

### The Congress

#### Institutions and American Government

##### *Importance of Political Institutions*

David Hume argues for institutions and laws and regulations to prevent abuse of power

##### *Defining Institutions*

agency capacity of individuals to act independently and make their own free choice

structure recurrent patterned arrangements, which limit and influence choices and opportunities

##### *institutions according to....*

Anthony "institutions by definition are the more enduring features of social life"

Giddens  
(1984)

Rom Harre "an interlocking double-structure of persons-as-role-holders or office-bearers and the like, and of social practices involving both expressive and practical aims and outcomes"  
(1979)

Douglas "rules of the game in a society or, more formally, are the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. In consequence they structure incentives in human exchange, whether political, social, or economic"  
North (1990)

##### *What do Institutions Accomplish?*

help us understand the world and structure life

##### *Formal versus Informal Institutions*

formal written, generally accepted, established, who holds power is clear, law establishes them

informal some rules, interpretable, different ways to do it, unwritten (ex parties), no law establishing them or dictating their existence

##### *How are institutions important for politics?*

channeling incentives and disincentives  
preferences

influencing institutions influence how people make decisions  
preferences

##### *Constraints with institutions*

exclusionary only certain people are part of it and have access and this happens naturally

rigidity same processes all the time, which becomes an issue if there is something systematically wrong with the institution, good to predict the process

##### *Overcoming these Restraints*

plan join institution, acquire power to make change



### The Congress (cont)

issue this takes time and by the time you get enough power, you tend to want to maintain the system or outside pressures make it extremely difficult to make change

### Understanding the U.S. Congress

#### Theories of Representation

formal representation	to be duly elected or appointed to act on another's behalf
descriptive/demographic representation	to reflect the underlying social or political composition of your district
symbolic representation	the extent to which legislative behavior is acceptable to your constituents
substantive representation	legislative responsiveness to constituents on matters of public policy
delegate	vote as your constituents dictate
trustee	use your own judgement when it comes to voting
politico	do what is necessary to win elections and increase influence

#### What do Members of Congress do?

Work of the Chamber	voting on legislation, serving on committees and sub-committees, crafting legislation/bills, participating in party caucuses
standing committee	permanent panels identified as such by chamber rules
select or special committee	established generally by a separate resolution of the chamber (e.g. conduct investigations and studies, consider measures)
joint committees	permanent panels that include members from both chambers (conduct studies or perform housekeeping tasks)
Constituency service/casework	immigration, military personnel/service academies, social security issues, tours/flags, internships, grants/domestic assistance, "super casework"

"Home Style" (Richard Fenno) focuses on what representative do in their district not Washington

Fenno argues that Congressmen view their constituencies in four shrinking concentric circles

1. Geographic (geographic districts) all potential voters and regions
2. Reelection (electoral supporters) "who is likely to vote for me?"
3. Primary (primary supporters) "who is actually going to do work for me?"
4. Personal (candidate's intimates) family, close friends, and trusted advisors



### The Congress (cont)

What influences ideology, voters/constituency, influential colleagues, congressional staff, political party, the president, lobbyists/in-  
members of congress' terest groups/PACs/Pollsters  
votes?

### Understanding Modern Congress

*It is a "reformed" Congress*

#### The Early Days

- in the early 1900s, power in the house was held by the speaker

- a revolt against Speaker Joe Cannon (R-IL) occurred on March 17, 1910. After two failed attempts to curb Cannon's absolute power in the House George Norris (R-NE) led a coalition of 42 progressive republicans and the entire delegation of 149 Democrats in a revolt. With many of Cannon's most powerful allies absent from the Chamber, but enough Members on hand for a quorum, Norris introduced a resolution that would remove the Speaker from the Rules Committee and strip him of his power to assign committees

- after the revolt, power was concentrated in the committee chair. Committee assignments, as well as who chaired the committees, was determined by seniority (benefited southern conservative democrats because they dominated elections)

#### The Reforms

- In the 1950s and 1960s, LBJ became "master of the Senate", the Speaker of the House, and the majority party caucus takes a greater role  
the seniority system was in determining committee assignment, sub-committees become more important for legislative processes  
challenged

- In the late 1960s and increased pay and staff plus the franking privilege  
early 1970s, Congress  
became more "professio-  
nalized"

#### Effects of the Reformed Congress

- Party and the majority party leader become more important in legislation

- Members increase their ability to campaign for (and win) re-election

#### *Re-election means everything and incumbents have a big advantage*

- In 2020, Congressional approval averaged 23%. And yet, 90% of the House Members and 91% of Senators who sought re-election won last November

- The seeming paradox between the low regard with which people hold Congress and the high rate of re-election of incumbents points o a simple reality: People hate Congress but (generally) like their Member of Congress

- Why do incumbents win they bring back money, jobs, and projects for their district/state, they build name-recognition through constituency  
re-election? service, local visibility, and personal contacting (franking privilege), they raise a great deal of money (and much more than challengers), They tend to run in districts where the underlying distribution of partisans favors them

#### *Re-election is a big deal*

- Every 10 years there is a Census of the US which determines how many members a state gets in the House of Representative (appointed)



### The Congress (cont)

- Every 10 years states have to re-draw their district (re-districting) to make sure that an equal number of people are in each district (so you have to re-draw the lines even if your overall number of representatives doesn't change)

- states get approximately one representative per 710K people (WY, ND, and VT have fewer than that but get one representative each)

- drawing the district lines can be done in a way to maximize (or minimize) the seats that a party gets per vote (gerrymandering)

- Court contiguity, compactness, historical connectedness

Requir-  
ements for  
re-districting

### *Congress has polarized*

- partisan difference score is trending up at high historical numbers (lows in 1950s)

### *Members of Congress don't look like the rest of the country*

female 20% in the Senate versus 53% in the US

black 2% in the Senate versus 13% in the US

hispanic 3% in the Senate versus 18% in the US

attorneys 51% in the Senate versus <1% in the US

college 100% in the Senate versus 40% in the US

degree

military 20% in the Senate versus 13% in the US

service

### Professionalism, Redistricting, and Gerrymandering

#### \*Professionalism of State Legislation

components salary and benefits, time demands of service, staff and resources (more of all of this = more professional; basically how much is this considered a full time job?)

Where does TX rank? about #15 and we've been getting more professionalized over time, CA has been #1 for a long time

#### *Aspects of TX Legislature*

Filibuster in TX Legis- ature only allowed in the Senate, no eating or drinking in the Senate Chamber, member of the Senate required to stand at their desk to address the Senate (no sitting, leaning, use of desk or chair in any way and bathroom breaks are not allowed), other Senators can raise objections if a speaker does not confine their remarks to the issue under consideration or if their voice is inaudible, the speaker is given two strikes by the presiding officer about violating rules for decorum or debate (after third violation, Senate votes on point of order, if it is sustained Senator speaking must yield the floor)



### The Congress (cont)

**Chubbing** practice of one or more members of the legislature debating bills at great lengths to slow down the legislative process (frequently practiced on those legislative days which have deadlines near the end of the session, occurs in both the House and the Senate)

#### *The redistricting Battle in TX*

**2001 Regular Session** increase in population, increase in seats, and population movement, districts as is favored Democrats, debate over redistricting to even field and was decided by commission (4R and 1D), resulted in more Republican representatives

**2003 Regular Session** redo congressional districts, Democrats protested; protesting failed so they left the state (so state troopers couldn't return them to the Chamber) to prevent quorum from being met, the Democrats came back when it was decided not to vote on this during this session

**2003 First Special Session** Governor Perry called session to try to redistrict, Democrats denied the bill, and special session ended

**2003 Second Special Session** Governor Perry called another special session, the Democrats left the state again, which angered the public so enough Democrats came back to meet quorum, they voted and the Republicans got more influence and representative

#### *Future of Gerrymandering*

- racial Gerrymandering is illegal

- but the Supreme Court stays out of partisan Gerrymandering

### The Presidency

#### The Power of the Presidency

##### *Imperial v. Imperiled*

**The Imperial Presidency (Schlesinger)** 1. unrestricted Presidential War-Making Power 2. Too many Emergency Powers 3. Too Much Diplomacy Through Executive Agreements 4. Assertion of Executive Privilege 5. Right to Impound Appropriated Funds

**The Imperiled Presidency** 1. War Powers Resolution (1973) 2. The National Emergencies Act (1976) 3. Case Act on Executive Agreements 4. Budget and Impoundment Control Act (1974) 5. Both Houses must approve non-funding of projects already approved by Congress



### The Presidency (cont)

#### 10 Commandments of Presidential-Congressional Relations

1. The president must "know the deck" (power structure and influence)
2. The president needs a good sense of timing
3. The president needs to establish his priorities
4. The president should consult with party leaders prior to undertaking major policy initiatives
5. The president needs to follow through on his proposals
6. The president needs a first-rate congressional liaison staff
7. The president should respect Congress as a co-equal institution
8. The president should specifically seek bi-partisan support for his programs
9. The president needs to be able to compromise
10. The president needs a sound program

### How a President Gets What He Wants

#### Presidential Persuasion

Presidents have a hard time getting things done, so they need to be able to persuade Congress to get things done

agenda setter	Congress and the media pay attention to what the president says, causing that to get on the agenda
Power of the Veto	Veto power is more concrete than the power to inform because it gives the president power to prevent bills passed by Congress from becoming law, this doesn't initiate policy and allows for better negotiation with Congress
Pocket Veto	once a bill passes through Congress, POTUS has 10 days to sign/veto; if Congress is in session and the POTUS doesn't sign the bill it becomes a law; if Congress is not in session and the POTUS doesn't sign then no law
line item veto	POTUS authority to negate particular positions of a law, granted by Congress in 1996, struck down by Supreme Court in 1998

#### Going Public

this is a strategy that uses public as support for himself and his policies in Washington, which is seen as going over the heads of fellow politicians and was popular in the second half of the twentieth century

Institutionalized Pluralism	structure of politics where only elites matter
- political exchange amongst a dense setting that spreads resources among actors and identifies bargaining partners	
- in providing stable bargaining environment informal rules are institutionalized ("honor one's commitments" and "don't use force")	
Proto-coalitions	dense networks of Congressional Bureaucratic and Interest Group Leaders
Public opinion and elections are seen as disruptions to stability	using public opinion is akin to using force
Individualized pluralism	



### The Presidency (cont)

A system of independent members who have fewer and weaker groups or institutional loyalties	less interest in short-term sacrifices for long-term benefits; politics has intruded on relationships in Washington
Reasons for change	expansion of welfare state increased size and number of groups interested in national policy, modern communication has made it easier for citizens to be aware of the details of Washington, decay of parties amongst voters and policymakers
Public Opinion and Individualism	going public has its risks ("read my lips" and Clinton and the Health Care reform), president must calculate risks
Outsiders versus Insiders	change in party nominations provided outsiders more opportunities, outsiders used to going public which created difficulties when it comes time to negotiate, divided government (unified government breeds internal conversations while divided government breeds public conversations)

### Presidential Lobbying

Players in the Game	supportive leaders, opposing leaders, pivotal voters
House of Representatives	majoritarian institution (435 members, need 218 votes in order for a bill to pass, the 218th House member or median voter is the pivotal voter in the House)
Senate	super majoritarian institution because of filibuster (need 60 Senators to invoke cloture, 60th senator is the pivot point in the Senate)
Additional Considerations	status quo and POTUS' political capital
Tools of Persuasion	agenda setting, creating policy, bringing the public's attention to policy, lobbying
Lobbying strategies	vote centered (when new policy is close to status quo), agenda centered (when new policy is far from status quo)
Presidential Leadership	prioritizing problems, extreme status, quo, drafting policies, devising strategy, executing, principles v. pragmatism

### Theories of the Presidency

#### The "Hats" Theory

Understanding presidential action requires understanding which job he is performing...	
Chief Executive	Kennedy issues Executive Order to establish Peace Corps
Commander in Chief	G.W. Bush sends U.S. troops to Iraq



### The Presidency (cont)

Head of State G.H.W. Bush entertains Queen Elizabeth at the White House

Director of Foreign Policy Nixon visits China

Head of Political Party Reagan campaigns for Republican Congressional candidates

Economic Guardian Clinton balances federal budget

Legislative leader Johnson signs Voting Rights Act

#### *The Two Presidencies Theory (Wildavsky)*

The "Two Presidencies" Theory states that Presidents operate in two different realms: Foreign Policy and Domestic Policy

Presidents end up preferring to conduct foreign policy because they are less constrained by partisan politics and Congress

#### *The Sub Presidencies Theory (Cronin)*

Crisis Management Cuban Missile Crisis (foreign affairs), Depression in 1929 and Economic melt down in 2008 (Aggregate Economics), Watts riots in 1965 and LA riots in 1992 (domestic policy)

Symbolic Leadership United Nation's Address (foreign affairs), State of the Union Address (Aggregate Economics and Domestic Policy)

Priority Setting/Program Design Nixon to China (foreign affairs), FDR's New Deal (aggregate economics), Obama's Health Care Initiative (Domestic Policy)

Recruitment/Leadership Biden's cabinet: General Lloyd Austin for Secretary of Defense (foreign affairs), Biden's cabinet: Janet Yellen for Secretary of Treasury (Aggregate economics), Biden's cabinet: Merrick Garland for Attorney General (domestic policy)

#### *Presidential Power (Neustadt)*

1. President's Power is the power to persuade and bargain (not the power to command)
2. The American system is one of shared not separate power
3. Sources of the President's Power (the formal position of the presidency, professional reputation, public prestige)
4. The president often is more constrained in the executive branch than when he goes to Congress, where he gets to propose things

#### *The "Presidential Personality" Theory (Barber)*

Presidential behavior is hugely affected by the psychological tendencies of the president world view (positive v. negative) and style (active v. passive)

Active Postive JFK, Theodor Roosevelt, Bill Clinton, George w. Bush

Active Negative Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson

Passive Positive Ronald Reagan and Dwight Eisenhower

Passive Negative Warren Harding and Calvin Coolidge

### Understanding the Bureaucracy





### The Presidency (cont)

#### *Defining the Bureaucracy*

Bureaucracy is the hierarchical organization designed to perform a particular set of tasks (implementing laws)

#### *Bureaucrats as Lawmakers*

Chevron v. National Resources Defense Council (1984)      Established legal standard for upholding an agency's authority to write law in a specific area

#### *Patronage*

when jobs, contracts, favors given to political allies (spoils system)

Pendleton Act      1883 Legislation passed to create Civil Service Commission, Employees are chose according to educational qualifications, performance on exams, and work experience, patronage lives on (ex. POTUS' cabinet)

#### *Principal Agent Problem*

principal	gives directive
agent	carries out directive
problem	in government there are too many principals
Neutral Competence (Hugh Hecto)	giving best work to principal regardless of person because loyal to the position no the party nor the person, smooths communication, neutral party-wise (you carry out wishes of party in power but knowing that you will have to switch sides when someone new comes in)

#### *Bureaucratic Drift*

Bureaucrats have preferences that may differ from those of elected officials	mandates given to agencies can be vague, which allows expert bureaucrats some flexibility to solve problems, this flexibility or discretion can be abused by bureaucrats who wish to substitute their own preferences for that of elected officials
changes in preferences of elected officials present difficulties for bureaucrats	many do not wish to conform to the expectations of new officials, they may prefer the old way of doing things or prefer to honor the original statute and not the newly elected officials, Civil service employment protection makes drift less costly to bureaucrats
Coalition Drift	bureaucracy tries to catch up to new changes in president, house, or senate party, occurs when the other party takes control

#### *Bureaucratic Oversight*

police patrol      preventative, costly (time and resources), patrol, check on everyone



### The Presidency (cont)

fire alarm                      go where emergency is, not preventative nor costly

#### *Reforming the Bureaucracy*

hard because people benefit from current institution so they don't want to change

### The Courts

#### Judicial Policy Making and Judicial Processes

##### *Courts as Policy Makers*

Robert A. Dahl                      To Consider the Supreme Court of the United States strictly as a legal institution is to underestimate its significance in the American political system. For it is also a political institution, an institution, that is to say, for arriving at decisions on controversial questions of national policy

examples of courts not writing laws but influencing its interpretation                      Health Care reform, Same Sex Marriage, Campaign Financing, Immigration, Abortion

The Courts can influence the policy process because of the perceived legitimacy of their decisions                      the courts have no power to enforce their decisions, reliant on perceived legitimacy to have Congress and the President enforce their decisions

This is seen as increasingly partisan and president and legislation become increasingly dependent on the courts

##### *Establishing Judicial Review*

Judicial Review                      the power to declare laws null and void if the law is unconstitutional; not explicit in constitution; an implied power

##### Marbury versus Madison

Facts of the case                      Part of the Rivalry between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; Jefferson administration refused to deliver appointments made by Adams' administration; Judiciary Act of 1789 allowed appointee to request a court order to force granting of appointments; the act gave the Supreme Court original jurisdiction

Problem for the Supreme Court                      Jefferson saw the court as antagonistic to him because they were appointed by Adams ("A hospital of decayed politicians"); A ruling in favor of Marbury would be ignored by Jefferson administration; A ruling in favor of Madison would confirm the Court is subordinate to POTUS



### The Courts (cont)

**Decision** Marbury did have the right to receive his commission; portion of Judiciary Act of 1789 that gave the Supreme Court original jurisdiction was unconstitutional (only constitution can establish original jurisdiction for Supreme Court); Therefore the Supreme Court could not order the Jefferson administration to deliver the appointment

**Ramification of Decision** established the ability of the Court to strike down a law as violating the Constitution ("It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is"); allowed the Court to sidestep political controversy and establish itself as an independent institution

#### *Application of Judicial Review*

**Rational Application** the Court is concerned that Congress may attempt to circumvent their decision, creating a worse policy outcome; In response to striking down law A, Congress passes law B, which is a worse law in the Court's eyes

**Institutional Maintenance** Fear of Congressional or Presidential retribution for striking down a law may lead the court to keep a law in place

**Types of attacks on the Court's institutional maintenance** using Senate confirmation power to select certain types of judges, enacting constitutional amendments decisions, impeachment, withdrawing Court jurisdiction over certain subject, slashing the budget, altering the size of the court

Rational anticipation has little to do with the Court's decisions

**Institutional maintenance concerns do impact the Court's decision** When the Court feels Congress or the President will attempt to act against the Court, the Court is less likely to strike down a law

### Understanding the Federal Courts

#### *The Evolution of the Federal Courts*

**National Supremacy and Slavery (1787--1865)** up until the Civil War, the great issue left unresolved by the framers was the nation-state relationship; The Supreme Court (led by Chief Justice John Marshall) maintained that the national law was the supreme law, and that the Court had the power to decide what the Constitution meant; key cases: Marbury v. Madison (1803), McCulloch v. Maryland (1819), Dred Scott v Sanford (1857)



### The Courts (cont)

**Government and the Economy (1865-1937)** The main issue is the extent to which the economy could be regulated by national or state government; Generally the Court has viewed the 14th Amendment as protecting private property and corporations from state activity; Pro-business decisions: Court prevented labor strikes, struck down federal income tax, restricted powers of the ICC to regulate railroad rates, prevented maximum laws hours on employers; Anti-business decisions: Court upheld laws affecting public works, allowed regulation of business through government agency (ICC), approved safety rules on railroads, approved of states' anti-liquor laws, approved safety mine laws

**Protection of Civil Liberties (1937-present)** After 1936, The court is no longer a threat the government regulation of the economy (FDR's "court packing scheme", From 1937-1974 no regulatory statutes were over-turned, during this same time period, 36 congressional enactments that dealt with personal liberties were over-turned); Rights established or expanded: freedom of speech, freedom of political and religious expression, rights of the accused (right to counsel, search and seizure, self-incrimination), Voting rights, Anti-discrimination, right to privacy

### *Jurisdiction of the Federal Courts*

**Federal District Courts** one in each of 94 districts (at least one per state), only have original jurisdiction, hear the vast majority of federal cases: federal crimes (mail, state-lines, high seas crimes), Civil law suits under federal law over \$10K, Civil law suits between citizens of different states over \$10K, Maritime cases bankruptcy cases administrative agency review cases

**U.S. Court of Appeals** 13 total; One in each of 12 circuits or regions (including DC), and one for the federal circuit; they only hear cases on appeal, no original jurisdiction: Cases on appeal from Federal District Courts, US Regulatory Commissioners (e.g., cases on appeal from the Federal Communications Commission on cable licensing), Cases on appeal from other federal courts



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### The Courts (cont)

**Jurisdiction** Original Jurisdiction (cases involving 2+ states, US v. a state, state v. citizen of a different state if begun by the states, diplomats); Appellate jurisdiction (from federal court of appeals if federal and state law conflict, from federal district court if state law is found unconstitutional, if federal law was held to be unconstitutional and the US was party to the suit); Granting a "writ of certiorari" (if the case involves a substantive federal question, if the case comes from the highest state court or the Federal Court of Appeals, Must have four votes from justice—"rule of four")

**The Supreme Court in Action** In session for 36 weeks, from early Oct. until the end of June, Lawyers have one hour to present briefs during oral argumentation, Federal government is involved in 50% of cases (Solicitor general makes arguments on behalf of government and decides which cases the government will appeal from lower courts), Amicus Curiae may be filed on behalf of contesting parties, justices go to conference to discuss cases on Fridays, most cases parallel ideological blocs on court

**Limitations for the Court** The US Constitution, Precedent, Doctrine of "political questions", inability to enforce its own decisions, necessity for public acceptance, "Ultimate Limitations" (impeachment, court packing, Constitutional amendment)

**The Liberals (nominated by Democratic President)** Sotomayor (~0.6L), Kagan (~0.3L), Brown Jackson

**The "Swing Vote" (nominated by Republican President)** Roberts (Chief Justice ~0.15C)

**The Conservatives (nominated by Republican President)** Alito (~0.25C), Gorsuch (~0.45C), Coney Barrett (~0.55C), Kavanaugh (~0.65), Thomas (~0.7)

### Domestic and Economic Policy

#### Public Policy: Simple Definitions

##### *Public Policy*

- the decisions, actions, and commitments of governments
- regulation of key industries and aspects of American life (tobacco, saturated fats, drink sizes, food and drug standards, etc)
- protection of Americans from enemies at home and abroad
- encouraging the accomplishment of important social goals (Head Stat, Pell Grant)



### Domestic and Economic Policy (cont)

- providing assistance to a wide range of Americans (subsidies for farmers, help for low-income families, policy money for states and local governments)

#### Public Policy Categories

**Regulatory Policy** involve use of police powers by the federal government to supervise the conduct of individuals, businesses, and other government agencies (ex environmental protection, consumer safety, public health, civil rights)

**Social Welfare Policy** involves use of policy incentives to promote or encourage basic social and economic fairness (ex food stamps, welfare, education grants, Temporary Assistance for Families—TAFI)

**Entitlement Policy** benefits and cash payments to those who meet specific requirements (ex Social Security and Medicare)

**Reforms** (1) "Means Tests"—only those below a certain income would be eligible for entitlement benefits (2) Raising the age threshold—minimum age for social security and Medicare would rise from 65 to 67 or 68 (3) Stricter time limit on dependent aid—people would be kicked off certain programs after some set time period

#### US Budget

**Federal Expenditures, 2023** 25% Social Security, 16% National Defense, 28% Medicare/Medicaid, 14% Interest on National Debt, 7% other entitlements, 10% Domestic programs

**Federal Revenues, 2023** 45% Income Taxes, 34% payroll taxes, 11% Corporate Income taxes, 6% other, 4% excise (sin) taxes

#### Economic Policy

**economic policy** policy aimed at producing a vibrant, healthy, and growing economy

**goals** stable prices (low inflation), full employment (defined as unemployment rate of 4% or less), economic growth (a positive and significant GDP)

**Fiscal Policy** government budgetary choices concerning how much (and when) to tax, spend, subsidize, and borrow

**Monetary Policy** actions by Federal Reserve Board to influence GDP growth or the rate of inflation. Usually involves manipulation of interest rates

**Regulatory Policy** regulation of businesses and/or the workplace



### Domestic and Economic Policy (cont)

International Economic Policy exchange rates, trade agreements, tariffs, and implementation of policies structured by international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization

### *Economic Policy Theories*

Laissez-faire belief that unfettered markets will produce an equilibrium of economic opportunity and growth

Keynesianism belief that government policies must address aggregate demand through fiscal policy (taxes and spending)

Monetarism belief that government policies sometimes destabilize the economy and must be combatted through strict control of the money supply

The Federal Reserve System (goes with Monetarism) established in 1913 to affect monetary policy, consists of 12 banks run by an appointed board of governors and directed by a Chair (appointed by POTUS). The Board members have staggered, 14 year terms and the Chair is appointed for 4 years (Jerome Powell is the current Chair). The Federal Reserve Board controls the money supply by buying and selling federal securities (treasury notes and bonds), regulating the money that member banks have on deposit (the "reserve requirement"), Manipulating interest rates (changes in rates that member banks must pay when borrowing from reserve banks—the "discount rate")

Supply-Side Economics the belief that the stimulation of economic supply, rather than demand, can stabilize and re-invigorate the economy. This perspective grew more popular after the "stagflation" of the late 1970s (high unemployment and high inflation) and was associated with several of President Reagan's economic advisors. The key premise is that inflation can be reduced by stimulating production in business sector's with tax cuts and reduced regulation

### Purpose of Policies

Schneider and Ingram (1993) Policies are attempts to change people's behavior: "Behavioral change is sought by enabling or coercing people to do things they would not have done otherwise"





### Domestic and Economic Policy (cont)

#### Construction of Target Populations

Strong power and Positive behavior      Advantaged (Elderly, Business, Veterans)

Strong power and Negative behavior      Contenders (Rich, Unions, Minorities)

Weak power and Positive behavior      Dependents (Children, Mothers, Disabled)

Weak power and Negative behavior      Deviants (Criminals, drug users, gangs)

#### Allocation of Benefits and Burdens

Strong power and Positive behavior      Advantaged: high control of benefits which are oversubscribed; High control of burdens which are undersubscribed

Strong power and Negative behavior      Contenders: low control of benefits which are secret; some control of burdens which are symbolic and overt

Weak power and Positive behavior      Dependents: Low control of benefits which are undersubscribed; no control of burdens which are oversubscribed

Weak power and Negative behavior      Deviants: No control of benefits which are undersubscribed; no control of burdens which are oversubscribed

Importance of Social Construction      By understanding the social construction of target populations we can better understand what problems get on the agenda, the solutions offered, solution chosen, policy tools used and how it is evaluated

#### Policy Instruments

- The actual means or devices which governments have at their disposal for implementing policies, and from which they must select

#### Suasion

- Government and particular political officials are in a good position to persuade people because they can speak in the name of political interest (healthy eating campaigns, recycling)

- power of suasion is contingent upon the level of trust in government

#### Compulsory Instruments

Laws      governments have the right to make authoritative decrees about back up those decrees with the legitimate use of force.  
Law establish rights, regulations, distribute benefits and burdens

regulations are rules and standards that control economic, social, and political activities (natural monopoly, externalities, protecting the uninformed)

Deregulation      removal of government rules that once controlled an industry

#### Mixed Instruments



### Domestic and Economic Policy (cont)

taxes	the government can use taxes to discourage certain forms of behavior or encourage forms of behavior; taxes also help in distributing burdens and benefits
sin taxes	a tax intended to discourage unwanted behavior (cigarettes and alcohol, snack tax, health insurance mandate)
tax incentives	encourage people to engage in a preferred behavior (tax deductible donations to charities, tax rebates for purchasing a hybrid vehicle, interest payments on mortgage, proposed tax breaks for working couples)

### *Sin Taxes, Tax Incentives and Price Elasticity of Demand (PED)*

Price Elasticity of Demand	The change in the quantity demanded (QD) of a product in relation to its change in price (P) (PED = %changeQD/%changeP)
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### Submerged State

Mettler (2011)	The clouded and indirect nature of public policy implementation makes it difficult for citizens to identify government welfare programs—thus threatening democratic responsiveness and advantaging special interests and wealthier citizens
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- "Policies of the submerged state obscure the role of the government and exaggerate that of the market, leaving citizens unaware of how power operates, unable to form meaningful opinions, and incapable, therefore, of voicing their views accordingly"

- Many of these "submerged" policies benefit the most affluent the most

- Home Mortgage Interest Rate Deduction      \$16,751-\$68,00 -> \$3,619; \$68,001-\$137,300 -> \$5,146; \$373,650+ -> \$6,673  
 (\$230,000; 6.25%; rate 30 years) Family  
 Income and First year savings

### Income Inequality

- the varying incomes of different socioeconomic groups in an economy (sometimes referred to as the income gap and it highlights the gap between these with the highest and lowest incomes in a country, region, or the whole world

- it exists when there is an unequal distribution of income across various groups of individuals and households in an economy

- it usually compares socioeconomic groups but it may also compare the incomes of men versus women, or white people versus African Americans

- usually expressed in percentage terms

### Measurement

### Domestic and Economic Policy (cont)

The Gini Index is a summary measure of income inequality incorporates the detailed shares data into a single statistic, which summarizes the dispersion of income across the entire income distribution and ranges from 0, indicating perfect equality (where everyone receives an equal share), to 1, perfect inequality (where only one recipient or group of recipients receives all the income)

#### Economic Explanation

Education income gap between those with a Bachelors degree and those without one has grown substantially

Globalization increasing imports of manufacture goods from low-skilled developing countries reduces manufacturing opportunities for low-skilled workers

Technology It is estimated at least half of the wage gap among American workers can be attributed to technological advances that allow for more automation of tasks

#### Political Explanation

Mobilization of Business Interests, Demobilization of Middle Class Interests, Neoliberalism, Taxes, Financial Deregulation

#### Political Consequences

- poorer people are happier when there is less income inequality
- politicians are more likely to engage in redistributive policies the closer they are to an elections
- the gap between the poor and wealthy regarding America being a meritocracy is largest in areas with high levels of income inequality (Meritocracy=a system in which the talented are chosen and moved ahead on the basis of their achievement)

### Domestic and Economic Policy (copy)

#### Public Policy: Simple Definitions

##### Public Policy

- the decisions, actions, and commitments of governments
- regulation of key industries and aspects of American life (tobacco, saturated fats, drink sizes, food and drug standards, etc)
- protection of Americans from enemies at home and abroad
- encouraging the accomplishment of important social goals (Head Start, Pell Grant)
- providing assistance to a wide range of Americans (subsidies for farmers, help for low-incomes families, policy money for states and local governments)

##### Public Policy Categories

Regulatory Policy involve use of police powers by the federal government to supervise the conduct of individuals, businesses, and other government agencies (ex environmental protection, consumer safety, public health, civil rights)



### Domestic and Economic Policy (copy) (cont)

**Social Welfare Policy** involves use of policy incentives to promote or encourage basic social and economic fairness (ex food stamps, welfare, education grants, Temporary Assistance for Families—TAFI)

**Entitlement Policy** benefits and cash payments to those who meet specific requirements (ex Social Security and Medicare)

**Reforms** (1) "Means Tests"—only those below a certain income would be eligible for entitlement benefits (2) Raising the age threshold—minimum age for social security and Medicare would rise from 65 to 67 or 68 (3) Stricter time limit on dependent aid—people would be kicked off certain programs after some set time period

### US Budget

**Federal Expenditures, 2023** 25% Social Security, 16% National Defense, 28% Medicare/Medicaid, 14% Interest on National Debt, 7% other entitlements, 10% Domestic programs

**Federal Revenues, 2023** 45% Income Taxes, 34% payroll taxes, 11% Corporate Income taxes, 6% other, 4% excise (sin) taxes

### Economic Policy

**economic policy** policy aimed at producing a vibrant, healthy, and growing economy

**goals** stable prices (low inflation), full employment (defined as unemployment rate of 4% or less), economic growth (a positive and significant GDP)

**Fiscal Policy** government budgetary choices concerning how much (and when) to tax, spend, subsidize, and borrow)

**Monetary Policy** actions by Federal Reserve Board to influence GDP growth or the rate of inflation. Usually involves manipulation of interest rates

**Regulatory Policy** regulation of businesses and/or the workplace

**International Economic Policy** exchange rates, trade agreements, tariffs, and implementation of policies structured by international institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization

### Economic Policy Theories

**Laissez-faire** belief that unfettered markets will produce an equilibrium of economic opportunity and growth



### Domestic and Economic Policy (copy) (cont)

Keynianism	belief that government policies must address aggregate demand through fiscal policy (taxes and spending)
Monetarism	belief that government policies sometimes destabilize the economy and must be combatted through strict control of the money supply
The Federal Reserve System (goes with Monetarism)	established in 1913 to affect monetary policy, consists of 12 banks run by an appointed board of governors and directed by a Chair (appointed by POTUS). The Board members have staggered, 14 year terms and the Chair is appointed for 4 years (Jerome Powell is the current Chair). The Federal Reserve Board controls the money supply by buying and selling federal securities (treasury notes and bonds), regulating the money that member banks have on deposit (the "reserve requirement"), Manipulating interest rates (changes in rates that member banks must pay when borrowing from reserve banks—the "discount rate")
Supply-Side Economics	the belief that the stimulation of economic supply, rather than demand, can stabilize and re-invigorate the economy. This perspective grew more popular after the "stagflation" of the late 1970s (high unemployment and high inflation) and was associated with several of President Reagan's economic advisors. The key premise is that inflation can be reduced by stimulating production in business sectors with tax cuts and reduced regulation

### Purpose of Policies

Schneider and Ingram (1993)	Policies are attempts to change people's behavior: "Behavioral change is sought by enabling or coercing people to do things they would not have done otherwise"
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### Construction of Target Populations

Strong power and Positive behavior	Advantaged (Elderly, Business, Veterans)
Strong power and Negative behavior	Contenders (Rich, Unions, Minorities)
Weak power and Positive behavior	Dependents (Children, Mothers, Disabled)
Weak power and Negative behavior	Deviants (Criminals, drug users, gangs)

### Allocation of Benefits and Burdens



### Domestic and Economic Policy (copy) (cont)

Strong power and Positive behavior	Advantaged: high control of benefits which are oversubscribed; High control of burdens which are undersubscribed
Strong power and Negative behavior	Contenders: low control of benefits which are secret; some control of burdens which are symbolic and overt
Weak power and Positive behavior	Dependents: Low control of benefits which are undersubscribed; no control of burdens which are oversubscribed
Weak power and Negative behavior	Deviants: No control of benefits which are undersubscribed; no control of burdens which are oversubscribed
Importance of Social Construction	By understanding the social construction of target populations we can better understand what problems get on the agenda, the solutions offered, solution chosen, policy tools used and how it is evaluated

### Policy Instruments

- The actual means or devices which governments have at their disposal for implementing policies, and from which they must select

#### *Suasion*

- Government and particular political officials are in a good position to persuade people because they can speak in the name of political interest (healthy eating campaigns, recycling)

- power of suasion is contingent upon the level of trust in government

#### *Compulsory Instruments*

Laws governments have the right to make authoritative decrees about back up those decrees with the legitimate use of force. Law establish rights, regulations, distribute benefits and burdens

regulations are rules and standards that control economic, social, and political activities (natural monopoly, externalities, protecting the uninformed)

Deregulation removal of government rules that once controlled an industry

#### *Mixed Instruments*

taxes the government can use taxes to discourage certain forms of behavior or encourage forms of behavior; taxes also help in distributing burdens and benefits

sin taxes a tax intended to discourage unwanted behavior (cigarettes and alcohol, snack tax, health insurance mandate)



### Domestic and Economic Policy (copy) (cont)

tax incentives encourage people to engage in a preferred behavior (tax deductible donations to charities, tax rebates for purchasing a hybrid vehicle, interest payments on mortgage, proposed tax breaks for working couples)

#### *Sin Taxes, Tax Incentives and Price Elasticity of Demand (PED)*

Price Elasticity of Demand The change in the quantity demanded (QD) of a product in relation to its change in price (P) (PED = %changeQD/%changeP)

### Submerged State

Mettler (2011) The clouded and indirect nature of public policy implementation makes it difficult for citizens to identify government welfare programs—thus threatening democratic responsiveness and advantaging special interests and wealthier citizens

- "Policies of the submerged state obscure the role of the government and exaggerate that of the market, leaving citizens unaware of how power operates, unable to form meaningful opinions, and incapable, therefore, of voicing their views accordingly"

- Many of these "submerged" policies benefit the most affluent the most

- Home Mortgage Interest Rate Deduction \$16,751-\$68,00 -> \$3,619; \$68,001-\$137,300 -> \$5,146; \$373,650+ -> \$6,673  
(\$230,000; 6.25%; rate 30 years) Family Income and First year savings

### Income Inequality

- the varying incomes of different socioeconomic groups in an economy (sometimes referred to as the income gap and it highlights the gap between these with the highest and lowest incomes in a country, region, or the whole world

- it exists when there is an unequal distribution of income across various groups of individuals and households in an economy

### Foreign Policy

#### Thinking About US Foreign Policy

Goals survival and independence, territorial integrity (acquisition of new territory), military security, economic security, democratic values and ideals

#### *Key Foreign Policy Terms/Concepts*

Monroe Doctrine statement that any effort by European or other foreign powers to colonize North or South America would be viewed as an act of aggression, requiring military intervention

"Spheres of Influence" notion that the world is divided into regions in which a specific country holds political and economic sway



### Foreign Policy (cont)

Isolationism	belief that the US should foster economic relations abroad without committing to strategic alliances that could draw us into war
Globalism	belief that American "sphere of influence" has expanded to every corner of the world and that we should therefore be involved in politics everywhere
Truman Doctrine	the US should assist free, democratic countries against totalitarianism everywhere
NATO-North Atlantic Treaty Organization	Originally an alliance among the US Canada, Turkey, and 11 European nations signed in 1949. Now encompasses 30 members. According to article 5 of the NATO charter, an attack on one considered an attack on all (spawns the "Warsaw Pact") Invoked only once (after 9/11)
Containment	policy designed to prevent the expansion of communism in the face of Soviet efforts to promote communism abroad
Bipolarity	view that the world is dominated by two super powers
Détente	ending of hostile relations between two countries
Enlargement	Bill Clinton's plan to expanding democracy and market capitalism; replacing "containment"
Bush Doctrine	Several different interpretations: (1) George W. Bush's policy of preventive war, which held that the US should depose foreign regimes that represented a potential or perceived threat to the security of the US, even if that threat was not immediate (2) GWB's policy of spreading democracy around the world, especially in the Middle East as a strategy for combatting terrorism; GWB's willingness to unilaterally pursue US military interest
Obama Doctrine	emphasis on negotiation and engagement as opposed to the support of unilateralism of the Bush years, but Obama acted unilaterally, especially drone strikes

### Foreign Policy Players

State Department	Anthony Blinken (Sec of State)
Defense Department	Lloyd James Austin III





### Foreign Policy (cont)

National Security Council chaired by POTUS; regulatory attendees: VP, Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Defense, and Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Limits on US Foreign Policy other countries (allies and enemies, the US military, the Constitution, the News Media, Public Opinion)

### Attitudes towards US Foreign Policy

#### *Misconceptions of American Foreign Policy*

"God has a special providence for fools, drunkards, and the USA"

European leader regarding American foreign policy

#### Emphasis on Trade

George Washington's Farewell Address "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop."

Myth of Isolationism foreign policy was critical to early nation, 12 of the first 15 presidents held some role in foreign relations (6 served), in order to advance trade relations, the US could not isolate itself. By 1815, the US Navy established a squadron in the Mediterranean to combat the Barbary pirates and by 1822 squadrons had been established in the Caribbean and Pacific and by 1843 the US Navy had an established presence on every major continent and virtually every ocean

#### *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy*

Unstructured public's belief that foreign policy is random and makes no sense

Structured opposite of unstructured; core values -> general postures -> specific issue preference

#### *Dimensions of Foreign Policy Attitudes*

Cooperative Internationalism working with other nations toward common goals

Militant Internationalism need to look and act strong to the world

Isolationism avoid foreign entanglements

#### *Morality and Support for War*

Support for war peaks when boots first hit the ground then drops drastically after first casualties, then continues to decrease, albeit much slower over time

#### *Domestic Issues and Foreign Policy Hypothesis*



### Foreign Policy (cont)

Presidential Influence and foreign policy concerns	Legislators should be more likely to support economic aid and trade liberalization if the policy has the endorsement of the president who shares their party affiliation
economic Interests	The greater the endowment of human (or physical) capital in a district the higher the probability that the legislator votes in favor of trade liberalization and foreign aid
Ideology	The more conservative the members of a district are, the greater the probability that the legislators votes in favor of trade liberalization but the less likely the legislator votes in favor of foreign aid

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