Ideological Balancing, Generic Polls and Midterm Congressional Elections

by

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Abstract

Midterm loss is a virtual truism of American politics. The president's party has dropped seats (or seat share) in the House of Representatives in 38 of the last 41 midterm elections. There are two main explanations for the pattern: (1) withdrawn coattails and (2) ideological balancing. In this paper we offer a new test for ideological balancing using the many generic Congressional polls conducted during midterm election years. Specifically, we show that a strong move toward the out-party occurs during the midterm year, long removed from the date of the withdrawn coattails of the previous presidential election. This is as if the electorate increasingly takes into account the party of the president over the course of the midterm campaign. Midterm elections are highly predictable from a combination of the generic polls plus the party of the president.

In 1998, as the unpopular impeachment of President Bill Clinton was unfolding, Clinton's Democrats gained seats in the House of Representatives. In 2002, in the shadow of 9/11, President George W. Bush's Republicans gained House seats as well. These two recent instances might make it seem commonplace for the presidential party to gain House seats at midterm. Indeed, the early interpretations of 2002 by Jacobson (2003) and Campbell (2003) emphasized the theme that this election unfolded as normal politics. Jacobson even chose not to remark about the historical significance of the presidential party gaining seats. The historical pattern, of course, is that the presidential party loses seats at midterm. This in fact had been more than simply a pattern, and almost a deterministic law of politics. From 1842 through 1994, the presidential party gained seats (as a proportion of the total) only once—in 1934 as the FDR-led Democrats' surged with a gain of nine seats. This was a spectacular run of 38 presidential party losses in 39 midterm elections. Clearly, forces are at work in American politics to diminish the electoral standing of the presidential party at midterm.

The two most common explanations for midterm loss come under the headings of "coattails" and "balancing." The coattail explanation begins with the congressional vote in the presidential election year prior to the midterm election. It holds that the surge in support for the presidential winner ("coattails") artificially inflates support for the presidential winner's party in the presidential year (A. Campbell, 1966; Hinckley, 1967; J. Campbell, 1985; Campbell, 1991). The balancing explanation focuses on the congressional vote in the second of the two elections. It holds that the midterm electorate supports the out-party to push Congress in the opposite ideological direction of the president in order to achieve greater ideological balance in government (Erikson, 1988, 2002; Alesina and Rosenthal, 1995;

Mebane, 2000; Mebane and Sekhon, 2002; see also Fiorina, 1996, regarding balancing more generally).

What do the violations of the midterm loss rule in 1998 and 2002 teach us about the competing theories of midterm loss? The coattail theory provides a handy excuse for the two exceptions. Since there evidently were no presidential coattails in either 1996 or 2000, there were no coattails to withdraw in 1998 or 2002. Balance theory, one could argue, was more discredited by the 1998 and 2002 exceptions (Campbell, 2003), particularly since moderate voters had every incentive to tack right in 1998 and left in 2002. Of course the theory could be salvaged by accounting for the effect of the Clinton impeachment in 1998 and 9/11 in 2002. While this type of post-hoc rationalization normally is to be discouraged, one could reasonably argue that these two events were abnormally large interventions that moved voters toward rather than away from the sitting president's party at midterm.

In this paper, we offer a new test for ideological balancing as a source of midterm loss. For this test, we exploit survey researchers' frequent monitoring of the "generic" congressional vote during midterm years. The generic poll question asks respondents which party they plan to vote for in the upcoming congressional election. These generic polls can provide crucial clues regarding the timing of the electorate's shift from the presidential or "in" party to the "out" party. To begin with, consider respondents who are asked their congressional preferences early in the midterm year, at roughly the halfway mark of the election cycle. Unlikely to have given much if any advance thought to their vote for the House of Representatives at such an early date, they will offer poll responses that are too premature to incorporate beliefs about voting for the out-party as an ideological counterbalance to the president. Now, consider respondents asked for their generic vote on

the eve of the election. By this point in time, their thoughts may have turned to the election and are likely to incorporate any cognitions they will make about the need for ideological balancing. Our analysis supports this hypothesis.

The Data

By "the polls" we mean the generic trial-heat polls that ask survey respondents which party they plan to vote for (or who they want to win) "if the election were being held today."[1] We have gathered the record of numerous generic house polls, going back as far as 1946, from Gallup and (more recently) many other houses, using the Roper Center and pollingreport.com as sources. They variously report the vote intentions in samples of adults, registered voters, and "likely" voters. For each of 15 midterm elections from 1946 to 2002, we compute the percent Democratic of the major-party vote in the polls for various time intervals preceding the election: within 30 days of the election, between 31 and 60 days of the election, and intervals of 60 days thereafter, going back to 300 days before the election. This yields readings of the generic polls over six time intervals for the 15 midterm campaigns. Appendix A summarizes the data and provides details on data processing.

Because the generic vote is reported variously as among "likely voters," "registered voters," or "adults," we can construct our measure in a variety of ways. For the analysis, we adjust the observed generic poll results to project our best estimates of what the result would be if the poll were a "likely voter" poll.[2] For diagnostic purposes, we conduct parallel analyses using unadjusted polls and additional late poll readings reported by Moore and Saad

[1] There actually is a good amount of variation in question wording. Some organizations use the wording "Looking ahead to the Congressional elections in November." Other organizations use "Thinking about the next election for US Congress."
[2] Appendix A details how.

(1997). Using these variations does not substantially affect the results. Appendix B presents the results with alternative specifications.

We use two dependent variables in the analysis: (1) the Democratic percentage share of the actual two-party Congressional vote; and (2) the Democratic percentage share of House seats. To aid assessment of possible (partisan) poll bias, we measure each vote and seat variable not on a 0-to-100 percentage scale but as a deviation from the equal division, 50% Democratic and 50% Republican. We do the same to the generic vote, measuring it as the Democratic share of the two-party vote minus fifty percent. The second independent variable, the party of the President is measured -1 for a Republican president and +1 for a Democratic president.

From the literature (Erikson and Sigelman, 1995; Moore and Saad, 1997), it is known that the answer to the question "how accurate are the generic polls?" must be nuanced. We know that they perform poorly as point estimates. For instance, an 18-point Democrat lead from early in an election year most likely will translate into a far smaller vote lead on Election Day. However, regression equations accounting for the vote in terms of the generic vote do predict well, as they properly discount the exaggerated sizes of the generic poll leads. In short, when properly interpreted, the generic polls are far better augers of congressional elections than their sometimes ragged reputation would have us believe.

Accounting for the Congressional Vote

Assume that some voters are susceptible to the logic of balancing—they take the president's ideology into account when voting for Congress. Now suppose that these thoughts of balancing occur to voters late in the campaign—late enough to occur after a particular generic poll is taken. The result will be a turn to the "out" party between an early

poll and the election. Specifically, a regression of the midterm vote on the early generic vote plus a dummy variable for the presidential party would reveal an effect for party due to later balancing. The regression equation is:

$$V_j = \alpha + \beta_1 \text{Generic Poll}_{jt} + \beta_2 \text{Presidential Party}_j ,$$

where V_j represents the percent Democratic vote (or seats) for the House of Representatives in midterm election years (j), α is the intercept and β_1 and β_2 are the coefficients for the generic polls (at time interval t) and presidential party, respectively. The coefficient of major interest is β_2. If the poll is taken prior to when voters' thoughts turn to balancing, the subsequent balancing would be evident by a negative β_2. As the election campaign progresses, and voters increasingly take into account the party of the president, the balancing effect should be absorbed by the generic poll results, and β_2 would trend toward 0.

Contrarily, assume that the balancing phenomenon is nonexistent, nothing but a figment of theorists' imagination. Then there would be no obvious reason why the identification of the presidential party would affect predictions from the generic polls. The coefficient β_2 would prove to be consistently insignificant over the course of the election campaign. Were the evident midterm loss due simply to withdrawn coattails, after all, we would expect no such effect of party, i.e., respondents would be free of the coattail influence throughout the election year. The failure of the presidential party dummy to predict the midterm vote when taking into account various temporal readings of the generic vote in the polls would thus be strong evidence against the balancing hypothesis. But this is not what we observe.

First we turn to the equations predicting the vote from the generic polls and the party in power. Table 1 shows a series of regressions predicting the Democratic Percent of the US

House vote in midterm election years from 1946 to 2002 using presidential party and generic polls conducted at varying intervals of time before the election. The first column shows results using polls from 241-300 days before Election Day. The last column shows results using polls from the last 30 days of the cycle.

Table 1. Midterm Congressional Vote Regressions using Generic Polls at Different Time Intervals (Democratic Share of the Two-Party Vote)

% Dem House Votes (%D-50%)	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.46 (0.09)	0.49 (0.09)	0.50 (0.09)	0.49 (0.09)	0.48 (0.07)	0.51 (0.10)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-2.52 (0.50)	-2.15 (0.47)	-1.96 (0.49)	-1.46 (0.47)	-1.33 (0.42)	-1.09 (0.52)
Constant	-1.68 (0.86)	-1.33 (0.77)	-1.30 (0.80)	-1.12 (0.73)	-0.43 (0.55)	0.02 (0.63)
Adj. R^2	0.76	0.77	0.75	0.78	0.83	0.75
Root MSE	1.87	1.82	1.88	1.79	1.57	1.90
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

From Table 1, one sees immediately that the equations provide strong and stable fits with the data, explaining about three quarters of the variance in the vote no matter when in the election cycle the generic polls are measured. This stability suggests that partisan preferences are firmly in place by the onset of the midterm year.[3] The equations' intercepts are consistently small and nonsignificant, an indication that the generic polls contain no persistent partisan bias. The coefficients for the generic poll division do not change with the time of the

[3] If one inserts the lagged vote (the congressional vote from the prior presidential election year) as an additional variable on the right-hand side of these equations, its contribution is consistently insignificant. Past voting adds no forecasting power once the polls and presidential party are taken into account. Moreover, the estimate of the presidential party "effect" (β_2 = -2.52) when controlling for the generic vote at 241-300 days out approximates the coefficient (-3.04) when predicting the midterm vote from the lagged vote plus the presidential party. Thus the election-year movement toward the out-party is equal in size to the net movement to the out-party from the presidential year to the midterm year.

poll—hovering in the very narrow range between 0.46 and 0.51. In effect, poll leads at any point in time are effectively halved by Election Day, *ceteris paribus*.

So far, we have ignored our variable of central interest—the party of the president. The effect of presidential party undergoes considerable change over the course of the campaign. Specifically, the coefficient weakens continuously as we use more and more updated polls. When using polls from the beginning of the election year (241-300 days out), the presidential party coefficient is highly significant, with a *t*-value over 5. The estimate of 2.52 indicates a swing of 5 percentage points in the vote over and above the generic poll prediction, based on which party is in the White House. The coefficient size drops in almost linear fashion as polls closer to the election are used. By the final increment of time, employing polls fielded within a month of the election, the coefficient is only -1.09. Further, for the first time, the presidential party becomes statistically insignificant ($p = .06$).[4] What explains this pattern?

The results are exactly as we predicted if there is ideological balancing. At the beginning of the election year, voters' opinions about the November election are unformed and electoral preferences do not reflect the party of the president. Over time, voters consider their candidate options and collect information, and some voters take into account the party of the president into their preferences. The generic polls incorporate the tendency among some voters to balance, and so the presidential party indicator loses strength as the election cycle evolves. That is, the effect of party is increasingly absorbed by the polls. Balancing comes into focus over the course of the campaign.

[4] At the *very end of the campaign*, the presidential party effect appears to be totally absorbed by the generic vote. Controlling for the final poll in each campaign, the estimated effect of presidential party drops to -0.80 with a p-value of less than .10.

Figure 1 illustrates the regression equations graphically. It plots the Democratic vote share by the poll share at the different intervals of time for the 15 midterm election between 1946 and 2002. Using hollow diamonds to indicate elections under Republican presidents and solid dots to indicate elections under Democrats, we can literally see how balancing structures preferences over time. In the first frame, using polls from 241-300 days before the

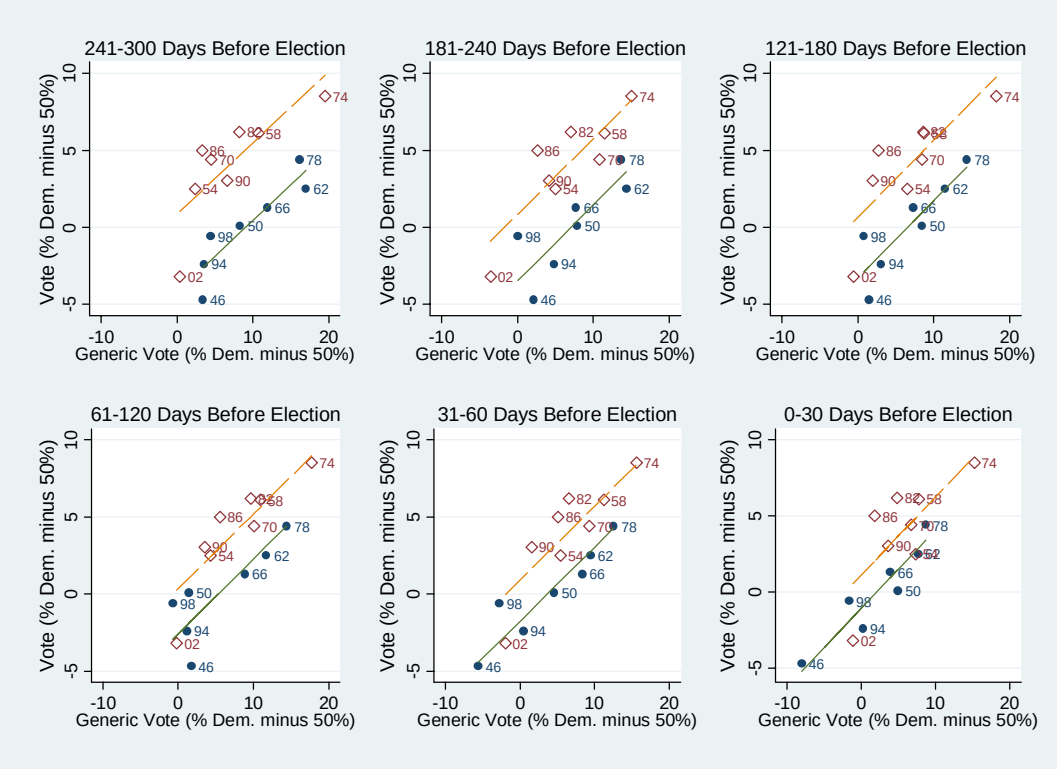

Figure 1. Midterm Congressional Vote by the Generic Vote in the Polls at the Different Time Intervals. *Elections with Democratic Presidents are Represented by Solid Dots and Solid Prediction Lines. Elections with Republican presidents are represented by hollow dots and dashed prediction lines.*

election, the poll results and the congressional vote align with parallel patterns for Democratic and Republican presidents, with a gap of about five percentage points, as implied by Table 1, column 1. (Note that the fit of the model is particularly striking if we set aside 2002 and, to a lesser extent, 1998.) This gap narrows frame by frame as we use more proximate polling

information. By the last 30 days of the campaign, only a small gap remains and the prediction lines for Democratic and Republican presidents approach convergence.

Accounting for House Seats

Analysis of house seats in Table 2 reveals a similar pattern to what we saw for the vote. Again, the generic polls provide strong and unbiased predictions. The intercept is insignificant in all equations. The generic poll coefficient does not vary appreciably with the time frame of the polls—the estimates range between 1.00 and 1.06. Each percentage share in the generic vote is worth about one percent of the seats (translating to four seats and a fraction).

Table 2. Midterm Congressional House Seat Regressions using Generic Polls at Different Time Intervals (Democratic Share of the Two-Party Division)

% Dem House Seats (%D-50%)	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	1.03 (0.15)	1.04 (0.18)	1.01 (0.21)	1.01 (0.18)	1.00 (0.15)	1.06 (0.21)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-4.13 (0.85)	-3.30 (0.96)	-2.90 (1.08)	-1.86 (0.98)	-1.59 (0.88)	-1.09 (1.11)
Constant	-2.11 (1.47)	-0.92 (1.58)	-0.58 (1.79)	-0.45 (1.52)	1.03 (1.16)	1.98 (1.34)
Adj. R^2	0.81	0.74	0.67	0.74	0.79	0.69
Root MSE	3.22	3.70	4.19	3.71	3.30	4.04
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Just as for the analysis of the vote for the House, in terms of seats the coefficient for the presidential party declines as the polls' time frame approaches Election Day. Measuring the generic vote 241-300 days in advance, party shifts the seat share a striking four percentage

points beyond what we predict based on the polls alone. (This is a swing of 8 percent, or more than 32 seats, based on the presidential party.). This "effect" declines monotonically over the intervals studied. Controlling for generic poll readings at the end of the campaign, presidential party makes virtually no difference. Just as for the congressional vote, party matters for seats on Election Day—there is midterm loss. By that point in time, however, it has become part of voters' preferences and is clear in the polls.

Figure 2 illustrates, plotting the Democratic seat share by the poll share at different intervals of time, again using hollow diamonds to indicate elections under Republican

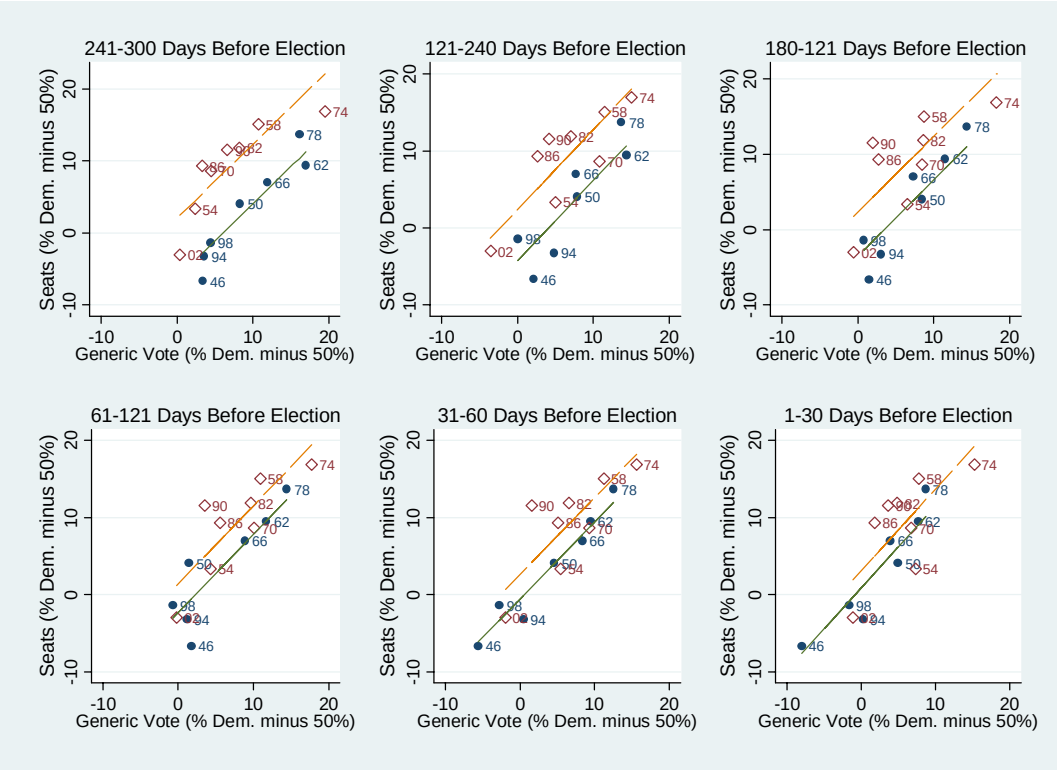

Figure 2. House Seats by the Generic Vote in the Polls at the Different Time Intervals. *Elections with Democratic Presidents are Represented by Solid Dots and Solid Prediction Lines. Elections with Republican Presidents are Represented by Hollow Dots and Dashed Prediction Lines.*

presidents and solid dots to indicate elections under Democrats. Early in the campaign (241-

300 days out), the seat share-generic poll relationship lines up as parallel tracks for Democratic and Republican administrations. The gap is a sizable eight percentage points. Just as for the vote, the gap narrows frame by frame as we use more proximate polling information. By the end of the campaign, little gap remains and poll results and the two sets of seat predictions line up almost perfectly. The presidential party indicator loses its explanatory power as sentiments toward balancing are captured in the polls.

Conclusion

Recent midterm gains by the president's party would seem to cast doubt on the notion that the electorate moves toward the out party in midterm elections as an ideological counterweight to the president. This paper provides new evidence in support of the balancing theory, by exploiting the predictive power of generic polls of congressional party preferences at midterm. At regular intervals throughout the midterm years from 1946 through 2002, pollsters have monitored congressional party preferences via their generic poll questions. Contrary to the frequent skepticism in the media, the generic polls are quite useful for forecasting midterm election outcomes, requiring only the proper discounting of the size of the partisan gap in the polls. As we have seen in this paper, the predictive power of generic polls is enhanced further by taking into account the party of the president. This provides the evidence for ideological balancing.

Our demonstration is simple. We regress the midterm vote on the generic polls plus a dummy variable for the presidential party. When the generic polls are measured early in the midterm year, the presidential party has a visible and highly significant negative "effect" on the vote. Over the course of the campaign, this effect declines toward zero. The only plausible interpretation is that (with 2002 a clear exception) the electorate becomes more

sympathetic toward the out party as the campaign progresses. At the start of the midterm year, the electorate responds to the generic poll question with a party preference that does not take into account the party of the president. As the campaign progresses and voters focus more on the upcoming election, the electorate increasingly rejects the presidential party, a behavior that is not plausibly tied to presidential coattails two years before.

This growing attraction to the out-party, we contend, is due to the electorate increasingly focusing on the vote for Congress as a way of ideologically balancing the president. Some may deny the motivation that we attribute to the voters for their movement away from the presidential party during midterm campaigns. If the shift is not motivated by ideology and policy differences between the parties, of course, critics are invited to provide alternative explanations.

We close with a note of caution. We must be aware that the data provide a strong general rule but one that can have strong exceptions. Consider the generic polls of 2002. Plugging the generic polls from that campaign into the model, the Democrats "should" probably have controlled the House following the 2002 election instead of losing ground. But despite this sobering forecasting failure, the evidence is compelling–almost always, the out-party gains strength during the election year.

Appendix A

The Generic Poll Data

Just over 1000 generic polls were collected from the Roper archives, Pollingreport.com and Moore and Saad (1997). The polls measure congressional vote choice preferences among likely voters, registered voters or national adult samples. Where survey organizations report multiple results for the same polling dates, reflecting different sampling universes, the most exclusive sample was retained for the analysis. For example, where a survey house reports poll results for both an adult sample and a registered voter sample, we use data from the latter. Where a survey house reports poll results for both registered voters and a sample of likely voters, we use data for the latter. The number of polls conducted among each sample type per interval studied during midterm election years is shown in Table A1 below.

Table A1. The Generic Poll Data by Time Interval

	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
National Adult Population	41	38	51	58	46	50
Registered Voters	21	15	23	36	32	31
Likely Voters	9	12	9	10	25[a]	50[b]

a. 3 of which are from Moore/Saad
b. 12 of which are from Moore/Saad

The polls collected from Moore and Saad (1997) were not used in the analysis in the paper but are included in some of the supplementary results in Appendix B. Moore and Saad list generic poll results among likely voters from the Gallup Organization. These polls are conducted in the last 45 days before the election in midterm election years from 1950 to 1994. These data were not used in our main analysis because it is not always clear how their results

match up with the polls reported by Roper. The results in Appendix B show that the one can draw the same inferences with or without the Moore and Saad data.

When we merge multiple polls over a given time interval, it is desirable to weight the polls by their sample sizes. To do this, we calculate the number of respondents who said they would vote Democratic and the number of respondents who said they would vote Republican for each poll. Some generic polls did not have a record of their sample size. We impute this figure based on predictions from regressing sample size on year, universe and polling organization indicators. We sum the number of Democratic and Republican voters within each sample type and midterm election year. We then calculate the valid percent of Democratic voters as the number of Democratic voters over the total number of major party voters.

By this point, we have units of analysis that vary according to midterm election year and sample type. The challenge is to collapse disparate sample types. In the regression results studied in this paper, an adjustment was made to the vote preference of registered voters and national adults to infer the results as if likely voters were asked the question. The adjustment is calculated by predicting the percent saying they are voting Democratic by indicators for the survey sample type and for the election year. Likely voters are the excluded or base category in the set of indicators for sample type. Therefore, the coefficients for registered voters and national adults indicate the extent to which those samples deviate from the likely voter samples in their reported vote preference.[5] The adjustment was made by subtracting the value of the relevant coefficient from the vote preferences of registered voters and adult samples. Then, the poll results are re-weighted according to the number of

[5] Of course this does not take into account any differences among likely voter samples.

respondents in each sample type and combined to yield one estimate of the Democratic vote preference per midterm election year.

Appendix B

Results using Alternative Methodologies

Table B1 and B2. Results with Moore and Saad (1997) Data and with Likely Voter Adjustment

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Votes	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.46 (0.09)	0.49 (0.09)	0.50 (0.09)	0.49 (0.09)	0.46 (0.08)	0.58 (0.16)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-2.52 (0.49)	-2.15 (0.47)	-1.96 (0.49)	-1.46 (0.47)	-1.23 (0.46)	-1.45 (0.62)
Constant	-1.68 (0.86)	-1.33 (0.77)	-1.30 (0.80)	-1.12 (0.73)	-0.00 (0.57)	0.79 (0.70)
Adj. R^2	0.76	0.77	0.75	0.78	0.79	0.62
Root MSE	1.87	1.82	1.88	1.79	1.73	2.35
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Seats	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	1.03 (0.15)	1.04 (0.18)	1.01 (0.21)	1.01 (0.18)	0.96 (0.16)	1.26 (0.31)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-4.13 (0.85)	-3.30 (0.96)	-2.90 (1.09)	-1.86 (0.98)	-1.38 (0.98)	-1.80 (1.23)
Constant	-2.11 (1.47)	-0.92 (1.58)	-0.58 (1.79)	-0.45 (1.51)	1.92 (1.20)	3.43 (1.38)
Adj. R^2	0.81	0.74	0.67	0.74	0.75	0.60
Root MSE	3.22	3.70	4.19	3.71	3.65	4.64
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Table B3 and B4. Results with Moore and Saad (1997) Data and No Likely Voter Adjustment

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Votes	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.45 (0.08)	0.50 (0.10)	0.51 (0.10)	0.50 (0.09)	0.52 (0.08)	0.67 (0.15)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-2.55 (0.48)	-1.99 (0.50)	-1.94 (0.49)	-1.38 (0.46)	-1.02 (0.43)	-1.03 (0.59)
Constant	-1.49 (0.79)	-1.91 (0.94)	-1.44 (0.84)	-1.42 (0.75)	-0.87 (0.59)	-0.41 (0.79)
Adj. R^2	0.77	0.74	0.75	0.79	0.83	0.69
Root MSE	1.80	1.95	1.91	1.75	1.56	2.12
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Seats	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.99 (0.15)	1.10 (0.18)	1.03 (0.22)	1.04 (0.19)	1.07 (0.17)	1.44 (0.31)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-4.18 (0.86)	-2.95 (0.92)	-2.86 (1.10)	-1.70 (1.00)	-0.96 (0.94)	-0.92 (1.19)
Constant	-1.54 (1.42)	-2.52 (1.72)	-0.86 (1.87)	-0.96 (1.62)	0.18 (1.31)	0.95 (1.58)
Adj. R^2	0.80	0.76	0.66	0.73	0.78	0.66
Root MSE	3.25	3.56	4.24	3.78	3.44	4.26
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Table B5 and B6. Results without Moore and Saad (1997) Data and No Likely Voter Adjustment

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Votes	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.45 (0.08)	0.50 (0.10)	0.51 (0.10)	0.50 (0.09)	0.53 (0.07)	0.57 (0.10)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-2.55 (0.48)	-1.99 (0.50)	-1.94 (0.49)	-1.38 (0.46)	-1.11 (0.40)	-0.91 (0.51)
Constant	-1.49 (0.79)	-1.91 (0.94)	-1.44 (0.84)	-1.42 (0.75)	-1.08 (0.58)	-0.54 (0.66)
Adj. R^2	0.77	0.74	0.75	0.79	0.85	0.77
Root MSE	1.80	1.95	1.91	1.75	1.47	1.81
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

Dependent Variable = % Dem House Seats	241-300 Days Out	181-240 Days Out	121-180 Days Out	61-120 Days Out	31-60 Days Out	1-30 Days Out
Generic Poll Results (%D-50%)	0.99 (0.15)	1.10 (0.18)	1.03 (0.22)	1.03 (0.19)	1.08 (0.16)	1.17 (0.22)
Presidential Party (1=D, -1=R)	-4.18 (0.86)	-2.95 (0.92)	-2.86 (1.10)	-1.70 (1.00)	-1.16 (0.88)	-0.75 (1.11)
Constant	-1.54 (1.42)	-2.52 (1.72)	-0.86 (1.87)	-0.96 (1.62)	-0.27 (1.27)	0.88 (1.45)
Adj. R^2	0.80	0.76	0.66	0.73	0.80	0.70
Root MSE	3.25	3.56	4.24	3.78	3.24	3.96
N	15	15	15	15	15	15

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