

Supplemental Appendix

Separately Modeling Races with and without Incumbents

Model 1, Without Incumbent

```
. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvadj ev
> anrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper inc2 inc2lag inc3 inc3lag
leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch swit
> chlag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag if inc==0
|| sid:
note: inc omitted because of collinearity
note: switchwinlag omitted because of collinearity
note: stealth omitted because of collinearity
note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity
note: stealthwinlag omitted because of collinearity
```

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -3487.1124
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -3487.1124
```

Computing standard errors:

```
Mixed-effects ML regression      Number of obs      =      1,067
Group variable: sid              Number of groups   =         45

Obs per group:
    min =          6
    avg =         23.7
    max =          75

Wald chi2(30) =      4628.49
Prob > chi2   =         0.0000

Log likelihood = -3487.1124
```

dper3	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
lgbtqnew2	2.111654	1.099209	1.92	0.055	-.0427555 4.266064
lgbtqnewlag2	3.052744	1.522605	2.00	0.045	.0684932 6.036994
sen	.5742531	.4767266	1.20	0.228	-.3601139 1.50862
dperlag	.5800038	.0293274	19.78	0.000	.5225231 .6374845
candlag	-17.66746	1.15715	-15.27	0.000	-19.93543 -15.39949
inc	0	(omitted)			
inclag	.3116747	.6316246	0.49	0.622	-.9262867 1.549636
other	1.148685	1.528577	0.75	0.452	-1.84727 4.144641
otherlag	.935032	2.129754	0.44	0.661	-3.239209 5.109274
past	1.916306	.6734547	2.85	0.004	.5963585 3.236253
pastlag	-.9324929	.9797723	-0.95	0.341	-2.852811 .9878256
woman	-.0586894	.3032109	-0.19	0.847	-.6529718 .5355931
samesexvadj	2.444985	.382694	6.39	0.000	1.694918 3.195051
evanrate2	-.2468407	.0288989	-8.54	0.000	-.3034814 -.1902
pcincome2	-.0712393	.0493587	-1.44	0.149	-.1679806 .025502
blackcvap	.3434306	.023938	14.35	0.000	.2965131 .3903481
hispcvap	.1338842	.0251109	5.33	0.000	.0846677 .1831008
educ6vap	.4867777	.0693433	7.02	0.000	.3508674 .6226879

```

urbanper | .0475045 .0089639 5.30 0.000 .0299356 .0650734
inc2 | -8.844797 5.658393 -1.56 0.118 -19.93504 2.245449
inc2lag | -.5846414 1.748049 -0.33 0.738 -4.010754 2.841471
inc3 | 1.049642 5.520305 0.19 0.849 -9.769956 11.86924
inc3lag | .9886679 1.779725 0.56 0.579 -2.499528 4.476864
leg2 | 1.988611 1.649484 1.21 0.228 -1.244317 5.221539
leg2lag | -.6719763 1.802117 -0.37 0.709 -4.204061 2.860109
leg3 | 2.412299 1.697795 1.42 0.155 -.9153174 5.739915
leg3lag | -1.705715 1.786601 -0.95 0.340 -5.207389 1.79596
switch | -6.17137 3.162314 -1.95 0.051 -12.36939 .0266508
switchlag | -3.344276 2.884825 -1.16 0.246 -8.99843 2.309878
switchwin | 2.15828 18.97855 0.11 0.909 -35.039 39.35556
switchwinlag | 0 (omitted)
stealth | 0 (omitted)
stealthlag | -6.668681 4.463236 -1.49 0.135 -15.41646 2.079101
stealthwin | 0 (omitted)
stealthwinlag | 0 (omitted)
_cons | 11.13239 1.780174 6.25 0.000 7.643312 14.62146
-----

```

```

-----
Random-effects Parameters | Estimate Std. Err. [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----
sid: Identity
      sd(_cons) | 2.723172 .3891276 2.057987 3.603358
-----+-----
      sd(Residual) | 6.142335 .1361785 5.881146 6.415124
-----

```

LR test vs. linear model: $\chi^2(01) = 80.70$ Prob $\geq \chi^2 = 0.0000$

Model 1, With Incumbent

```

. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvpadj ev
> anrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper inc2 inc2lag inc3 inc3lag
leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch swit
> chlag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag if inc<0 |
inc>0 || sid:
note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

```

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -7941.8625

Iteration 1: log likelihood = -7941.8625

Computing standard errors:

```

Mixed-effects ML regression      Number of obs   =      2,558
Group variable: sid              Number of groups =         45

Obs per group:
      min =         14
      avg =        56.8
      max =        153

Wald chi2(34) = 16222.61
Prob > chi2   = 0.0000
Log likelihood = -7941.8625

```

```

-----
dper3 |      Coef.   Std. Err.      z    P>|z|      [95% Conf. Interval]
-----+-----

```

lgbtqnew2		.3746156	.6699924	0.56	0.576	-.9385454	1.687777
lgbtqnewlag2		-.4874364	.8902305	-0.55	0.584	-2.232256	1.257383
sen		.7332991	.2898317	2.53	0.011	.1652393	1.301359
dperlag		.6666465	.0183993	36.23	0.000	.6305846	.7027084
candlag		-20.53826	.7074016	-29.03	0.000	-21.92474	-19.15178
inc		2.647019	.2928408	9.04	0.000	2.073061	3.220976
inclag		-.3179802	.4327881	-0.73	0.463	-1.166229	.5302689
other		5.133165	1.781021	2.88	0.004	1.642429	8.623901
otherlag		.9523682	1.086965	0.88	0.381	-1.178043	3.08278
past		2.350464	.6178425	3.80	0.000	1.139515	3.561413
pastlag		-.6474263	.470196	-1.38	0.169	-1.568993	.2741408
woman		.6487539	.173327	3.74	0.000	.3090393	.9884686
samesexvapadj		.9533542	.1834572	5.20	0.000	.5937846	1.312924
evanrate2		-.1487003	.01814	-8.20	0.000	-.184254	-.1131466
pcincome2		-.033863	.0220269	-1.54	0.124	-.077035	.0093089
blackcvap		.2388824	.0138899	17.20	0.000	.2116587	.2661061
hispcvap		.1538156	.0154334	9.97	0.000	.1235667	.1840645
educ6vap		.4430992	.0345841	12.81	0.000	.3753157	.5108827
urbanper		.0431093	.0048367	8.91	0.000	.0336295	.0525891
inc2		-1.94731	1.157651	-1.68	0.093	-4.216264	.321644
inc2lag		.7133728	1.097241	0.65	0.516	-1.43718	2.863925
inc3		-2.969692	1.520535	-1.95	0.051	-5.949885	.0105008
inc3lag		1.336135	1.256666	1.06	0.288	-1.126884	3.799154
leg2		1.381334	1.197172	1.15	0.249	-.9650796	3.727748
leg2lag		-.9191124	1.105769	-0.83	0.406	-3.08638	1.248155
leg3		1.729422	1.493242	1.16	0.247	-1.197278	4.656121
leg3lag		-.6709718	1.243233	-0.54	0.589	-3.107663	1.765719
switch		1.809714	3.477681	0.52	0.603	-5.006414	8.625843
switchlag		1.017488	2.679865	0.38	0.704	-4.234951	6.269928
switchwin		11.51998	4.310852	2.67	0.008	3.070863	19.96909
switchwinlag		-5.13025	3.47213	-1.48	0.140	-11.9355	1.675
stealth		7.796695	4.774176	1.63	0.102	-1.560518	17.15391
stealthlag		3.100706	2.361216	1.31	0.189	-1.527192	7.728603
stealthwin		0	(omitted)				
stealthwinlag		-4.813162	3.90578	-1.23	0.218	-12.46835	2.842027
_cons		7.380403	1.071229	6.89	0.000	5.280832	9.479974

Random-effects Parameters		Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
sid: Identity					
		sd(_cons)	2.476161	.2932627	1.963213 3.123133
		sd(Residual)	5.279438	.0744966	5.135428 5.427487

LR test vs. linear model: chibar2(01) = 278.82 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000

Model 2, Without Incumbent

```
. xtlogit dwin2 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvapadj ev
> anrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper inc2 inc2lag inc3 inc3lag
leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch swit
> chlag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag if inc==0,
i(sid)
note: stealth != 0 predicts success perfectly
stealth dropped and 3 obs not used
```

note: stealthwinlag != 0 predicts failure perfectly

stealthwinlag dropped and 1 obs not used

note: outcome = stealthlag < 0 predicts data perfectly except for
stealthlag == 0 subsample:
stealthlag dropped and 3 obs not used

note: inc omitted because of collinearity
note: inc2 omitted because of collinearity
note: inc3 omitted because of collinearity
note: switchwin omitted because of collinearity
note: switchwinlag omitted because of collinearity
note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

Fitting comparison model:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -864.99602
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -309.07428
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -272.44285
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -268.81999
Iteration 4: log likelihood = -268.77269
Iteration 5: log likelihood = -268.77261
Iteration 6: log likelihood = -268.77261

Fitting full model:

tau = 0.0 log likelihood = -268.77261
tau = 0.1 log likelihood = -267.13515
tau = 0.2 log likelihood = -266.8209
tau = 0.3 log likelihood = -267.36236

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -266.82091
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -265.32434
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -265.30347
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -265.30347

Random-effects logistic regression Number of obs = 1,261
Group variable: sid Number of groups = 45

Random effects u_i ~ Gaussian Obs per group:
min = 5
avg = 28.0
max = 75

Integration method: mvaghermite Integration pts. = 12

Log likelihood = -265.30347 Wald chi2(26) = 218.95
Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

dwin2	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
lgbtqnew2	.4418395	.5953355	0.74	0.458	-.7249965 1.608676
lgbtqnewlag2	2.248008	1.37677	1.63	0.103	-.4504119 4.946427
sen	.2374679	.3076056	0.77	0.440	-.365428 .8403638
dperlag	.2470399	.0283003	8.73	0.000	.1915723 .3025075
candlag	-9.361174	1.229352	-7.61	0.000	-11.77066 -6.951688
inc	0	(omitted)			
inlag	-.2470919	.3727635	-0.66	0.507	-.9776949 .4835111
other	1.526264	.8695327	1.76	0.079	-.1779885 3.230517
otherlag	-2.424435	2.824316	-0.86	0.391	-7.959993 3.111122
past	.6512126	.3728335	1.75	0.081	-.0795276 1.381953
pastlag	-.4647037	.6068403	-0.77	0.444	-1.654089 .7246813
woman	.2243564	.1839237	1.22	0.223	-.1361275 .5848403

samesexvpadj		.5755898	.2289929	2.51	0.012	.126772	1.024408
evanrate2		-.0948688	.018264	-5.19	0.000	-.1306657	-.059072
pcincome2		-.0069402	.0270743	-0.26	0.798	-.0600049	.0461245
blackcvap		.0936104	.0240332	3.90	0.000	.0465063	.1407145
hispvcvap		.0207406	.0116839	1.78	0.076	-.0021594	.0436406
educ6vap		.1565306	.0377932	4.14	0.000	.0824574	.2306038
urbanper		.0175242	.0053543	3.27	0.001	.00703	.0280184
inc2		0	(omitted)				
inc2lag		-2.625851	2.825698	-0.93	0.353	-8.164117	2.912414
inc3		0	(omitted)				
inc3lag		-2.845605	2.861264	-0.99	0.320	-8.45358	2.762369
leg2		-.0242197	.9439779	-0.03	0.980	-1.874382	1.825943
leg2lag		2.417722	2.82823	0.85	0.393	-3.125508	7.960951
leg3		-.0806129	1.107625	-0.07	0.942	-2.251518	2.090292
leg3lag		2.736252	2.854224	0.96	0.338	-2.857924	8.330429
switch		-.0795649	1.888757	-0.04	0.966	-3.78146	3.62233
switchlag		.1490518	1.545274	0.10	0.923	-2.879629	3.177732
switchwin		0	(omitted)				
switchwinlag		0	(omitted)				
stealth		0	(omitted)				
stealthlag		0	(omitted)				
stealthwin		0	(omitted)				
stealthwinlag		0	(omitted)				
_cons		-15.56403	1.640133	-9.49	0.000	-18.77864	-12.34943

/lnsig2u		-.7622198	.6080852			-1.954045	.4296053

sigma_u		.6831028	.2076924			.3764303	1.239617
rho		.1242193	.0661529			.041293	.3183766

LR test of rho=0: chibar2(01) = 6.94

Prob >= chibar2 = 0.004

Model 2, With Incumbent

```
. xtlogit dwin2 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvpadj ev
> anrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper inc2 inc2lag inc3 inc3lag
leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch swit
> chlag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag if inc<0 |
inc>0, i(sid)
note: stealth != 0 predicts success perfectly
      stealth dropped and 2 obs not used
```

note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

Fitting comparison model:

```
Iteration 0: log likelihood = -2474.3251
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -590.54319
Iteration 2: log likelihood = -459.27367
Iteration 3: log likelihood = -420.20686
Iteration 4: log likelihood = -418.29322
Iteration 5: log likelihood = -418.28975
Iteration 6: log likelihood = -418.28935
Iteration 7: log likelihood = -418.28927
Iteration 8: log likelihood = -418.28926
```

Fitting full model:

```
tau = 0.0 log likelihood = -418.28926
tau = 0.1 log likelihood = -413.34343
tau = 0.2 log likelihood = -411.15902
tau = 0.3 log likelihood = -410.64603
```



```

rho | .1530482 .0535821 .0743943 .288904
-----
LR test of rho=0: chibar2(01) = 20.03 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.000

```

Model 1 Robustness Checks

```

. *M1: ROBUSTNESS CHECK #1
. *Same as M1, except excludes contests with more than one seat. This makes it more
comparable to the analysis in M2, although M2 includes uncontested elections while M1
doesn't.
. xtmixed dper4 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvapadj evanrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap
urbanper inc2 inc2lag i
> nc3 inc3lag leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch switchlag switchwin switchwinlag
stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag || sid:
note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

```

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

```

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -10442.842
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -10442.842

```

Computing standard errors:

```

Mixed-effects ML regression      Number of obs      =      3,378
Group variable: sid              Number of groups   =         45

Obs per group:
    min =          18
    avg  =         75.1
    max  =         161

Wald chi2(34) = 21316.44
Prob > chi2   = 0.0000
Log likelihood = -10442.842

```

	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
dper4					
lgbtqnew2	.1743189	.5220042	0.33	0.738	-.8487905 1.197428
lgbtqnewlag2	.4921486	.7072671	0.70	0.487	-.8940694 1.878367
sen	.98881	.2393713	4.13	0.000	.5196508 1.457969
dperlag	.6217473	.0146266	42.51	0.000	.5930796 .6504149
candlag	-19.35971	.5706983	-33.92	0.000	-20.47825 -18.24116
inc	2.146045	.2651348	8.09	0.000	1.626391 2.6657
inclag	-.3795448	.3155491	-1.20	0.229	-.9980097 .2389201
other	1.437022	.866299	1.66	0.097	-.2608928 3.134937
otherlag	.3512729	.8691727	0.40	0.686	-1.352274 2.05482
past	1.836085	.4226869	4.34	0.000	1.007634 2.664537
pastlag	-.2811298	.4130302	-0.68	0.496	-1.090654 .5283945
woman	.1594368	.1436044	1.11	0.267	-.1220226 .4408962
samesexvapadj	1.611654	.1712343	9.41	0.000	1.276041 1.947267
evanrate2	-.1842739	.0156112	-11.80	0.000	-.2148713 -.1536765
pcincome2	-.0295158	.0201511	-1.46	0.143	-.0690112 .0099796
blackcvap	.2918365	.0116275	25.10	0.000	.269047 .314626
hispcvap	.1530272	.0127935	11.96	0.000	.1279524 .1781021
educ6vap	.4262075	.0308209	13.83	0.000	.3657996 .4866154
urbanper	.050779	.0043729	11.61	0.000	.0422083 .0593498
inc2	-2.091271	.8610254	-2.43	0.015	-3.77885 -.4036927
inc2lag	.1186136	.8046758	0.15	0.883	-1.458522 1.695749
inc3	-2.909651	.9841103	-2.96	0.003	-4.838472 -.9808306

inc3lag		.9048321	.8715944	1.04	0.299	-.8034616	2.613126
leg2		1.843999	.8545832	2.16	0.031	.1690469	3.518951
leg2lag		-.6692723	.8149375	-0.82	0.412	-2.26652	.9279759
leg3		2.615641	.9427189	2.77	0.006	.7679463	4.463337
leg3lag		-1.027908	.8576199	-1.20	0.231	-2.708812	.6529956
switch		-4.334465	2.16109	-2.01	0.045	-8.570123	-.0988075
switchlag		.4972336	2.644814	0.19	0.851	-4.686507	5.680974
switchwin		16.14361	3.244633	4.98	0.000	9.784249	22.50298
switchwinlag		-4.367556	3.097215	-1.41	0.158	-10.43799	1.702874
stealth		9.902045	5.27077	1.88	0.060	-.4284734	20.23256
stealthlag		.0932902	1.992904	0.05	0.963	-3.812729	3.999309
stealthwin		0	(omitted)				
stealthwinlag		-1.09943	3.652137	-0.30	0.763	-8.257487	6.058627
_cons		8.490899	.9047101	9.39	0.000	6.717699	10.2641

Random-effects Parameters		Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
sid: Identity					
		sd(_cons)	2.513533	.2933499	1.999597 3.159561
		sd(Residual)	5.227755	.0640536	5.103707 5.354817

LR test vs. linear model: $\chi^2(01) = 410.84$ Prob $\geq \chi^2 = 0.0000$

***M1: ROBUSTNESS CHECK #2**

*Exclude LGTNEWLAG from M1.

. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag past pastlag
 woman samesexvapadj evanrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper inc2
 inc2lag inc3 inc3lag l

> eg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag switch switchlag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag
 stealthwin stealthwinlag || sid:

note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -11478.708

Iteration 1: log likelihood = -11478.708

Computing standard errors:

Mixed-effects ML regression Number of obs = 3,625
 Group variable: sid Number of groups = 45

Obs per group:
 min = 21
 avg = 80.6
 max = 196

Log likelihood = -11478.708 Wald $\chi^2(33) = 19637.28$
 Prob $> \chi^2 = 0.0000$

dper3		Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
lgbtqnew2		.6776637	.4891146	1.39	0.166	-.2809833	1.636311
sen		.8638633	.2470265	3.50	0.000	.3797002	1.348026
dperlag		.6372381	.0153461	41.52	0.000	.6071602	.667316
candlag		-19.52901	.5998029	-32.56	0.000	-20.70461	-18.35342

inc		2.454324	.2803264	8.76	0.000	1.904895	3.003754
inclag		-.2667378	.3299216	-0.81	0.419	-.9133722	.3798967
other		1.728427	.9292367	1.86	0.063	-.0928435	3.549697
otherlag		.7675888	.9322375	0.82	0.410	-1.059563	2.594741
past		2.110752	.4431621	4.76	0.000	1.24217	2.979334
pastlag		-.6760377	.4320308	-1.56	0.118	-1.522802	.1707271
woman		.3777811	.1527649	2.47	0.013	.0783673	.6771949
samesexvadj		1.344249	.1684619	7.98	0.000	1.01407	1.674428
evanrate2		-.1763501	.0165062	-10.68	0.000	-.2087017	-.1439985
pcincome2		-.0358869	.0209367	-1.71	0.087	-.0769221	.0051482
blackcvap		.2763133	.0123309	22.41	0.000	.2521452	.3004814
hispcvap		.1535297	.0135993	11.29	0.000	.1268755	.1801839
educ6vap		.445225	.0318733	13.97	0.000	.3827544	.5076955
urbanper		.0463973	.0043681	10.62	0.000	.037836	.0549586
inc2		-2.121313	.9224317	-2.30	0.021	-3.929246	-.3133799
inc2lag		.2668556	.8654315	0.31	0.758	-1.429359	1.96307
inc3		-2.85999	1.052421	-2.72	0.007	-4.922698	-.7972818
inc3lag		1.391257	.9349701	1.49	0.137	-.4412507	3.223765
leg2		1.743107	.9156915	1.90	0.057	-.0516158	3.537829
leg2lag		-.8530032	.8760032	-0.97	0.330	-2.569938	.8639316
leg3		2.36596	1.008275	2.35	0.019	.389777	4.342143
leg3lag		-1.487086	.9198381	-1.62	0.106	-3.289935	.3157637
switch		-2.375223	2.263884	-1.05	0.294	-6.812355	2.061908
switchlag		.9260191	2.846903	0.33	0.745	-4.653808	6.505846
switchwin		14.55693	3.388069	4.30	0.000	7.91644	21.19743
switchwinlag		-4.791744	3.336752	-1.44	0.151	-11.33166	1.74817
stealth		8.034464	5.086938	1.58	0.114	-1.93575	18.00468
stealthlag		.2782624	2.134292	0.13	0.896	-3.904873	4.461398
stealthwin		0	(omitted)				
stealthwinlag		-1.634987	3.932235	-0.42	0.678	-9.342025	6.072051
_cons		8.297412	.9429805	8.80	0.000	6.449205	10.14562

Random-effects Parameters	Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
sid: Identity				
sd(_cons)	2.565943	.2960412	2.046638	3.217014
sd(Residual)	5.643096	.066705	5.51386	5.775362

LR test vs. linear model: chibar2(01) = 391.70 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000

***M1: ROBUSTNESS CHECK #3**

. *Exclude variables tracking how long an incumbent or legislator from the other chamber has been in office.
. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag past pastlag woman samesexvadj evanrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap urbanper switch switchl
> ag switchwin switchwinlag stealth stealthlag stealthwin stealthwinlag || sid:
note: stealthwin omitted because of collinearity

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -11486.577
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -11486.577

Computing standard errors:

Mixed-effects ML regression Number of obs = 3,625

Group variable: sid

Number of groups = 45

Obs per group:

min = 21

avg = 80.6

max = 196

Log likelihood = -11486.577

Wald chi2(26) = 19536.83

Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

dper3	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]
lgbtqnew2	.5775531	.5571438	1.04	0.300	-.5144287 1.669535
lgbtqnewlag2	.334647	.7483821	0.45	0.655	-1.132155 1.801449
sen	.9087067	.2447443	3.71	0.000	.4290167 1.388397
dperlag	.6404876	.0146298	43.78	0.000	.6118138 .6691614
candlag	-19.61766	.5816345	-33.73	0.000	-20.75764 -18.47768
inc	2.252379	.1771672	12.71	0.000	1.905138 2.59962
inclag	-.7817564	.1904706	-4.10	0.000	-1.155072 -.4084407
other	3.320495	.4956879	6.70	0.000	2.348965 4.292025
otherlag	.5739236	.5623692	1.02	0.307	-.5282997 1.676147
past	2.050809	.4430936	4.63	0.000	1.182361 2.919256
pastlag	-.7727995	.4301269	-1.80	0.072	-1.615833 .0702337
woman	.3852531	.1529982	2.52	0.012	.0853822 .685124
samesexvapadj	1.340776	.1696701	7.90	0.000	1.008228 1.673323
evanrate2	-.1743174	.0165131	-10.56	0.000	-.2066825 -.1419523
pcincome2	-.0353714	.0209627	-1.69	0.092	-.0764575 .0057147
blackcvap	.2761992	.0122642	22.52	0.000	.2521617 .3002366
hispcvap	.1522519	.0136136	11.18	0.000	.1255697 .178934
educ6vap	.4411776	.0318893	13.83	0.000	.3786758 .5036794
urbanper	.0468382	.0043693	10.72	0.000	.0382745 .0554019
switch	-2.489426	2.266628	-1.10	0.272	-6.931935 1.953083
switchlag	.8802118	2.856811	0.31	0.758	-4.719035 6.479459
switchwin	14.25151	3.385772	4.21	0.000	7.615523 20.8875
switchwinlag	-4.53691	3.34414	-1.36	0.175	-11.0913 2.017485
stealth	7.770645	5.096542	1.52	0.127	-2.218395 17.75968
stealthlag	.2998975	2.138535	0.14	0.888	-3.891555 4.49135
stealthwin	0	(omitted)			
stealthwinlag	-1.649986	3.939926	-0.42	0.675	-9.3721 6.072128
_cons	8.120863	.9174277	8.85	0.000	6.322738 9.918989

Random-effects Parameters	Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]
sid: Identity			
sd(_cons)	2.558308	.2953405	2.040267 3.207884
sd(Residual)	5.6557	.0668538	5.526175 5.788261

LR test vs. linear model: chibar2(01) = 389.96 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000

```

. *M1: ROBUSTNESS CHECK #4
. *Exclude variables tracking party switches and non-major party candidates who ran as
major party candidates in the past.
. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvapadj evanrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap
urbanper inc2 inc2lag i
> nc3 inc3lag leg2 leg2lag leg3 leg3lag || sid:

```

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -11496.154
 Iteration 1: log likelihood = -11496.154

Computing standard errors:

Mixed-effects ML regression
 Group variable: sid

Number of obs = 3,625
 Number of groups = 45

Obs per group:
 min = 21
 avg = 80.6
 max = 196

Wald chi2(27) = 19414.85
 Prob > chi2 = 0.0000

Log likelihood = -11496.154

	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
dper3						
lgbtqnew2	.5788736	.5581084	1.04	0.300	-.5149987	1.672746
lgbtqnewlag2	.3366118	.7494886	0.45	0.653	-1.132359	1.805582
sen	.8712676	.2480516	3.51	0.000	.3850954	1.35744
dperlag	.6365084	.0154193	41.28	0.000	.6062872	.6667296
candlag	-19.5392	.6025394	-32.43	0.000	-20.72016	-18.35824
inc	2.455279	.2815123	8.72	0.000	1.903525	3.007033
inclag	-.3768228	.3308504	-1.14	0.255	-1.025278	.2716321
other	1.78711	.933666	1.91	0.056	-.0428418	3.617062
otherlag	.6203147	.936254	0.66	0.508	-1.214709	2.455339
past	2.228367	.4446003	5.01	0.000	1.356967	3.099768
pastlag	-.7761098	.4326191	-1.79	0.073	-1.624028	.0718081
woman	.3637078	.1534474	2.37	0.018	.0629565	.6644591
samesexvapadj	1.314166	.1698969	7.74	0.000	.9811742	1.647158
evanrate2	-.1779264	.0165705	-10.74	0.000	-.2104039	-.1454489
pcincome2	-.033663	.021011	-1.60	0.109	-.0748438	.0075177
blackcvap	.27842	.0123789	22.49	0.000	.2541577	.3026822
hispcvap	.1534616	.0136592	11.24	0.000	.12669	.1802331
educ6vap	.4434007	.0319779	13.87	0.000	.3807251	.5060763
urbanper	.0460895	.004388	10.50	0.000	.0374891	.0546898
inc2	-2.115766	.9265884	-2.28	0.022	-3.931845	-.2996857
inc2lag	.2223031	.8696582	0.26	0.798	-1.482196	1.926802
inc3	-2.672696	1.056561	-2.53	0.011	-4.743517	-.6018743
inc3lag	1.228481	.9385469	1.31	0.191	-.611037	3.067999
leg2	1.83753	.9196373	2.00	0.046	.0350736	3.639986
leg2lag	-.7976427	.8802862	-0.91	0.365	-2.522972	.9276865
leg3	2.420259	1.012859	2.39	0.017	.4350911	4.405427
leg3lag	-1.437973	.9241914	-1.56	0.120	-3.249355	.3734083
_cons	8.361188	.9470081	8.83	0.000	6.505086	10.21729

Random-effects Parameters	Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
sid: Identity				
sd(_cons)	2.562117	.2959384	2.043058	3.213049
sd(Residual)	5.670739	.0670319	5.540869	5.803653

LR test vs. linear model: chibar2(01) = 387.20 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000

```

. *M1: ROBUSTNESS CHECK #5
. *Exclude variables tracking how long an incumbent or legislator from the other
chamber has been in office.
. *Exclude variables tracking party switches and non-major party candidates who ran as
major party candidates in the past.
. xtmixed dper3 lgbtqnew2 lgbtqnewlag2 sen dperlag candlag inc inclag other otherlag
past pastlag woman samesexvapadj evanrate2 pcincome2 blackcvap hispcvap educ6vap
urbanper || sid:

```

Performing EM optimization:

Performing gradient-based optimization:

```

Iteration 0: log likelihood = -11503.05
Iteration 1: log likelihood = -11503.05

```

Computing standard errors:

```

Mixed-effects ML regression      Number of obs    =      3,625
Group variable: sid             Number of groups =         45

                                Obs per group:
                                min =          21
                                avg =         80.6
                                max =         196

                                Wald chi2(19)    =    19327.64
                                Prob > chi2      =         0.0000

Log likelihood = -11503.05

```

dper3	Coef.	Std. Err.	z	P> z	[95% Conf. Interval]	
lgbtqnew2	.6011443	.5588056	1.08	0.282	-.4940944	1.696383
lgbtqnewlag2	.3267953	.7501092	0.44	0.663	-1.143392	1.796982
sen	.9049037	.2456657	3.68	0.000	.4234078	1.3864
dperlag	.6378168	.0146794	43.45	0.000	.6090456	.6665879
candlag	-19.56297	.5840509	-33.50	0.000	-20.70769	-18.41825
inc	2.350318	.1769034	13.29	0.000	2.003594	2.697043
inclag	-.8442151	.1908138	-4.42	0.000	-1.218203	-.4702269
other	3.424547	.4973147	6.89	0.000	2.449828	4.399266
otherlag	.4864273	.5640224	0.86	0.388	-.6190362	1.591891
past	2.172871	.4443	4.89	0.000	1.302059	3.043683
pastlag	-.8621095	.4305898	-2.00	0.045	-1.70605	-.0181689
woman	.3699404	.1535755	2.41	0.016	.0689381	.6709428
samesexvapadj	1.319628	.1701413	7.76	0.000	.9861575	1.653099
evanrate2	-.1759736	.0165719	-10.62	0.000	-.2084539	-.1434934
pcincome2	-.0334347	.0210324	-1.59	0.112	-.0746574	.007788
blackcvap	.278749	.0123072	22.65	0.000	.2546273	.3028707
hispcvap	.1525886	.0136664	11.17	0.000	.125803	.1793743
educ6vap	.4411403	.0319779	13.80	0.000	.3784647	.5038159
urbanper	.0463035	.0043845	10.56	0.000	.0377101	.054897
_cons	8.269383	.9199643	8.99	0.000	6.466287	10.07248

Random-effects Parameters	Estimate	Std. Err.	[95% Conf. Interval]	
sid: Identity				
sd(_cons)	2.556835	.2954627	2.038635	3.206755
sd(Residual)	5.681798	.0671626	5.551675	5.814971

LR test vs. linear model: chibar2(01) = 386.14 Prob >= chibar2 = 0.0000