1.285*** (0.202)	0.610*** (0.135)
Subcommittee Chair	0.317*** (0.056)	0.345*** (0.053)	0.268*** (0.036)	0.470** (0.157)	0.440** (0.155)	0.246** (0.094)
Power Committee	-0.152*** (0.041)	-0.161*** (0.036)	-0.013 (0.022)	-0.158 (0.140)	-0.156 (0.133)	-0.114 (0.099)
Distance from Median	0.363* (0.192)	0.391* (0.177)	0.320*** (0.098)	1.205*** (0.395)	1.323*** (0.388)	0.994*** (0.192)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.021 (0.016)	-0.010 (0.014)	-0.003 (0.010)	-0.045 (0.065)	-0.027 (0.062)	-0.007 (0.036)
Vote Share	0.028** (0.010)	0.019* (0.009)	-0.001 (0.005)	0.030 (0.035)	0.024 (0.034)	-0.004 (0.024)
Vote Share ²	-0.0002** (0.0001)	-0.0001* (0.0001)	0.000003 (0.00003)	-0.0001 (0.0003)	-0.0001 (0.0003)	0.00004 (0.0002)
Constant	-0.887* (0.471)	-0.881* (0.430)	-0.149 (0.255)	-0.961 (1.503)	-1.050 (1.440)	0.058 (1.001)
N	8,997	8,997	8,997	2,167	2,167	2,167
Adj. R ²	0.23	0.36	0.34	0.13	0.16	0.04

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Dependent variables for Models A4.1 and A4.4 are the number of bills sponsored by the legislator that become law; Models A4.2 and A4.5 exclude commemorative laws; Models A4.3 and A4.6 include only “substantive and significant” laws, according to Volden and Wiseman’s (2014) coding. On the whole, the results show an increase in law production among those who grow the proportion of bipartisan cosponsors attracted to their bills up to about 50% bipartisan cosponsors, with diminishing law production thereafter. Because the vast majority of members of Congress have less than 50% bipartisan cosponsors, these findings offer further support for the *Bipartisanship and Lawmaking Effectiveness Hypothesis*.

Table A5: Support for Bipartisanship Hypothesis Across Eras (House)

Dependent Variable:	Model A5.1:	Model A5.2:	Model A5.3:	Model A5.4:
Legislative Effectiveness Score	House 1973-94	House 1973-94	House 1995-2016	House 1995-2016
<i>Proportion Bipartisan</i>	0.466***	1.542***	0.373**	1.679***
<i>Cosponsors Attracted</i>	(0.120)	(0.278)	(0.138)	(0.316)
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Squared</i>		-1.340***		-1.844***
<i>Cosponsors Attracted Squared</i>		(0.320)		(0.425)
Seniority	0.085*** (0.014)	0.084*** (0.014)	0.018 (0.012)	0.019 (0.012)
Majority Party	-0.110** (0.038)	-0.160** (0.039)	0.520*** (0.116)	0.527*** (0.116)
Majority Party Leadership	0.308 (0.290)	0.303 (0.292)	0.532*** (0.131)	0.507*** (0.131)
Minority Party Leadership	-0.171* (0.101)	-0.148 (0.100)	-0.021 (0.072)	-0.007 (0.075)
Speaker	0.326** (0.140)	0.316* (0.140)	0.621* (0.294)	0.613* (0.295)
Committee Chair	1.967*** (0.261)	1.961*** (0.261)	3.091*** (0.326)	3.078*** (0.324)
Subcommittee Chair	0.862*** (0.095)	0.849*** (0.094)	0.376*** (0.070)	0.370*** (0.070)
Power Committee	-0.178*** (0.052)	-0.187*** (0.054)	-0.217** (0.072)	-0.226*** (0.072)
Distance from Median	0.092 (0.359)	0.108 (0.358)	-0.031 (0.222)	-0.002 (0.221)
Size of Congressional Delegation	0.015 (0.018)	0.015 (0.018)	-0.032 (0.025)	-0.032 (0.024)
Vote Share	0.016 (0.013)	0.015 (0.013)	0.035* (0.017)	0.033* (0.017)
Vote Share ²	-0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0001 (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)	-0.0002* (0.0001)
Constant	-0.725 (0.599)	-0.778 (0.600)	-0.285 (0.793)	-0.390 (0.787)
N	4,409	4,409	4,588	4,588
Adj. R ²	0.45	0.45	0.34	0.34

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Models A5.1 and A5.2 contain House members from the 93rd-103rd Congresses (1973-1994); Models A5.3 and A5.4 contain House members from the 104th-114th Congresses (1995-2016). Results show the robustness of the main results to both earlier and later congressional eras.

Table A6: Support for Bipartisanship Hypothesis Across Eras (Senate)

Dependent Variable:	Model A6.1:	Model A6.2:	Model A6.3:	Model A6.4:
Legislative Effectiveness Score	Senate 1973-94	Senate 1973-94	Senate 1995-2016	Senate 1995-2016
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted</i>	0.323* (0.169)	1.849*** (0.580)	0.276 (0.173)	0.834* (0.408)
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted Squared</i>		-1.824** (0.637)		-0.699 (0.441)
Seniority	0.046*** (0.014)	0.043** (0.014)	0.013 (0.022)	0.013 (0.022)
Majority Party	0.404*** (0.142)	0.420** (0.141)	0.206* (0.108)	0.200* (0.108)
Majority Party Leadership	0.028 (0.268)	0.033 (0.271)	0.105 (0.157)	0.108 (0.157)
Minority Party Leadership	0.013 (0.141)	0.028 (0.141)	-0.012 (0.101)	-0.007 (0.102)
Committee Chair	0.948*** (0.153)	0.956*** (0.152)	1.092*** (0.159)	1.087*** (0.159)
Subcommittee Chair	0.260** (0.15)	0.240* (0.104)	0.309*** (0.098)	0.306*** (0.098)
Power Committee	-0.044 (0.103)	-0.050 (0.103)	0.081 (0.079)	0.079 (0.078)
Distance from Median	-0.432 (0.506)	-0.386 (0.488)	0.041 (0.213)	0.051 (0.212)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.046 (0.035)	-0.044 (0.035)	-0.033 (0.082)	-0.034 (0.082)
Vote Share	-0.042* (0.023)	-0.039* (0.023)	0.051 (0.033)	0.049 (0.033)
Vote Share ²	0.0003* (0.0002)	0.0003* (0.0002)	-0.0004 (0.0002)	-0.0003 (0.0002)
Constant	1.987** (0.828)	1.580* (0.867)	-1.108 (1.454)	-1.115 (1.450)
N	1,087	1,087	1,080	1,080
Adj. R ²	0.41	0.42	0.42	0.42

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Models A6.1 and A6.2 contain Senators from the 93rd-103rd Congresses (1973-1994); Models A6.3 and A6.4 contain Senators from the 104th-114th Congresses (1995-2016). Results show the robustness of the main results to both earlier and later congressional eras, with the exception of post-1994, where the coefficient on *Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted* in the linear specification only achieves $p = 0.056$, one tailed.

Table A7: Bipartisan Cosponsorship Reciprocity in Majority and Minority Parties

DV: Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted	Model A7.1:	Model A7.2:	Model A7.3:	Model A7.4:
	House Majority	House Minority	Senate Majority	Senate Minority
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered</i>	0.372*** (0.056)	0.329*** (0.060)	0.624*** (0.083)	0.528*** (0.080)
Seniority	0.005*** (0.001)	-0.006 (0.002)	0.0003 (0.002)	0.0005 (0.003)
Majority Party Leadership	-0.004 (0.015)		-0.033 (0.022)	
Minority Party Leadership		0.022 (0.019)		-0.013 (0.025)
Speaker	-0.017 (0.041)			
Committee Chair	0.049*** (0.014)		0.021 (0.016)	
Subcommittee Chair	0.022*** (0.007)		0.007 (0.013)	
Power Committee	0.037** (0.014)	0.032* (0.014)	-0.008 (0.016)	0.024 (0.017)
Distance from Median	0.062 (0.046)	0.134** (0.043)	-0.076 (0.057)	-0.042 (0.076)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.002 (0.002)	-0.006* (0.003)	-0.003 (0.006)	-0.013 (0.009)
Vote Share	0.003* (0.002)	0.002 (0.003)	0.002 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.006)
Vote Share ²	-0.00002 (0.00001)	-0.00002 (0.00002)	0.00001 (0.00003)	0.00001 (0.00005)
Constant	0.063 (0.080)	0.148 (0.127)	0.135 (0.172)	0.260 (0.244)
N	5,167	3,830	1,193	974
Adj. R ²	0.12	0.05	0.25	0.14

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Observations are members of Congress from the 93rd-114th Congresses (1973-2016).

The results show that the reciprocity found in Table 4 holds for both the majority and minority parties in both the House and the Senate.

Table A8: Bipartisan Cosponsorship Reciprocity across Congressional Eras

DV: Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsors Attracted	Model A8.1:	Model A8.2:	Model A8.3:	Model A8.4:
	House 1973-94	House 1995-2016	Senate 1973-94	Senate 1995-2016
<i>Proportion Bipartisan Cosponsorships Offered</i>	0.272*** (0.054)	0.292*** (0.050)	0.419*** (0.093)	0.592*** (0.060)
Seniority	-0.004** (0.002)	0.004** (0.001)	-0.0001 (0.003)	-0.001 (0.003)
Majority Party	0.289*** (0.034)	0.069** (0.023)	0.075 (0.048)	0.090*** (0.020)
Majority Party Leadership	-0.007 (0.022)	0.022 (0.018)	-0.027 (0.029)	-0.038* (0.020)
Minority Party Leadership	-0.051* (0.030)	0.034* (0.020)	-0.064* (0.031)	-0.007 (0.027)
Speaker	0.145*** (0.017)	-0.078*** (0.021)		
Committee Chair	0.102*** (0.021)	0.039** (0.015)	0.029 (0.023)	0.052** (0.017)
Subcommittee Chair	0.051*** (0.009)	0.017* (0.009)	-0.001 (0.025)	0.027* (0.017)
Power Committee	0.043** (0.015)	0.024* (0.014)	0.005 (0.018)	0.025 (0.018)
Distance from Median	0.279*** (0.060)	-0.048 (0.031)	-0.149 (0.118)	-0.055 (0.036)
Size of Congressional Delegation	-0.003 (0.002)	-0.003 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.002 (0.011)
Vote Share	0.005* (0.002)	0.001 (0.002)	0.0002 (0.007)	0.007 (0.005)
Vote Share ²	-0.00003* (0.00001)	-0.000005 (0.00001)	0.000005 (0.00004)	-0.00004 (0.00003)
Constant	-0.144 (0.102)	0.147 (0.099)	0.219 (0.216)	-0.225 (0.188)
N	4,409	4,588	1,087	1,080
Adj. R ²	0.06	0.14	0.30	0.37

Notes: Results from cross-sectional time-series least squares regressions, with legislator fixed effects and standard errors in parentheses.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$ (one-tailed).

Observations in Models A8.1 and A8.3 are members of the 93rd-103rd Congresses (1973-1994); and Models A8.2 and A8.4 include members of the 104th-114th Congresses (1995-2016).

The results show that the reciprocity found in Table 4 holds for across these congressional eras in both the House and the Senate.