

Congress

Wilson Chapter 11

Comparisons with Parliament 1

- Parliamentary candidates are selected by their _____
 - Become a candidate by persuading your party to place your name on _____
 - Voters choose between national _____, not between multiple candidates within a single party
 - Members of Parliament select _____ and other leaders
 - Party members vote together on most issues
 - Renomination depends on remaining loyal to party
 - Principal work is debate over national issues
 - Members have very little actual _____, very little pay or staff resources

Comparisons with Parliament 2

- Congressional candidates run in a _____ election, with little party control over their nomination
 - Vote is for the _____, not the party
 - Result is a body of _____ representatives of districts or states
 - Members do not choose the chief executive – voters elect president
 - Members' principal work is _____ and action; power is decentralized and members are independent
 - Party _____ is limited, not enduring (104th Congress, 1995)
 - Members have a great deal of power, high pay and significant _____ resources

The Evolution of Congress (overview)

- Intent of the _____
- General characteristics of subsequent _____
- Organization of the _____ has varied
- Evolution of the Senate

Intent of the Framers

- To oppose the _____ of power in a single institution
- To balance large and small states: _____
- Expected _____ to be the dominant institution

General Characteristics of Subsequent Evolution

- Congress was generally _____ over presidency until the twentieth century
 - Exceptions: brief periods of presidential activism
- Major political struggles were within Congress
 - Generally over issues of _____ significance, e.g., slavery, new states, internal improvements, tariffs, business regulation
 - Overriding political question: _____ of power within Congress
 - _____—if the need is for quick and decisive action
 - Decentralize—if congressional members and constituency interests are to be dominant
 - General _____ has been toward decentralization

Organization of the House has Varied 1

- Phase one: the powerful House
 - Congressional leadership supplied by the _____ or cabinet officers in first three administrations (Washington, J. Adams, Jefferson)
 - _____ of Representatives preeminent, originating legislation
 - Party _____ shaped policy questions, selected party candidate for the presidency

Organization of the House has Varied 2

- Phase two: a _____ House (late 1820s)
 - Andrew Jackson asserted presidential power through the _____
 - Caucus system disappears, replaced with national nominating conventions
 - Issue of slavery and Civil War shatter party _____, limiting the Speaker's power
 - Radical Republicans impose harsh measures on post-Civil War South

Organization of the House has Varied 3

- Phase three: rise of a _____ speaker
 - Thomas B. Reed (R-ME), Speaker, 1889–1899, produced party _____
 - Selected committee _____ and assigned committee members
 - Chaired the _____ Committee
 - Joseph G. Cannon (R-IL), Speaker, 1899–1910, more conservative than many House Republicans and he therefore could not sustain his power

Organization of the House has Varied 4

- Phase four: the _____ against the speaker
 - Speaker _____ of power to appoint committee chairs and members
 - Speaker _____ from the Rules Committee
 - Other sources of power emerged in the chamber
 - Party caucuses, though their power soon waned
 - _____
 - Chairs of _____ committee, who acquired office on the basis of _____

Organization of the House has Varied 5

- Phase five: the empowerment of _____ members
 - Defining issue was _____ rights during 1960s and 1970s
 - Powerful _____ committee chairs blocked legislation until 1965
 - Democratic members changed rules to _____ chairs' power
 - Committee chairs become _____, not selected just on the basis of seniority
 - _____ strengthened
 - Chairs could not refuse to convene committee meetings and most meetings were to be _____
 - Member _____ increased
 - Each member could introduce legislation
 - Half of the majority members chaired at least one committee or subcommittee

Organization of the House has Varied 6

- Phase six: the return of _____
 - Efforts began to restore Speaker's power because the individualistic system was not _____
 - _____ appointed a majority of the Rules Committee members and of the committee that assigns members to committees
 - Speaker given _____ authority
 - Sweeping changes with _____ election of a Republican majority
 - Committee chairs hold positions for only 6 years
 - _____ the number of committees, subcommittees
 - Speaker dominated the selection of committee chairs
 - Speaker set _____ (Contract with America) and sustained high Republican discipline in 1995 – but Newt Gingrich's forcefulness had its costs and his successor was much more moderate

Organization of the House has Varied 7

- The Future?
 - Ongoing _____ between centralization and decentralization

The Evolution of the Senate

- Escaped many of the tensions encountered by the House, because:
 - _____ chamber

- In 1800s, balanced between slave and free states
- _____ precluded need of a Rules Committee
- Previous to 1913, Senators were elected by the state _____, which caused them to focus on jobs and contributions for their states
- Major struggle in the Senate about how its members should be chosen, ____th amendment (1913)
- Filibuster another major issue: restricted by Rule 22 (1917), which allows a vote of _____
- See the Politically Speaking box, Filibuster

Who is in Congress? 1

- The beliefs and interests of _____ of Congress can affect policy
- Sex and race
 - The House has become less _____ and less _____
 - _____ has been slower to change
 - Members of color may gain influence more quickly than women because the former often come from _____ districts
 - But Republican control has decreased the influence of all minorities

Who is in Congress? 2

- Incumbency 1
 - Membership in Congress became a _____: low turnover by 1950s
 - 1992 and 1994 brought many new members to the House due to—
 - _____ after 1990 census put incumbents in new districts they couldn't carry
 - Anti-_____ attitude of voters
 - Republican victory in 1994, partially due to the _____'s shift to the Republican party

Who is in Congress 3

- Incumbency 2
 - Incumbents still with great _____ advantage
 - Most House districts _____, not marginal
 - Senators are less _____ as incumbents
 - Voters may support incumbents for the following reasons:
 - Media coverage is higher for _____
 - Incumbents have greater _____ recognition owing to franking, travel to the district, news coverage
 - Members secure policies and programs for voters

Who is in Congress? 4

- Party 1
 - Democrats were beneficiaries of _____, 1933–1992: controlled both houses in _____ Congresses, at least one house in 28 Congresses
 - Gap between votes and seats: _____ vote higher than number of seats won
 - One explanation is that Democratic state legislatures redraw _____ lines to favor Democratic candidates, but this requires one-party control of all branches of the state government
 - Instead, see Republicans run best in high-_____ districts, Democrats in low turnout ones
 - Gap closed in 1994
 - Another explanation: _____ advantage increasing
 - But this advantage is only part of the story: Democrats field _____ candidates whose positions are closer to those of voters, able to build winning district-level coalitions

Who is in Congress? 5

- Party 2
 - Electoral _____ do periodically alter membership, as in 1994
 - Voters opposed _____ due to budget deficits, various policies, legislative-executive bickering, scandal
 - Other factors were 1990 _____ and southern shift to voting Republican
 - Conservative _____ of Southern Democrats and Republicans now has less influence
 - Many Southern Democrats have now been _____ with Republicans
 - Remaining Southern Democrats are as _____ as other Democrats
 - Result: Greater _____ (especially in the House) and greater party unity in voting

Getting Elected to Congress 1

- Each state has two senators, but House representation based on state _____
- Determining fair representation
 - House members are now elected from _____-member districts

Getting Elected to Congress 2

- Majority-minority districts
 - Definition: districts drawn to make it easier for _____ citizens to elect a representative
- *Shaw v. Reno*: Supreme Court states race can be a factor in congressional redistricting only if there is a “_____ state _____”— a standard yet to be defined
- Majority-minority districts raise debate about descriptive (or _____) versus substantive representation
- Research reveals liberal white members of Congress have _____ voting records to black members, on issues important to the black community

Getting Elected to Congress 3

- Winning the primary
 - Must, usually, gather voter _____ to appear on the ballot for a primary election
 - Next, win party nomination by winning the primary election – parties have _____ influence over these outcomes
- Next, run in the general election –
 - Incumbents almost always win: sophomore _____ due to use of office to run a strong personal campaign
 - _____ campaigns offers members independence from party in Congress

Getting Elected to Congress 4

- How members get elected has two _____
 - Legislators are closely tied to _____ concerns
 - Party leaders have little influence in the Congress, because they can't influence electoral _____
 - Affects how policy is made: the members gears her/his office to help individual constituents, while committees secure _____ for the district
 - Members must decide how much to be _____ (do what district wants) versus _____ (use their independent judgment)

Do Members Represent Their Voters? 1

- _____ view: members vote to please their constituents, in order to secure reelection
 - Applies when constituents have a clear view and the legislator's vote is likely to attract _____
 - _____ found on roll call votes and constituency opinion for civil rights and social welfare legislation, but not foreign policy
 - Cannot predict that members from _____ districts will adhere to this philosophy or that members from safe districts will not be independent
 - Even if a member votes against constituent preferences, she/he can win election in other ways.

Do Members Represent Their Voters? 2

- _____ view: where constituency interests are not vitally at stake, members primarily respond to cues from colleagues
 - _____ is the principal cue, with shared ideological ties causing each member to look to specific members for guidance
 - Party members of the _____ sponsoring the legislation are especially influential

Do Members Represent Their Voters? 3

- _____ view: the member's ideology determines her/his vote
 - House members are ideologically more similar to the “_____ voter” than are Senators

Ideology and Civility in Congress

- Congress members are increasingly _____ by political ideology
 - _____ explanation of voting is increasingly important
 - _____ explanation is of decreasing importance
- Polarization among members has led to many more attacks and to less constructive negotiations of bills and policies

Organization of Congress:

Parties and Caucuses (overview)

- Party Organization of the _____
- Party Structure of the _____
- Strength of Party _____
- Party _____
- _____: rivals to parties in policy formulation

Party Organization of the Senate 1

- President pro _____ (currently Ted Stevens, R-Alaska) presides; this is the member with most _____ in majority party (a largely honorific office)
- Leaders are the majority _____ (currently Bill Frist – R-Tenn.) and the minority leader (currently Harry Reid – D-Nev), elected by their respective party members
 - Majority leader _____ Senate business, usually in consultation with minority leader
- Party whips: keep leaders informed, round up _____, count noses

Party Organization of the Senate 2

- Each party has a _____ committee: schedules Senate business, prioritizes bills
- Committee _____ are handled by a group of Senators, each for own party
 - Democratic Steering Committee
 - Republican Committee on Committees
 - Assignments are especially important for freshmen
- Assignments emphasize _____ and regional balance
- Other factors: popularity, effectiveness on television, favors owed

Party Structure of the House 1

- House rules give _____ more power
- _____ of the House (currently Dennis Hastert – R-Ill) is leader of majority party and presides over House
 - Decides who to _____ to speak on the floor
 - Rules on germaneness of _____
 - _____ bills to committees, subject to some rules
 - Influences which bills are brought up for a vote
 - _____ members of special and select committees
 - Has some informal powers

Party Structure of the House 2

- _____ leader (currently Roy Blunt – R-Mo) and _____ leader (currently Nancy Pelosi – D-Cal)
- Party _____ organizations
- Committee assignments and legislative schedule are set by each party
 - Democrats—Steering and Policy Committee, chaired by the Speaker
 - Republicans divide tasks
 - Committee on Committees for committee assignments
 - Policy Committee to schedule legislation
- Democratic and Republican congressional _____ committees
- See the Politically Speaking box, Whip; and the How Things Work box, Party Leadership Structure

Strength of Party Structure

- Loose measure of the strength of party structure is the ability of leaders to get members to vote _____ to determine party rules and organization
- Tested in 104th Congress— _____ with party support for reforms and controversial committee assignments
- Senate contrasts with the House
 - Senate has changed through changes in _____, rather than change in rules
 - Senate now less _____-centered and less _____-oriented; more hospitable to freshmen, more heavily staffed, and more subcommittee oriented

Party Unity

- Measure party polarization in voting by votes in which a majority of Democrats and Republicans oppose one another
- Party voting and _____ more evident in 1990s
- Today, splits often reflect deep ideological _____ between parties or party leaders
 - In the past, splits were a product of party _____
 - Focus was then on winning elections, dispensing patronage, keeping power
- Why is there party voting, given party has so little electoral influence?
 - _____ orientation is important to members
 - _____ given by and taken from fellow party members
 - Rewards from party leaders go to those who follow the party _____

Caucuses: Rivals to Parties in Policy Formulation

- 1995, Republicans passed legislation making _____ operations more difficult
- Types of caucuses
 - _____-party, members share a similar ideology
 - Personal interest, members share an interest in an issue
 - Constituency concerns
- See the Politically Speaking box, Caucus

Legislative Committees

- Most _____ organizational feature of Congress
 - Consider _____ or legislative proposals
 - Maintain _____ of executive agencies
 - Conduct _____

Types of Committees

- _____ committees: basically permanent bodies with specified legislative responsibilities
- _____ committees: groups appointed for a limited purpose and limited duration
- _____ committees: those on which both representatives and senators serve
 - _____ committee: a joint committee appointed to resolve differences in Senate and House versions of the same piece of legislation before final passage
- See the How Things Work boxes, Standing Committees of the Senate and Standing Committees of the House

Committee Practices 1

- Number of committees has varied; _____ with significant cuts in number of House committees, and in the number of House and Senate subcommittees
- Majority party has majority of _____ on the committees and names the chair
- Assignments
 - House members usually serve on _____ standing committees or one exclusive committee

Committee Practices 2

- Chairs are _____
 - Usually the most _____ member of the committee is elected by the majority party
 - However, seniority has been under attack in recent decades, in both parties

- _____ Bill of Rights of 1970s changed several traditions
 - House committee chairs elected by secret ballot in party _____;
 - Senate also with this possibility
 - No House member or Senator chaired more than _____ committee
 - All House committees with more than twenty members had to have at least _____ subcommittees
 - House and Senate committees gained larger _____, also House members
 - House and Senate committee meetings were open to the public, unless members voted to close them

Committee Practices 3

- Decentralizing _____ made the House more inefficient and committee chairs consequently utilized controversial practices to gain control (example: proxy votes)
- House Republican rules changes of 1995 therefore modified the Subcommittee Bill of Rights
- Certain committees tend to attract particular types of legislators
 - Policy-oriented members, and _____ or foreign policy committees
 - Constituency-oriented members, and small _____ or veterans' affairs committees

Staffs & Specialized Offices 1

- Tasks of _____ members
 - Constituency service is a major task of members' staff
 - Approximately one-third of the members' staff work in the district
 - Almost all members have at least one full-time _____ office
 - _____ functions of staff include devising proposals, negotiating agreements, organizing hearings, meeting with lobbyists and administrators

Staffs & Specialized Offices 2

- Members' staff consider themselves _____ of their employers—entrepreneurial function (sometimes very independent)
- Members of Congress can no longer keep up with increased legislative work and so must rely on _____
- Results of a larger member staff:
 - More legislative _____ in the chamber
 - More _____ Congress—less collegial, less deliberative because members interact through their staff, who become their negotiators

Staffs & Specialized Offices 3

- Staff _____ offer specialized information
 - Congressional Research Service (CRS)
 - General _____ Office (_____)
 - Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), abolished in 1995
 - Congressional _____ Office (_____)

How a Bill Becomes a Law (overview)

- Bills travel through Congress at different speeds
- _____ a bill
- Study by _____
- _____ debate—the House
- Floor _____—the Senate
- Methods of _____
- See the How Things Work box, House-Senate Differences, A Summary.

Bills Travel at Different Speeds

- Bills to _____ money or to tax or regulate businesses move slowly
- Bills with a clear, appealing idea move fast, especially if they don't require large expenditures
- Complexity of legislative process helps a bill's _____

Introducing a Bill 1

- Bill must be introduced by a _____ of Congress
 - _____ bill, pertains to public affairs generally
 - _____ bill, pertains to a particular individual; currently delegated to administrative agencies or courts
 - Pending legislation does not carry over from one _____ to another; it must be reintroduced
- Congress initiates most legislation

Introducing a Bill 2

- Resolutions
 - _____ resolution: passed by one house and affects that house, not signed by the president; does not have the force of law
 - _____ resolution: passed by both houses and affects both, not signed by the president; does not have the force of law
 - _____ resolution
 - Essentially a _____—passed by both houses, signed by president
 - If used to propose constitutional _____, two-thirds vote required in both houses but the president's signature is unnecessary

Study by Committees 1

- Bill is referred to a committee for consideration by either _____ or _____ officer of the Senate
 - Chamber _____ define each committee's jurisdiction, but sometimes the Speaker has had to make a choice
 - Speaker's decisions can be appealed to the full House
- _____ bills must originate in the House
- Most bills _____ in committee

Study by Committees 2

- Multiple referrals altered after 1995, when only _____ referrals were allowed under new rules
- After _____ and mark-up sessions, the committee reports a bill out to the House or Senate
 - If bill is not reported out, the House can use the "_____ petition"
 - If bill is not reported out, the Senate can pass a discharge _____ (rarely used)
 - These are routinely unsuccessful.
- Bill must be placed on a _____, to come before either house

Study by Committees 3

- House _____ sets the rules for consideration
 - _____ rule: sets time limit on debate and restricts amendments
 - _____ rule: permits amendments from the floor
 - _____ rule: permits only some amendments
 - Use of closed and restrictive rules increased from the 1970s to the 1990s, in 1995, _____ allowed more debate under open rules
 - Rules can be bypassed in the House—move to suspend rules; discharge petition; Calendar Wednesday (rarely done)

Study by Committees 4

- In Senate, unanimous _____ agreements require the majority leader to negotiate the interests of individual senators
- See the How Things Work box, Congressional Calendars

Floor Debate – The House

- Committee of the _____—procedural device for expediting House consideration of bills; it cannot pass bills
- Committee _____ of bill organizes the discussion

- House usually passes the sponsoring committee's version of the bill

Floor Debate – The Senate

- No rule limiting _____ of amendments, so riders are common
- Committee hearing process can be bypassed by a senator with a _____
- Debate can be limited only by a _____ vote.
 - _____ - _____ of Senate must vote in favor of ending filibuster
- Both _____ and successful cloture votes becoming more common
 - _____ now to stage filibuster
 - Roll calls are replacing long speeches
 - Filibuster can be curtailed by double-tracking:
 - disputed bill is _____ temporarily so Senate can continue other business
- Effectively, neither party controls the Senate unless it has at least _____ votes; otherwise, the Senate must act as a _____ majority
- See the Politically Speaking box, Riders and Christmas Trees

Methods of Voting 1

- To investigate voting behavior, one must know how a legislator voted on key _____ as well as on the bill itself
- Procedures for voting in the House – different procedures are used at the members' request
 - _____ vote
 - _____ (standing) vote
 - _____ vote (House only)
 - _____ - _____ vote, now electronic

Methods of Voting 2

- Senate voting is the same except no teller vote and no electronic counters
- Differences in Senate and House versions of a bill
 - If _____, last house to act merely sends bill to the other house, which accepts the changes
 - If major, a _____ committee is appointed
 - Decisions are approved by a majority of each _____
 - Conference report often slightly favors the Senate version of the bill
 - Conference reports back to each _____
 - _____ can only be accepted or rejected—not amended
 - Report accepted, usually, since the alternative is often to have no bill

Methods of Voting 3

- Bill, in final form, goes to the _____
 - President may _____ it
 - If president vetoes it, it _____ to house of origin
 - Both houses must support the bill, with a _____ - _____ vote, in order to override the president's veto
- See the How Things Work box, House-Senate Differences, A Summary.

Reforming Congress (overview)

- Representative or direct _____?
- Proper guardians of the public weal?
- A _____ Congress or a deliberative one?
- Imposing term limits
- Reducing power and perks

Representative or Direct Democracy?

- Framers: representatives refine, not _____, public opinion
- Today: many believe that representatives should _____ majority public opinion

Proper Guardians of the Public Weal

- _____
 - National laws should _____ local interest
 - Legislators should make reasonable compromises among competing societal interest on behalf of the entire _____'s needs
 - Legislators should not be captured by special interests
- Problem is that many special _____ groups represent professions and the public interest

A Decisive Congress or a Deliberative One?

- Framers designed Congress to balance competing views and thus act _____
- Today, there are complaints of policy _____
- But if Congress moves too _____ it may not move wisely

Imposing Term Limits

- Anti-Federalists distrusted strong national government; favored _____ elections and term limits in order to ensure government's responsiveness to the popular will
- Today, _____ percent of House incumbents reelected, but _____ percent of public supports term limits
- By 1994, twenty-two states had passed term-limit proposals, but the Supreme Court had ruled these _____
- Effects of term limits vary depending on type of proposal
 - Lifetime limits would probably produce _____ legislators who are less prone to compromise
 - Limiting continuous service in one house would probably lead to office-hopping and push for public attention
- See the What Would You Do? exercise, A Bigger Congress?

Reducing Power and Perks

- Regulate _____
- Place Congress under the law
 - Congressional Accountability Act of 1995—Congress obliged itself to obey eleven major employment laws
- Trim _____ to avoid wasteful projects
 - However, the main cause of the _____ is entitlement programs, not pork
 - Most categories of pork have had _____ funding in the past 10 to 15 years
 - Identifying pork is a _____ call, since some district funding is necessary
 - Pork facilitates compromise among members, who are also supposed to be district advocates
- See the Politically Speaking box, Pork Barrel.

Ethics and Congress (overview)

- _____ of powers and corruption
- Scandals continue
- Problems with _____ rules
- See the How Things Work boxes, Rules on Congressional Ethics and and How Congress Raises Its Pay.

Separation of Powers and Corruption

- _____ of power increases number of officials with opportunity to sell influence
- Forms of influence
 - _____
 - Exchange of _____

Scandals Continue

- 1941-1989, nearly fifty members faced criminal charges, most convicted
- 1978–1992, charges of congressional misconduct against sixty-three members
 - 31 sanctioned
 - 16 resigned or announced retirement
 - Examples:
 - Abscam (1980–1981),

- Jim _____ (1989),
- Robert _____ (1995),
- Newt _____ (1997)
- Tom Delay (2005)

Problems with Ethics Rules

- Rules assume _____ is the only source of corruption
- Rules cannot really police the political alliances and personal friendships that are part of legislative bargaining
- The Framers were more concerned to ensure liberty (through checks and balances) than _____, even though they understood the importance of morality

Summary: The Old and the New Congress (overview)

- House has evolved through three stages over past eighty years
- Reassertion of congressional power in _____s, setting the stage for sharper legislative – executive conflicts
- Senate meanwhile remained decentralized and individualistic throughout this period

House Stage 1

World War I to the early 1960s

- Powerful committee chairs, mostly from the _____, dominated the chamber
- Long apprenticeships for new members
- Small congressional staffs so members dealt face-to-face

House Stage 2

Early 1970s to early 1980s

- Spurred by civil rights efforts of younger, mostly _____ members
- Committees became more _____ through a number of reforms (Subcommittee Bill of Rights)
- Focus on reelection with members becoming political _____
- More amendments and filibusters, and more _____ became active in the legislative process

House Stage 3

Early 1980s to present

- _____ and centralizing party leadership
- Became more _____ under Jim Wright, before there was a return to moderation under Tom Foley
- Newt Gingrich more assertive and then _____ was again more moderate
- Most _____ change has been the increasing ability of incumbents to secure reelection

Reassertion of Congressional Power in 1970s

- Setting the stage for sharper legislative – executive _____
 - Reaction to Vietnam, _____, and divided government
 - War Powers Act of 1973
 - Congressional Budget and _____ Act of 1974
 - Legislative _____ included in more laws (Note: declared unconstitutional in 1983 – INS v. _____)

The End!