

Index

Adler, E. Scott, 52 Affordable Care Act, 175, 186 agenda control, 3, 13, 44, 51, 86 agenda-setting, 1, 24, 27, 46, 53, See also bipartisan agenda-setting; strategic partisan agenda-setting agenda content and member voting behavior, 44-46 between issue areas, 128-129 bipartisanship decline in roll call voting and, 11, 12, 61 electoral interests and, 46-51, 163-167, 184 external signaling, 54-58 governance and, 74 impeachment of Clinton and, 11 individual versus collective goals in, 14, 15 leadership considerations in, 58-60 legislative compromise, 79-82 legislative success and, 51-54 member sorting and, 49 partisan conflict and, 3, 44, 170 public laws and, 73-75 roll call vs. voice voting, 75-79 Social Security reform (1983), 84-85 tracking of bipartisan over time, 65-73 Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, 64, 79 Albert, Carl, 53, 54, 82, 105 Aldrich, John, 21, 110 American National Election Studies, 91 American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009, 175 Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), 12, 161 Armey, Richard (R-TX), 2, 110, 111 Arnold, R. Douglas, 52, 141, 174

Barriere, John, 54, 105 Bean, Melissa (D-IL), 9 Bernhard, William, 26 Binder, Sarah, 25, 39 bipartisan agenda-setting 104th Congress and, 106–114 assessing of, 62-65 bipartisan policy outputs, 12, 82 by legislative stage and type of vote, 107 decline in, 126 electoral benefits of, 163-167 floor passage rates for roll call votes, 86-88 leadership considerations in, 58-60 legislative attention in 94th vs. 108th Congress, 137, 138 legislative success and, 51-54 Obama era, 174-185 omnibus bills and, 64 political contexts promoting, 85-90 public laws and, 73-75 roll call vs. voice voting, 75-79 special rules, 79-82 tests for vs. partisan, 93-106 tracking of over time, 42, 62-73, 174-179, 183 variations within policy areas, 122-124, 125-126, 130-137 voice votes and, 75-79, 102-106 bipartisan agreement, 6, 7, 33, 44, 170 across issue areas, 117, 118-122, 126 alternative measures of, 18 conventional wisdom on, 1 cosponsorship coalition's value as measure of, 22-27

Bach, Stanley, 107

25I



252 Index

bipartisan agreement (cont.) defined, 19–20 in 105th Congress, 110-113 new measures of, 3 Obama era, 27, 174-185 party support scores as measure of, 36-39 roll call voting measures limitations and, tracking of over time, 27-40, 174-179 unanimous and near-unanimous votes and, 37 bipartisan cosponsorship coalitions, 2, 14, 15, 64, 77, 93-106, 145, See also bipartisan agenda-setting; cosponsorship coalitions agenda-setting and, 65-66 bipartisan agreement over time, 27-40 bipartisan roll call votes for vs. bills with partisan cosponsorship coalitions, 46 by issue area, 113, 118-122, 126, 132, 133 coalition defined, 8 commemorative legislation and, 34 competitive districts and, 143-144 cosponsorship rule, 23 district-party sorting and, 102 divided government and, 100, 101, 103 electoral costs of, 160-168 external signaling and, 8 floor attention and, 101, 112, 132, 133 high salience bills, 67-68 ideology of sponsor and, 206 legislative attention to (Majority Party Sponsor), 68-72, 96, 99 legislative attention to (Minority Party Sponsor), 72-73 legislative behavior patterns and district preferences, 144-147 majority seat shares and, 100, 101, 103 measurement of, 31, 65 party support scores as measure of, 36-39 patterns between roll call voting and, persistence of bipartisanship in, 32, 33, 35 presidential vote measures and, 144 private bills, 31 public laws and, 73-75, 87 responsiveness and, 147-160, 170 roll call voting vs. cosponsorship coalitions, 16, 44-46 Social Security reform in 1983 and, 84-85 tracking over time, 18, 65-73, 170, 176-177 voice votes and, 103, 170

bipartisanship, 3-5, 20-27, See also bipartisan agenda-setting; bipartisan agreement; bipartisan decline; bipartisan cosponsorship coalitions in 104th Congress, 63 leadership considerations in, 42 measuring, 19-20, 32 No Labels (bipartisan group), 186–187 patterns in roll call voting vs. cosponsorship coalitions, 16, 85 persistence of in cosponsorship coalitions, 3, 12, 18, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 170–174 public laws and, 170 resurgence of in future, 185-187 bipartisanship decline, 12, 15, 126, 139, 176 agenda-setting and, 42, 43, 61 bipartisan cosponsorship over time, 27-40, 65-73, 176-177 committee agenda and, 82 empirical strategy for assessing, 8-10 floor agenda and, 82 in Obama era, 174-185 macroeconomic and transportation issues, 117 party support scores as measure of, 36-39 policy areas contributing to, 134 roll call vote vs. cosponsorship measures of, 18, 38-40 roll call voting over time, 27-40, 65-73 Boehner, John (R-OH), 2, 183, 185 Brady, David, 5, 6, 51, 56 Brooks, Jack (D-TX), 149 Brownback, Sam (R-KS), 110 Brownstein, Ronald, 4

Carson, Jamie, 68 cartel agenda theory, 14, 15, 50 Castle, Michael (R-DE), 55, 125 Chicago Tribune, 187 Clinton impeachment vote, 11, 44 closed rules, 79-82 Coffman, Mike (R-CO), 186, 187 Collins, Susan (Senator, ME), 6 commemorative legislation, 34 committee agendas, 72 decline in bipartisanship on, 66 empirical defintion of, 63 legislative attention (Minority Party Sponsorship), 72 percent of bipartisan bills in, 65-66 summary statistics for cosponsored bills with majority sponsors (1973-2004), 93

Canes-Wrone, Brandice, 161, 228, 231



Index 253

common ground, 4-5, 13, 18-20, 31, 40, Congress (108th), 31, 37, 80, 117, 137, 138 cosponsored bills in, 31 114, 186 voice votes, 76 persistence of in bipartisan coalitions, 34 competitive districts Congress (109th), 178 bipartisanship and, 143-144 Congress (110th), 178 compromise. See legislative compromise Congress (111th), 175–182 conditional party government theory, 14, 49 Congress (112th), 175–182 conditional probability, 69, 178 Congress (113th), 180 of floor attention (Majority Sponsored Congress (93rd), 23, 86, 117 Bills), 124 bipartisan decline and, 66 cosponsored bills in, 31 of legislative attention given bipartisan cosponsorship coalition, 68-72 recorded votes, 78 of roll call votes (Majority Sponsored Bills), Congress (94th), 23, 54, 137, 138 123, 125 sorted districts in, 163 Congress, 3, 7, 35, 69, 80, 98, 205 Congress (95th), 23 agenda-setting influence vs. ideological Congress (96th), 31 homogeneity, 11 Congress (98th), 82 bipartisan cosponsorship coalitions behavior cosponsored bills in, 31 patterns and district preferences, 144-147 Congress (99th), 82 bipartisan vs.partisan bills passage, 86 Congressional Bills Project, 17, 31, 118, 220 common ground assumptions and, 18 Congressional Quarterly Almanac (CQ), 21, 27, cosponsored bills in over time, 31 legislative productivity of, 179 Congressional representation. See media and, 56, 57 responsiveness newsletters to constituents, 167 Cooper, Joseph, 5 partisan to bipartisan shift in 105th, 108-114 cosponsorship coalitions, 3, 12, 15, 31, 47, 65, policy positions in, 49 69, 86, See also bipartisan cosponsorship private bills, 31 coalitions public approval and, 51, 52 as pre-agenda measures of legislative public laws and, 73, 75, 180 behavior, 8, 16, 85 reference table of years of each, 192 bipartisan vs. partisan in subsequent roll call responsiveness of over time, 147-160 votes, 34 roll call agenda and, 47 cosponsorship rule, 23 Social Security reform and, 84-85 defined, 8 voice vs. roll call votes in, 77 floor agenda-setting and, 10 withdrawn sponsorship rates, 26 lack of bipartisanship decline in, 38-40 Congress (101st), 152 legislative attention for cosponsored bills with majority sponsors, 99 Congress (102nd), 69 Congress (103rd), 66, 74 newsletters to constituents and, 8 voice votes, 78 party support score, 37, 38 Congress (104th), 11, 28, 66, 112, 158, 179, private bills, 31 reelection and policy influence goals, 47 partisan agenda-setting of, 86, 106-114 responsiveness and, 140-141 special rules for cosponsored bills (98th-108th public laws and, 75 Congress (105th), 86, 157, 180 Congresses), 81 newsletters to constituents, 9 summary statistics for cosponsored bills with partisan to bipartisan shift, 106-114 majority sponsors (1973-2004), 93 Congress (106th), 175 value of as measure of bipartisanship, 22-27 voice votes, 77, 78 withdrawal rates, 26 Cox, Gary, 11, 49 Congress (107th), 175 bipartisan increase and, 66 Crespin, Michael, 22, 107 sorted districts in, 163 cross-party agreement, 21, 31, 34, 36, 42, 176



254 Index

cross-pressure, 131, 175, 179, 188 electoral sorting, 93, 104 Currency Reform for Fair Trade Act measuring, 90-93 (H.R. 2378), 151 Electronic Surveillance Modernization Act (H.R. 5825), 81 debt ceiling, 175, 185 **Employment Retirement Savings Bill of Rights** decline of bipartisanship. See bipartisanship (H.R. 3669), 2 decline Energy Act of 2003, 64, 79 DeLay, Tom, 109 Enron scandal, 2, 42 Democratic Study Group (DSG), 45, 82 Etheridge, Bob (D-NC), 2 density plots Eulau, Heinz, 143 of difference in party support score, 36, exogeneity, 24 Export-Import Bank (H.R. 1370), 113 37, 38 Dent, Charlie (R-PA), 179 external signaling, 8, 15, 54-58 Department of Homeland Security, 37 Desposato, Scott, 23, 197 Farm Bill, 184, 186 development assistance programs Fenno, Richard, 51, 108, 173 (H.R. 3818), 76 Fiorina, Morris, 11 Diermeier, Daniel, 49 Flake, Jeff (R-AZ), 82, 190 Disaster Relief Supplemental Appropriations floor agenda-setting, 8, 10, 11, 12, 19, 43, 44, Act (2013), 185 47-48, 60, 123, 124 bipartisan cosponsorship in 104th vs. 105th district responsiveness. See responsiveness district-party sorting, 59, 60, 61, 85, 86, 102, Congress and, 112 bipartisan vs. partisan legislation and, 45, 72, 116, 122, 171, 179, 180, 189 104th Congress and, 109 89, 101, 102 bipartisan agenda-setting between policy cosponsorship and, 10 areas and, 122-125, 130-137 decline in bipartisan agenda-setting and, bipartisan vs. partisan legislation, 93-106 66, 82 empirical definition of, 63 measuring, 90-93 divided government, 16, 27, 44, 58, 59, 61, 85, legislative attention (Minority Party Sponsorship), 72 86, 90, 171, 189 as agenda-setting constraint, 53, 98, 114 percent of bipartisan bills in, 65-66 summary statistics for cosponsored bills with bipartisan agenda-setting between policy majority sponsors (1973-2004), 93 areas and, 122-124, 130-137 bipartisan voice votes and, 114 floor amendments, 82 bipartisan vs. partisan legislation, 53-54, 58, foreign policy and trade legislation, 113 60, 87, 88, 89, 93-106, 180 Fowler, James, 17, 31, 63 in 112th Congress, 175 partisan agenda of 104th Congress and, 109 Gilmour, John, 127 Dodd, Lawrence, 6 Gingrich, Newt, 108, 109 Dold, Robert (R-IL), 187 Glickman, Daniel (D-KS), 56, 188, 191 Goldman, Joe, 4 Dole, Elizabeth (R-NC), 147 Donohue, Tom, 185 Goodling, William (R-PA), 112 dyadic representation, 12, 142 Governance, 3-5, 7, 52, 60, 93-106, 114, 118, 171-173, 183, See also Congress; divided Education and Workforce Committee, 2 government; political contexts agenda-setting and, 74 breakdown of in 104th Congress, 108, 109 education policy bills, 84, 113 Edward, George, 67 electoral costs, 14, 86, 142, 160-168 effect of partisanship on, 3-5, 86 electoral interests, 14, 43, 46-51, 61, 86, 87, greater emphasis on in current era, 187–189 110, 111, 183, 184, 188, 189 polarization and, 1 partisan to bipartisan shift in 105th Congress public laws and, 73 and, 108-114 roll call agenda and, 75



Index

Cambridge University Press 978-1-107-07995-3 - Is Bipartisanship Dead?: Policy Agreement and Agenda-Setting in the House of Representatives Laurel Harbridge Index More information

> 255 Grandy, Fred (R-IA), 4 Library of Congress, 31, 67 Lipinski, Dan (D-IL), 9, 24, 52, 151, 187 gridlock, 1, 74, 188 Lucas, Frank, 184 Hacker, Jacob, 5 Lynch, Michael, 22, 76 Han, Hahrie, 6, 51, 56 Harbridge, Laurel, 143, 147 macroeconomic issues, 115, 117, 126, 127, 134 Hardrock Mining Reform Act of 1993 Madonna, Anthony, 22, 76 (H.R. 322), 84 majority party influence, 3, 13-15, 46-51 Hastert, Dennis, 2 majority party members, 77-79 Huntsman, Jon, 186 majority seat share, 16, 44, 53-54, 59, 61, 85, 86, 89, 90, 101, 104, 116, 134, 171 ideology. See party identification and ideology as agenda-setting constraint, 114 impeachment, 11, 44 bipartisan agenda-setting between policy institutional features. See divided government; areas and, 122–124, 130–137 bipartisan vs. partisan legislation, 87, 93-106 majority seat share; sorting in 112th Congress, 175 issue ownership, 16, 117, 127-128, 134, 139 partisan policy pursuit and, 116, 117 Malhotra, Neil, 143, 147 Manzullo, Donald (R-IL), 9 Jacobson, Gary, 17, 92, 161 Mayhew, David, 51, 67, 188 McCarty, Nolan, 5 Jones, David, 52 McCubbins, Matthew, 11, 49 Karps, Paul, 143 media, 56, 57 member preferences, 5, 12, 24, 42 Killian, Linda, 109, 110 military construction bill (H.R. 2559), 37 Kind, Ron (D-WI), 179 Kline, John (R-MN), 9, 151 minority party members, 77-79 Minta, Michael, 45 labor issues, 115 Lausten, Eric, 24, 191 National Democratic Institute, 3 Lebo, Matthew, 14 National Manufacturing Strategy Act of 2010 Lee, Barbara (D-CA), 146 (H.R. 4692), 9 Lee, Frances, 169 negative agenda control, 13, 86 legislative attention, 35, 171 Nethercutt, George (R-WA), 110 newsletters to constituents, 8, 9, 151, 167 agenda-setting and, 62-65 bipartisan issue areas between 94th vs. 108th No Labels (bipartisan group), 186-187 Congress and, 137, 138 NOMINATE scores, 12, 20, 21, 45, 151, bipartisan vs. partisan agenda tests, 93-106 161, 195 conditional probability of given bipartisan Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 cosponsorship coalition, 68-72 (H.R. 1270), 113 cosponsorship coalitions (Majority Party Sponsor), 96, 99 O'Donnell, Norah, 6 Obama administration, 16, 27, 170, cosponsorship coalitions (Minority Party Sponsor), 72-73 174-185, 188 policy implications of, 135-139 omnibus legislation, 64, 65 legislative compromise, 5, 12, 19, 20, 79-82 Oppenheimer, Bruce, 6 legislative productivity, 179 Orton, Bill (D-UT), 84-85 legislative success, 15, 58, 59, 66, 182, 187 agenda-setting and, 51-54 Page, Benjamin, 7 bipartisan vs. partisan agendas and, 75 partisan agenda-setting, 2, 3, 14, 48, 53, 77, bipartisan vs. partisan bills receiving roll call 106-114, 126, See also strategic partisan votes, 86–88 agenda-setting bipartisanship as less risky choice for majority electoral costs of, 163

party, 86, 88

favorable conditions for, 116



256 Index

```
partisan agenda-setting (cont.)
                                                     roll call vote focus and, 2
  floor agenda-setting and, 101
                                                     strategic partisan agenda-setting and,
  in Obama era, 174–185
                                                        125-126
  legislative productivity and, 179
                                                   political action committees (PACs), 56
  omnibus bills and, 64
                                                   political contexts, 16, 93-106, See also district-
  responsiveness and, 16, 140-141, 147-160,
                                                        party sorting; divided government;
                                                        majority seat size
    173-174
  tests for vs. bipartisan, 93-106
                                                      bipartisan agenda-setting and, 85-90
partisan conflict, 1, 5, 6, 7, 44, 68, 169
                                                   Poole, Keith, 5, 12, 20
  bill selection and, 85
                                                   Pope, Jeremy, 56
  Congressional public approval, 52
                                                   Portman, Rob (R-OH), 2
  CQ coverage and, 68
                                                   Potoski, Matthew, 19
  during Obama administration, 174-185
                                                   presidential vote measure, 91, 92, 122, 144,
  effect on governance of, 3-5
                                                        151, 154, 217
  empirical strategy for assessing, 8-10
                                                      bipartisan cosponsorship behaviors and, 144
  procedural votes and, 29
                                                   Prior, Marcus, 57
  roll call agenda and, 20-22, 190
                                                   private bills, 31
  roll call voting as external signaling, 54-58
                                                   public laws, 12, 73-75, 82, 87, 170, 180
party cartel theory, 49-51
                                                   Rahall II, Nick II (D-WV), 84-85
party identification and ideology, 11, 20, 21, 47,
    90-91, 169, 206
                                                   Reed, Bruce, 110
party influence, 1, 13-15, 46-51
                                                   Reed, Tom (R-NY), 9
party support score, 28, 36, 37, 104, 161, 218
                                                   reelection, 46-51, 189
  cosponsorship coalitions and, 37, 38
                                                   representation, 3-5, 167, See also
party support scores, 21
                                                        responsiveness
Pelosi, Nancy, 24, 181
                                                     collective and dyadic representation, 12
pension reform, 2
                                                     correlations of legislative behavior and the
Pension Security Act of 2002 (H.R. 3762), 2
                                                        normal Presidential vote, 150
Peterson, Collin, 184
                                                   Republican Revolution, 11, 28, 159, See also
Pew Research Center Values Survey, 182
                                                        Congress (104th)
Pierson, Paul, 5
                                                   responsiveness, 5, 16, 140-144, 170,
polarization, 10
                                                        173-174
  concerns over, 3, 4, 140, 142
                                                      electoral costs of, 160-168
  conventional wisdom on, 1, 6
                                                      legislative behavior over time and across
  defined, 5
                                                        measures, 147-160
  in electorate, 10
                                                      partisan conflict's diminishing of, 1
  in104th Congress, 11
                                                      symbolic responsiveness, 143
  members' preferences in roll call voting and, 8
                                                   Rice, Stuart, 21
                                                   robustness checks, 34, 93, 94, 104, 144
  on representation, 5
  rise of, 1, 12, 18, 52, 106, 169
                                                   Rohde, David, 6, 17, 29, 63, 78, 110, 196
  roll call vote-based measures of, 5
                                                   roll call agenda, 8, 10, 11, 13, 55, 60, 62-79
  time period of study, 12
                                                      bipartisan agenda-setting over time, 65-73
Policy Agendas Project, 28, 31, 63, 66, 67, 118,
                                                      bipartisan vs. partisan legislation and, 45,
                                                        72,89
    177, 196
policy areas, 3, 46-51, 122-124, 183,
                                                      constraints of, 47
                                                     empirical definition of, 63
    195, 220
  bipartisan cosponsorship coalitions and,
                                                      governance and, 75
                                                      legislative attention (Minority Party
    118-122
  Congressional policy positions, 49
                                                        Sponsorship), 72
                                                      partisan conflict and, 190
  issue ownership, 127-128
  policy implications of legislative attention to,
                                                     public laws and, 75
    135-139
                                                      variations within policy areas, 130–137
```



Index 257

roll call voting strategic partisan agenda-setting, 13, 15, 43, 82, agenda-setting patterns, 11, 44-46, 84, 175, See also agenda-setting; bipartisan agenda-setting; committee agendas; floor 68-72, 82 alternative analyses and, 8, 17 agenda-setting; partisan agenda-setting; appearance of polarization and, 11 roll call agenda; roll call voting 104th Congress and, 106-114 as focus of studies on partisan conflict, 1, 3, 5, agenda content and member voting behavior, 6, 10, 20-22, 170 bipartisan decline over time, 18, 27-40 bipartisan vs. partisan cosponsored bills, bipartisan vs. partisan agenda tests, 93-106 bipartisanship as less risky choice for majority bipartisanship in (2008), 175 party, 86, 88 bipartisanship in (2010), 175 bipartisanship patterns in roll call voting vs. by issue area, 126 cosponsorship, 16, 44-46, 62, 85 electoral costs of, 160-168 data on, 63 empirical assessments of, 93 external signaling and, 54-58 high salience bills in CQ, 67-68 external signaling and, 54-58 in 104th Congress, 63 floor passage rates for roll call votes, 86-88 macroeconomic issues, 117 in Obama era, 174-185 measurement limitations in, 20-22 individual versus collective goals in, 14, 15, patterns between bipartisan cosponsorship 187-189 coalitions and, 38-40, 62 issue ownership and, 127-128 private bills, 31 leadership considerations in, 58-60 responsiveness and, 140-141, 147-160, 170, legislative attention over time, 62-65 legislative attention policy implications, suspension of the rules and, 107 135-139 legislative success and, 51-54 vs. voice votes, 75-79 majority party influence and, 13-15 Rosenthal, Howard, 6, 12, 20 Roskam, Peter (R-IL), 187 member sorting and, 49 persistence of bipartisanship and, 170-174 Rostenkowski, Dan (D-IL), 84 Roukema, Marge (R-NJ), 148 political contexts promoting, 16, 85-90, Rules Committee, 45, 47, 63, 69, 82 93-106, 122-124, 130-135 reelection and policy influence goals and, 46-51 SAFE Commission Act (H.R. 1557), 9 representation and, 140 Safe, Accountable, Flexible and Efficient Social Security reform in 1983 and, 84-85 Transportation Equity Act (SAFETEA-LU), sorting and, 91 115, 116 strategic as term in, 43 Schickler, Eric, 25 variations between policy areas, 16, 117, 118, 122-124, 125-126, 128-129, Schiff, Adam (D-CA), 82 Schneider, Brad, 187 130-135, 138 Sinclair, Barbara, 80 Student Loan Evaluation and Stabilization A, 112 Smith, Steven, 15, 106 Sulkin, Tracy, 24, 25, 26, 142, 145 Snowe, Olympia (R-ME), 20 surface transportation legislation, 115, 134 Social Security, 84-85 suspension of the rules procedure, 107, 112, 177 Sorting, 89, 90, 93, See also district-party Swers, Michele, 25 sorting; electoral sorting symbolic responsiveness, 143 measuring, 90-93 partisan agenda-setting and, 49 Talbert, Jeffrey, 19 space and technology issues, 118 Tea Party Caucus, 56, 175, 181, 182, 183, 184, special rules, 79-82 185, 186 Stark, Pete (D-CA), 2 Theriault, Sean, 6, 67 Stephens, Michael, 67, 191 Thomas, William (R-CA), 115, 116



258 Index

Trafficking Victims Protection Act (H.R. 2620), 37 transportation issues, 115, 117, 118

unanimous and near-unanimous votes, 37 unified government, 85, 86, 101, 103, 116 bipartisan vs. partisan legislation and, 88 in 111th Congress, 180 under President Clinton, 172

Vlaicu, Razvan, 49 voice votes, 3, 10, 12, 60, 63, 73, 75–77, 82, 86, 89, 102–106, 112, 116, 170 bipartisan bills during divided government and, 103, 114 issue attention and, 136-138 recorded vote requests, 77-79

Wage-Price Control Bill (H.R. 6168), 105
Washington Post, 140
Ways and Means Committee, 2, 64
Wilkerson, John, 52
Wilson, Heather (R-NM), 81
Wilson, Woodrow, 4
Wolfensberger, Dan, 80
Woon, Jonathan, 204
Wright, Gerald, 162

Young, Bill (R-FL), 147 Young, Don (R-AK), 115