



"Staffing"

Prof. Anthony Madonna
 POLS 4790H Spring Semester
 3/4/2021
 University of Georgia

Staffing: Outline

3/4/2021

I. Introduction

- a. Updates
- b. Midterm #1
- c. Summary Section
- d. News
- e. Background Section
- f. Leg History Tips

II. Ideological Scaling Redux

III. Using Resources: Voteview

IV. Staffing

V. Tuesday

- a. Parties in Congress



Above: Former Rep. Vito Marcantonio (RS-NY)

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Course Updates (3/2/21)

**I DON'T KNOW HOW TO
TEACH...**



Again, if you have questions, please ask!

MIDTERM #1:

Will be e-mailing them back to you by next Tuesday. They've been fairly strong.

Format will stay roughly the same for Midterm #2, except fewer short essays, a few more Enactment Research Questions and a few more MC/fill in the blank.

- I'll have a "are you ready to submit this" page on the exam.
- Quick note on group studying...

If you struggled on the enactment research questions, set up a meeting with me! You will need to know that material.

Course Updates (3/2/21)

SUMMARY SECTIONS:

These have been graded and returned in the manner they were submitted (so if you uploaded them to ELC, I provided your feedback there).

Overall, these were good, but there was some variance. The average across the two classes was an 87. The grading does get a bit more challenging as we move into the substantive sections.

How to read feedback from me...

EXTENSIONS AND QUESTIONS:

I don't have a big issue with extensions, just let me know. But in general, if you have a question, please don't hesitate to ask.

EMAILS:

Will get any lingering e-mails back after today's meeting. Please don't hesitate to text me if you think I might have forgotten to get back to you or you need to know something quickly! I'm at 314-313-9937.

Again, please send reminder e-mails. This does not bother most faculty.



Above: According to my wife making these zoom lectures more entertaining by introducing a sock-puppet sidekick named "Mr. Schlesinger" represented another terrible idea.

Course Updates (3/2/21)



Above: Neither of these children are at all useful when it comes to analyzing congressional politics.

OFF-CAMPUS ACCESS:

A few of you all have asked about this. First, for CQ, it's likely that to access it you're going to have to go to the University's website, find CQ Almanac there and conduct a new search for the article.

Consult the "Using Resources" slides for a walk-through on that.

VEHICLES:

I understand this concept is tough but again, what we're interested in is tracking the policy history (defined fairly broadly in most enactments). So there's a good chance the policy content will move through multiple bills in the same way pieces of paper might pass through different folders. Don't get too caught up in worry about bill numbers.

FORMATTING:

Whenever possible, please get me the paper sections via e-mail/elc, single-spaced and in Microsoft Word. It won't hurt you grade-wise, it's just easier for me to get material back to you quickly.

Course Updates (3/2/21)



Above: At this point in this class, you should probably know who these people are.

ON CITATIONS:

Newspaper sources should be cited in footnotes. Scholarly citations should be presented in a Citations section at the end of the paper.

Consult the citation guide for questions and examples.

HOW TO FIND & ACCESS SCHOLARLY SOURCES:

Don't hesitate to broaden your search terms.

Second, more broadly, don't get discouraged if you whiff on a search. You might need to try and number of different phrases if the first one doesn't provide satisfactory. There's so much out there in policy, political science and legal journals but it's tough to find because often times they're using different phrases.

In terms of accessing academic sources, I love google scholar as a search engine and I think it's tough to top it. But not everything will be available. Here are some tips: First, start with google scholar. If you run into articles that are highly cited or have titles that sound like they might be relevant, click on the citation button (the quotation button under the article). Then copy and paste it into a word document. Maybe grab a couple of them if there's more than one.

To find the article, my next step would be to run a straight google search. For more recent articles, many faculty will have versions on their website despite the fact that these often violate publishing agreements. If that doesn't work, the odds are good UGA has a subscription to the journal the article was published in. J-STOR is probably the best bet for this (you can find it on the University's website). For law review pieces, take a look at HeinOnline's law journal library. It's located at the same spot you'd find the Congressional Record. A third option would be to plug the journal name into the UGA library search function.

Finally, if you go through the Wikipedia on your bill, or do a simple google search on it and skim some material, you'll find citations to scholarly sources. That's another good way to drum up relevant work.

News 3/4



What do you guys have?

Immigration Reform, CPAC, vaccines, COVID Relief, Amazon unionization, Cuomo, Joe Manchin, minimum wage, the Senate parliamentarian's office, Russian sanctions, Iran deal, voting rights



Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A Background section that answers a specific question assigned by the instructor. Typically, this will necessitate contextualizing either the political climate the legislation was considered in or provide a history of the policy. Ideally, it will demonstrate why the legislation was needed. **The background section is due on Thursday, March 11th at 5pm.**

You have been assigned a specific question to focus on in your background section in your prompt sheets. PLEASE

READ THESE! So you shouldn't be following the exact Background Section format from the "Writing a Legislative History" slides.

You don't need to answer all of the questions provided. Especially if one or two of them jump catch your eye and necessitate a lengthy answer.

A good background section for this assignment will likely run between six to ten paragraphs long. There's no maximum length on it. And don't worry about the suggested formatting in the "Writing a Legislative History" slides. This class is a bit different in the sense that you're writing this in a group. So you can just focus on answering your assigned key questions.

Definitely provide a Work Cited page.



Pro-Tip: If you're ever on solo-parent duty, check to see if it's "Daycare Picture Day".

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: OVERVIEW AND STRUCTURE

A good example of a background section can be found in the Standard Time Act case on the Congress Project website:

<https://www.thecongressproject.com/standard-time-act-of-1918>

The long-term goal is to combine your background section with those of your "bill buddies" (this is not something you need to worry about). Ultimately, a good background section should provide the reader with enough information to understand the congressional debate. It should contextualize the political situation and the issue.

Understanding political context necessitates answering questions like:

What was the political climate like in this Congress? Who was the President? What party controlled the House and the Senate? Were there other key issues on the agenda when this measure was being considered? Was there a recent election that altered the two parties leverage in Congress? Could the President's party have pushed through a partisan legislative agenda?

Legislative politics scholars have found that laws past by fragmented coalitions under divided government are less durable than those passed by unified coalitions.

The rest of the background section focuses on questions related to the issue.



Above: Upon passage of the Standard Time Act, its sponsor, Senator William Calder (R-NY) predicted it would be "a very popular measure" and "no effort [would] be made to repeal it." It was a terrible prediction. The daylight saving provision of the law was repealed just over a year later after widespread confusion.

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: STRUCTURE

Issue context necessitates answering questions like:

What was the problem Congress was attempting to solve? Why was it being considered in this Congress? Was it a key part of the President's agenda? Did the policy solution originate in the United States? State governments? Other countries? What did newspapers say about the issue? Was the measure considered in previous congresses? What did scholarly sources think about the topic at the time?

It is important that the author let the reader know if this was an issue that Congress had been debating for awhile, whether it was a bill that was considered in response to a specific, recent event; whether it was a routine measure considered by Congress; or if the bill simply came together quickly on the floor.

The length of this second part varies by enactment substance. Students should pay attention to any "Key Questions" that were provided with by the instructor. If there's something in the Key Questions the instructor suggests be address in the background, look to address it.



Above: From the movie "1917." As World War I was breaking out, nations were actively seeking ways to increase efficiency. Daylight saving time became a popular solution. Supporters argued that adjusting time so work hours better coincided with periods of natural daylight would increase productivity, result in health benefits and cut down on costs associated with lighting and heating.

Background Section

BACKGROUND SECTION: SOURCES



Above: During debate, Rep. Clats Wingo (D-AR) asserted the bill's supporters had "never seen the sun rise in 20 years" and predicted the measure would provide relief to "the slackers of the Nation who are too lazy to get up early."

In addition to suggested sources supplied by the instructor (most of which will focus on the policy), there are some useful sources to consult for information on the Congress.

- Stathis, Stephen W. 2014. Landmark Legislation, 1774-2012: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties, 2nd Edition. Washington: CQ Press.

The above Stathis book will provide information on landmark bills for each Congress, as well as background on the Congress. It is available online through UGA's website.

Additional useful information can be found on the Senate and House websites:

- <https://www.senate.gov/history/partydiv.htm>
- <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/101st/>

Legislative History Tips



Look to www.thecongressproject.com for examples! But don't kill yourself trying to match the style.

You have the flexibility to focus on aspects of the law/bill you find the most interesting...

You don't have to know anything about Congress to do this assignment. Just ask questions...

The goals of a legislative history

1. Explain to the reader why the issue matters
2. Explain why Congress acted the way they did
3. If the policy evolved afterwards, provide a brief explanation of how and why
4. Tell the reader where to find more information

Things you should take away

1. How to research federal laws and legislation
2. Greater knowledge of a specific policy and its evolution
3. More incite on the lawmaking process
4. How to use footnotes...

General Points

I. Comments from me

- 1) Might be in a new document.
- 2) Turn on your comments feature.
- 3) More notes is NOT a bad thing!
- 4) Use what I'm giving you.

II. DON'T BE WRONG!

- 1) Be unsure, ask questions, say you don't know. But do **NOT** guess.
- 2) Part of the point is to ID confusing junctions in the lawmaking process. If you don't understand something, the odds are good readers won't either.

III. Really. The previous point.

- 1) There are no bad questions about process. There are, however, tons of bad answers. Do not give me the latter on this assignment.



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General Points



Above: Former Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-WI), the only Republican to oppose DOMA. Gunderson had been "outed" on the floor during a congressional debate years earlier. Speaking against DOMA, he asked: "Why are we so mean? Why are we so motivated by prejudice, intolerance and, unfortunately in some cases, bigotry? Why must we attack one element of our society for some cheap political gain? Why must we pursue the politics of division, of fear, and of hate?"

IV. Find things that interest YOU.

- 1) Don't worry about making me happy. If there's a topic you find interesting, focus on that.
- 2) Policy impact, floor fights, member information, etc.
- 3) If you find a podcast or a video on your bill or topic, let me know!
- 4) Be flexible in the process sections

V. Google every member you quote

Who is this person speaking out against the bill? A liberal? A conservative? Are they someone respected in their caucus? Leadership? Do they have a personal connection or electoral motivation to break from their party here? Who are they speaking to?

Knowing this helps us understand the measure better. It's also interesting to readers as, for reasons unclear to me, they apparently find people more interesting than abstract legislative procedure.

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General Points

V. When in doubt, write it down!

- 1) Use a notes section to look at later
- 2) Put free to put it in a footnote.

VI. Other points

- 1) Link the bioguide and congress.gov if possible.
- 2) What parts of the debate to focus on? Use the newspapers and CQ Almanac.
- 3) Look for quotes on your topic.
- 4) Use voteview.
- 5) If you quote the CR—and you definitely should—give me the member's name, the page number, the date and the Congress (i.e. Rep. Alan Trammell (D-MI) argued "Freedom is probably good (*Congressional Record*, 88th Congress, July 4, 1964, 11125).

VII. Being objective is hard. Get over it.

- 1) Your job here is not to ask if something **SHOULD** have happened, but to explain **WHY** it did
- 2) Use the scholarly arguments to contextualize this
- 3) Sources, sources, sources



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General Points



VIII. Make an effort on the citation and footnote guidelines.

When referencing a bill, no periods are needed (i.e. HR, Hres, HJR, HCR, S, Sres, SJR, SCR).

With members, when you first reference them, cite the Position Firstname Lastname (Party-ST). So, for example:

Rep. Barney Frank (D-MA).

Afterwards, you can simply refer to them by their last name.

If you're not familiar with it, you can take capitalized text that you pulled from an article title, highlight it, then select the case size button in Word (it's next to the font size) and select "Capitalize Each Word." It saves some time.

Ugh. Please don't give me "Footers". Insert a footnote.

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General Points



IX. Use historical newspapers to bolster your conclusions

Newspapers will get insider quotes. These quotes will often contextualize whether the process that played out on the floor was "sincere" or "a show."

They will also help you focus on the most important amendments.

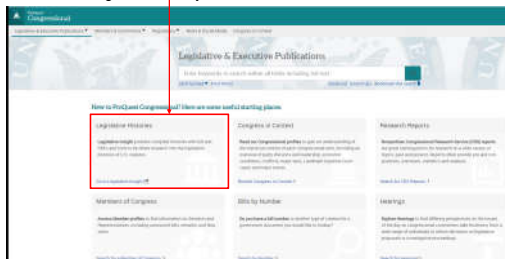
X. Link this to your Aftermath section.

What happened to the vocal supporters and opponents of this bill? Was the issue Congress focused on a problem in the years to come?

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Additional Sources: ProQuest Congressional

- 2) ProQuest Congressional offers a wide-range of congressional documents from 1789 to present. It also includes fairly robust legislative histories that includes related bills, regulatory histories and assorted references. To find it, select "ProQuest Congressional" from "Articles and Databases" off of the University Library Website. Then select "Legislative Insight." A list of congresses will be on your left. Select your relevant Congress and find your bill.



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Above: Former Rep. Vito Marcantonio (R-S-NY)

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Procedural Votes



Vote	Marco	Rand	Lisa	Joe	David	Cory	Bernie
Cut Taxes	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Previous Question on SR #1	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Passage of Rule #1	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Motion to Recommit #1	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
Ban Abortions	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO	NO
Single Payer Health Care	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	YES
Increase Military Spending	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
National Taco Day	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES
Previous Question on SR #2	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Passage of Rule #2	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Motion to Recommit #2	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	YES	YES
Cut Food Stamps	YES	YES	YES	NO	YES	NO	NO
Increase Unemployment	NO	NO	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES
Eliminate Net Neutrality	NO	NO	NO	NO	YES	NO	NO
Depression 5 Score	0.92	0.85	0.77	0.15	1.00	0.08	0.00

Added six votes here. All procedural, all straight party-line votes. You'll notice this does not alter the extreme ends. Nor does it alter the rank order of ideology. But let's plot the members.

Procedural Votes



Again, the rank doesn't change—but notice the huge gap now between Manchin and Murkowski. This model will still predict votes extremely well, but it's very difficult to substantively interpret.

There are other Problems Too

The Record was intended to serve as the transparent conduit between elected politicians and voting.

But not all congressional votes are recorded.

And little attention has been given to changes.

114th Congress – 329 public laws. 80% of them were not subjected to a recorded vote.



Again, Why Do We Care?



Evidence suggests that the observed high levels of polarization are driven by changing electoral dynamics and institutions governing legislative procedures (i.e. more procedural and position-taking votes, more recorded votes).



This does not alter the primary products of polarization—crippling gridlock on salient issues and anemic legislative productivity—it does suggest alternative means of reform

In the absence of specific procedural reforms and increased public education about how Congress operates, “voting the bums out” will only led to the creation of new “bums”

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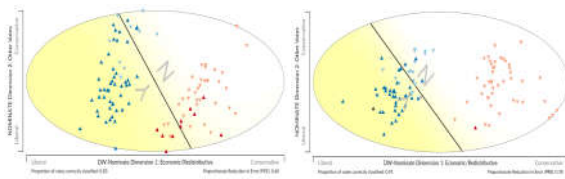


Above: Former Rep. Vito Marcantonio (R-S-NY)



"Using Resources: Voteview"

Roll Call Votes: Voteview



Roll call votes are not a panacea (this is discussed below). But they often tell us interesting things about an issue or a point in time.

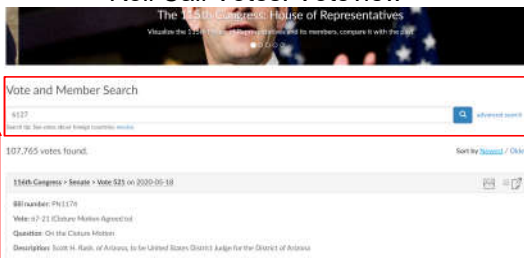
Many issues we might consider conservative or liberal today were not ideological or at least differed years ago. Roll call votes can help us characterize the ideology of an issue or vote. Comparing two votes on the same or a similar issue can tell us how attitudes have shifted.

For example, the figure on the left is a Senate vote on the assault weapons ban in 1993. It passed 57-43. The red triangles pointed up represent the 10 Republican votes in support. The blue triangles pointed down are the nine Democrats who voted no.

The figure on the right is a Senate vote on the assault weapons ban twenty years later. It failed 41-60. Only one Senate Republican voted yes. 15 Democrats voted no. These figures suggest that the Senate has gotten more conservative on this issue.

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Roll Call Votes: Voteview



How do you find votes using Voteview? First, don't hesitate to use links if I provided them. Second, go to www.Voteview.com

In the Vote and Member Search bar, try and search the bill number. Let's say we want to find the initial House vote passing the Civil Rights Act of 1957. We search the bill number, 6127.

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Roll Call Votes: Voteview

It returns 19 votes.

If it returned more, click on advanced search to select the Congress or chamber to narrow things down.

19 is few enough though, we can just scroll down and find the vote. We know it occurred in the House and was on June 18th, 1957.

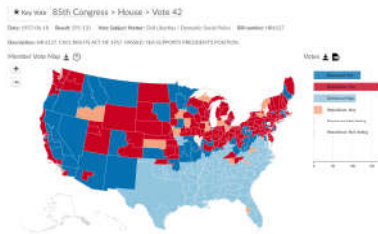
This looks like the right vote here.

19 votes found.

- ★ Key Vote 85th Congress > Senate > Vote 75 on 1957-08-07
Bill number: HR6127
Vote: 76-18
Vote Categories: Civil Liberties, Domestic Social Policy
Description: CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1957 (PASS)
- ★ Key Vote 85th Congress > House > Vote 42 on 1957-06-18
Bill number: HR6127
Vote: 295-131
Vote Categories: Civil Liberties, Domestic Social Policy
Description: CIVIL RIGHTS
- ★ Key Vote 85th Congress > Senate > Vote 71 on 1957-07-24

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Roll Call Votes: Voteview

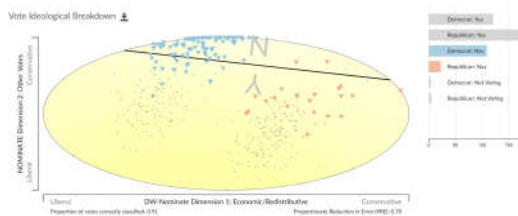


Clicking on the vote, we immediately see the vote description, party breakdown and a graph of the regional breakdown. As we might expect, this looks like the bill fell largely down geographic, not party lines.

The most northern Democratic no vote came from a member representing Missouri.

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Roll Call Votes: Voteview



Scrolling down, we find that opposition to this measure was primarily restricted to members located on the conservative end of the second dimension. While the first dimension picked up economic liberalism/conservative, the substance of the second dimension varies throughout congressional history.

In this period, it likely is picking up civil rights issues. 91% of the "no" votes could be predicted using the model.

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Roll Call Votes: Voteview

Vote Ideological Breakdown

Votes

- Democrat: Yes
- Democrat: No
- Republican: Yes
- Republican: No
- Democrat: Not Voting

Not all votes tell a clean ideological story. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 passed the Senate 80-19 initially. Those 19 no votes were distributed across the ideological spectrum and do not appear to fit a spatial model.

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Congressional Staff

“Senators [are] a constitutional impediment to the smooth functioning of staff.” – Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA)

Modern Congressional Staff

- Investigate & Engage in Oversight
- Write Legislation & Amendments
- Coordinate Between Offices
- Keep Track of Votes & Record
- Write Vote Recommendations for MCs

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Staff

Decades ago the public was both critical and misinformed about legislative staff.

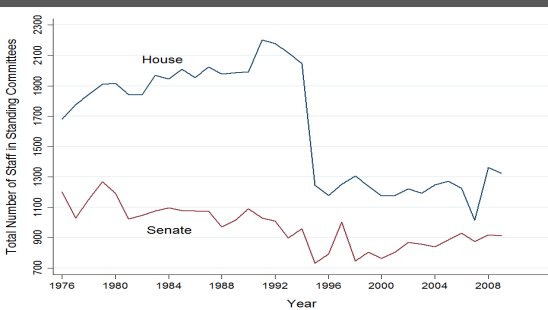
Roughly 75 percent of those surveyed supported cutting the size of congressional personal staff; their estimates of congressional staff levels were approximately half of reality.

After the survey, staff budgets were slashed.

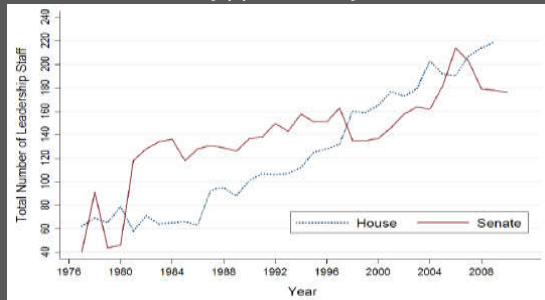
Congress & Cannibalization of Staff

- From the 1979 to 2009, U.S. population increased by just over one-third. Government spending increased from 504 million to 3.5 billion
- Member and committee staffers fell from 16,803 to 15,046
- GAO and CRS employ 20 percent fewer employees
- House salary allowances is lower than 2007, the Senate is as low as 2008 and that the number of staffers a House member is allowed to employ has remained constant for “nearly four decades”
- Members are allocating a greater proportion of staffers in their home district

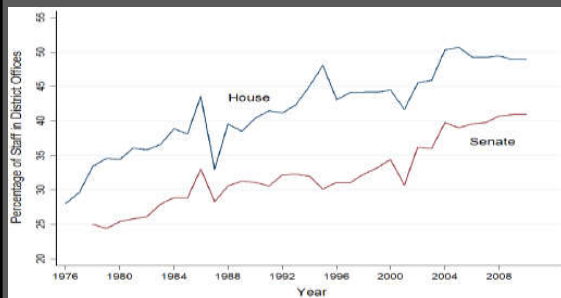
Standing Committee Staff Levels by Chamber, 1976 to 2009



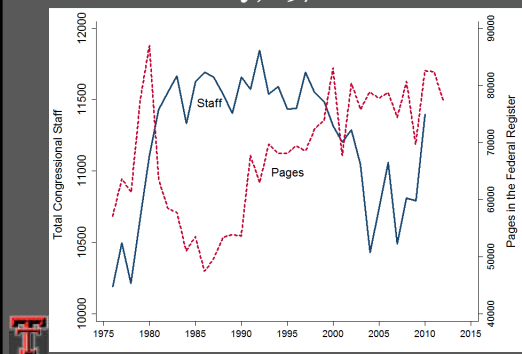
Leadership Staff Levels by Chamber, 1977 to 2009



Percent of Staff Deployed to Home District by Chamber, 1976 to 2010



Staff & Government Regulation Activity, 1976 to 2010



Staff



Casey Burgat
@CaseyBurgat

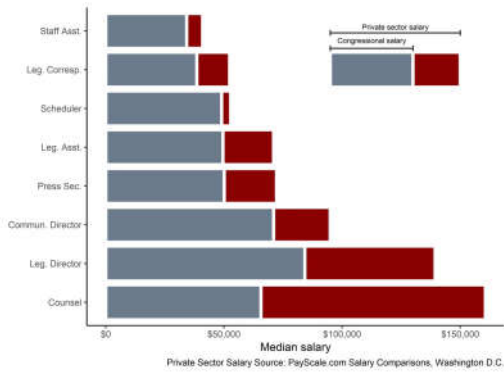
Following

Get your caffeine buzz ready!

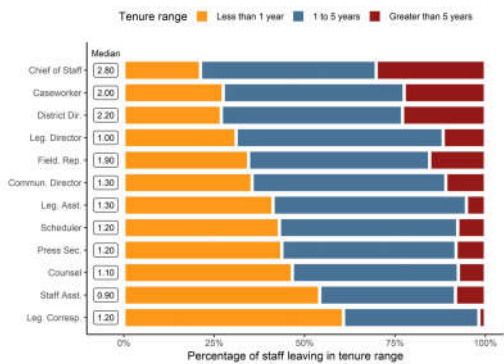
I just submitted written testimony to the Leg. Branch Appropriations Subcommittee ([@AppropsDems](#)) on congressional staffing.

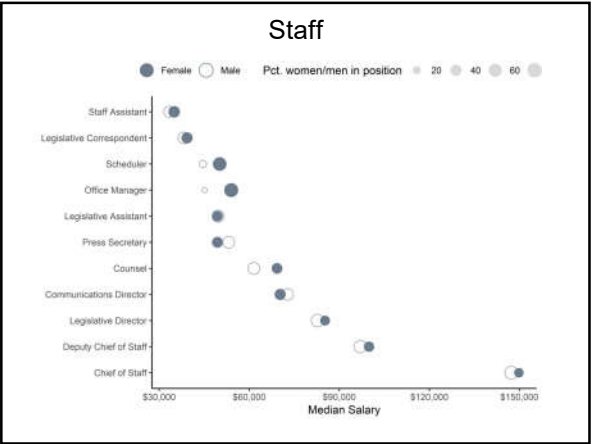
Follow me on the picture book version. You'll love to hate it.

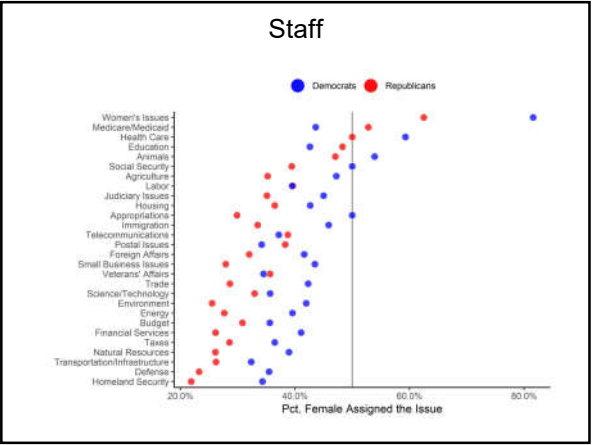
Staff

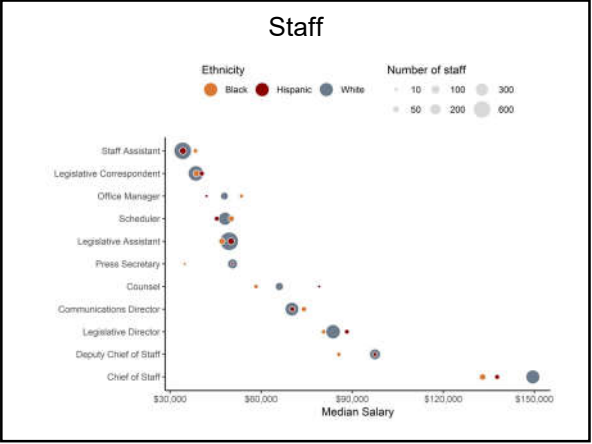


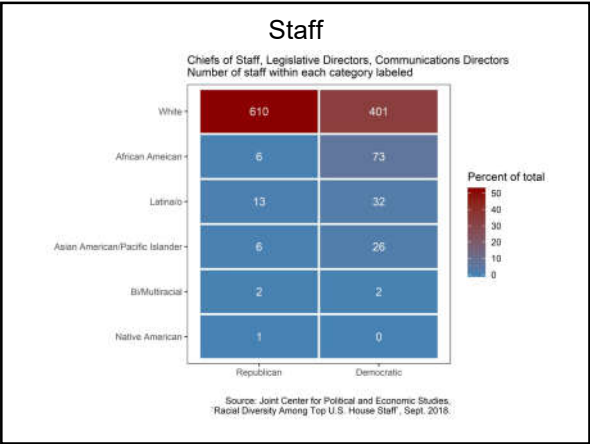
Staff

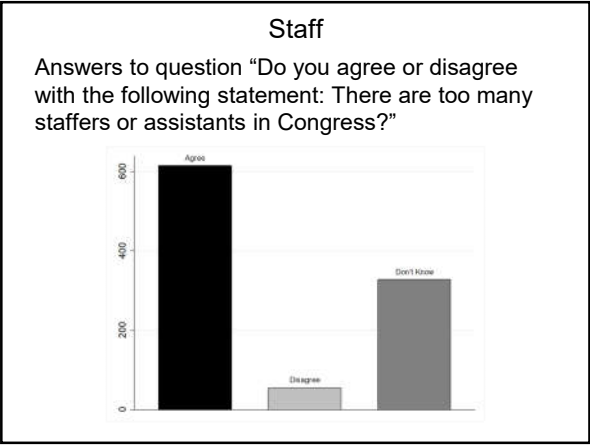


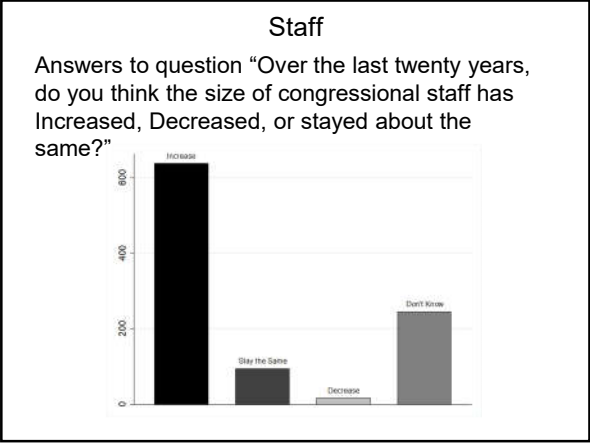












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Questions, Concerns, Angry Rants?



Specifically, are there other resources you want me to walk you through?
